Oshkosh Scholar

Volume XVI, 2021
University of
Wisconsin Oshkosh

University of Wisconsin Oshkosh

Oshkosh Scholar

Volume XVI, 2021

University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, *Oshkosh Scholar*,
Volume XVI, February 2022.

University of Wisconsin Oshkosh
Office of Student Research and Creative Activity
800 Algoma Blvd.
Oshkosh, WI 54901-8601
(920) 424-1195
uwosh.edu/osrca

If you are interested in submitting a manuscript to *Oshkosh Scholar*, please see the guidelines at the end of the journal.

Preface

This volume of the *Oshkosh Scholar* exemplifies the resiliency and determination of students, faculty, and many others who are committed to the value of undergraduate research. This commitment has remained steadfast even amid the unprecedented obstacles we have faced during this publication cycle. While each volume of the *Oshkosh Scholar* appears in print in late April, work begins for students and their faculty mentors much earlier. The authors of the papers that you will find here would have been conducting their research and drafting their manuscripts in the Spring of 2021, all while navigating one of the stranger semesters in recent memory. While many students understandably struggled under these circumstances to attain their usual levels of success at the University, these students somehow found the energy, creativity, and motivation to produce the work that is in these pages. While all students—indeed, all humans—who have struggled through the difficulties of the pandemic are to be commended for their successes, I especially want to praise, and ask for you to join me in praising, the accomplishments of the students whose work you find here. The time each of these students has devoted to their work combined with the many hours of extra work that I have forced upon them throughout the publication process is a sign of commitment to research and high-quality scholarship that should not go unnoticed.

As the editor of the *Oshkosh Scholar*, I am especially pleased that—even amid such trying times in our society—the students at UW Oshkosh have stepped forward with high-quality work. This fact gives me confidence that the future of the journal, and of its role in celebrating and encouraging the kind of work that it publishes, is secure.

You will find in this edition five essays from a variety of disciplines. The first essay, "Transforming Life into a Work of Art: Connecting with *Passing Strange*," by sophomore Holly Trzasko investigates the significance of two aspects of human relations—interconnectedness and intraconnectedness—in the musical and film *Passing Strange*. Through her analysis of the textual material, interviews with the author, and in dialogue with a variety of sources, Holly articulates and defends a notion of "life as art" that emerges in this work.

The second essay, "'The Enormity of My Desire Disgusts Me': The Male Gaze and Queer Monstrousness in *The Lighthouse*," by junior Adrian Hanrahan investigates *The Lighthouse* as a film that aims to subvert mainstream expectations. Specifically, this film subverts standard conventions and expectations related to the portrayal and objectification of women and the portrayal of heterosexual masculinity. Adrian draws upon scholar Laura Mulvey's account of the male gaze as a central analytical tool, and argues that *The Lighthouse* offers a clear and thoroughgoing challenge to heteromasculine norms.

The third essay, "Hawaiian Music Authenticity: Preservation and Representation," by 2021 graduate, Margaret Grewal, offers a comprehensive introduction to the history and development of Hawaiian music through the islands' many political and cultural upheavals. Margaret investigates the sense in which music can be authentically Hawaiian and offers a case study featuring the song, "Aloha 'Oe."

The fourth essay, "Anthropocentrism and Other Problems in Animal History: Methodological Reflections," by junior Quill Graham, offers a wide-ranging introduction to the developing field of animal history. Quill's essay navigates an array of recent scholarship on the portrayal, study, and analysis of animal behavior and human-animal

relationships. The paper highlights the successes, failures, and appropriate uses of different methodological approaches to the study of animals and the writing of animal history.

The final essay, "Adaptation and Perseverance of the Oshkosh State Teachers College During World War II," by senior Zachary Caldwell presents the findings of original, archival research into the happenings on the UW Oshkosh (formerly the Oshkosh State Teachers College) campus during WWII. Zachary's research draws on a variety of primary sources that reveal the attitudes of the campus community before and during the United States' involvement in the war. Zachary narrates these changing attitudes in conjunction with a narrative of the various changes in the college (and community) during these years.

These five essays demonstrate, again, the undergraduate commitment to research even amid such otherwise trying times. I ask you to join me in congratulating these authors for their excellent work. Finally, I would like to congratulate Quill Graham for winning the Robert and Linda Schuh Award for Best *Oshkosh Scholar* Article. In consultation with the selection committee, I have chosen Quill's article for its many virtues. This essay achieves the very highest standards of scholarship, clarity of exposition, depth of analysis, and originality—the four standard criteria for the award. More than this, though, the essay is bold in its endeavor to sort through, clarify, and evaluate methodological approaches of scholars working in diverse disciplines.

I hope you will enjoy this sixteenth edition of the *Oshkosh Scholar*.

Dr. Robert Wagoner
Associate Professor, Philosophy
Faculty Editor, *Oshkosh Scholar*

Cover Design

Cover logo designed by Graphic Design III student Kari Lee
Cover image designed by Graphic Design II student Melissa Douglas
Karina Cutler-Lake, M.F.A., Associate Professor

The year 2020 was a challenge for people from all walks of life, and as a society, we had to develop new ways to work around the obstacles at hand. The pandemic changed how our society functions, and I think it is important we commemorate it in some way. When I was learning about COVID-19, I found myself in awe at how beautiful the microscopic view of such a deadly virus could be. For my cover, I wanted to create a stylized pattern of the virus and show off the scientific world's visual appeal.

During the design process, color choice was something I was constantly thinking about. Different colors and color combinations can give new readings to the viewer. I wanted to make my color palette different than that of the reference images I saw of the virus so I could change how people viewed the virus. I chose an analogous color scheme of teals, greens, and blues to help the piece flow visually together. I wanted the virus to look calm and almost playful to distract from its threatening nature. This cover is the perfect representation of the year 2020 because everyone, regardless of their background, had to fight together against one common enemy…COVID-19.

— Melissa Douglas

Layout

Jenny Withers
University Marketing and Communications

Production

Document Services

Special Thanks

Dr. John Koker
Provost and Vice Chancellor

Dr. Andrew Leavitt
Chancellor

Contents

Transforming Life into a Work of Art: Connecting with *Passing Strange*

Holly Trzasko, author
Dr. Don Dingledine, English, faculty mentor

Holly Trzasko is a sophomore in The Honors College at UW Oshkosh, majoring in medical imaging with an emphasis in radiologic science. She has a great interest in biological science and chemistry, but in her time at UW Oshkosh, she has been provided with opportunities to branch out and explore other disciplines, including the areas of art and culture. In her spare time, she enjoys being in nature and spending time with her family.

Dr. Don Dingledine received his Ph.D. in American literature from Temple University. A four-time recipient of The Honors College's Outstanding Teaching Award, he teaches courses on American literature, history, and culture. His publications include essays on American literary journalism from the Great Depression, African American soldiers in Civil War literature, the marriage plot in Reconstruction-era novels, naturalism as a vehicle for social protest and reform, *Moby-Dick* as a model for the interdisciplinary work of honors programs, and the transcendence of gender binaries in the rock musical *Hedwig and the Angry Inch*.

Abstract

Turning life into a work of art can be a complex and daunting task. One way of turning life in to art, however, emphasizes the importance of understanding and valuing two aspects of life: interconnectedness, which is connectedness to others, and intraconnectedness, which is connectedness to oneself. These two ideas are brought to life in director Spike Lee's film adaptation of Stew and Heidi Rodewald's rock musical *Passing Strange*. The musical's protagonist, Youth, gradually discovers that life not transformed into art comes with significant drawbacks, making turning life into art a desirable goal. Youth's struggles as he journeys toward adulthood and toward life as an artist—and as a work of art—reveal how essential it is to connect deeply and honestly with others, with oneself, with one's past, and with the arts.

"Just as art is only half itself without us—its audience, its analysts, its scholars—so we are only half ourselves without it," American literary critic Helen Vendler proposes in her essay "The Ocean, the Bird, and the Scholar: How the Arts Help Us to Live."[1] Although Vendler describes the essential relationship between human beings and traditional art forms, the idea of art can be broader and more meaningful than paintings on canvas or sculptures in clay. Life itself can be turned into a work of art. Playwright and musician Stew explores this idea in great depth and detail in his acclaimed rock musical *Passing Strange*, which recounts the journey of a young man known as Youth as he travels from Los Angeles to Amsterdam and Berlin in search of "the Real." In Berlin, he meets a group of "art revolutionaries" called Nowhaus. "What we mistakenly call

our thoughts, *our* feelings, and *our* dreams," Nowhaus members believe, "have actually been put there by a system." Therefore, "the only way to become your true self" is to "create your true self": "You turn your life into a work of art."[2] This is easier said than done, Youth discovers. Ultimately, Youth's journey in *Passing Strange* reveals that in order to achieve this goal, one must become conscious of the relationships one has with the people in one's life, and one must be willing to build healthy relationships with others. One must become aware of how significant and impactful connections with others are. *Passing Strange* also suggests that "intraconnectedness," or connectedness with oneself, is an equally important aspect of turning life into art. The balance between interconnectedness and intraconnectedness is the foundation that gives Youth's life—and all our lives—meaning and purpose. The balance between these two essential elements has the capability of transforming a superficial and empty life into a life filled with meaning and depth—a true work of art.

The film *Passing Strange* features the musical of the same name, which was originally workshopped at New York City's Public Theater and then developed at the Sundance Institute's Theater Lab in 2004 by Stew, his longtime musical collaborator Heidi Rodewald, and director Annie Dorsen. *Passing Strange* the musical debuted at the Berkley Repertory in California and then went to NYC's Public Theater in 2007, before finally opening on Broadway at the Belasco Theater in February 2008. Spike Lee, director of the filmed version of the stage production, saw the show and decided to capture it on film during its final two performances at the Belasco and a later performance without an audience.[3] *Passing Strange* tells the story of a young man known as Youth, played by Daniel Breaker. In a 2008 interview with National Public Radio, Stew described *Passing Strange* as "semi-autobiographical": "It's what I like to call autobiographical fiction, in that every single thing that's happening on the stage, I can point to something in my life, some kind of corollary, you know, that corresponds in some way."[4] In a personal interview, Stew also mentioned that through the play, he is "trying to tell a story about art, and the importance of it," as "art presents all these possibilities."[5] Narrator, played by Stew, remains on stage for the majority of the play and provides a running commentary. Youth lives with his mother—called Mother, played by Eisa Davis—in a middle-class African American neighborhood of Los Angeles. Youth and Mother do not get along well, as seen in the opening scene, in which Youth's mother struggles to get him to accompany her to church and ends up slapping him when he embarrasses her in front of others. Youth ultimately moves to Amsterdam to become a musician because he feels that America constricts and inhibits his creativity. With its openness to sex and drugs, Amsterdam initially seems like paradise. After a while, however, Youth fears that living in paradise hinders his songwriting abilities. To the dismay of his new friends in Amsterdam, Youth moves on to Berlin, which initially feels like the opposite of paradise. Youth finds Berlin's chaotic environment—filled with May Day riots and the screams of bold revolutionaries—disconcerting and disorienting until he is taken in by Nowhaus. After a rift with one of the members, Youth finds himself all alone on Christmas. Although he waits for a call from Mother on that day, her call never comes. The audience soon learns that Mother has died while Youth is in Berlin. In a climactic moment, it is revealed that Youth and Narrator represent the same person at different points in their life. Narrator deeply regrets the decisions he makes as Youth, but Youth explains that mistakes in the past cannot be changed; they can only be accepted, moved on from, and corrected or healed by art.

Before life becomes art, *Passing Strange* suggests that it exists as something fundamentally less. For most of *Passing Strange*, Youth is so concerned with the cliché of "trying to find himself" and his quest to become an artist that the life he lives lacks the interconnectivity essential for turning it into art. He places little value on his relationships with others; his relationships with and connections to others seem expendable. Thus, Youth tends to overlook people who should have a more important role in his life. Specifically, he fails to make a decent effort to connect with his mother. When she calls him while he is in Berlin and begs him to come home, he is exasperated by her attentions. "God, if I could focus on my art like you focus on me, I'd be Picasso by now," Youth complains. "Besides, what's waiting for me in L.A., mom?"[6] Youth fails to see that she is waiting for him in Los Angeles. In a personal interview, Stew contended that his own life parallels Youth's. Stew described his own experience:

> What I've realized more than anything is that my family actually, the very thing I thought I was escaping . . . is largely responsible for my confidence as an artist. My belief in myself that comes from my family believing in me and allowing me to do things, you know: to be in bands, to make art, . . . to go to Europe. I did not know at the time that . . . [the] same entity that I was running from was actually the thing responsible for making me.[7]

Youth is in the same situation; the person from whom he flees is ultimately the one who made him the way he is. Though Youth continually rebukes Mother for her constant attention and affection, she always has his best interests in mind. After years of caring for him and helping him become the person he is, Mother begs him to come back and show that he cares about her, but he refuses. Youth thinks that other things can make up for the missing connectivity between himself and his mother. In reality, *Passing Strange* suggests, they cannot.

The lack of interconnectedness leads to Youth's self-centeredness. Someone who does not connect with others, after all, tends to only think about oneself and one's own needs. In contrast, interconnectedness builds selflessness and empathy. Youth cannot truly build real and lasting connections with those in his life, including his lover Marianna in Amsterdam, portrayed by de'Adre Aziza. Marianna rapidly grows close to Youth, allowing him to stay in her flat even though they have just met each other. At first, Youth is ecstatic when Marianna gives him the keys to her flat. Narrator sings in "Keys": "I guess no one ever made him feel as real as when she mended him by lending him her keys."[8] As soon as Youth struggles with his songwriting, however, he convinces himself that "paradise is a bore."[9] The play, however, indicates that Youth struggles with creating art because he has not yet learned how to live life as art. He announces his plans to move to Berlin and pursue his music career there. Marianna then dejectedly sings, "Why you wanna leave? Right when it was starting to feel real."[10] Youth is concerned with his own desires and goals rather than those of the people around him. Essentially, Youth uses people as means to his own end. Stew's writing proposes that individuals whose lives are not art place so little value on connections to others that they lack empathy and consideration.

Before one acknowledges and embraces interconnectedness, one's life will lack the feelings of love and worthiness human connection can bring. When Narrator finally confronts Youth near the end of *Passing Strange*, following Mother's death, he sings:

"You see, song is a balm, but song cannot heal, you believed in it too long. Now I need something more; I need something more than real."[11] Narrator elaborates on this in the show's closing song, singing that love—specifically, a mother's love—is "more than real."[12] No matter where Youth looks for the "real," whether it be in Los Angeles, Amsterdam, or Berlin, his life does not become art until he realizes that he is actually looking for the love that comes from intimate, deep connections with others.

Two people in a relationship create art when they both freely establish and acknowledge the importance of human connection. Someone can try to build a relationship with another person, but if that person does not reciprocate the effort, no solid, strong relationship can form. Many scenes in *Passing Strange* explore this idea. Youth hurts numerous people, including his mother, before his life becomes art. When Youth becomes physically and emotionally distant by moving to Europe, his mother pleads with him in "Mom Song," asking him to "make room for me" in "your new world's strange design," just "as I made room for you in mine."[13] Shortly before "Mom Song," Narrator plaintively sings, his gaze directed at Mother, "It's breaking your heart."[14] Youth's mother tries to build a relationship with her son by "leaving room" for him, but her heart is broken when Youth does not provide a place for her in his life. No amount of will and desire can enable a deep-rooted relationship if both people are not willing to work for it.

Passing Strange argues that one must realize humans are social beings in order to make life into art. "We like to think of ourselves as relatively immune to sway [*sic*] of those around us while we each pursue our personal destiny," distinguished social psychologist Matthew Lieberman observed in a 2013 interview with *Scientific American*, "but I think this is a story we like to tell ourselves rather than what really happens."[15] Humans are inherently interconnected; we are social creatures at our core. Lieberman's ideas are supported by research that demonstrates we are greatly shaped by our social situations and connections.[16] In fact, the size of a species' brain is telling of its socialization capabilities. Humans, with relatively large brains compared to other species, are more inclined to be social, according to research performed by British anthropologist Robin Dunbar. In a 2013 article published by *The Atlantic*, author Emily Esfahani Smith writes: "Dunbar has found that the strongest predictor of a species' brain size—specifically, the size of its neocortex, the outermost layer—is the size of its social group. We have big brains in order to socialize."[17] The extent to which a person is willing to connect with others might also be influenced by their geography; some cultures are more individualistic than others. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines individualism as "the habit of being independent and self-reliant; behavior characterized by the pursuit of one's own goals without reference to others; free and independent individual action or thought."[18] Central ideals of individualism are self-reliance and autonomy, which do not always foster an environment that supports interconnectedness. Communalism, on the other hand, is "the organization of society at the level of the community rather than the individual."[19] Communalist cultures tend to focus more on the needs of the group and the value of working together, creating a more optimal environment for interconnectedness. "Art doesn't work without a community," Stew astutely asserts in a personal interview.[20] This difference plays a significant role in determining a person's willingness to socialize and collaborate with others.

Youth's journey in *Passing Strange* implies that *intra*connectedness, the formation of a strong relationship with oneself, is as necessary as interconnectedness.[21] Being yourself

is another prerequisite for making life art. This is the lesson Mr. Franklin, the youth choir director portrayed by Colman Domingo, tries to teach the teenage Youth in Los Angeles: "Yes, there's a place in this world . . . for whatever . . . and whoever you are."[22] In Amsterdam, Youth writes a hopeful and enthusiastic letter to Mr. Franklin, explaining that he has learned "how to wear my body": "Today I learned that even if it's ugly, man, you got to wear it like a gown."[23] It may seem that Youth learns in this situation that he must not be ashamed of who he is or lie about himself. In Berlin, however, we see a very different side of Youth when he claims he has suffered under "police occupation in the ghetto" back in Los Angeles just so the members of Nowhaus will welcome him into their revolutionary fold.[24] He goes so far as to call Los Angeles "hell on earth" even though he lived in a safe, quiet neighborhood in what Narrator describes in the opening scene as a "big two-story black middle-class dream with all the mod cons, the manicured lawns, some savings bonds, a Boy and his Mom."[25] Theater artist and scholar Brandon Woolf examines this aspect of the musical in "Negotiating the 'Negro Problem': Stew's *Passing* (Made) *Strange*." He argues, "As a means of gaining entrance, Youth feels compelled to enact…a stereotypically African American persona."[26] Youth lies about who he really is in order to fit in; this is harmful because he suppresses his true thoughts, emotions, experiences, and values. He fails to connect with himself. Rather than letting his true self shine brightly, Youth lies, harming himself in the process.

Because of his earlier actions in Los Angeles, Youth can be considered deceptive on an even deeper level when he builds his façade and "passes" as a "ghetto warrior" in Berlin. When he joined the youth choir at his church back home, Youth met Edwina, a "teenage goddess."[27] After hearing that Youth is going to join the choir, she tells him her plan for their future together. Youth agreed with everything she told him that he would need to do to form a relationship with her until she told him to "blacken up a bit."[28] When he heard this statement, Youth seemed to lose interest in Edwina, and he moved on. In Berlin, however, he hides his true identity by assuming a stereotypical "Black" identity, passing as someone who has lived in poverty and experienced police oppression. *Passing Strange* shows Youth alternating between identities and lacking any internal connection with who he really is. Without an internal connection, a true and complete personal identity can never be formed. Incomplete identities or even counterfeit identities (as seen in Youth's case) can be created with ease, but it takes focus, determination, and willingness to create a genuine and complete identity—just as it does to create a truly original work of art.

Before truly connecting with oneself, a person lives only on a superficial level, molding and adapting a personality that fits a particular setting or society generally. One might see some benefits in trying to fit in with the crowd, but the main negativity outweighs any of these benefits. Even though some criticize individualistic cultures, the personal intraconnectedness that results is a positive function. When a person thinks about one's own needs, desires, ideas, and identities and works to achieve them while still considering others, one can build a stronger connection with oneself. Youth's desire to become an artist indicates that striving for personal success can be the gateway for a strong connection with oneself.

Youth and Narrator demonstrate that understanding how to connect with oneself and attempting to make this connection are fundamental for turning life into art. There are many methods for formulating a deeper connection with oneself, but one significant way

is to understand and connect with one's values. In the book *Motivate Yourself: Get the Life You Want, Find Purpose and Achieve Fulfilment*, author Andro Donovan asserts that connecting with one's core values and acting on them in daily life is the best way for one to feel satisfied with their life.[29] "Knowing your values and acting in accordance with them," he emphasizes, "provides focus and direction in the choices you make, the roles you take on, the jobs you choose and the way you use your leisure time."[30] By knowing which specific values and ideals one holds, a person is able to obtain this connection with oneself, which provides a capacity for decision-making that will continually bring satisfaction. In regard to Youth, many fail to see beyond the rash, impulsive young adult that he appears to be. However, in a personal interview, Stew noted that Youth actually does have values: those who study the film "don't talk about that fact that Youth actually does have a values system; he has things that he thinks are important. It's not random at all."[31] If Youth connected to his values, he would not have to compromise himself or "pass" as someone he is not in Berlin. Youth doubts he will be accepted for who he really is, which is why he lies about himself to the Nowhaus family and even closes himself off from Desi, the founder of Nowhaus. Desi, portrayed by Rebecca Naomi Jones, is the one character in *Passing Strange* whose life is already a work of art.

Youth meets Desi when she "saves" him from the May Day riot taking place on the day he arrives in Berlin. Right after they meet each other, Desi explains what Nowhaus is and details the kind of art she creates: "I don't write, or paint, or sculpt, you see. My masterpiece is this family."[32] Desi understands the value and importance of human interconnectedness, and her words establish a parallel between her and Mother. The family Desi builds is her life's art. As Desi and Youth's relationship grows, they become very close. In one of their deep, intimate conversations about life and art, Desi exclaims: "Art heals, man. When we are in the presence of art, we are taking the cure. And that's revolutionary. I don't know how we'd manage without it."[33] Desi understands the fact that being around others who have already turned their lives into art can be a literal cure—a spring from which a healthier and more fulfilling life can flow. A wealth of research supports this idea, as described in a 2015 research article titled "The Connection Prescription: Using the Power of Social Interactions and the Deep Desire for Connectedness to Empower Health and Wellness." The researchers argue that feelings of connectedness can "help people maintain a healthy body mass index, control blood sugars, improve cancer survival, decrease cardiovascular mortality, decrease depressive symptoms, mitigate post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms, and improve overall mental health."[34] Once someone turns one's life into a work of art, one's health can be positively impacted in a variety of ways.

Not only can Desi's "cure" be the art of establishing and maintaining social connections with others, but it can also be the art of one's own life. When one has a deep intraconnectedness, one is able to provide oneself with self-love and compassion. These important qualities have many health benefits. Without self-love, one looks negatively upon oneself. This leads to low self-esteem, something that can have detrimental effects on a person's health. Positive self-regard and self-care enable one to see oneself as a valuable and worthy person. All things considered, when we are in the presence of art—when we are fully engaged in not only social connections but also self-connections—we are a cure to the afflictions wrought by a "system" that Desi argues "wants us sick and unsatisfied."[35] We are, in fact, the cure to our own afflictions.

Throughout most of *Passing Strange*, Youth struggles unsuccessfully to "take the cure" that will help him transform his life into art. Despite Desi's attempts to form a relationship with Youth, she does not achieve her goal. Eventually, Desi is the one who realizes that Youth's backstory of growing up in a "ghetto" is a façade. She then implores him to show her who he really is: "Let me know the geography of your hell."[36] Desi is willing to learn the truth about who Youth is, no matter how painful or complicated it may be. When he ignores her, incapable of opening up to her, she leaves him. Her parting words echo what Marianna sang earlier when Youth left Amsterdam: "Right when it was starting to feel real."[37] Alisa Roost explores this aspect of *Passing Strange* in "'Remove Your Mask': Character Psychology in Introspective Musical Theatre":

> Youth will not allow anyone to truly see him and doesn't attempt to truly understand others. He cannot accept his mother's love because she doesn't understand him. This lack of understanding, however, seems to result from Youth's shutting his mother out and refusing to communicate or recognize their shared truth. His belief that his mother "never had a dream" prevents him from truly knowing her or confiding in her, a pattern that continues with his girlfriends.[38]

Youth is still unable to turn his life into art because he does not want to reveal his true self to anyone, even though Desi has fully opened herself up to him.

Youth's difficulties in becoming a songwriter suggest that in addition to conveying healthful benefits, turning one's life into a work of art can aid one's career, even if one does not choose a career path in the traditional arts. Making connections with coworkers in the workplace, for instance, can be extremely beneficial. Once someone's life is a work of art, that person realizes the importance of these connections, which can help boost productivity and efficiency, build camaraderie, and create an overall positive environment. A 2018 study published in the *Behavioral Sciences* journal shows that employees' relationships proved vital to their well-being.[39] The researchers distributed a questionnaire survey to 303 nurses in Vietnam, asking them to, for example, rate their relationship with their manager or coworkers. The results "demonstrated the positive effects of high-quality workplace relationships on working manners including higher commitment, lower level of reported job stress, and increased perception of social impact."[40] Spike Lee's film version of a live performance of *Passing Strange* offers an intriguing real-life example of this in the form of playwright, singer, songwriter, and performer Stew's on-stage interactions with his collaborator Heidi Rodewald and all members of their band as well as the play's cast of actors in the critically acclaimed, successful, and impactful musical.[41]

The words "interconnectedness" and "intraconnectedness" differ only in their prefixes; in fact, the two terms are intimately related. *Passing Strange* illuminates the necessity of striking a balance between interconnectedness and intraconnectedness. Instead of one overpowering the other, or one or both being completely absent, a life as art maintains an equilibrium between connections with others and a connection with oneself. In a personal interview, Stew suggested that turning life into art consists of "putting a frame" around something: "To me, when you put a frame around something, that says: 'look at this.' Look at it, think about it . . .. You can put a frame around anything."[42] By placing a frame around one's own life, one places emphasis on the importance of interconnectedness, intraconnectedness, and the balance between the two. Youth distances himself from others and from himself throughout most of the play. Lost in conversation with Desi in Berlin, however, Youth begins to see the value of intraconnectedness and declares: "It's about commitment to your own vision and having the courage to bleed for it."[43] Unfortunately, though, Youth once again becomes too self-centered. As if he has just had the ultimate revelation, he brazenly proclaims: "The super revolutionary artist must be prepared to trample all in his path to reach the final aesthetic conquest: the whole fucking world as my own multimedia spectacle."[44] Being committed to one's own vision does not give the right to "trample" on or take advantage of others to achieve that vision. If Youth were fully connected to himself, he would be able to make choices that do not compromise who he is but which also allow him to establish and maintain deep relationships with others. His mistakes reveal why the balance between interconnectedness and intraconnectedness is crucial for life to become art. He shows how "placing a frame" around life, which calls attention to this essential balance, enables this transformation.

Fortunately for Youth, as well as for viewers of *Passing Strange*, his life before becoming art is almost as crucial as life after becoming art: it is a fundamental tool for learning. No one can deny past decisions or erase past mistakes; rather, one must look at the missteps and learn from them. Much like a person must value and support deep relationships with others and oneself, a person also needs to establish and maintain a connection with one's past—good or bad. Near the end of *Passing Strange*, after it is revealed that Mother has passed away, Narrator confronts Youth, who speaks about the power of art at her funeral. Narrator bleakly and painfully sings, "'Cause your song was just passing for love like my song was just passing for love . . . and we will never see her again."[45] Narrator rebukes himself while rebuking Youth, the younger version of himself, for his past decisions and how they must have affected Mother. Narrator sings in "Work the Wound," "I've got a lot to explain, to myself, not to you, like who lost track of her pain while working their wound?"[46]

Youth, though upset and shocked by this sudden collision between himself and his future, responds to Narrator's painful insistence that "we will never see her again": "Hey, you're right. You cannot bring her back. But why lose faith in the only thing that can? I will see her again, because life is a mistake that only art can correct."[47] "Cue music," Youth says, as he constructs a beautiful scene for Narrator and the audience. Youth conjures Mother in an "outrageous gown," which connects with two earlier scenes: when Mother fantasized that "if I had the nerve, one day I'd show up" at church "in an outrageous gown" and when Youth writes to Mr. Franklin that he learned in Amsterdam "how to wear my body . . . like a gown."[48] Standing on a chair under a spotlight, Mother asks Youth what he wants her to say. Youth replies, "Tell him it's all right."[49] Youth wants Narrator to understand that although he cannot alter his life decisions, "it's all right," an assurance Mother echoes.[50] Youth learns from the past; he knows that he has made mistakes. He realizes that one cannot simply forget about the past, as the past is something from which he is able to learn, heal, and grow. He comes to realize the importance of connecting with others and himself, and his life becomes art.

By allowing Youth to conjure an artistic, healing vision of Mother in response to Narrator's judgment of him, perhaps Stew signifies that without the presence of self-love, one cannot form a healthy connection to oneself. Self-love is the idea of showing

compassion, kindness, and care towards oneself despite the negative actions or decisions one may have made in the past. Dr. Saliha Afridi, a clinical psychologist in the United Arab Emirates, writes, "To love oneself means you take personal responsibility for yourself, and give yourself what you need. You see your own self-worth, you don't betray yourself, you see your own goodness, and you accept yourself as you are."[51] This brief, partial list of what it might mean to love oneself builds on psychologist Abraham Maslow's decision to include esteem in his pyramidal hierarchy of needs, as presented in his influential 1943 *Psychological Review* paper. Various needs, including physical and psychological needs, occupy five different levels on this pyramid. Before one can fulfill higher needs, one must meet all the needs in the levels below. At the top of the pyramid lies "self-actualization": reaching one's creative possibility and life potential.[52] In more modern research, a proposed updated version of the hierarchy still includes esteem on the fourth of seven levels.[53] Including self-esteem on both the conventional and the modernized hierarchy of needs demonstrates the eternal need for self-love. Indeed, the COVID-19 pandemic has brought renewed attention to the importance of self-compassion. As noted in "The Coronavirus (COVID-19) Pandemic's Impact on Mental Health," a 2020 article published in the *International Journal of Health Planning and Management*, the pandemic is "not just a medical phenomenon; it affects individuals and society and causes disruption, anxiety, stress, stigma, and xenophobia."[54] Having self-love—being able to understand and accept that you possess negative emotions but caring for yourself anyway—can help alleviate these negative effects.

One can safely assume that Youth does not feel much love or compassion for himself when he doubts his past decisions. Once he learns to accept the past, however, he moves into a position in which he can easily exercise self-compassion. Beginning to love yourself for who you are opens the door to forming a connection with yourself. This is the inspired beauty of Narrator's confrontation with his younger self toward the end of *Passing Strange*. Once Youth exits the stage, only Narrator is left. Although Narrator has also learned that he cannot doubt his past decisions, his realization that "a mother's love is more than real" is followed by this mournful lyric: "Too bad it takes so long to see what you've been missing."[55] The sooner one realizes what's missing, the sooner one can achieve interconnectedness and intraconnectedness and transform one's life into a work of art.

Just as mistakes in life can be considered lessons, Youth's vision of his mother in the play's closing scene suggests that traditional art forms can provide guidance as we struggle to transform our lives into art. In his analysis of *Passing Strange*, musical theater director Scott Miller affirms that Youth "is reborn into a life as an artist by the end of the story and he has learned about himself." The final lesson Narrator needs to learn is that "though art doesn't solve all our problems, doesn't erase our sins, doesn't legitimize our choices, it does offer us wisdom and insight, and maybe that's enough."[56] Art offers us lessons about life and helps us sort things out in ways that other disciplines alone might not always be able to. Teaching us about love, life, and art, *Passing Strange* itself is the lesson. The songs and music at the heart of Stew and Heidi Rodewald's rock musical can give a person valuable insight into certain emotions. Yet emotions conjured by music and song cannot supplant emotions conjured by real people. Youth's problem with using music to express emotions is that he takes it too literally—his "song was just passing for love," as Narrator states.[57] He never shows real love to those around him, but by the time he determines that his form of art is unable to replace genuine love, it is too late—at least in his relationship with his mother.

The underlying message of *Passing Strange* is that anyone can make one's life into a work of art, and that it is never too late to try. As Stew asserted in a 2013 lecture and performance on the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh campus, "Creativity is not the exclusive realm of the artist."[58] No matter how disconnected one might have been from others or from oneself, one can turn one's life into a work of art. No two relationships are the same; thus, this art of life brought about by connectivity is unique to everyone who makes it. This is part of the beauty and the significance of this art form. Relationships exist between parents and children, between romantic partners, between friends, and between any number of different types of people. It is possible for any one of these people to turn their life into art, regardless of their age, gender, sexuality, race, or any other sociodemographic label. As every human is unique, every person's relationship with oneself is unique. No two people will ever have the exact same feelings or ideas, so one's relationship with oneself will always be exclusive while constantly being reshaped by history, environment, art, culture, and others.

Unfortunately, the audience is unable to get much of a glimpse into Youth's life after it becomes art. However, when we learn that Narrator is an older version of Youth, we see the person—and the art—he becomes. *Passing Strange* is, in a sense, the art he creates. One key message, then, is that the work does not stop after one's life becomes art. Maintaining life as art is a continual process involving the constant recognition of the importance of both interconnectedness and intraconnectedness. This task will take time, focus, and determination, but it is a goal everyone should put their best effort into achieving. American literary critic Helen Vendler correctly suggests that traditional art forms such as poems, paintings, and musicals can "Help Us to Live" a fuller, more complete life. Her argument takes on even greater significance when the relationships one has with others and with oneself are defined as art. Our connections with others and with ourselves should be approached with the same reverence and openness we bring to a theater or to a museum. Realizing the value and importance of interconnectedness and intraconnectedness will enable us—as it enables Youth in *Passing Strange*—to grow as human beings. Indeed, we can become masterpieces.

Acknowledgments

Thank you to my spring 2021 Honors 275Q: Culture Connection classmates for providing me with invaluable feedback and ideas. Thank you to Cameron Trichell, a classmate in my Honors 275Q class, for introducing me to the concept of intraconnectedness and urging me to include it in my essay. Thank you to Dr. Don Dingledine for your encouraging words, unfading support, and helpful advice that gave me the confidence to pursue this project. Thank you to the *Oshkosh Scholar*'s anonymous faculty reviewers for your insightful comments and suggestions that helped me strengthen my argument. Thank you to *Oshkosh Scholar*'s faculty editor Dr. Robert Wagoner and student editor Quill Graham for your instructive ideas, suggestions, and guidance that helped me fine-tune my essay. Thank you to Stew for your willingness to meet with me via Zoom and thoughtfully answer my questions. Finally, thank you to my parents Mike and Lisa, and my sister Christina, for always being willing to perform a quick proofread and reminding me that I can always rely on them in times of need.

Notes

1. Helen Vendler, "The Ocean, the Bird, and the Scholar: How the Arts Help Us to Live," in *The Ocean, the Bird, and the Scholar: Essays on Poets and Poetry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2015), 26.
2. *Passing Strange*, directed by Spike Lee, book and lyrics by Stew, music by Stew and Heidi Rodewald (2009; New York: IFC Films), digital,1:16:10-1:17:09; All references to *Passing Strange* with timestamps are to Spike Lee's film version.
3. "Preview the Rock Musical," Great Performances, *Public Broadcasting Service*, December 22, 2009, https://www.pbs.org/wnet/gperf/passing-strange-preview-the-rock-musical/903/.
4. Jeff Lunden,"'Passing Strange' a Real Rock Musical," February 28, 2008, in *All Things Considered*, produced by National Public Radio, podcast, https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=87767899.
5. Stew, Zoom interview with the author, October 28, 2021.
6. *Passing Strange*, 2:04:03-2:04:07.
7. Stew, Zoom interview with the author, October 28, 2021.
8. *Passing Strange*, 54:43-54:55.
9. *Passing Strange*, 1:04:02-1:04:05.
10. *Passing Strange*, 1:05:44-1:05:51.
11. *Passing Strange*, 1:59:44-1:59:57.
12. *Passing Strange*, 2:04:03-2:04:07.
13. *Passing Strange*, 37:47-38:04.
14. *Passing Strange*, 37:19-37:23.
15. Gareth Cook, "Why We Are Wired to Connect," Mind, *Scientific American*, October 22, 2013, www.scientificamerican.com/article/why-we-are-wired-to-connect.
16. Cook.
17. Emily Esfahani Smith, "Social Connection Makes a Better Brain," Health, *The Atlantic*, October 29, 2013, https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2013/10/social-connection-makes-a-better-brain/280934/.
18. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, *s.v.* "individualism," accessed June 2021, https://www-oed-com.www.remote.uwosh.edu/view/Entry/36282?redirectedFrom=individualism&.
19. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, *s.v.* "communalism," accessed June 2021, https://www-oed-com.www.remote.uwosh.edu/view/Entry/37288?redirectedFrom=communalism#eid.
20. Stew, Zoom interview with the author, October 28, 2021.
21. I am indebted to and appreciative of Cameron Trichell for this concept.
22. *Passing Strange*, 21:39-21:42.
23. *Passing Strange*, 1:02:12-1:02:22.
24. *Passing Strange*, 1:26:24-1:26:27.
25. *Passing Strange*, 1:27:50-1:27:52, 2:38-2:44.
26. Brandon Woolf, "Negotiating the 'Negro Problem': Stew's *Passing* (Made) *Strange*." *Theatre Journal* 62, no. 2 (2010): 204, doi:10.1353/tj.0.0363.
27. *Passing Strange*, 16:25-16:26.

28. *Passing Strange*, 18:04-18:07.
29. Andro Donovan, *Motivate Yourself: Get the Life You Want, Find Purpose and Achieve Fulfilment* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2016), 23.
30. Donovan, 23.
31. Stew, Zoom interview with the author, October 28, 2021.
32. *Passing Strange*, 1:12:27-1:12:33.
33. *Passing Strange*, 1:19:43-1:19:54.
34. Jessica Martino, Jennifer Pegg, and Elizabeth Pegg Frates, "The Connection Prescription: Using the Power of Social Interactions and the Deep Desire for Connectedness to Empower Health and Wellness," *American Journal of Lifestyle Medicine* 11, no. 6 (2015): 466, doi:10.1177/1559827615608788.
35. *Passing Strange*, 1:19:19-1:19:23.
36. *Passing Strange*, 1:37:42-1:37:45.
37. *Passing Strange*, 1:39:59-1:40:03.
38. Alisa Roost, "'Remove Your Mask': Character Psychology in Introspective Musical Theatre," *Modern Drama* 57, no. 2 (2014): 244, doi:10.3138/md.0603.
39. Khoa T. Tran, Phuong V. Nguyen, Thao T.U. Dang, and Tran N.B. Ton, "The Impacts of the High-Quality Workplace Relationships on Job Performance: A Perspective on Staff Nurses in Vietnam," *Behavioral Sciences* (Basel, Switzerland) 8, no. 12 (2018): 109, doi:10.3390/bs8120109.
40. Tran et al., 109.
41. *Passing Strange* met critical success in its runs both on and off Broadway. In addition to winning the 2008 Obie Award for Best New American Musical Theater Piece, it won the Drama Desk Award and the New York Drama Critics' Circle Award for Best Musical the same year. Nominated for seven Tony Awards in 2008, it won for Best Book of a Musical, an award given for a musical's exemplary dialogue and storyline.
42. Stew, Zoom interview with the author, October 28, 2021.
43. *Passing Strange*, 1:23:54-1:23:59.
44. *Passing Strange*, 1:24:04-1:24:16.
45. *Passing Strange*, 2:00:12-2:00:36.
46. *Passing Strange*, 1:50:54-1:51:05.
47. *Passing Strange*, 2:00:51-2:00:58.
48. *Passing Strange*, 2:01:25, 15:41-15:46, 1:02:12-1:02:22.
49. *Passing Strange*, 2:01:50-2:01:51.
50. *Passing Strange*, 2:02:23-2:02:27.
51. Saliha Afridi, "The Importance of Self-Love and Re-Establishing a Relationship with Yourself," *Mid-East.Info* online, February 17, 2021, https://mid-east.info/the-importance-of-self-love-and-re-establishing-a-relationship-with-yourself/.
52. Douglas T. Kenrick, Vladas Griskevicius, Steven L. Neuberg, and Mark Schaller, "Renovating the Pyramid of Needs: Contemporary Extensions Built Upon Ancient Foundations," Author Manuscript, *HHS Public Access* (2010): 3, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3161123/.
53. Kenrick et al., 1.

54. Bilal Javed, Abdullah Sarwer, Erik B. Soto, and Zia-ur-Rehman Mashwani, "The Coronavirus (COVID-19) Pandemic's Impact on Mental Health," *International Journal of Health Planning and Management* (2020): 1, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7361582/#hpm3008-bib-0006.
55. *Passing Strange*, 2:04:26-2:04:31.
56. Scott Miller, "Inside *Passing Strange*," in *Idiots, Heathers, and Squips: The New Golden Age of the Musical Theatre* (Independently published, February 9, 2020), http://www.newlinetheatre.com/strangechapter.html.
57. *Passing Strange*, 2:00:12-2:00:36.
58. Miles Maguire, *Advanced Reporting: Essential Skills for 21st Century Journalism* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 144; Stew's first talk, titled "How to Get to Broadway by Accident: Stew Talks About *Passing Strange*, Rock n' Roll vs. Musical Theater, and the Pleasures of Personal Chronology," was on November 9, 2011. His second talk, titled "Art: Luxury or Necessity?", was on October 17, 2013. In the October 2013 publication of *The Scene*, author Julie Russo asserts that "Stew credits Oshkosh with reinforcing his commitment to connecting those from diverse disciplines, sensibilities, and career paths with the arts." Because of his work and his profound impact on the UW Oshkosh community, Stew was awarded an Honorary Doctorate in Humane Letters from UW Oshkosh in 2014. While on campus, Stew also visited with students in African American Literature and Culture Connection classes as well as with the Philosophy Club and the Music department.

"The Enormity of My Desire Disgusts Me": The Male Gaze and Queer Monstrousness in *The Lighthouse*

Adrian Hanrahan, author
Dr. Caryn Murphy, Radio TV Film, faculty mentor

Adrian Hanrahan is an English major in his final year of study at UW Oshkosh. He is pursuing the liberal arts emphasis of the English degree, with hopes of attending graduate school to become a professor of English literature. He is also working toward minors in Spanish and social justice and certificates in LGBTQ studies and global scholarship. When he isn't writing, he enjoys hiking, bothering his cat, and seeing films.

Dr. Caryn Murphy is a professor in the department of Radio TV Film where she teaches courses in film and television history and criticism. Her research on the politics of race and gender in media representations has appeared in *Media History*, the *Journal of Popular Culture*, the *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television*, and many edited volumes. She is a past recipient of the Edward M. Penson Distinguished Teaching Award.

Abstract

Much scholarship within the fields of gender studies and film studies concerns the male gaze, feminist scholar Laura Mulvey's theory of the imposition of heterosexual male fantasies onto women in media. This paper contributes to that long-standing conversation by offering an analysis of the subversion of the male gaze in the 2019 horror film *The Lighthouse*, directed by Robert Eggers and distributed by A24. The supernatural elements in the film and their connection to the Gothic tradition of the queer monster are explored, as are the ways in which narcissism and scopophilia manifest within the film. Through its depiction of objectifying desire as a horrific and deluded state of mind as well as its homoerotic content that defies heteromasculine identification, Eggers's *The Lighthouse* strongly subverts the male gaze and is worth viewing and discussing through a feminist lens.

A common historical thread across all film genres has been the exploitation and objectification of women. Visually and narratively, women have long been positioned as subordinate to men, existing within film to titillate the senses and validate the emotions of the male characters and viewers alike. In the highly influential "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," feminist scholar Laura Mulvey named this convention the "male gaze." Male viewers are said to "project [their] phantasy on to the female figure which is styled accordingly," creating a cinematic culture in which women are defined by heteromasculine perception.[1] Men thus hold the "power of the gaze," the privilege of looking as voyeurs, turning women into unwilling exhibitionists. Although the male gaze is present in modern cinema, there are films that actively or incidentally subvert the dominant view of women as objects for male eyes. One such film is the A24 period

horror *The Lighthouse* (2019), American director Robert Eggers's sophomore feature about two lighthouse keepers who spiral into madness together. Ephraim Winslow (Robert Pattinson) and Thomas Wake (Willem Dafoe) ricochet between hatred, intimacy, occultism, sexual depravity, and psychosis as they cope with their isolation and grueling work. With the viewer positioned to identify primarily with Winslow, the portrayal of the three objects of his sexual desire subverts the traditional male gaze through supernatural elements and queerness to critique the dominant gender structures of horror cinema.

The Lighthouse is something of a bottle narrative. Winslow, a new lighthouse keeper, or "wickie," joins Wake in tending a lighthouse off the coast of New England in the 1890s. Becoming a wickie is simply the latest in a series of jobs for Winslow, who is desperate to escape his past. This new environment, however, proves to be a poor solution, as he quickly begins to tire of the island. Wake asks him to perform grueling and often dangerous tasks to maintain the lighthouse, the two have tense conversations whenever they sit down to eat together, and Winslow has upsetting hallucinations. Wake is superstitious and eccentric, taking pilgremesque trips up to the lantern room to admire the light and claiming that gulls are reincarnations of dead sailors. Winslow becomes intensely sexually frustrated and increasingly distressed by his isolation. His declining mental health culminates in him bashing a gull against a cistern, killing it—something that Wake has warned him is bad luck. Within hours, the weather takes a turn for the extreme, and the resulting storm means that Winslow is stuck on the island. He and Wake hole up in the lighthouse cabin for days, drinking, fighting, dancing, and, at one point, almost kissing. They simultaneously loathe and crave one another's presence. At long last, the storm passes. The men head outside, only to break into a fight over a financial issue. Winslow snaps and kills Wake, but not before Wake puts a curse on him. Due to this curse, Winslow is met with retribution when gulls eat his innards after he falls down the lighthouse steps. In the end, whatever force rules the lighthouse destroys both men.

Winslow's growing sexual frustration as a result of his isolation is one of the film's most prominent throughlines, and his fantasies surrounding a beautiful mermaid embody the male gaze. Initially, Winslow finds a carved figurine of a mermaid, which he pockets to use as a sort of pornography. Lacking any women to interact with, all he can do is masturbate to the minimalistic replica in his hand. The "woman" who holds Winslow's gaze here is a literal object. However, this changes when Winslow encounters a real mermaid washed up on the rocks. From afar, he believes that she is a regular human woman, and he runs over to help her. The camera remains in a wide shot far away from her body as Winslow runs to her. This technique builds suspense for the reveal of the woman's identity and allies the audience member, regardless of their gender, with Winslow and his male gaze. Reinforcing the emphasis on Winslow and his perception of the mermaid rather than on the woman herself, the camera cuts to a close-up shot of his confused and concerned expression as he reaches her side. When the audience finally glimpses the mermaid, they see only her unconscious face as Winslow pulls away lingering sea vegetation and caresses her jaw and cheek.

Figure 1. Mesmerized and unwell, Winslow fondles the mermaid's face while she is unconscious.

Source: *The Lighthouse*, directed by Robert Eggers (2019; Cannes: A24, 2019), DVD.

Figure 2. The mermaid comes alive.

Source: *The Lighthouse*.

Notably, the music all but cuts out at this moment, demonstrating Winslow's tunnel vision and encouraging viewers to focus on the mermaid's appearance. As Winslow pulls more vegetation off the unconscious woman, a piece snags on her breast; the camera lingers for a few moments before Winslow cups the breast with his hand. The camera shows Winslow's pinched face as he scrutinizes the mermaid's form. After a few moments, his eyes widen. He sits back, distancing himself from the body. The camera returns to the woman's torso and Winslow's hand, which is now shaking and traveling downward. Finally, after a full minute of believing that the figure is a human corpse, the shot reveals that the woman's lower body is covered in scales. Just as a terrified Winslow begins to back away, the woman awakens, a haunting grin on her face. The music returns in full force, the mermaid shrieks repeatedly, and Winslow runs away screaming.

Figure 3. Winslow reacts in terror to the mermaid interrupting his voyeurism.

Source: *The Lighthouse*.

The mermaid and her figurine exemplify, yet subvert, the objectifying male gaze. The woman is initially unconscious and seems to lack agency. She is defined by her appearance and movements. She is Winslow's fantasy, simply a more detailed version of the figurine he had been using as pornography. Winslow's obsession with the image of the mermaid can thus be understood through the lens of scopophilia. Mulvey defines scopophilia, a Freudian concept, as "pleasure in looking at another person as [an] object" and connects it to "obsessive voyeurs" who seek sexual control through such objectification.[2] Winslow certainly engages in scopophilia while looking at the mermaid, and he is terrified when she breaks his fantasy by opening her eyes and seeing him in return. Both being perceived by someone else and seeing the mermaid gain agency shatter the already thin division between Winslow's sexual frustration and his madness.

Depravity, instability, and the appearance of a frightening supernatural being annihilate any initial titillation he may have felt upon seeing the female form.

The mermaid's gaze serves to disrupt the audience's male gaze as well. Due to the audience's alliance with Winslow as a protagonist, a working man, and a character portrayed by beloved movie star Robert Pattinson, they project their own egos onto him. Mulvey calls this "narcissism": a piece of the male gaze that is not necessarily sexual, but which plays into fantasies of power and identification with a masculine ideal.[3] Thus, when Winslow's power and ego are challenged, so too are the power and ego of the viewer. Winslow's loss of voyeuristic privilege is a major threat to his, and thus the audience's, ego. All film viewers engage in voyeurism when in a theater. They fixate on figures who cannot see them—that is, characters on a screen—and are protected from the eyes of fellow audience members due to the theater's dim lighting.[4] Audiences, by nature, are in a position of perceiving, not being perceived. But the mermaid stares directly into the camera when she awakens, positioning the audience as Winslow and making them feel uncomfortably seen. This moment is especially boundary-pushing considering horror film conventions. Horror films have a long history of displaying and seemingly condoning misogynistic violence. Winslow's encounter with the mermaid mimics the "assaultive gazing" used in slasher films, wherein the photographer is effaced so that the viewer is immersed in the perspective of the film's killer as he enacts sadism upon young women.[5] Critics denounce the disturbing tendency of slasher films to encourage the presumed heterosexual, cisgender, adolescent boy to imagine himself as a torturer and murderer of women, especially given that the marketing often fetishizes images of women in peril.[6]

It follows, then, that a film concerned with reclaiming the filmic gaze for women and pushing back against misogynistic tropes would place any beastly or violent power in the hands of the woman herself. *The Lighthouse* certainly does so. Winslow is mortal. He holds no supernatural powers. He can do little to resist anything the mermaid has in store for him, and as she shrieks in his face, seemingly ready to make him her victim, he is only able to stumble backward. The helpless look on Winslow's face reflects the "cowering . . . [a]bject terror" typically reserved for women in horror films.[7] In the same way that voyeurism is torn from Winslow and the male viewer, the ability to harm another being is given to the mermaid. The male viewer is denied the slasher fantasy of molesting or killing the female figure, instead being exposed through Winslow as a helpless pervert. The mermaid reclaims both the power of the gaze and the power to harm from Winslow and the audience that identifies with him, reversing the patriarchal power dynamic typically enforced by the filmic male gaze.

The male gaze is further subverted through the second object of Winslow's desire: his fellow wickie, Thomas Wake. Wake is sexualized in the film, yet this sexualization radically contrasts with that of the mermaid. Unlike the mermaid, he is a character who speaks frequently and has a real connection with Winslow—in other words, one who is capable of returning Winslow's desire. In "Deconstructing the Male Gaze," women's studies scholar Miranda Sherwin finds that "the male protagonists [of femme fatale films] do not act as true erotic object choices for the female protagonists," which "protect[s] the male spectator from homosexual identification."[8] Similarly, the mermaid does not seem to return Winslow's desire, so the heterosexual male gaze remains intact. Then, Winslow and Wake's perceptions of one another disrupt that gaze in favor of an actively

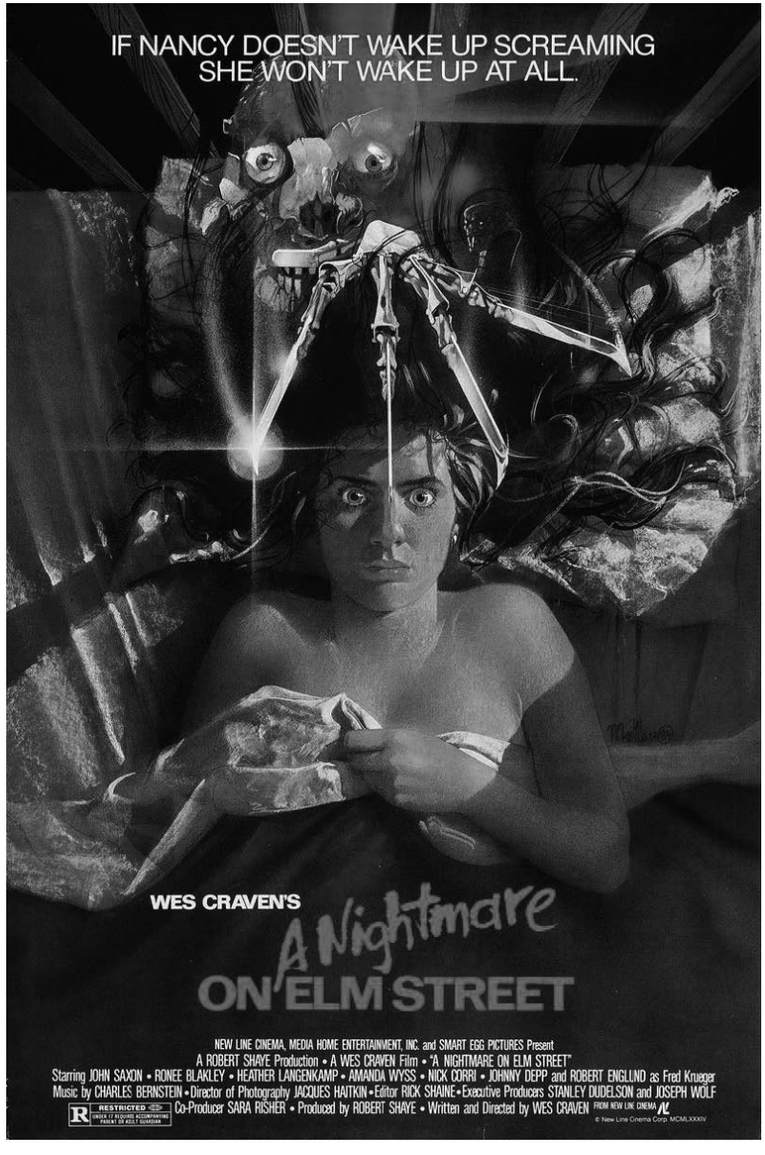

Figure 4. Theatrical poster for *A Nightmare on Elm Street* (1984). Nancy, a teenage girl, is depicted as helpless and terrified beneath the claws of the killer Freddy Krueger. Note that Nancy is nude in this image, linking the naked feminine body to victimization.

Source: Matthew Joseph Peak, 1984, https://assets.mubicdn.net/images/notebook/post_images/19439/images-w1400.jpg?1441386738.

homoerotic one. Wake is eroticized in the film, and his sexual frustration couples with his instability just as Winslow's does. Mesmerized by the lighthouse, he masturbates in the lantern room when he thinks that Winslow is away, his eyes glazed over in what appears to be a trance. Less disturbing but still ill-fated is his attraction to Winslow, whom he repeatedly compares to a woman and, at one point, attempts to kiss. Winslow rejects this kiss and drunkenly fights Wake, yet it does not seem that Wake's attraction is completely unreciprocated. Winslow slow dances with Wake and imagines him during masturbation at times, struggling to reconcile Wake's role as a disgusting and controlling boss with his role as the most intimate connection that Winslow currently has. His isolation from the world due to his geographical situation and the fact that he is running from his past means that he cannot connect deeply with others, choosing instead to fantasize about an object, as in the case of the mermaid figurine. When he becomes physically and emotionally close to Wake, he is conflicted and terrified. The loss of control that Wake symbolizes for Winslow challenges his masculine ego, and his very existence as the homoerotic object of the protagonist's desire challenges the audience's instinct to identify with a heteromasculine perspective. Although Wake is sexualized, his sexualization is part of the decidedly human bond between himself and Winslow, contrasting with the detached fetishism of Winslow's attraction to the mermaid to bring forth something much more intimate and terrifying.

Although the bond between Wake and Winslow is human, supernatural elements and the concept of the queer monster play a major role in their love story and the film's subversion of the heterosexual male gaze. The alliance of queer sexuality with monsters dates back to the Gothic period of English literature, and queer themes have been prevalent in horror fiction since its inception.[9] Film scholar Harry Benshoff's seminal work on the queer monster, *Monsters in the Closet*, reveals the trope's roots in homophobic and queerphobic presuppositions of homosexuality as a threat to society and its mores and its potential as a "pleasurable power-wish fulfillment fantasy for some queer viewers."[10] Regardless of intent, the connection between queerness and the supernatural is evident in *The Lighthouse*. Winslow's bisexual desire finds itself fixated on two monstrous people, one literal and one metaphorical. First, he lusts after the mermaid. Then, he lusts after Wake, whom he perceives as not fully human. For instance, in a dream about having sex with the mermaid, Winslow looks down to find that he is instead penetrating Wake, who in his nightmare-fantasy is covered in tentacles and coral, taking on the appearance of a sea god. The alliance between Wake and monstrousness encapsulates Winslow's conflicting feelings of fear, attraction, hatred, and love for the man while imbuing him with codes established by the queer Gothic tradition. However, Wake and Winslow's relationship also deviates from said codes. As mentioned, queer-coded villains and monsters in horror media have long served to position queerness as a threat. Perhaps the most well-known attribute of the queer monster is their seduction and coercion of the pure, wholesome, often inexperienced lead. Winslow, however, is no innocent virgin. He is lustful and even perverse before Wake attempts to kiss him, and the bulk of this perversity focuses on a heterosexual infatuation. Another trope linked to the queer monster as a seducer is the inevitable containment of said monster, who is merely a temporary but "thrilling deviation from mundane sexuality" that in the end must be "firmly replaced within [the] closet" to protect heterosexual normalcy.[11] *The Lighthouse* pushes back against this concept by refusing to give Winslow an escape from queerness.

Wake is buried in the end, but there is no sense of his or Winslow's replacement within the closet. Queerness still rules Winslow's thoughts in the form of his erotic obsession with the lighthouse, the film's true supernatural and romantic force.

Indeed, the lighthouse is the film's third erotic monster. Although Wake, Winslow's most obvious potential lover, has much in common with the "straight monster," the mermaid, he is more significantly mirrored by the lighthouse itself. Not only is Wake obsessed with the lighthouse, he also embodies it. One of Winslow's most telling hallucinations is a striking image of Wake, fully nude, standing plumb, light beaming from his eyes. Furthermore, in a promotional interview, Eggers states that Wake *is* the lighthouse and that the lighthouse "*is* a giant phallus" (emphasis in original).[12] Wake, the lighthouse, and the phallus—the epitome of cisgender manhood—are all tied together, and Winslow's desire for one cannot exist without his desire for the others. Thus, Winslow and Wake's obsession with the lighthouse takes on a homoerotic nature. The

Figure 5. Note Winslow's glazed eyes. Here, he meets his true lover for the first time and is seduced instantly.

Source: *The Lighthouse*.

beacon becomes the men's true object of desire. It is identifiably masculine, identifiably queer, yet it escapes the queerphobic tropes of the monster movie because it is an object in the literal sense, incapable of the predation and seduction ascribed to queer monsters. Considering the men's deep attraction to the lighthouse, it comes as no surprise that after killing Wake, Winslow steals the key to the lantern room and finally enters it, seeing the light up close for the first time.

Winslow's gratification from the lantern room is shown to be depraved and unstable. He laughs hysterically, eventually slipping and falling down the lighthouse steps. Winslow spurns his two false lovers (the mermaid and Wake), in favor of his true and perhaps queerest lover of all—the lighthouse—ultimately dying for his desire. In his

Figure 6. Winslow takes hysterical, depraved, and orgasmic delight in the lantern room.

Source: *The Lighthouse*.

love and lust for something beyond humanity, Winslow cements his and the film's gaze as non-normative and disruptive of the status quo.

The male gaze is employed heavily in *The Lighthouse*, particularly in its depiction of the mermaid; however, the manner of the male gaze in this film undercuts the convention's typical role as a tool to sate heterosexual male viewers' fantasies. The objectification of women is rendered as a depraved and ill-fated desire, and Winslow's deep attraction to Thomas Wake discomfits male viewers who expect to have their heterosexuality validated through film. Even the film's most basic symbol, the lighthouse, is allied with the phallus and homosexual desire, further complicating the film's relationship with the straight male gaze. Eggers's disruptive and often frightening take on the male gaze demonstrates the monstrous pull of human desire and the instability and deception lurking within sexual fantasies. Above all, identification with a heterosexual male ideal is thwarted within this text by its queer themes and refusal to display objectification as anything but monstrous. The reclaimed queer monster and its new foil, the straight monster, couple with the film's assertion of female agency to critique and revise the queerphobic and misogynistic conventions of the horror genre at large.

Notes

1. Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," in *Media and Cultural Studies: Keyworks*, eds. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas Kellner (New York: Blackwell, 2006), 346.
2. Mulvey, 344.
3. Mulvey, 346-347.
4. Mulvey, 345.

5. Carol J. Clover, *Men, Women, and Chain Saws* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 185.
6. Clover, 19.
7. Clover, 51.
8. Miranda Sherwin, "Deconstructing the Male Gaze: Masochism, Female Spectatorship, and the Femme Fatale in Fatal Attraction, Body of Evidence, and Basic Instinct," *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 35, no. 4 (2008): 177.
9. Harry Benshoff, "The Monster and the Homosexual," in *Queer Cinema: The Film Reader*, eds. Harry Benshoff and Sean Griffin (New York: Routledge, 2004), 69.
10. Harry Benshoff, *Monsters in the Closet: Homosexuality and the Horror Film* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), 1, 14.
11. Benshoff, *Monsters in the Closet*, 39-40.
12. Bilge Ebiri, "Shooting the Light Hypnotic," *New York Magazine*, September 9, 2019, 90.

Hawaiian Music Authenticity: Preservation and Representation

Margaret Grewal, author
Dr. Nathan Krueger, music, faculty mentor

Margaret Grewal is a recent graduate of UW Oshkosh, where she earned her degree in music education. Margaret has received multiple awards for her academic achievement, research, and vocal performance. She is the recipient of the Zenter Music Scholarship and the Michael and Kelly O'Brien Scholarship. In the fall of 2020, she placed second in the Wisconsin NATS Competition in the division of African American Spirituals. In March of 2020, Margaret received a summer research grant to pursue research on Hawaiian music authenticity. Her research work was presented at both the UW System Symposium and UW Oshkosh's Celebration of Scholarship and Creative Activity in April of 2021.

Dr. Nathan Krueger has appeared in concert and recital across North America, singing a wide variety of repertoire. He also collaborated and performed virtually at the Center for Computer Research in Music and Acoustics at Stanford University with composer Christopher Jette. Their collaboration "Push Onward" was a winner in the Coastal Futures Ecoacoustic Music Competition at the Coastal Futures Conservatory at the University of Virginia. In recent years, he has worked in collaboration with the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh Theatre Department's production of "Sweeney Todd," performing the title role. He made his Carnegie Hall debut in 2018 as featured soloist on the Vocal Colors program under the direction of Eric Barnum.

Abstract

This essay investigates Hawaiian music history, genres, and traditions to define "authentic" Hawaiian music with the goal of preservation and proper representation. The first section is a comprehensive outline of Hawaiian music history, including both ancient and modern forms of music. Many parts of Hawaiian music history have been influenced by continuous European and American colonization. The second section traces the musical history of the song "Aloha 'Oe." By tracing the song's evolution through time, it is easy to understand the many changes, modifications, and influences that shaped it since its initial creation in 1884. Together, the two sections highlight key aspects of authentic Hawaiian music, as well as the importance of preserving Hawaiian musical traditions and providing proper representation.

Aloha 'āina is translated into English as "love of the land." For the *Kānaka Maoli*, the native Hawaiian people, *aloha 'āina* is a central concept in Hawaiian culture and life. In 2019, the Mana Maoli Collective, a Hawaiian non-profit group, released a music video featuring forty Hawaiian artists and hundreds of children. Artists from all around the islands performed the song "Hawai'i '78," originally composed by Mickey Ioane and popularized by Bruddah Iz, a Hawaiian musician and activist. The video is emotionally

moving and displays the powerful and resilient love that Hawaiians have for their people and their land. Watching the video, it is easy to understand what is important in Hawaiian life. Each performer was recorded outdoors around the islands instead of in a recording studio. The natural beauty of the tropical islands is one of the focal points of the video and Hawaiian life in general. Additionally, it is noticeable how important community is to the Kānaka Maoli. People are gathered together in almost every shot, especially during the performances.[1]

Music is an aspect of a culture, like its religion or political system. Undeniably, this applies to the people of Hawai'i. Before the arrival of the first missionaries, Hawaiians used musical performances to converse with their ancestors, mourn their dead, and celebrate their land. They told stories of love, nature, volcanoes, gods, and creation. American missionaries discouraged those practices when they settled on the islands and forced locals to practice Christianity. Many Kānaka Maoli, however, still practice these traditions today, demonstrating Hawaiians' ability to preserve ancient music practices through time. They also practice ancient traditions by creating and performing new forms of music. Their resilience should be praised and authentically represented in media.

Hawaiian Music History

A common difficulty in studying indigenous music is the lack of written documentation due to the use of oral traditions; indigenous groups often rely on oral traditions to communicate their histories rather than written communication. Hawaiian culture is no exception. Hawai'i's longstanding musical tradition was orally passed down through generations, beginning when the islands were first inhabited around 400 C.E. The time between the Polynesian descent on the islands and the arrival of American missionaries in 1820 is commonly labeled "the ancient period." After the Hawaiian people were converted to Christianity in 1825, American missionaries discouraged the reproduction of ancient music. The words "modern" and "ancient" were first used in 1825 to describe Hawaiian music.

The introduction of Christian hymnals exposed the Hawaiian people to western music traditions. Hawaiian music transitioned from oral to written notation and the Kānaka Maoli started to compose music with western attributes. This point is where scholars distinsuigh the two periods, ancient and modern. The distinction between "ancient" and "modern" can refer to a song's composition date or its specific musical tradition. In the latter case, the term "ancient music" refers to music untouched by western influences, whereas "modern music" refers to music with western influences. This categorization system can be confusing, but it is nevertheless important to acknowledge that ancient music performance styles, compositions, and traditions continued even after 1825.[2]

During the period between Polynesian descent onto the islands and American colonization, Hawaiian musical performance was a crucial part of culture and life. Hawaiian musicians were elite members of society and were often leaders in their communities. For Hawaiians during that time, musical performance was a visual representation of their culture and a way for them to connect with ancestors, the land, and praise gods. Performances were either intended for sacred purposes or for entertainment. The oral music tradition relied heavily on performance because nothing was preserved in writing.[3]

Ancient Hawaiian music has a variety of styles which are categorized by the

performance's instruments, meter, dance, and overall purpose. Trained Hawaiian performers are not taught how to perform individual musical texts, but instead learn different performance techniques. The performer then interprets what performance techniques are appropriate for the text. They decide whether the musical piece should be accompanied by dance and/or instruments. The performer also must choose to perform

Ancient or Modern?	Category	Genre	Description
ANCIENT Indigenous, pre-Christian	OLI Unmetered, not used with dance	*kepakepa*	rapid conversational patter, pitches not sustained
		kāwele	more sustained declamation than kepakepa, but pitches still not sustained
		olioli	recitation on sustained-pitch monotone, with embellishment using upper and lower neighbor tones
		ho' āeae	patterned and contoured use of sustained pitches
		ho' ouwēuwē	funerary wailing
	Hula Metered, used with dance	*hula pahu*	hula accompanied by sharkskin-covered pahu drum; texts and melodic setting are through-composed
		hula 'āla 'apapa	hula accompanied by indigenous ipu gourd idiophone; although texts can be through composed, there are rhythmic patterns that are consistently used among pieces of repertoire
		hula 'ōlapa	strophic hula songs that share same poetic characteristics as hula ku 'i songs, but melodies are chanted using vocal techniques from oli, and are accompanied by indigenous percussive instruments instead of western chordal stringed instruments
Modern Westernized		*hula ku' i*	strophic hula songs, melodies are sung, and are accompanied by chordal stringed instruments such as guitar and 'ukulele
		hapa haole song	songs with English-language lyrics, and in the 32-bar AA'BA" popular song format. Frequently used to accompany hula.
	[SONG] i.e., not used with dance	*hīmeni*	Christian hymns, initially introduced by American Calvinist missionaries.
		mele Hawai'i	secular songs whose tunes are based on the structural/formal patterns of hymns and Euro-American parlor songs, includes waltzes and marches
		Local Song	songs that eschew the popular song (AA'BA") format, and express sentiments and concerns of island residents, in contrast to the exoticizing tendencies of hapa haole songs. Infrequently used to accompany hula.

Figure 1. Genres of Hawaiian Song

Source: Stillman, Amy Ku'uleialoha. "Textualizing Hawaiian Music." *American Music* 23, no. 1 (2005): 75.

the text metered or unmetered. Each performance is different and unique because of the performer's creative control.[4]

Ancient Hawaiian music traditions can be split into two broad categories, *oli*, and *hula*. *Oli* is an unmetered chant that is performed without dance. *Hula* is the opposite; it is a metered chant accompanied by dance. It is important to note that these musical traditions involve chanting, not singing. Chanting is the iterative speaking of words often on one or two main pitches called reciting tones. It is unknown whether ancient Hawaiians sang at all. Within the two categories are multiple genres, each with its own performance requirements. Oli contains five distinct genres, each with specific performance purposes and techniques. They are *kepakepa*, *kawele*, *olioli*, *ho'aeae*, and *ho'ouweuwe*. Comparing *ho'ouweuwe* to *kepakepa* demonstrates the drastic differences between genres. *Kepakepa* is a conversational and rhythmic chant that focuses on the syllables of the text. The melodic line is syllabic where each syllable gets its note. *Ho'ouweuwe* is a chant only used at funerals because the performance requires wailing.[5]

According to Hawaiian stories, the relationship between dance and music began when two gods named Laka, a male and a female, came and danced for the people of Hawaii. Another version of the legend says that hula was originally just for men and was supervised by the male god Laka. Later, Hi'iaka, goddess of the volcano, learned the hula and opened the dance to women. The learning and the religious practice of hula was taught by the *kumu hula* (hula master) at the *halau*, (the hula school).[6]

Hula pahu, *hula 'al'apapa*, and *hula 'olapa* are ancient hula genres and are each distinguished by which instruments are used and how the text is performed. *Hula 'olapa* borrows chanting techniques from oli and is accompanied by any ancient percussive instrument. Juxtaposed with *hula 'olapa*, *hula pahu* specifically uses a sharkskin covered *pahu* (drum), and the chant is a through-composed melody.[7] Poetic text is important to modern hula and instruments are used to support the text. At that time, the instruments were primarily percussive. Ancient Hawaiians had vibrating membrane drums, gourd rattles, and many more percussion instruments.[8]

Hula has three distinct ancient genres and two modern genres. These ancient performance traditions, which are still practiced today, have inspired new and modern genres. *Hula ku'i* and *hapa haole* are two modern Hawaiian hula musical practices. These two genres draw on ancient texts and practices but were developed after colonization; thus, the works within this genre demonstrate the characteristics of western music traditions.[9]

Hula and oli were part of daily ancient life until they were disturbed by the appearance of Europeans on the Hawaiian Islands in 1778. The first European to contact the islands was Captain James Cook, a British naval captain. Between Captain Cook's death in 1779 and the arrival of Christian missionaries in 1820, the Hawaiian Kingdom began. During that time, the *kapu* system was dissolved, decreasing traditional practices in the Hawaiian community.[10] On March 20, 1820, fourteen missionaries from New England landed on the big island.[11] The native Hawaiians converted to Christianity and all ancient Hawaiian practices, including music, were discouraged by the white colonizers. During this time, the written form of the Hawaiian language was developed so that hymnals could be written for the natives. Hawaiian hymns are known as *himeni*.[12]

Colonization resulted in a major shift in music practices. There were two

types of music in Hawaii from 1820 into the late twentieth century: indigenous and acculturated.[13] Natives practiced ancient music traditions in secret because many of the white missionaries who settled on the islands did not accept such cultural practices. Hula was especially seen as evil and corrupt. It was reported that one sermon preached about the "bestiality" of hula.[14] Acculturated music combined the sacred music performed in church and secular music that was widely influenced by visiting musicians. Musicians visited from Mexico, Italy, and Germany, introducing new instruments (such as the guitar), rhythms, and dances (such as the waltz). Sacred music in Hawaii at this time was influenced by soulful and somber New England church music.[15]

In 1839, King Kamehameha III established the now legendary Royal Hawaiian Band. It became a staple in daily life, performing at funerals, state occasions, and parades. The band also traveled with Hawaiian monarchs around the surrounding islands. Today, it is the only full-time municipal band in the U.S. Their first and arguably most influential bandmaster was a German man named Heinrich Berger. He set many native Hawaiian melodies, mostly ones composed by monarchs, into musical forms such as marches, polkas, and waltzes.[16]

The Hawaiian monarchs that Berger interacted with the most were nicknamed the *Na Lani 'Ehā*, or the Heavenly Four. The Heavenly Four were four royal biological siblings who lived from the 1830s into the early twentieth century. Their names were King Kalakaua, Queen Lili'uokalani, Princess Likelike, and Prince Leleiohoku. All four were composers, as well as patrons of music and Hawaiian culture. All of them were devout Christians, but they acknowledged the importance of celebrating and participating in their cultural heritage, including hula.[17] King Kalakaua, nicknamed the "Merrie Monarch," is attributed to restoring Hawaiian culture, specifically the practice of hula and oli. At his fiftieth birthday Jubilee in 1886, he featured hula and oli performances, unlike any other ruler before him.[18]

The first Hawaiian Renaissance was born out of King Kalakaua's efforts to reinvigorate Hawaiian culture. King Kalakaua's work also fueled the creation of the Merrie Monarch Festival, an annual music festival that celebrates ancient Hawaiian musical traditions and artistry. In the wake of a 1963 economic crisis, the Hawaiian government planned a fundraising event that would also celebrate Hawaiian culture. Thus, the Merrie Monarch Festival, which included a renowned hula competition, was established in 1971. King Kalakaua said, "Hula is the Language of the Heart. Therefore the Heartbeat of the Hawaiian People [*sic*]."[19] This quote became the festival's slogan and the festival remains a testament to King Kalakaua's work in preserving Hawaiian music and culture.

The other three monarchs of the Heavenly Four, Lil'uokalani, LikeLike, and Leleiohoku, also contributed to Hawaiian music. Leleiohoku died at the young age of twenty-two, but he was still able to create some compositions and establish many royal choir societies. The most popular of these choir societies was the 1876 Kawaihau Glee Club, which was composed of 15 members. Unfortunately, it was short-lived because Leleiohoku died the following year. Leleiohoku's siblings claimed that the Kawaihau Glee Club was one of the best choirs of all time because it featured some of the best voices from the Hawaiian Islands. Princess Likelike and her sister Lili'uokalani had a similarly prodigious musical output, creating many singing glee clubs together.[20]

Queen Lili'uokalani, the last and only reigning queen of the Kingdom of Hawaii,

surrendered her throne when US troops illegally staged a coup in 1893. Her notable contributions to Hawaiian music were the 165 songs and chants she composed. As a child, she learned music at the Chief's Children's School on O'ahu, but it is unknown where she learned to become a proficient poet. Her poems feature many characteristics and themes from ancient Hawaiian texts. Her music is also characteristically Hawaiian but exemplifies western techniques she learned at school. After the annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Lili'uokalani was imprisoned; however, she did not stop composing music. The music she composed was extremely popular during her time. It was featured at various glee clubs, parties, and dances and performed by the Royal Hawaiian Band.[21]

The *Na Lani 'Ehā* played a significant role in establishing Hawaiian culture, creating a catalyst for future music composition, performance, and practice, both ancient and modern. From 1900 to 1959, the Hawaiian Islands were a territory of the US, until they were formed into the state in 1959. The American mainland began to infuse its culture, including American urban music. The first genre of American music to reach the islands was ragtime. At the same time, Hawaiian music began to reach the mainland. On the mainland, American people started to become infatuated with the idea of the "exotic" Hawaiian Islands. *Hapa haole*, Hawaiian music that is influenced by American popular music with lyrics in both English and Hawaiian, is a direct result of that exoticism. The first *hapa haole* song is arguably Sonny Cunha's "My Waikiki Mermaid", which was published in 1903.

Through the early 1900s, *hapa haole* became a big business, especially during the Tin Pan Alley era, where American mainland musicians were printing their own versions of *hapa haole*. These songs spread all over America, the most popular being "On the Beach of Waikiki" and "Hula Blues." Hawai'i itself was changing as a result. Songs that depicted beautiful beaches and overly sexualized women lured tourists. Big hotels were being built, giving Hawaiian musicians an entrance into the show business. As time passed, American mainland composers began to include fewer Hawaiian characteristics and less Hawaiian language in their music. They left out the *hapa* (Hawaiian) and included more of the *haole* (non-Hawaiian). The hapa haole popularity fizzled out by the 1960s both on the mainland and the islands. Ancient Hawaiian music traditions also began to die out as the rock n' roll and pop bands began to spread throughout the nation.[22]

Rock n' roll took the world by storm, including Hawai'i. Don Ho, a Hawaiian native, took the spotlight of Hawaiian music for decades along with his contemporary, Kui Lee. Don Ho was one of the very few *hapa haole* Hawaiian popular artists to be signed under a major American mainland label and hit the *Billboard* charts. His album *Tiny Bubbles* was *Billboard*'s #15 album in 1967, making Ho the highest-ranking Hawaiian musician until 2007. Ho was a popular front man and song stylist, entertaining his followers for years until he died in 2007.[23]

In the 1970s, the social unrest of the mainland reached Hawai'i. The people began to protest the Vietnam War, as well as land projects that were driving locals off the islands. These events enlightened the 1970 Hawaiian Renaissance, increasing an emphasis in ethnic identity. During this time, there was a surge in ancient Hawaiian musical practices. The leaders of the revival were artists such as Gabby Pahinui, Sons of Hawai'i and the world-renowned group, The Brothers Cazimero.[24]

The Brothers Cazimero, Robert and Roland Cazimero, formed their performing duo in the mid 1970s. They have had a lasting creative presence in contemporary Hawaiian

music. While staying in touch with their roots, the brothers explored the limits of Hawaiian music of their time. Robert played acoustic bass and occasionally piano and Roland played both six and twelve string guitars as well as an occasional acoustic bass. Their extremely popular discography includes traditional Hawaiian mele,[25] *hapa haole*, popular American music, and chant.[26]

In the 1980s, a new influence on the islands became prominent as Hawaiian musicians began to cover and compose popular Jamaican Raggae music. Songs that were composed featured the charismatic reggae rhythm with themes and lyrics that were familiar to the people and places of Hawai'i. The fusion is called Jawaiian music. Popular artists during this time were Bruddah Waltah and Island Afternoon and Na Wai Ho'olu'u O Ke Anuenue. The music also got a boost in popularity when a radio station began the use of the term "island music" in 1990.

By 1991, a wave of backlash began in Hawaiian society. The criticism of Jawaiian music came from multiple groups. One criticism noted the lack of Hawaiian unique cultural heritage within this genre. Another objected to the lack of quality and the genre's preference for continuous remakes over original compositions. Most native Hawaiians opposed Jawaiian music because it did not preserve and celebrate distinctively Hawaiian musical culture. Those who supported Jawaiian music were people who played it and/or made money from it. They said that there was nothing that says there is an obligation to preserve their own culture. Though controversial, "island music" is still a major part of the Hawaiian music industry.[27]

Into the 21st century, Hawaiian music continues to develop, with a variety of different musicians and sub-genres. Israel Ka'ano'i Kamakawiwo'ole, also known as Bruddah Iz, became extremely popular. He was born the year that Hawai'i became a state, 1959. He first began his music career in a local band but became a solo artist in 1990 after the release of his album *Ka 'Ano'i* which won multiple awards from the Hawai'i Academy of Recording Arts. Three years later, *Facing Future* was released, which is now the pinnacle album of Hawaiian music. To this day, *Facing Future* is the bestselling Hawaiian album of all time, and has surpassed all of Don Ho's previous records. Bruddha Iz's music is stylistically Hawaiian but has themes of reggae and jazz. His style of *mele* has furthered Hawaiian music and culture and has influenced many musicians today.[28]

Attributes of Authentic Hawaiian Music

Hawaiian music history is extremely diverse but holds to its ancestry and is exemplified by the journey of the Hawaiian piece, "Aloha 'Oe." The origin of "Aloha 'Oe'' is controversial. The composer attributed is Queen Lili'uokalani, but some believe that she "stole" the melody from an Austrian folk song or an English hymn. Other skeptics believe that the chorus is stolen from "There's Music in the Air '' by George Root. It is generally accepted by scholars that Queen Lili'uokalani adapted the music from the piece, "The Rock Beside the Sea" published by Charles Converse in 1857. This theory is confirmed by a statement made by an acquaintance of Lili'uokalani in 1929 saying that she taught the song to her. The acquaintance, Lily Auld, said that the chorus was entirely Lili'uokalani's original composition.[29]

The lyrics and music of "Aloha 'Oe" were inspired by a true event. Queen Lili'uokalani and a party of other people, including Princess Liklike and Colonel Boyd, colonel of the King's staff, traveled to a ranch in Maunawili in 1878. On the group's return, at the last

moment, Colonel Boyd was called back to receive a *lei* and given a parting embrace from one of the ladies at the ranch. One of the members of the party returning to Honolulu added that Boyd said "Aloha ʻoe, aloha ʻoe…until we meet again." On the way home, Lili'uokalani began writing the song, after being moved by the tender embrace. Once she reached her private residence, Washington Place, she sat and wrote the piece. A few days later, Henri Berger received the score, and the Royal Hawaiian Band began playing the tune.

"Aloha ʻOe" is described as a farewell song, but Queen Lili'uokalani wrote it as a love song.[30] In modern performances, only the first stanza and chorus are performed, thus causing confusion. When the entire text is performed, it tells the story of someone reminiscing about a lover and specific embraces and moments they have shared. The inclusion of the English phrases, "a fond embrace" and "until we meet again" was a way for Lili'uokalani to demonstrate her ability to write in both Hawaiian and English.

The most accurate performance of Queen Lili'uokalani's composition can be found on The Rose Ensemble's album, "Na Mele Hawai'i: A Rediscovery of Hawaiian Vocal Music."[31] By comparing the original score to the recorded performance, it can be said it is truly an authentic performance. Instead of a piano accompanying the choir, a *ukulele* and guitar choir took its place.

One of the very first recordings of the song originates from 1911, sung by Nani Alapai, a famous Hawaiian singer of the time, and Henry N. Clark.[32] The recording of the piece is at a much slower tempo than most recordings you find today and the singers are accompanied by a mix of strings and piano. It is most likely that both Alapai's record and performance of the piece in San Francisco are what made "Aloha ʻOe" popular both on the islands and the mainland.

Its popularity did not stop in the 1900s. It has become a symbol of Hawaiian identity and culture. Even popular American mainland artists, such as Elvis and Johnny Cash, were covering the piece. After the first recording, other Hawaiian artists began to adapt the song to their styles and popular genres. In 1924 Frank Ferera, one of the first Hawaiian popular music stars, recorded and released "Aloha ʻOe." It became a chart-topper in the US mainland, and on the islands. In his footsteps, native Hawaiian artists continued to cover the piece, adding different elements and instruments like the *ukulele*, slack-key guitar, and steel guitar.

Figure 2. The Brothers Cazimero's "Aloha ʻOe"

Source: The Brothers Cazimero, *Hawaiian Paradise*, The Mountain Apple Company, 1989, online.

Haʻaheo ka ua i nā pali,
Ke nihi aʻela i ka nahele,
E hahai (uhai) ana paha i ka liko,
Pua ʻāhihi lehua o uka.

Aloha ʻoe, aloha ʻoe,
E ke onaona noho i ka lipo,
One fond embrace,
A hoʻi aʻe au,
Until we meet again.
Aloha ʻoe, aloha ʻoe,
One fond embrace,
A hoʻi aʻe au,
Until we meet again,
Until we meet again.

The Brothers Cazimero released their version of "Aloha ʻOe" in 1989, on their album "Hawaiian Paradise."[33] See figure three for their version of the text. The piece only features one stanza of text and the chorus, which is repeated at the end. The duo creates a different sound using limited instruments and blended and flowing vocals, all the while supporting the text, which is the most important part of Hawaiian music. Their voices blend beautifully, replacing the full SATB[34] choir for which "Aloha ʻOe" was originally composed. Though the song is missing the last two stanzas and a few voice parts, it does not mean it is lacking any originality and Hawaiian mastery.

One of the latest appearances of "Aloha ʻOe" is in the Disney animated film, *Lilo and Stitch*. In the film, Nani and Lilo are about to be separated by family services because the older sister, Nani, cannot hold a job and keep up with taking care of Lilo. Nani has a difficult time explaining to young Lilo that she is going to be taken away, so instead, she begins to sing the chorus of the song: "Aloha ʻoe, aloha ʻoe, until we meet again." Though the original purpose and meaning of this song is love, in this scenario it is used to say goodbye. Versatility is one characteristic of Hawaiian music that cannot be ignored. Hawaiian poetry and lyrics are ambiguous and usually have more than one meaning. Words referring to nature can represent sexual embraces and specific places mentioned in songs can represent a specific moment in time.[35] So "Aloha ʻOe" can either be a song of love or farewell, depending on artists, preparation, purpose, and intention. This is like the practice of ancient oli and hula. The performer does not learn a specific notated piece as in western music practices but interprets how the piece is performed based on the text.

Conclusion

Over time, Hawaiian music has gone through many changes. Music is influenced in many ways, including but not limited to developments in music technology, modifications, distribution, and invention of instruments, societal needs, cultural movements, religion, war, government, composers, and musicians. Kānaka maoli and their music have survived and thrived for over 1,600 years because of their resiliency. Hawaiian music resiliency over the years is attributed to the Hawaiians' capability to adapt while still holding to their ancestors' roots. Stephanie Nohelani Teves, in a recent article, highlights,

> "…Hawaiian musical innovation and our abilities to survive and retain our traditions while suffering from the trauma of colonization. Indeed, the prevalence of Hawaiian music speaks to our resiliency as a people."[36]

As shown by Hawaiian music history, Hawaiians are familiar with western influences. Genres and musical forms such as hymns, the waltz, ragtime, jazz, rock ʻn roll, and reggae have had the largest impact on traditional Hawaiian music.[37] The result

was artists such as Don Ho, and Bruddah Iz as well as genres like Jawaiian. With each passing western popular music genre, the Hawaiians can embrace and reinvent it as their own. Most importantly, they are also capable and staying true to their ancestors by continuing to practice ancient music and composing new pieces.

As mentioned before, native Hawaiian people continue to practice both hula and oli to connect and celebrate with their ancestors that settled on the Hawaiian Islands centuries earlier. The Merrie Monarch Festival, which occurs annually, encourages the practice of ancient music. In Hawaiian schools, the art of hula is still taught and is sometimes part of the curriculum. Though important to the resiliency of authentic Hawaiian music, it is the new compositions of the modern era that are crucial.

Figure 3. Kanoa-Martin's "Aloha 'Oe"

Source: Kanoa-Martin, Kaiulani. "Hawaiian Music and Hula Archives." Huapala, 1997. https://www.huapala.org/.

Text
Haʻaheo ka ua i nā pali,
Ke nihi aʻela i ka nahele,
E hahai (uhai) ana paha i ka liko,
Pua ʻāhihi lehua o uka.

Hui:
Aloha ʻoe, aloha ʻoe,
E ke onaona noho i ka lipo,
One fond embrace,
A hoʻi aʻe au,
Until we meet again.

ʻO ka haliʻa aloha i hiki mai,
Ke hone aʻe nei i kuʻu manawa,
ʻO ʻoe nō kaʻu ipo aloha,
A loko e hana nei.

Maopopo kuʻu ʻike i ka nani,
Nā pua rose o Maunawili,
I laila hiaʻai nā manu,
Mikiʻala i ka nani o ka lipo.

Translation
Proudly swept the rain by the cliffs,
As it glided through the trees,
Still following ever the bud,
The ʻahihi lehua of the vale.

Chorus:

Farewell to you, farewell to you,
The charming one who dwells in the shaded bowers,
One fond embrace,
ʻEre I depart,
Until we meet again.

Sweet memories come back to me,
Bringing fresh remembrances of the past,
Dearest one, yes, you are mine own,
From you, true love shall never depart.

I have seen and watched your loveliness,
The sweet rose of Maunawili,
And ʻtis there the birds of love dwell,
And sip the honey from your lips.
-Translated by Queen Lili'uokalani

Hawaiian poetry is unique and separates itself from that of other cultures. Old and new text uses nature, weather, exact island locations and plants to illustrate passionate love, loss, and everyday life. This is exemplified in the text of "Aloha 'Oe", which you can see in figure three, referring to cliffs, trees, the sweet rose of Maunawili,[38] and birds. All those ideas of nature are used to describe lovers and the physical moments they have shared together. Hawaiian poetry is so unique and rich in themes of nature, that it becomes the focal point of all authentic Hawaiian *mele*. On the topic of "Aloha 'Oe," this also brings up the second and last important part of authentic Hawaiian music, interpretation and versatility.

"Aloha 'Oe'' can either be interpreted as a love song or a farewell song. In the movie, *Lilo and Stitch* it is used to symbolize the two sisters parting ways. Queen Lili'uokalni's original interpretation of the song is about two lovers and the memories they share. Hawaiian music is deeply rooted in the art of interpretation which comes from ancient times. Juxtaposed to the structured practice and memorization of notated music in western culture, ancient Hawaiian performers depended on their ability to interpret the text and learn orally. This practice of interpretation is still demonstrated in Hawaiian music of the modern era. A Hawaiian musician's decisions affect how they perform the text, making each new performance unique. This is why "Aloha 'Oe" by The Brothers Cazimero sounds distinctly different from the Rose Ensemble's rendition.

Hawaiian music will continue to survive and thrive because of its ability to stay true to the ancient practices. The Hawaiian people have truly perfected the art of authentic music preservation, emphasizing both the old and the new. To continue the longevity of Hawaiian music and culture, both *hapa* and *haole* need to work together. The Hawaiian people have and continue to do their part. The non-Hawaiians' role moving forward is to start having positive and non-stereotypic interactions with Hawaiian music. That is fully dependent on non-Hawaiians knowing exactly what authentic Hawaiian music is. Being educated in Hawaiian music history and the attributes of authentic Hawaiian music is a step in the right direction. This process applies to all cultural music. Reducing indigenous cultures to generalization and the vast atrocities caused by colonialism of non-white

cultures will never come to end until society can expect the fullest participation of all cultures, including their music.

Notes

1. Mana Maoli Collective, "'Hawai'i '78': Song Across Hawai'i: Playing for Change Collaboration," uploaded on June 30, 2019, YouTube video, 08:48, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bhibLQFebpQ.
2. Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, "Textualizing Hawaiian Music," *American Music* 23, no. 1 (2005): 75.
3. "Merrie Monarch Festival." Merrie Monarch, 2020.
4. Stillman. "Textualizing Hawaiian Music," 69–94.
5. George S. Kanahele and John Berger, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Encyclopedic History* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2012).
6. Stillman. "Textualizing Hawaiian Music," 69–94.
7. Stillman, "Textualizing Hawaiian Music," 78-88.
8. Helen H. Roberts, *Ancient Hawaiian Music* (Hawaii: The Museum, 1926).
9. Stillman, "Textualizing Hawaiian Music," 69–94.
10. *Kapu* was the ancient Hawaiian's set of rules that kept society in order.
11. "The big island" is slang for Hawaii, the largest island of the Hawaiian island chain.
12. Kanahele and Berger, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians*, xliii.
13. Accultured music is an assimilation of both Hawaiian and western music, with western being more prominent.
14. Kanahele and Berger, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians*, xliii.
15. Kanahele and Berger, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians*, xliii.
16. "Home." Royal Hawaiian Band. Accessed December 3, 2020. https://www.rhb-music.com/.
17. Kanahele and Berger, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians*, xliii.
18. "Na Lani 'Ehā." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, October 20, 2020.
19. "Merrie Monarch Festival." Merrie Monarch, 2020.
20. "Na Lani 'Ehā."
21. Gillett, Dorothy Kahananui. *The Queen's Songbook*. Edited by Barbara Barnard Smith. Honolulu, HI: Hui Hanai, 1999.
22. Kanahele and Berger, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians*.
23. Kanahele and Berger, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians*, 311-316
24. Kanahele and Berger, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians*, xliv
25. *Mele* is Hawaiian for music.
26. Kanahele and Berger, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians*, 84-84.
27. Kanahele and Berger, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians*, 392-394.
28. "Home." The Official Site of Israel IZ Kamakawiwo`ole, 2020.
29. Gillett, *The Queen's Songbook*.
30. See figure three for Queen Lili'uokalani's original text and translation.
31. The Rose Ensemble, *Na Mele Hawai'i: A Rediscovery of Hawaiian Vocal Music*, Rose Records, 2014, online.
32. Musil, Scott, ed. "Aloha Oe," March 9, 2014.
33. The Brothers Cazimero, *Hawaiian Paradise*, The Mountain Apple Company, 1989, online.
34. SATB is a choir format where there are four voice sections, sopranos, altos, tenors and basses.
35. Elbert, Samuel H., and Noelani Mahoe. *Na Mele o Hawai'i Nei: 101 Hawaiian Songs*. Honolulu, HI: The University Press of Hawaii, 1978.
36. Teves, Stephanie Nohelani. "Tradition and Performance." In *Native Studies Keywords*, edited by Andrea Smith and Michelle H Raheja, 257–69. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2015.
37. The word "traditional" is in reference to music prior to colonization.
38. It is important to note that Maunawili is the name of the farm that Queen Lili'uokalani and her party visited in 1878 and inspired "Aloha 'Oe."

Anthropocentrism and Other Problems in Animal History: Methodological Reflections

Quill Graham, author
Dr. Michelle Kuhl, history, faculty mentor

Quill Graham is a history major and environmental studies minor with an interest in animal studies. Next semester, he will write his honors thesis on the relationship between animals and autism in middle-grade literature. He plans to attend graduate school after he earns his bachelor's degree.

Dr. Michelle Kuhl has published articles on Du Bois's short stories, the silencing of sexual assault against black women in the anti-lynching movement, black intellectuals' concerns about the defeat of the Plains Indians, the work-life balance for female academics, and a scholarly review of Gilded Age women's history. She published a book titled *A Progressive Era for Whom?* in 2020.

Abstract

Do not let the term "humanities" fool you: history is no longer just for people. In the past ten years, historians have started writing "animal histories," which center animals as historical subjects. These scholars respond to modern environmental and animal rights concerns by attempting to challenge traditional human-oriented narratives. These pioneering works, however, tend to appear haphazardly in publications and reflect no methodological uniformity. After a brief orientation to animal history as a growing subfield, this paper identifies promising methodological approaches while critiquing common anthropocentric pitfalls. I introduce the concept of the *proximal perspective* as one tool to avoid such problems. The final section of this paper uses Violette Pouillard's essay "A History From Below of a Changing Zoo" as a model of excellent animal history that centers the animal, engages in responsible scholarship, and creates a "usable past."

Introduction to Animal History

Animal history belongs to the emerging, multi-disciplinary field of human-animal studies.[1] Animal studies differs from traditional disciplines of zoology and animal science in that it focuses on the interactions between humans and animals and that it tends to center the humanities and social sciences. Animal studies in its current form began in the mid-to-late twentieth century and continues to develop.[2] Unfortunately, many still consider animal studies a new field and accuse it of being quixotic, frivolous, or anthropomorphic. Thus, many animal historians begin their works by defending their choice to write about animals.

Some historians argue that animal history's purpose should be to combat animal oppression. These scholars fit into the realm of critical animal studies, which animal studies expert Margo DeMello defines as an "academic field dedicated to the abolition of animal exploitation, oppression, and domination, developed partly in opposition to mainstream human-animal studies."[3] Thus, most critical animal studies historians concentrate on captivity, animal labor, and factory farming. One such animal activist historian is Jason Hribal, a scholar who created works such as "Animals are Part of the Working Class: A Challenge to Labor History" and *Fear of the Animal Planet: The Hidden History of Animal Resistance*.[4] His work unabashedly champions animal rights. For example, his book *Fear of the Animal Planet* dramatizes its political message through its flashy red title that is reminiscent of a broadside. Historians such as Hribal position their work to galvanize political change by giving examples of animal discontent and suffering. Other historians argue that animal history is relevant because it is necessary to understand human history. Circus-elephant historian Susan Nance contends that "without asking about the breadth of captive elephant existence we cannot not [*sic*] know the full experience of the people who lived inside these entertainment companies."[5] Animals and their representations exist in living spaces, workplaces, figurative expressions, live entertainment, food, clothing, and the media. To ignore them takes away an enormous piece from the historical picture.

The competing goals and perspectives in animal history can lead to unnecessary disagreements and misunderstandings among scholars. One type of animal history is not better than another per se, but a unified purpose and methodology is necessary for the discipline to stand on its own terms. Animal history should be used to add historical context to current human-animal relationships, studying the "moments of entanglement" in which humans affect animals and animals affect humans.[6] Ideally, the historian should investigate a research question without presuming a particular human-animal relationship is beneficial or harmful, instead asking the questions: What values, assumptions, and beliefs underpin institutions in which animals and humans interact? How have these relationships affected the humans and animals involved? What did the animals and humans do to shape these interactions? These questions will help scholars critically re-evaluate present-day human-animal relationships and reject anthropocentric narratives.

The Human Perspective

Although it may seem counterintuitive, writing animal history involves examining the human perspective: We must unearth the values, assumptions, and beliefs that underpin institutions of human-animal interactions if we are to use these histories in any meaningful way. Inquiries about human thoughts and attitudes towards animals usually fit within the methodologies of social history subgenres such as labor history, environmental history, gender history, and colonial/racial history. If done well, historians addressing the human perspective will prove that animal history can advance our understanding of marginalization and oppression more generally.

Scholars frequently connect ideologies of colonialism and racism to human views of animals, because imperialists have historically projected characteristics of animals and animality onto so-called inferior races. For instance, Aaron Skabeland investigates early-twentieth-century rhetoric surrounding Hachiko, a Japanese Akita dog who famously waited for his master at a train station every day after his master's death. Skabeland argues that this rhetoric is steeped in sentiments of Japanese racial superiority. For example, many Japanese citizens went to great lengths to prove that Hachiko was a pure pedigree of indigenous Japanese Akita. They lauded the dog's apparent devotion to his dead master as an example of ideal Japanese loyalty.[7] As a result, Skableand articulates how Hachiko the dog disappeared under Hachiko the imperialist symbol.

In other cases, animals were directly involved in colonial conquests. For example, American and European naturalists decimated native African wildlife populations while hunting for zoological exhibit specimens. Such instances reveal how colonization relied on and exploited nonhuman animals and how this was entangled with more familiar histories of colonization."[8] This vein of animal history requires little or no particular understanding of animal behavior or biology, as the historian need only critically examine sources as they would for other research on colonial and post-colonial history.

However, historians—especially white historians—must exercise caution when writing about animals and race. Without intersectionality and sensitivity, connecting animals to race can easily perpetuate harmful narratives and stereotypes.[9] Scholars should remember that "animal" is a social construction—not every culture neatly divides the animal kingdom from humanity, and to assume otherwise prioritizes a Western perspective.[10] Another common impulse among white critical animal studies writers is to compare factory farming and animal exploitation to American slavery. When discussing Tilikum, a captive orca who killed a SeaWorld employee, historian and activist Jason Hribal claims that "Tilikum is the Nat Turner of the captives of SeaWorld."[11] Such comparisons are well-intended, but comparing black people to animals has been historically used in a derogatory context.[12] Additionally, such comparisons sometimes imply that black oppression is no longer a problem and that animal rights activism is a more relevant cause. Fortunately, there are less offensive and more powerful techniques for connecting animal and human oppressions.

Speciesism, racism, and colonialism, like other forms of oppression, can be framed using intersectionality rather than as separate and competing issues.[13] Hribal's comparison between slavery and animal captivity is surface-level, offensive, and ineffective. Sarat Colling, a scholar closely aligned with Hribal's viewpoint, avoids these issues in her more careful analysis. When discussing the European introduction of farmed cows, pigs, and sheep to the Americas, Colling notes that "the number of farmed animals raised by elites to be killed for consumption (both locally and for exportation to maximize profits) often correlated with the number of [Indigenous] humans displaced from their land."[14] By showing that the suffering of animals entwined with the suffering of exploited human populations, Colling pushes against the separation between humans and animals and expresses an anti-colonialist point of view. Historians who follow her example will be more likely to avoid tactless comparisons that could harm marginalized communities. They will also engage in deeper scholarship compared to those who uncritically copy and paste ideas from racial, disability, and feminist studies onto animal studies.

The Animal Perspective

Animal Studies and the Historical Discipline

What can history as a discipline contribute to animal studies? Cary Wolfe, an animal studies scholar, speculates that the humanities are too anthropocentric in their methods to contribute to animal studies.[15] Several scholars have refuted his idea by showing that history is uniquely suited to write about subjects with no written record. Hilda Kean, an early animal studies historian, counters Wolfe's argument by stating that historians are well-practiced in imagining the lives of strangers who lived in different times and spaces.[16] They frequently assign motivations to human historical subjects without, of course, ever reading their minds.[17] Animal studies frequently requires imagining the

lived experience of animals who are simultaneously alike and different from humans, so it is appropriate that historians play a valuable role in these endeavors.

Historians can persuasively identify the physical ramifications of human-animal relationships. For example, Chris Pearson explains that French cultural anxieties surrounding smuggling dogs and border security led to the shooting of countless dogs at the French-Belgian border in the decades leading up to World War I.[18] Obviously, this particular human-animal relationship negatively affected certain dogs. Additionally, historian Markus Krzoska notes that "With the help of statistical and quantitative analysis, we can make statements about the total population, average life expectancy, number of births…the frequency of certain breeding places, or causes of death" of certain animal groups.[19] Animal history needs such analyses because they frequently reveal how human-animal relationships affected animal bodies. However, statistics about animal births, injuries, and deaths remain superficial. Statistical data frequently overlooks individual animals with lived experiences, a practice that critical animal studies scholars criticize as perpetuating animal oppression.[20] To address this issue, historians must zoom in on the animal themselves, examining their lives beyond the statistics.

Inside the Animal Mind

Since traditional historical methodology was developed for application to human subjects, animal studies historians must contend with the difficulty of exploring the inner-states of nonhuman animals. Historians who freely attach feelings and intentions to animals fall into the trap of anthropomorphism, which comes with connotations of sentimentality and lazy scholarship.[21] Conversely, those who strictly ground their claims in animal psychology or ethology risk limiting their scholarship and perpetuating the idea that animals are stupid and unfeeling unless scientifically proven otherwise. Many historians fall somewhere in between, but every animal historian who addresses an animal's inner-state must navigate the tensions between epistemological approaches.

Those who eschew scientific explanations for animal behavior argue that humans can naturally understand how animals think. While Western scientists have a long history of denying animal thoughts and emotions, people outside scientific circles (especially pet owners) often readily acknowledge animal intelligence and emotional capacity.[22] In fact, studies in developmental psychology indicate that even infants naturally attribute agency to animals.[23] While people might be erroneous when automatically assigning thoughts and feelings to animals, they should not be mocked. What they are doing is commonly accepted outside of academia—and perhaps even instinctual.

Even when science supports claims that animals are intelligent beings with complex feelings, the fact that these qualities must be proven implies some sort of condescension toward animals. Jason Hribal's statement that "[captive animals] have a conception of freedom and desire for it" is something of a shocking claim to make without scientific support.[24] Bold thinkers who write about animals in such terms, such as Jason Hribal, challenge academic conventions and follow their moral instincts. Most importantly, they take animals seriously as historical subjects and social beings.

Although the above paragraphs outline valid reasons for why some writers might avoid scientific explanations for animal behavior, academic historians should not attempt to provide their own explanations without significant scholarly backing. For one, the scholars who reject scientific explanations for animal behavior tend to have

blatant political agendas favoring animal liberation. For instance, Jason Hribal openly states that his purpose in *Fear of the Animal Planet* is to fight against animal captivity.[25] Likewise, Sarat Colling devotes an entire chapter in *Animal Resistance in the Global Capitalist Era* to promote animal sanctuaries as alternatives to zoos, research facilities, and factory farms.[26] Graphic depictions of captive animal suffering and resistance are a logical choice for animal advocates such as Hribal and Colling. Historians, however, who write for a community of skeptical scholars will find that they need more than anecdotal evidence and intuition to convince their readers.

There are limits to how effectively people can employ empathy and casual observation to understand animal minds. While it might be unobjectionable to say that animals dislike being starved or beaten, humans cannot always rely on their interpretations of animals' behavioral cues. Contrary to popular belief, a cat's purr sometimes indicates distress instead of happiness.[27] Countless cat owners could be misinterpreting their cat's cry for help because it does not align with their understanding of cat behavior. Furthermore, without science, people will find species such as sharks and insects harder to understand because these animals lack communicative facial expressions and vocal signals recognizable to humans. As such, humans need the aid of science to understand how their nonhuman counterparts feel.

Historians who vehemently reject scientific explanations for animal behavior sometimes inadvertently perpetuate speciesism. A pertinent example involves Jumbo, an elephant sold by the Royal Zoological Gardens in London to circus owner P.T. Barnum in 1882. In scholar Jay Kirk's description of a period when Jumbo became wildly destructive in captivity, he writes, "most likely, Jumbo had entered the state called *musth*. During musth, the bull elephant prepares to mate … It has been said that an elephant in musth is the most dangerous animal in the world."[28] Historian and animal rights advocate Jason Hribal protests this interpretation as "biological determinism." He proposes that Jumbo's outbursts were acts of resistance against captivity, born of "intellectual maturity and independence of mind."[29] In doing so, Hribal dismisses what may well have been a significant lived experience in Jumbo's life. He implies that intelligence and independence of mind (supposed human qualities) are necessary to give an animal agency and respect. In doing so, he distances Jumbo from his elephant-ness, ignoring the fact that hormones and intelligence can (and often do) combine forces in shaping feelings and behaviors. Ideally, a historian would respect an animal's actions without invalidating the biological forces that affect their world experiences.

If a historian wishes to use science to understand the animal perspective, comparative psychology and ethology are the two leading scientific disciplines that address animal interiority. Sometimes comparative psychology and ethology overlap, but there are significant differences between the two fields. Each comes with its promises and pitfalls for historians addressing historical animal perspectives. In any case, a responsible historian will scrutinize the history, assumptions, methods, and objectives of the science they use to determine how it might supplement their animal histories.

Animal History and Comparative Psychology

Comparative psychology is "a multidisciplinary field designed to study the behaviors and cognitive processes of nonhuman animals."[30] Since comparative psychology recognizes the learning processes of animals, it frequently yields studies demonstrating

that animals have intelligence and emotions. For example, experiments in animal psychology have demonstrated that crows can invent and use tools, that rats are self-aware, and that many fish have personalities.[31] These facts are obvious to many animal lovers and advocates, but they may prove useful in convincing academic skeptics. Additionally, comparative psychology could hold the key to describing an animal's *umwelt*, "the unique sensory and experiential world of each animal."[32] Without scientific explorations of animal senses, one might fallaciously assume that animals communicate and understand the world the same way humans do.

The essay "Species Agency: A Comparative Study of Horse-Human Relationships in Chicago and Rural Illinois" by Andria Pooley-Ebert exemplifies how animal psychology can enrich a historian's understanding of past animal lives. First, Pooley-Ebert quotes an equine psychologist to contextualize horse behavior, noting that horses possess a highly developed flight response to certain smells and sounds. Next, she uses this information to analyze the "uncooperative" actions of a blind working horse wearing an unfamiliar bell harness. She writes, "Horses have acute hearing capable of picking up a broader range of sounds than humans, and when this horse heard the unfamiliar sound of bells against his body, he responded with a flight response."[33] At first glance, her explanation might seem clinical because it attributes the horse's actions to instinct, but she makes a strong case: the horse, blind and sickly, panicked in an unfamiliar situation with unpleasant noises and men who beat him with a whip. The horse's response need not be deemed intelligent or rational to make sense and invoke empathy.

Using animal psychology in animal history is not without its methodological problems. Oftentimes, comparative psychologists study animals to understand humans rather than the animals themselves. The assumption that human and nonhuman animal psychologies overlap may blur the line between humans and animals, but the purpose of animal psychology remains anthropocentric.[34] Studies in this field, especially those used for drug development, tend to focus more on psychological similarities between humans and animals.[35] Thus, psychological traits not found in humans may be ignored. Additionally, comparative psychology tends to favor certain species (usually small, domesticated mammals with similar brain structures to humans), which could skew animal history toward those species.

More troublingly, comparative psychology poses ethical problems for historians who value animal welfare. Many comparative psychology experiments involve testing animals in a scientific laboratory environment. Since comparative psychology often prioritizes human lives over animal lives, some experiments use animals to test potentially harmful or dangerous chemicals, drugs, and treatments.[36] Even experiments not directly related to human health and wellness can be disquieting. In one study, scientists purposefully forced rats to tread water to see if other rats would help them. News articles proclaim that this study proves that rats feel empathy, but most do not question the ethics of putting laboratory rats in such a situation.[37] Perhaps it would be better to assume that animals experience emotions and empathy to avoid supporting potentially unethical experimentation. Maybe some experimentation is necessary and humane under certain conditions. Wherever they stand on these issues, historians should weigh the utility of animal laboratory testing with its potential harm when citing experiments in their work.

Animal History and Ethology

Another scientific field that seeks to understand animals is ethology, defined rather vaguely as the study of animal behavior.[38] Unlike comparative psychology, ethology usually requires scientists to observe an animal in its natural habitat without human interference. Observation-based study avoids many of animal experimentation's ethical and methodological problems and arguably produces more animal-centered scholarship. Instead of using brain scans or targeted experiments, ethologists look for patterns of behavior that are "observable, quantifiable, and differentiable."[39] Historians writing about animals can incorporate ethology into their work to gain alternative perspectives from human-generated primary sources.

Amy Nelson's essay "What the Dogs Did" is a prime example of how ethology can augment primary source analysis in animal histories. The essay investigates the role of dogs in the Soviet space program, mainly using recollections of Soviet scientists many years after the events occurred. Nelson acknowledges that many of her sources are unreliable due to memory fallibility, bias, and Soviet Union misinformation campaigns. One Soviet researcher remembers the space dog Laika as a cheerful participant in their experiments. According to the researcher, Laika "ran up to me on her own, lightly jumped onto the examining table, and lay on her right side." Nelson argues, however, that our current ethological knowledge suggests that Laika's behavior was submissive rather than eager. Her analysis provides readers with valuable insight into Laika's experience as a laboratory dog that they would not have gleaned from the Soviet researcher's account alone.

Despite noting that the Soviet researcher likely misread Laika's behavior, Nelson does not discard the researcher's perspective. Instead, she observes that "human assumptions about the nature of dogs—about what was going on in their minds and what their bodies did—shaped how the dogs were handled and provided a cornerstone of essential human-dog interactions in the laboratory."[40] In other words, the researcher's misinterpretation of Laika's behavior reveals something valuable about how the researchers related to the dogs. Nelson employs ethology to read between the lines and demonstrate the complex ways animal and human thoughts and communication styles affected their relationships.

Ethology might aid historians by providing context for past animal behaviors, but the field was not designed with historical use in mind. Ethologists, in general, work to create a catalog of typical species behaviors which they frequently attribute to instinct.[41] Therefore, traditional ethology rarely considers individual personalities, historical context, or agency when studying animals—the very things that animal historians are trying to determine.[42] Ethology's tendency to generalize can be helpful to a historian who lacks access to individual animals through the historical record by acting as "a way of adding to the interpretation of historical evidence—the legal documents, newspaper stories, and so on—and may be a means whereby glimpses of animals in the past can be extended into more detailed observation."[43] However, historians should not use ethology to make definitive claims about an animal's state of mind. At best, ethology can help create a hypothetical based on generalized species traits.

The feminist theory of knowledge known as "care epistemology" maintains ethology's emphasis on natural observation but attempts to correct for the field's clinical detachment. Its primary advocate, Josephine Donovan, argues:

> Knowledge of animals' languages and communications—their wishes and intentions—cannot be achieved through the objectifying methodology of Cartesian science. Rather the modes advocated in care theory—sympathy, empathy, and attentiveness—are the ways in which animals' communications can be read, their languages learned, and their wishes understood.[44]

Care epistemology emphasizes connections between individuals. Unfortunately, a historian has trouble "attending" to their animal subjects in the way Donovan suggests; animal experiences and behaviors are always filtered through at least one other human's interpretation in primary sources. As animal historian Nigel Rothfels points out, "As far as the historical record is concerned, gorillas of the past do not represent themselves … [they] are entities inextricably bound by particular human contexts and human interpretations."[45] These layers of human interpretation resemble a long game of telephone, in which the animal's perspective can quickly turn into garbled nonsense.

The Animal Perspective and Personal Agency

The question of animal agency takes animal history one step further: how do animals themselves affect history? Unfortunately, the murky definitions of "agency" and "actor" make this question contentious. Some consider anything that affects any change (alive or dead, sentient or not) to be an agent. Others argue that sentience, rationality, and intent are prerequisites for agency.[46] The philosopher Ralf Stoecker facetiously sums up the general confusion around whether animals have agency by remarking that "of course [animals] act, only strictly speaking they don't."[47] A unified approach to animal agency will strengthen the animal history field; critically examining existing approaches and theories is the first step towards this goal.

The most liberal of agency frameworks is Actor-network theory (ANT), which grants agency to anything that plays a part in a larger social system or network. This includes everything from building materials to animals. ANT historians pay more attention to results brought about by actors rather than the actors as beings with intent or sentience. Crucially, the theory dictates that none of these actors "should be taken for granted, none assumed to be key or dominant."[48] It makes little sense, however, to use ANT in animal history. By definition, animals have a limited role under ANT because ANT does not consider possible animal intelligence, abilities, or intentionality.[49] Furthermore, ANT refuses to focus on a particular type of actor, which is exactly what animal historians do. David Gary Shaw, a historian who uses ANT, gives agency to horses in his work. However, his work is not exclusively focused on the horses, as he pays equal attention to inanimate objects such as horsebread and bridle equipment.[50] Animal historians might consider, as an alternative, the work of environmental historians such as Brett Walker, who gives animals agency in a similar capacity to ANT but who focuses on the agency of nature.[51] Meanwhile, those who use ANT should be distinguished from animal historians because their work includes, but does not prioritize, animals.

In contrast to ANT, animal historians often strive to give animals personal agency in their narratives. Although scholars have differing definitions of "personal agency," I will use the term in reference to the ability to act intentionally to meet personal needs and desires. Personal agency in animal history is hotly debated. One debate centers

around whether animals can act with intention. Another debate questions why agency is necessary for animal history and to what extent historians should strive to grant it. At the core of these debates are familiar issues of anthropocentrism and anthropomorphism.

Although rationality and premeditation are sometimes considered requirements for personal agency, it does not make sense for animal historians to worry about these things in their studies. Whether animals possess rationality and the ability to plan their actions is a question for other fields. As mentioned earlier, studies in animal psychology prove that animals are not automatons. Regardless of whether an animal's needs and desires are purely instinctual or based in rational thought, all animals make choices in "the precise movements" they use to fulfill those needs and desires.[52] This simple premise allows historians to give animals personal agency in their histories without considering premeditation or rationality.

Even if historians can grant personal agency to animals, why should they? It is an unstated rule within animal studies that giving animals agency is a priority, but most historians do not address the justification for this rule. Several critical animal studies scholars insist that animals use their personal agency to resist human oppression. For example, Jason Hribal scrupulously combs the historical record for instances where animals resisted their captivity and bettered their own lives. One example he provides is the story of Sissy, a zoo elephant with a track record of disobedience and violence towards handlers. Sissy's behavior led the El Paso Zoo to take her to Hohenwald, an elephant sanctuary in Tennessee. If one believes Hribal's claim that Sissy is "alive, well, and in good spirits" at the sanctuary, then Sissy's story is a case where an animal played a clear role in bettering her own life.[53]

The problem with conflating personal agency with resistance, however, is that it unduly limits animal history. As historian Chris Pearson argues, focusing on resistance in animal history creates "a false dichotomy between 'humans' and 'animals' by treating them as two opposing factions."[54] Thomas Almeroth-Williams, historian and author of *City of Beasts*, echoes this sentiment when he argues, "The tendency to consider human-animal histories as narratives of abuse also threatens to oversimplify complex relationships and the context in which they were formed."[55] Jason Hribal similarly glosses over all of the cases in which captive animals lived their lives quietly. By doing so, Hribal mistakenly (or misleadingly) implies that his case studies represent the wishes of all captive animals. Not only is this a rather alarming logical leap, but it also dismisses all nuance, suggesting that captive animals think as a monolith.

Framing animal history around resistance also confuses the meaning of resistance. Does resistance imply that an animal has a plan and end goal in mind? Jason Hribal would argue that it does. He claims, "These animals … are rebelling with knowledge and purpose. They have a conception of freedom and a desire for it."[56] Other historians prefer terms such as "thwarting" to describe instances where animal and human intentions misalign. These terms allow historians to approach animal history more objectively without blaming either the human or the animal. Animal historian Chris Pearson describes animal "thwarting" in his essay "History and Animal Agency" while avoiding the term resistance. He describes one police effort to train dogs to jump into rivers and save drowning humans. The police disbanded the program because the dogs would not jump into the river on command. Pearson writes, "But resistance does not offer an adequate explanation for this failure: poor training techniques … seemingly led to the

dogs' inability to act effectively."[57] Unfortunately, Pearson's analysis is still problematic because it assumes that the all the dogs had the same reason for not jumping into the river. Perhaps one dog did not understand the commands, while another understood but wished not to get wet. Another may have held a grudge against the police and deliberately refused the command as an act of resistance. The point is, humans may never be able to discern an animal's motivations. It is mistaken, however, to claim that the dogs did not "act effectively." From the dogs' perspectives, not jumping into a river was the most effective action at that moment. A more balanced way to phrase the incident would be to say that the dogs—for whatever reasons—did not jump into the river, thereby putting themselves at odds with human intentions.

Agential parameters

Equally critical to exploring personal agency in animals is the scope of their agency, something that is often implied in animal history but rarely explored in historiographical writings.[58] Agential parameters refer to the factors that prohibit, discourage, or encourage specific animal actions. Parameters include an animal's physical or psychological capabilities, their ability to access food and water, physical barriers such as cages or fences, and rewards or punishments given by humans for certain behaviors. Acknowledging agential parameters is crucial for the historian wishing to assess the morality of a particular human-animal relationship dynamic For example, animal studies expert Erica Fudge suggests that sheep and cows "mindlessly" obeying human commands could represent their willingness to collaborate with humans.[59] Collaboration, however, might not be the best word to describe that relationship if the animals are physically coerced into obedience. By clearly outlining as many agential parameters as possible, historians can step away from anthropocentric history and give context for why an animal might behave a certain way.

The article "More-Than-Human Emotional Communities: British Soldiers and Mules in Second World War Burma" demonstrates how agential parameters illuminate historical human-animal relationships. The authors examine the emotional connections between British soldier muleteers and mules in Burma during World War II. According to the article, the mules possessed little to no autonomy when humans forced them into combat training: "To train mules to tolerate battle conditions, they were forced to swim across rivers, embark on and disembark from boats, and march in circumstances in which soldiers simulated military engagements." The military also removed the mules' vocal cords in a campaign the authors call "a form of institutionalized violence."[60] By outlining these conditions, the authors make it clear that the mules had limited opportunity to exercise agency, thus implicitly questioning the morality of using animals in combat.

Furthermore, discussing both the mules' and the soldiers' agential parameters in the same article helps bridge the divide between humans and animals. Like the mules, most soldiers were given little choice about going into combat. Once deployed, the mules and the soldiers faced similar conditions as they trekked through an unfamiliar, dangerous environment. Facing similar agential parameters, many mules and soldiers relied on each other for emotional support.[61] Thus, the soldiers and mules exercised their limited agency to each other's benefit. A mindful animal historian will recognize that power structures within the human world influence how those humans interact with animals. Not only does this approach add nuance, but it also encourages readers to think about

intersectionality and solidarity between oppressed humans and animals.

Despite the shared struggles of the soldiers and the mules, there were some key differences between the two groups' agential parameters that meant the two groups were not equals. Soldiers sometimes resorted to killing and eating the mules when food became scarce.[62] No matter how strong their emotional bond, the human soldiers occupied a position of power over their four-legged counterparts. When giving animals agency, it is important to point out moments of resistance or disruption and moments where humans and animals were united in their intentions. The full account, however, will remain obscure unless the historian clarifies the power structures that limited or enabled animal and human agencies. Only then will we be able to scrutinize the morality of human-animal relationships and institutions.

The Proximal Perspective

There is an option for historians who wish to avoid anthropocentrism while stopping short of addressing the internal animal perspective. I call this method the proximal perspective, in which a historian concentrates their narrative on one animal. They write as if hovering around the animal's head without ever actually entering the thoughts and feelings inside. Instead, they concentrate on outward details about the animal's physical condition and environment. The proximal perspective can be used on its own or in conjunction with other methodologies in animal history, but it is a helpful starting point for entering the lives of historical animals.

One example of the proximal perspective can be found in historian Tracy McDonald's "Sculpting Dinah With the Blunt Tools of the Historian." McDonald follows the life of Dinah, a young gorilla captured from West Africa and brought to the New York Zoological Society. McDonald concentrates her narrative on Dinah, rarely spending time away from her immediate living space. First, she acknowledges the context and problems of her main source, the papers of Richard Lynch Garner. Garner was the man who captured Dinah and lived with her for a period of time, trying to keep her alive long enough to be shipped to New York.[63] Garner's papers provide ample information about Dinah's behavior, diet, living quarters, and physical health. For example, after her capture, Dinah spent her time in a cage where Garner gave her an assortment of random foods in hopes that she would eat something. Later, McDonald describes Dinah's final days at the zoo where her "appetite was faltering and the muscles in her legs and arms were presenting signs of paralysis."[64] She underwent electrical shock therapy for these symptoms. McDonald's detailed descriptions firmly center her narrative around Dinah, but she rarely makes claims about Dinah's point of view.

The proximal perspective's greatest strength is also its greatest weakness: it relies heavily on audience imagination and empathy. When McDonald outlines Dinah's daily life in a cage, her detailed descriptions encourage readers to put themselves in Dinah's place. When she describes Dinah's decline from being an active and voracious gorilla to a sickly specimen subject to electrical shock therapy, it is easy to imagine Dinah's confused and lonely inner thoughts. McDonald never makes explicit statements about Dinah's feelings, so it is hard to accuse her of anthropomorphism. However, her narrative is hardly clinical and detached, so it would be equally false to accuse her of anthropocentrism. It is left to the audience to make the leap from the outside view to Dinah's inner life. This might be convenient for the historian, but it must be used with

caution—the proximal perspective can quickly become an unethical scholarly crutch that passes the specter of anthropomorphism onto the reader. Therefore, an animal historian should always pay attention to how they frame their statements about an animal's living conditions and keep in mind how their audience might react. If necessary, they should give appropriate scientific context to guide reader expectations towards a realistic interpretation.

A Case Study in Good Animal History

In her essay "A History From Below of a Changing Zoo," Violette Pouillard models a form of animal history that centers the animal, makes relevant connections to culture, responsibly uses science to address agency, uses the proximal perspective, and acknowledges agential limits. Her essay revolves around the life of a captive lowland gorilla named Gust. Gust was captured in and taken from Africa in 1953, living in the Antwerp Zoo until his death in 1988.[65] Animal historians should look to her general framework to write animal histories, albeit with adjustments when writing about underrepresented species.

Pouillard had no primary sources documenting Gust's birth and capture in Africa. She overcomes this by offering a snapshot of what his life before capture might have been like based on ethological studies of Western gorillas. Provided animal historians specify when their claims enter the hypothetical realm, using science and related historical sources to approximate what an animal's life may have been like is a valuable strategy. Sometimes historians might need to rely entirely on this strategy if few or no sources exist on the animals they are studying.

Pouillard demonstrates the power of the proximal perspective when she focuses on the material conditions of Gust's life. She observes, "In his day cage, Gust benefited from daylight passing through the glass ceiling protected by an iron trellis, as well as from keeper-regulated heating, ventilation, and humidity."[66] Pouillard does not shy away from using the word "benefited" to describe Gust's physical conditions, as amenities such as ventilations kept Gust alive in captivity. Even if a historian ultimately argues that captivity is harmful (as Pouillard does later in her essay), they should always acknowledge how conditions in captivity might have helped the animal. Far from weakening their argument, addressing the positive and negative features of captivity show the historian understands that human-animal relationships are complex.

In the sentence following her descriptions of Gust's day cage "benefits," Pouillard qualifies her statement by noting that "If his physical needs were catered to, his movements were restricted to the day and perhaps also the night cages, which could explain why his toenails reached four to five centimeters long in August 1980."[67] Pouillard repeatedly describes Gust's living conditions, identifies physical benefits, addresses agential parameters (such as restricted movement), and notes any physical consequences of these living conditions (such as long toenails). Simply by describing an animal's physical living conditions, a historian can explore the nature of the human-animal relationship.

Another form of surface-level observation that Pouillard uses to illuminate Gust's life is a comparison between his life in the zoo and life in his native habitat. This comparison might not work as well with domestic animals or so-called pest animals, as their natural environments overlap significantly with human domains. However, with animals that typically live separately from humans, these comparisons can demonstrate

how their relationship with people altered their lives. For example, Pouillard compares Gust's limited zoo diet to a wild gorilla's diet of "148 or more plant species."[68] She also notes that he was isolated compared to most wild gorillas, who tend to have active social lives.[69] Such observations are a great starting point for animal historians because they indicate reasons an animal might adapt (or not adapt) to human-altered living conditions.

Once Pouillard outlines Gust's physical living conditions, she searches for behaviors that indicate a response to his environment. She manages to give Gust agency without making unsubstantiated claims about his thought process or mental state. For example, Gust frequently tried to eat things other than his prescribed diet, such as basswood leaves, bedding straw, and putty. Pouillard suggests that these behaviors were a response to "environmental poverty, lack of plant materials, and poor enrichment."[70] Between the case that she makes and the behaviors themselves, her assessment seems plausible. In her narrative, Gust is not painted as an unhappy victim or crafty resistor, but she does not dismiss these as possibilities. This agnostic approach is perhaps the best historians can do, as it acknowledges that animal actions are significant but refuses to anthropomorphize them based on flimsy or no evidence.

When giving animals agency, historians should focus on animal actions and their consequences before attempting to assign motivation. Pouillard does just that when she describes Gust's behavior in captivity. She claims that "Several of Gust's behaviors provoked unease in staff. For example, at least at age ten, Gust began to charge at and pound the glass of his enclosure in an aggressive manner." In response, zoo employees added bars to the front of his cage.[71] Pouillard provides several other examples in this vein. These instances show that Gust's behavior—whether premeditated resistance, instinct, or something else—directly affected the zookeepers' actions and his own life. Pouillard also highlights his agential parameters. The more Gust acted in ways the zookeepers deemed unfavorable, the more restrictions they placed on him. These passages reveal a great deal about Gust's relationship with humans without entering his mind.

In her essay, Pouillard responsibly moves beyond the proximal perspective by using science to back up her claims. When describing Gust's daily life, she notes that "It is more than likely that Gust, who 'kept shifting his gaze to the people watching him,' suffered from [human visitors'] continued presence."[72] She backs up this statement with "several ethological studies" that show that large groups of visitors increase stress.[73] Pouillard's claim about Gust's mental state is credible because she uses both science and primary textual evidence to substantiate it. Additionally, she does not blindly accept ethological explanations (which are highly generalized) over Gust's behavior as an individual. She argues that while the visitors might have stressed Gust out, they also provided him with enrichment because he would often imitate them. Animal historians should always back up their interpretations of animal inner-states with as much scientific and primary source evidence as possible and use qualifying statements. Not only does this help avoid anthropomorphism, but it is also good practice for any historian writing about subjects traditionally overlooked by the historical record.

Although most of "A History From Below of a Changing Zoo" revolves around Gust's life, Pouillard uses the final section of her essay to show that "Gust's individual trajectory therefore sheds light on broader dynamics which the prevailing, teleological perspective masked."[74] She suggests that animals in zoos frequently disappear behind human symbolic projections, which mask the "marked effects on their bodies, flesh, and

minds."[75] By addressing human institutions, Pouillard turns Gust's story into a piece of usable past from which we can glean insight into how we might change our institutions to better serve animals.

A Note About Species Bias

A worrying trend is that the overwhelming majority of existing animal histories are dedicated to domesticated companion animals (mainly dogs and horses) or charismatic megafauna in captivity.[76] Out of all the sources examined for this essay, only a handful focused on non-mammals. It seems historians prefer to write about animals that are "cute, and have characteristics favored by humans."[77] Not coincidentally, these are also the species that animal psychologists study the most. The result is a highly skewed body of historical animal literature. The field of animal history is young enough that historians could start dismantling this species hierarchy now instead of thirty years into the future.

Conclusion

Good intentions of early authors led to rise in animal studies, but their efforts to give animals the spotlight by giving animals agency or writing their points of view often devolve into anthropocentrism. As Pouillard's use of the proximal perspective demonstrates, descriptions of external observations of living conditions and behavior can produce powerful animal histories without attempting to guess at an animal's inner thoughts. If a historian wishes to address an animal's thoughts and feelings, they should responsibly use scientific animal research to aid their understanding. Finally, connecting animal perspectives with cultural perspectives will allow humans to make meaningful changes that better the lives of animals and other oppressed groups.

Notes

1. Humans, of course, are animals; however, in this paper the word "animals" will refer to nonhuman animals for brevity's sake.
2. Margo DeMello, *Animals and Society: An Introduction to Human-Animal Studies*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia UP, 2021), 4-7.
3. DeMello, 7.
4. Jason Hribal, "Animals Are Part of the Working Class: A Challenge to Labor History," *Labor History* 44, no. 4 (2003); Jason Hribal, *Fear of the Animal Planet: The Hidden History of Animal Resistance* (Chico, CA: AK Press, 2011).
5. Susan Nance, *Entertaining Elephants: Animal Agency and the Business of the American Circus* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 2013), 7.
6. Marcus Krzoska, "'We Know Them All': Does It Make Sense to Create a Collective Biography of European Bison?", in *Animal Biography: Re-framing Animal Lives*, eds. André Krebber and Mieke Roscher (Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland AG, 2018), 110.
7. Aaron Skabelund, "A Dog's Life: The Challenges and Possibilities of Animal Biography," in *Animal Biography: Re-framing Animal Lives*, eds. André Krebber and Mieke Roscher (Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland AG, 2018), 88.
8. Sarat Colling, *Animal Resistance in the Global Capitalist Era* (East Lansing: Michigan State UP, 2021), 23.

9. DeMello, *Animals and Society*, 10.
10. DeMello, 44.
11. Nat Turner was an enslaved African American who led a rebellion against white slaveowners in 1831; Hribal, *Fear of the Animal Planet*, 18.
12. DeMello, *Animals and Society*, 317.
13. Ashitha Nagesh, "Vegans Need to Stop Comparing the Treatment of Animals to Slavery," *Independent*, June 16, 2015, https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/meat-free-monday-vegans-need-stop-comparing-treatment-animals-american-slavery-10319301.html.
14. Colling, *Animal Resistance*, 24.
15. Cary Wolfe, "Human, All Too Human: 'Animal Studies' and the Humanities," *PMLA* 124, no. 2 (2009): 572, doi: 10.1632/pmla.2009.124.2.564.
16. Hilda Kean, "Challenges for Historians Writing Animal-Human History: What Is Really Enough?,"*Anthrozöos* 25, no. 1 (2012): 57, doi: 10.2752/175303712X13353430377011.
17. Erica Fudge, "What Was It Like to Be a Cow? History and Animal Studies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies*, ed. Linda Kalof (New York: Oxford UP, 2017), 261-262.
18. Chris Pearson, "Canines and Contraband: Dogs, Nonhuman Agency and the Making of the Franco-Belgian Border During the French Third Republic," *Journal of Historical Geography* 54 (2016): 56, doi: 10.1016/j.jhg.2016.07.005.
19. Krzoska, " 'We Know Them All,' " 108.
20. Colling, *Animal Resistance*, 8.
21. Hribal, *Fear of the Animal Planet*, 26.
22. Virginia Morrell, *Animal Wise: The Thoughts and Feelings of Our Fellow Creatures* (Collingwood: Black, 2013), 1-14, Kindle.
23. Helen Steward, "Animal Agency," *Inquiry* 52, no. 3 (2009): 222-224, doi: 10.1080/00201740902917119.
24. Hribal, *Fear of the Animal Planet*, 26.
25. Hribal, *Fear of the Animal Planet*, 152-153.
26. Colling, *Animal Resistance*, 103.
27. Stephen Dowling, "The Complicated Truth About a Cat's Purr," BBC, July 25, 2018, https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20180724-the-complicated-truth-about-a-cats-purr.
28. Jay Kirk, *Kingdom Under Glass: A Tale of Obsession, Adventure, and One Man's Quest to Preserve the World's Great Animals* (New York: Picador, 2010), 32-34.
29. Hribal, *Fear of the Animal Planet*, 32.
30. Sean Jackson, "What is an Animal Psychologist?" Online Psychology Degree Guide, last modified May 2021, https://www.onlinepsychologydegree.info/faq/what-is-an-animal-psychologist/.
31. Morrell, *Animal Wise*, 87-127, Kindle.
32. Nicola Foote and Charles W. Gunnels IV, "Exploring Early Human-Animal Encounters in the Galapagos Islands Using a Historical Zoology Approach," in *The Historical Animal*, ed. Susan Nance (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2015), 204.
33. Andria Pooley-Ebert, "Species Agency: A Comparative Study of Horse-Human Relationships in Chicago and Rural Illinois," in *The Historical Animal*, ed. Susan Nance (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2015), 153-158.
34. Saul McLeod, "Comparative Psychology," *Simply Psychology*, 2015, https://www.simplypsychology.org/comparative-psychology.html.
35. DeMello, *Animals and Society*, 209.
36. McLeod, "Comparative Psychology."
37. Emily Underwood, "Rats Forsake Chocolate to Save a Drowning Companion," *Science*, May 2, 2015, https://www.sciencemag.org/news/2015/05/rats-forsake-chocolate-save-drowning-companion.
38. DeMello, *Animals and Society*, 5.
39. The definition of "natural habitat" grows ambiguous when it comes to domesticated animals, such as dogs, or animals that frequently live in proximity to humans, such as raccoons; "Differences Between Comparative Psychology and Ethology," My Animals, last updated January 23, 2020, https://myanimals.com/animals/differences-between-comparative-psychology-and-ethology/.
40. Amy Nelson, "What the Dogs Did: Animal Agency in the Soviet Manned Space Flight Programme," *BJHS: Themes* 2 (2017): 81, 98, doi: 10.1017/bjt.2017.9.
41. In this, ethology frequently differs from comparative psychology, which focuses on cognitive processes of learning and interpretation rather than instinctual responses.
42. "Differences Between Comparative Psychology and Ethology."
43. Fudge, "What Was it Like to Be a Cow?," 261-262.
44. Josephine Donovan, "Interspecies Dialogue and Animal Ethics," in *The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies*, ed. Linda Kalof (New York: Oxford UP, 2017), 213.
45. Nigel Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Modern Zoo* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 2002), 5.
46. Steward, "Animal Agency," 218.
47. Ralf Stoecker, "Why Animals Can't Act," *Inquiry* 52, no. 3 (2009): 256, doi: 10.1080/00201740902917135.
48. David Gary Shaw, "Horses and Actor Networks: Manufacturing Travel in Later Medieval England," in *The Historical Animal*, ed. Susan Nance (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2015), 134.
49. Chris Pearson, "Dogs, History, and Agency," *History and Theory* 52, no. 4 (2013): 134, doi: 10.1111/hith.10683; Shaw, "Horses and Actor Networks," 147.
50. Shaw, 147.
51. Brett Walker, "Animals and the Intimacy of History," *History and Theory* 52, no. 4 (2013): 49-50, doi: 10.1111/hith.10687.
52. Steward, "Animal Agency," 225.
53. Hribal, *Fear of the Animal Planet*, 89-91.
54. Chris Pearson, "History and Animal Agency," in *The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies*, ed. Linda Kalof (New York: Oxford UP, 2017), 251.
55. Thomas Almeroth-Williams, *City of Beasts* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2019), 6.
56. Hribal, *Fear of the Animal Planet*, 26.
57. Pearson, "History and Animal Agency," 251.
58. Historiography is another term for the study of methodology in the historical field.
59. Fudge, "What Was It Like to Be a Cow?," 271.

60. Thomas Webb et al., "More-Than-Human Emotional Communities: British Soldiers and Mules in Second World War Burma," *Cultural and Social History* 17, no. 2 (2020): 251, doi: 10.1080/14780038.2020.1744879.
61. Webb et al., 252-253.
62. Webb et al., 256.
63. Tracy McDonald, "Sculpting Dinah with the Blunt Tools of a Historian," in *Zoo Studies: A New Humanities*, eds. Tracy McDonald and Daniel Vandersommers (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2019), 94-96.
64. McDonald, 109.
65. Violette Pouillard, "A History From Below of the Changing Zoo," in *Zoo Studies: A New Humanities*, eds. Tracy McDonald and Daniel Vandersommers (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2019), 167-171.
66. Pouillard, 177.
67. Pouillard, 177.
68. Pouillard, 179.
69. Pouillard, 174.
70. Pouillard, 180.
71. Pouillard, 181.
72. Pouillard, 179.
73. Pouillard, 179.
74. Pouillard, 183.
75. Pouillard, 184.
76. Charismatic megafauna are large mammals valued within human culture, such as elephants, pandas, lions, etc.
77. DeMello, *Animals and Society*, 66.

Adaptation and Perseverance of the Oshkosh State Teachers College During World War II

Zachary Caldwell, author
Dr. Stephen Kercher, history, faculty mentor

Zachary Caldwell is a senior history major at UW Oshkosh. Before attending college, he served as an active-duty Air Force member and was stationed around the world. His time in Germany solidified his love of history and his appreciation for the modern world's connection to the past. He hopes to pursue a career in museum or library work.

Dr. Stephen Kercher is a professor in the Department of History and the Director of University Research and Creative Activity at UW Oshkosh. Dr. Kercher, who earned his Ph.D. in history and American studies at Indiana University at Bloomington, specializes in post-WWII American history. He authored *Revel with a Cause: Liberal Satire in Postwar America* in 2006, received the Distinguished Teaching Award in 2008, and since then has helped curate *Black Thursday Remembered*, *The Lands We Share*, *Take Cover, Neenah!* and other exhibits and public history projects.

Abstract

The effect that World War II had on a college like the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh (UWO), then known as the Oshkosh State Teachers College, provides an interesting focal point for historical investigation. There are plenty of historical accounts of the effects of the war on industry and American society. Little, however, has been written about how the Oshkosh State Teachers College adjusted to the circumstances. The timeline on UWO's website briefly highlights some aspects of the lives of the Army Cadets who were stationed on campus for a time. This article is derived from the research I conducted for an American history seminar during the spring 2021 semester. The research was performed using mostly primary sources, such as newspaper articles and handwritten letters, from the UWO archives. My focus begins in 1938, just before the invasion of Poland, and concludes with the initial postwar return to normalcy in 1946. This article discusses the general mood on campus, the efforts students made to aid the war, and the hardships people experienced. This essay is intended as a close study of one specific teachers college in Wisconsin.

*****

World War II had a profound impact on the globe, with millions of lives lost and millions more permanently altered. Yet the amazing thing about such an obscene conflict is how everyday people were willing to change and sacrifice in the name of victory. Even small towns and groups of people adapted to assist in the war effort. Wisconsin institutions such as the Oshkosh State Teachers College changed a great deal between the invasion of Poland in 1939 and the cessation of hostilities and its immediate aftermath. The community of students and teachers at the Oshkosh State Teachers College came

together to do whatever they could to help their country in a time of great need.

In 1939, the war was still a distant thought to students of the Oshkosh State Teachers College (OSTC). The invasion of Poland was not addressed at all in the school newspaper, *The Advance*. The first mention of the war was not made until November of that year. Yet, there was anticipation that the United States would become involved in the conflict. Harkening back to the lessons learned in the Great War, *The Advance* published an article insisting that it was not a matter of if, but when the United States would be drawn into the conflict.[1] This was the sentiment of many around the campus. War was coming, and the nation and college must be prepared. College President Forrest Polk found himself ready to take on the fascist oppressors from as early as 1938. He wrote to the National Conference of Christians and Jews that educators understood "even more fairly than the average informed American, the need for maintaining political and religious liberty in our democracy."[2] Polk was openly opposed to the political, economic, and religious oppression typical in both communist and fascist nations. Many at the time saw the Soviet Union as just as belligerent as Nazi Germany. Despite how little notice the invasion of Poland got in *The Advance*, students were quick to condemn the Soviet invasion of Finland. The prevailing thought at OSTC, as well as at other larger collegiate institutions, was that Stalin was as bad as the aggressors in western Europe, Italy's Benito Mussolini and Germany's Adolf Hitler. Regardless of student response to the conflicts overseas, no one wanted to get involved in another European war. "Never before has there been a more determined resolution upon the lips of the students, than there is today for peace," *The Advance* opined in December 1939. "The student doesn't want this generation of American youth to be thrown overboard in vain for an ideal."[3] Yet the feeling seemed to be that the US would inevitably get involved. The fear of consequences of becoming involved in another European war can be summed up by the poem "Killed in Action" by OSTC freshmen student Marjorie Michels, published in the last issue of the 1939 *Advance*:

> When I grow up and ask of some former classmate,
> Will someone say, "Oh he was killed in action."
> Is that what's going to happen to my friends,
> Are they being educated to be killed in action?
> Will the boys I played marbles with,
> Use their shooting ability in action?
> Will the boys who played war with tin soldiers,
> Be soldiers, kill soldiers, be killed in action,
> Will the boys who toss the pig skin here on the gridiron,
> Toss Bombs to kill someone else in action?
> Rather than this, let the people,
> Who start these wars be killed in action.[4]

Neither the students of OSTC nor the great bulk of Americans wanted war. Literature in the form of pamphlets began circulating throughout the country, including on the OSTC campus. Titled "The Yanks are Not Coming," one pamphlet stated in no unclear terms that Americans did not want anything to do with the conflict raging overseas.[5] As the war waged on, however, opinions about American entry into the war began to shift.

By 1940, there were clear hints of a change in attitude towards the war. This was noticeable with the presentations and speeches of individuals who came to speak at the OSTC Little Theatre or from former students themselves. In early 1940, Clifton M. Utley, a specialist on foreign relations, spoke at the Little Theatre in favor of aiding the allies. Utley imparted the idea that the only favorable outcome of the war for the United States would be an Allied victory. He implied that Germany could very well bring England to her knees, and if England fell, it would put the United States between two unfriendly nations. However, he did not imply that the US should become a belligerent in this war. Instead, Utley argued that the US should financially support the allies, including Finland, against all invading powers. However, like many other Americans, he recognized that even providing aid to the Allies would likely draw the United States into the war.[6]

One other noteworthy speaker at the OSTC Little Theatre was Gerhart H. Seger, a former member of the Reichstag, the German imperial parliament. He knew Hitler personally and had escaped a concentration camp. He told the audience that the Nazi state prevented the free practice of Christianity. He stated that he hoped the United States would not get involved in the war. He felt Germany was doomed to lose once more before being given an opportunity to practice democracy again. It was his concern that the US would have to finance the reconstruction of a destroyed Germany and that it should "[n]ot invest one dollar without the reservation being made that it is not to be used to build up military power."[7] These speakers personified the internal struggle the American people were having with the war. While they felt that the Allies needed US aid, they were reluctant to send their boys off to die in another foreign war.

The reluctance to enter the war did not mean that preparations were not being made in case the United States was forced to defend its own soil. By 1939, the OSTC was beginning to entertain the possibility of United States engagement in the war. That year, OSTC began offering a civilian pilot training program in order to prepare "the vast number of pilots that may be necessary to match the government's progress in plane production."[8] This program was originally only intended to provide the basics of flight and ground school instruction. Students were supplied with seventy-two hours of ground school instruction and at least thirty-five hours of flight instruction. This program continued in 1940 with greater requirements for completion. Up to twenty students were trained as pilots each semester. Each student promised to fly for the Army or Navy if drafted.[9] The Navy began actively recruiting college students as reserve officers at this time as well. Emphasizing to students that the threat of war was very real, the Navy argued that students could better prepare themselves for the potential conflict by joining the ranks as reserve officers. The Navy reserve offered a program in which students would enlist for a thirty day "cruise" aboard a Navy ship. They were not paid for their time, but received food as well as uniforms and equipment free of charge. Upon the end of their trip, potential candidates were selected for officer roles for which they were deemed fit upon formal entry. Students also had the option to refrain from enlisting in the Navy after the thirty days.[10]

In April 1940, war-shy students of OSTC were not very keen on the Allied powers. Citing the "British Hypocrisy," students brought attention to the fact that Britain only seemed concerned with its own wellbeing. The British and the French promised the Finns aid against the Russians, and the Polish aid against the Germans, but they ultimately did nothing to help either nation. The accusation was that Britain did not want to fight

its own battles. "The essence of England's policy is revealed," one student wrote in *The Advance*, "to use the other man's soldiers for England's fighting, to use the other man's soil as Britain's *place d'armes*. After Poland and Finland can this truth be denied any longer?"[11] Yet only a week later, *The Advance* published an editorial supporting the British. Student Tony Yaksh opined that the United States would have to provide "guns, men, machines, and strategy" to win the war against Germany, just like it did during World War I.[12] In a sharp turn from only a year prior, OSTC students now felt that the battle lines had been drawn and that the United States must now fully support the Allies. Fears that even limited involvement in the war might prove economically devastating to American citizens lingered. The economic cost of World War I totaled billions of dollars, and some students believed the effects of unemployment, agricultural impoverishment, and industrial disruption of the Great Depression were still causing problems in 1941. Those who called for neutrality wished for complete neutrality. They felt supporting Great Britain could only lead to economic ruin.[13] All speculation about the level and nature of the United States' possible involvement in the war overseas meant extraordinarily little once the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in December of 1941.

*****

Roosevelt famously declared December 7, 1941, "a day which will live in infamy." These words, given after Imperial Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, would echo in the minds of Americans for generations. Overnight, everything changed about American opinion of the war. As a result, everything changed for the students and staff of OSTC. At first, *The Advance* warned students not to fall into war hysteria. It encouraged students to make the sacrifices needed for the war effort but at the same time to remember what it meant to be a citizen. Keeping calm was as important to the war effort as anything else. An editorial in the December 16, 1941 issue of *The Advance* counseled:

> By keeping our heads in this time of crisis, we will thwart the Axis's greatest desires. There is nothing it would like better than to see our nation thrown into a state of panic and hysteria, in which condition we could neither think nor act clearly and correctly. We will speed up the process of blending our nation into the smoothly functioning, unified machine which is so much needed to win this battle. It will be hard to keep from replying to the call of a brass band, or the blaring shout of an over-patriotic speaker but we must remember that it has been said by competent statesmen that the greatest threat to Democracy is a brass band.[14]

The speed at which the nation and OSTC became a unified machine bent on victory was exemplary. Within a month of the attack on Pearl Harbor, OSTC had already begun doing its part to aid the war effort. Over a dozen men withdrew from their studies to enlist in the armed forces, some without even going through the formality of officially dropping out of school. Notices of when recruiters would be nearby to process enlistments were published on the first page of the first issue of *The Advance* in 1942. A representative from the State Nursing Council visited OSTC to recruit female students into nursing, a critical field with the United States now fully committed to the war effort.

These recruitment drives were critical to mobilization on the home front, leading to a significant change in OSTC culture. Women at OSTC began knitting clothing on a massive scale in support of troops. The women's lounge was the main site for this endeavor, where "a maze of bags—knitting and otherwise—gay, bright colored ones ranging from hat box creations to fish net types" could be found. Knitting took place anywhere women could find room to perform the task. Female students knit in hallways, during class, and at assembly. There were even complaints that the movies shown in the assembly (which required a darkened room) got in the way of knitting. One freshmen student, Betty Glander, managed to complete 14 sweaters during the month of January. All of the sweaters were donated to the Red Cross. The knitting did not stop at sweaters. Art classes began weaving rugs, sewing layettes, and designing quilts. Female faculty knit when they had spare time, while young girls from the Training School even spent valuable recess time knitting![15]

Student organizations did their part to aid the war effort as well. Already in January 1942, the Iota Alpha Sigma (IAS) society was appointed to be the representative of the school for the Badger Bomber Campaign. This was a drive conducted by the state of Wisconsin to collect $100,000 (the equivalent of $1.6 million in 2021) in order to pay for a bomber to be used in the war. By the time IAS began their part of the drive, $13,978 had already been raised statewide. To show his commitment to the cause, the very first donation made to the IAS cause came from OSTC president Forrest Polk himself.[16] Additionally, the Delta Phi sorority ran its own War Stamp sales campaign in 1943. Alongside other sororities, they rolled bandages for the Red Cross and even used their own funds to provide a subscription to Life magazine to the cadets stationed on campus.[17]

Campus societies made the decision to cancel their yearly formal in 1942, citing a lack of funds and male escorts. Money spent on dances could be better utilized in support of the war effort. This message was directed primarily at campus women, reminding them of the lives men would be surrendering all too soon.[18] The enlistment of male students caused the cessation of the intersociety basketball tournament, normally a fixture on the campus calendar after the return from Christmas break. Too many participants planned on enlisting before the end of the semester to feasibly continue the tradition.[19]

The school yearbook, *The Quiver*, began to be used as a fundraising tool. Redesigned to show support of the war, its central theme was education as the first line of defense. "War songs" were scattered throughout the book along with patriotic phrases such as "keep 'em Flying" and "Remember Pearl." A new feature listing all former students who had answered the call to duty lasted the duration of the war. A special tribute to the first two students who paid the ultimate price in service of their country was made in the 1942 edition of the yearbook. *The Quiver*'s cover bore the design of the liberty bell, with the "V" enlarged and stretched over the whole cover. The symbolism was simple and poignant: "V for victory." It was not just in its design that *The Quiver* showed its support. *The Quiver* was normally provided free to students every year through the use of fundraising activities throughout the normal school year. While this did not change during the summer of 1942, there was one addition: each copy contained a US Defense stamp pasted onto a page. The cost of the stamp, ten cents, would be the cost of the yearbook during the summer of 1942.[20]

The Advance became a casualty of the war as well. The publication was no longer a fully fleshed-out newspaper by the beginning of the 1942 fall semester. It was printed

in mimeographed format due to prohibitive printing costs. With so many of the original editors leaving for military service, the quality of the paper declined for the next several years. Cycling editors in order to provide the experience of writing and managing a newspaper to as many individuals as possible, *The Advance* recognized this change: "It is not our sole intention to put out a college paper….We are learning how to put out a good high school paper."[21] The paper continued in this capacity throughout the remainder of the war. It updated current students on the careers and safety of former students serving in the war. Most rank promotions were regularly listed within its pages, as well as the deaths of any OSTC alumni during the war. *The Advance* temporarily ceased production between January 22, 1945 and October of the same year. Thus, it is difficult to glean insight into student opinions and thoughts about the end of the war and its immediate aftermath.

Not everyone on the OSTC campus was full of patriotic fervor right away. Complaints about wartime restrictions and reductions began as soon as the war did. All social events for the spring 1942 semester were canceled with the start of the war. One student, Robert E. Herman, penned an editorial asking why this was necessary. Since maintaining morale is just as important to the warfront as man and materials, Herman argued, it seemed superfluous and unnecessary to cancel the events. Laughter and leisure are important to the war effort, he maintained, a lesson that the British and Australians had already learned. He concluded his editorial with a plea to the administration: "We as students, as young men and young women who must fight and win this war if it to be won, ask of you: are our lives and careers not sufficient evidence of our willingness to sacrifice without needless additional self-denial?"[22]

Collegiate sports suffered considerably during the war, as individuals who were highly athletic were ideal candidates for the Army; OSTC sports teams saw their fair share of losses. Within the first month of the war, OSTC lost eight of its star athletes from both the football and basketball teams. Even the bowling team sacrificed one of its best bowlers to the Army. This gutting of the teams continued throughout the war. The football team lost so many players it was unable to field a team from 1943 until the war ended.[23]

Air raid drills became a fixture on the OSTC campus and in the city of Oshkosh. Oshkosh is roughly eight hundred miles closer to Berlin than New York is, and there was a real fear that Oshkosh or other Fox Valley cities would be bombed by the German war machine.[24] Many pamphlets were distributed to instruct students and staff on how to implement proper drills, starting with a full page of instructions in the *Oshkosh Northwestern*.[25] Pamphlets were sent to parents of the training school children advising them on the procedures. Since there was great concern throughout the city about how well young children would adjust to the air raids, adjustments were made with them in mind. A local nun from a Catholic school suggested singing songs and doing small tasks to keep the little minds busy, and this idea was accepted unanimously by city planners. Air wardens were designated to direct the children in the event of an attack, and another fire warden was assigned to handle fire outbreaks triggered by incendiaries.[26] Fire drills served as a reminder to the college and the city that the war was very real and could come home at any time.

The war shifted how OSTC worked with the Oshkosh community at large. A ruling by the Oshkosh School Board in the spring required teachers already active in the

community to receive extra lessons and instruction in night classes held on campus. These classes—held after normal school hours—were intended to ensure that local teachers received their extra instruction while also being available over the summer to engage in defense work.[27] There were also campus programs throughout the war for experienced teachers in rural and urban elementary education. These refresher courses aimed to keep these teachers current in their teaching methods in the event they would be pressed into service in the armed forces as instructors.[28]

Teachers were not the only ones returning to school. Adults throughout the city were catching classroom fever. Workmen, nurses, businessmen and countless others began taking air raid warden classes, first aid classes, and other emergency classes. While this sudden rush was a response to patriotic fervor, some hoped that this desire for learning would carry on after the war and lead to a much more educated society.[29]

More changes came with the reorganization of the college's curricula. In an effort to reduce the potential burden of a teacher shortage in the post-war world, "stepped-up" programs for teachers began in 1943. The basics of the plan consisted of dividing the year into four quarters, with two terms held over a five-week period in summer. This allowed OSTC students to double the number of credits they earned over the summer from six to twelve. With this new curriculum in place, the time to obtain a degree was sped up for some students by as much as one year. Though this did not apply to students seeking to teach at a high school, it did allow those in a twenty-four- or thirty-six-month program to graduate early. While this ensured steady summer enrollments during the war years, it did nothing to combat the declining enrollment during the regular school year.[30]

*****

Enrollments were a problem for many colleges during wartime, but small colleges such as OSTC were hit especially hard. In October of 1941, the student body totaled 758 men and women. By March of 1942, its numbers were down to 581, mostly from those leaving school to assist in the war effort, either by working in local industry or enlisting in the military.[31] In October of 1943, enrollment dropped to 265 students, with only thirty men on the roster. Enrollment in 1945 would still only total 308 students, and enrollment did not return to pre-war levels until 1946.[32]

Staffing at OSTC was greatly impacted by the war as well. There were fifty-three faculty members at the college in October of 1941, but that number would drop significantly within a year. By October of 1942, there were thirty-eight civilian faculty and twenty military staff on site, with the addition of twelve visiting, temporary, or military program faculty. Several members of the faculty left the college to directly assist in the war effort. Dr. Irene Price, professor of mathematics, left to become a statistical analyst for the Army Air Force in 1944. Dr. Burton Karges was commissioned into the Army. Economics and political science instructor Robert Neumann enlisted as a private in the Army, although the process was protracted due to his citizenship status.[33] Even the well-known coach and World War I veteran Robert Kolf returned to active Navy service as a lieutenant in 1943. In total, nine members of the faculty heeded the call of country and departed OSTC for service. Per a Board of Regents decision, those who left to aid the war effort were promised a position of equivalent role and rank upon their return.[34]

Faculty members who stayed on campus took on extra duties in order to help

however they could. In a letter to President Polk, school nurse Sarah Arnemann requested permission to teach a special class on first aid.[35] Additionally, three staff members became advisors for students who wished to join the reserves. Earl Clemans represented the Marines, Dr. James Duncan represented the Navy, and President Forrest Polk represented the Army. These three were contacted if any student had questions about the process of joining the reserves and how it would affect their school career.[36]

By May of 1942, the Army participated in full-scale training to get men ready for combat operations. This meant that there was a dire need for instructors to assist in both combat and non-combat training. In a letter to President Polk, the army requested a list of applicants who could be rapidly accepted into the Army Air Force as training center instructors.[37] As a teachers college, OSTC was uniquely qualified to fill this need. At first, the Army wanted fully qualified teachers for these positions, but that soon changed. By August, the Army was once again requesting more teachers, but it had reduced the requirements to only one year of certified teacher training and a minimum age of twenty.

To increase its pool of officers, the Navy also recruited students from OSTC. It began implementing its V-1 program (an expansion of a previous reserve officer program known as the V-7 program) in January of 1942. The V-1 program was designed to allow college freshmen, sophomores, and recent high school graduates between the ages of seventeen and nineteen to enlist in the Naval Reserve and continue classes at their own expense for three semesters. After completing exams at the end of their fourth semester, they would be transferred to their qualified V-program.[38] The V-program was broken up into seven different categories depending on the student's time in college and Navy examination scores:

V-1 Pre-Indoctrination Training: Qualified students completed their first three semesters and took an examination to determine their next step.

V-2 Naval Aviation Mechanic: Those who showed an aptitude for combustion engines or metal-working enlisted as petty officers after twenty weeks of training.

V-3 Naval Communication: Men interested in wireless and visual signals completed an apprentice seaman course and were sent off to a communication school for specialized training.

V-4 Naval Intelligence: Men with "outstanding character and unquestioned reliability" with any legal or stenographic training enlisted as yeoman, or seagoing secretaries.

V-5 Pilots Program: Those who are between the ages of 19 and 26, in good physical shape and have completed 2 years of college would receive advanced pilot training and a commission within the navy as a flyer

V-6 Volunteer Specialists: A catch-all for any other specialty not listed. Qualifying men enlisted as petty officers. This class was open to all healthy men and did not include the college requirement.

V-7 Midshipman Training: This course sent qualified men on a four-month training course to be commissioned as ensigns in the Navy. It was only open to college graduates, though juniors and seniors could apply and enlist while they completed their degree.

Enlisting in one of these programs exempted participating men from the draft, though some could still be called to immediate active duty. All who agreed to serve did so for the remainder of the war, with the notable exception of those who graduated from the aviation cadet program. These cadets were required to serve four years unless the Navy Department saw fit to release them sooner.[39]

OSTC was already running a Combat Aviation Advisor (CAA) program when the war began. A CAA pilot's training class, which trained around twenty students each semester, had started in 1939. In July of 1942, the number of students expected to graduate from the CAA training class doubled. During the 1942-43 school year, thirty-seven students completed the Army curriculum and forty completed the Navy curriculum. However, this was not enough to keep up with the demand for pilots during the war. By 1943, OSTC was included in an Army Air Force Services command alongside other colleges in Wisconsin.[40] From March of 1943 until July of 1944, Army Detachment 96 was stationed at OSTC for cadet academic and flight training. Initially, there were problems in locating proper housing for the cadets because the Army rejected the initial plan of using local hotels. A solution was found in converting Swart Hall into a makeshift barracks. The first batch of four hundred cadets arrived early in the morning of March 28, 1943.[41]

The cadets' presence created logistical and social challenges around campus. Classes needed to be creatively relocated due to the loss of Swart Hall. Nonstandard classrooms were called "Victory Rooms." For example, the office of *The Advance* was redesignated as a classroom. A theatre stage might serve as a classroom while another class was taught backstage. In some cases, even the hallways became temporary classrooms. The cadets also caused a stir with the female students on campus. This was mitigated, however, by an Army regulation preventing the cadets from speaking with any of the civilian students during the week's classes. A series of editorials in the April edition of *The Advance* confirmed that the men wanted to talk but were not allowed to until the weekend.[42] Even with the restrictions on when and where a cadet was allowed to speak with the local girls, several couples were already engaged by the end of April![43]

The Army Air Force training program was a great success for the nation. In fact, it was so successful that by November of 1943, the number of cadets awaiting training was reaching a surplus. The Army made the decision to trim back the number in the program. The beginning of 1944 saw the reduction of the cadet enrollments by three-sevenths, and the program was scheduled to be terminated at seventy colleges, including at OSTC, by June 30. The government contract to train cadets at OSTC was officially terminated on July 31, 1944.[44] Over the course of one year of instruction, OSTC had passed 1,261 men through the course, at the cost of $294,974, or the equivalent of $4,516,292 in 2021.

*****

World War II finally came to an end in 1945, and OSTC needed to adapt once again—this time to the post-war world. In August 1945, before Japan had officially surrendered, there were already discussions about what to do to encourage foreign exchange students to enroll, which would boost low student numbers. Dr. James Duncan, physics professor and Dean of instruction, sent a note to President Polk suggesting that OSTC had the facilities to host students from other countries. In the hand-written note, he argued that Oshkosh, adorned with "our emphasis on the democratic way of life in a small state

institution, intimate, with faculty, small expense" would make a good fit for a foreign exchange program.[45] The hope was to bring in more students since the total number of students at OSTC was still only 308 in October of 1945.[46]

The wait was not long, however, as new OSTC students began enrolling using the G.I. Bill of Rights for education in the fall of 1945. Adorned with gold buttons on their lapels, an initial cohort of fourteen veteran students started classes at OSTC.[47] Others would follow in the coming years, taking full advantage of the four years of training offered by the G.I. Bill. With the gradual return of students came the return of sports as well. The first football game after the war was played on October 13, 1945, a real sign that things were returning to the peacetime routine.

It took some time before all of the faculty and students who had enlisted were able to a return home. The Army sent notice to OSTC indicating that any faculty members who were still activated after V-E day would remain in Europe through the end of 1945. A request for an early discharge could be made, but justification would be required. Any college requesting the return of a faculty member would have to indicate a special need for the individual for it to even be considered. This meant several members of the faculty were still waiting to return home: Lt. Robert Neuman, professor of political science; Major Ernest O. Thedinga, professor of history; and Lt. Robert Kolf, professor of physical education and OSTC coach.

By the fall of 1946, things were looking much better for the OSTC. The institution marked its seventy-fifth anniversary with the largest enrollment the college had had to date: nine hundred students. Of that large class, 495 of the 552 members of the freshman class were veterans.[48] After years of decline in student enrollment, the G.I. Bill helped save OSTC after the war. Additionally, the school newspaper returned to its full form for the first time since 1942. OSTC students who graduated shortly after the war found a job market very favorable to new teachers. The 1945 *Quiver* bragged that around 80 percent of all available graduates were already placed at the time of its publication, as all available candidates from the kindergarten and primary departments had been placed.[49] To commemorate the return to normalcy and the end of the war, the school held a celebration during homecoming week, and the athletic field was dedicated in honor of those who had served and died during the war. Over the course of the three-year conflict, 1,406 students and alumni from OSTC served in the armed forces. Forty-four of those who served were women. Forty-one students and alumni gave their lives in service to their country.[50]

In the spring of 1939, few Americans were ready for war or wanted to be a part of another European conflict. The students and staff of the Oshkosh State Teachers College were no exception to this. When the war came home in 1941 with the attack on Pearl Harbor, the entire campus was turned on its head. Through self-sacrifice, flexibility and determination, the students and faculty did what they could to help win the war. They weathered the storm of lost friends and family, lost chances to attend dances and school functions, and even adapted to the presence of an entire Army detachment on campus for a year. Those students personified the resilience of their home and provided a proud heritage to what is now the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh.

Notes

1. "To Keep Out of War Is Problem," *The Advance*, November 1, 1939, 2.
2. Edward Noyes and Tom Herzing, *Here to Serve: The First Hundred Years of the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh*, 1997, 224.
3. "Russian Invasion Condemned," *The Advance*, December 13, 1939, 2.
4. "Killed In Action," *The Advance*, December 13, 1939, p. 4.
5. "The Yanks Are Not Coming," *The Advance*, January 10, 1940, 2.
6. "Allied Victory Is in Best Interests of United States," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, February 20, 1940, 4.
7. "Classes Hitler as Incarnation of Destruction," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, November 15, 1940, 4.
8. Noyes and Herzing, *Here to Serve*, 229.
9. CAA Course Offered, September 1940, Office of the President Correspondence and Subject Files, *UW Archives*, Box 7.
10. Navy Recruitment Ad, July 11, 1940, Office of the President Correspondence and Subject Files, *UW Archives*, Box 7.
11. "British Hypocrisy," *The Advance*, April 3, 1940, 2.
12. Tony Yaksh, "UNCENSORED The British Army," *The Advance*, April 23, 1941, 6.
13. "Neutral U.S.?," *The Advance*, April 9, 1941, 2.
14. "America Must Retain Sanity and Thwart Enemy Plans," *The Advance*, December 16, 1941, 2.
15. "OSTC Knit-Wits Go 'All Out' for Defense," *The Advance*, January 21, 1942, 1.
16. "Mayor Oaks Appoints Iota to Promote 'Badger Bomber' Drive," *The Advance*, January 21, 1942, 1.
17. "Delts Top Goal," *The Advance*, April 15, 1943, 1.
18. "Curtailment of Social Life Small Sacrifice for Defense," *The Advance*, January 21, 1942, 2.
19. "Intersociety Basketball Postponed to Be Organized Next Semester," *The Advance*, January 21, 1942, 3.
20. "College Quiver Is 'Sold' for Sum of Dime," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, May 6, 1942, 8.
21. "Advance Learns by Doing," *The Advance*, October 30, 1942, 2.
22. Robert E Herman, "Why Needless Sacrifice," *The Advance*, January 21, 1942, 2.
23. "Oshkosh Athletic Teams Weakened By Eight Who Answer Call Of Uncle Sam," *The Advance*, January 21, 1942, 1.
24. "Air Raid Drills Not Mere Routine Fox River Valley Possible Target," *The Advance*, March 6, 1942, 2.
25. "What to Do in an Air Raid," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, December 27, 1941, 16.
26. "Plan for Refuges Must Be 'Serious' Oaks Tells Group," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, January 10, 1942, 3.
27. "OSTC Presents Four New Classes to Aid Fifty City Teachers," *The Advance*, March 6, 1942, 1.
28. Noyes and Herzing, *Here to Serve*, 234.
29. "OSTC Presents Four New Classes to Aid Fifty City Teachers," *The Advance*,

March 6, 1942, 1.
30. Noyes and Herzing, *Here to Serve*, 233-234.
31. "Registrar Reports Decreased Enrollment," *The Advance*, February 20, 1942, 1.
32. America Association of Teachers College Annual Report, October 1942, Office of the President Correspondence and Subject Files, *UW Archives*, Box 7.
33. "Neumann Joins US Army," *The Advance*, November 25, 1942, 1.
34. America Association of Teachers College Annual Report, 1940-1945, Office of the President Correspondence and Subject Files, *UW Archives*, Box 7.
35. Sarah Arnemann to Forrest Polk, 1942, Office of the President Correspondence and Subject Files, *UW Archives*, Box 8.
36. Noyes and Herzing, *Here to Serve*, 232.
37. U.S. Army Air Corps, Letter to President Polk, "Instructors Needed," May 5, 1942.
38. V.R. Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II* (Westport: Praeger, 1993), 12.
39. "Where Do You Fit In?," *The Advance*, May 29, 1942, 4.
40. Noyes and Herzing, *Here to Serve*, 230.
41. "College Here Assumes Role of Army Post," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, March 29, 1943, 1-5.
42. "Dear Editor," *The Advance*, April 16, 1943, 1.
43. "Military Notes," *The Advance*, April 30, 1943, 2.
44. Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities*, 95-96.
45. James Duncan to Forrest Polk, 14 August 1945, Office of the President Correspondence and Subject Files, *UW Archives*, Box 8.
46. America Association of Teachers College Annual Report, 1940-1945, Office of the President Correspondence and Subject Files, *UW Archives*, Box 7.
47. "Gold Buttons," *The Advance*, October 15, 1945, 1.
48. "Attendance Soars to Record Heights," *The Advance*, October 9, 1946, 1.
49. OSTC. *Quiver*. Oshkosh: 1945, 46.
50. Noyes and Herzing, *Here to Serve*, 232.

Call for Submissions

The regular submission deadline is **June 17, 2022**, for the upcoming issue. We will accept manuscripts anytime for subsequent issues.

Oshkosh Scholar accepts scholarly analytical and creative works on a rolling basis. Enrolled UW Oshkosh students are eligible to submit their work. Recent UW Oshkosh graduates can submit work that they completed as undergraduates for up to one year after graduation. Students who wish to submit must have a faculty mentor to support their submission.

Analytical works must have substantial original research as defined by their field, citations, and an engagement with the secondary literature. Examples of appropriate articles include those written for independent study projects, honors theses, Undergraduate Student/Faculty Collaborative Research projects, or senior seminar projects.

Creative work includes musical scores, creative nonfiction, visual art, poetry, drama, scripts, or short fiction. All creative work must be accompanied by a brief (150–300 words) artist's statement that addresses at least two of the following considerations: 1) how the piece engages with the work of others, such as masters of the craft, 2) what traditions it contributes to, 3) what genre it resides in, or 4) an explanation of the medium or technique used.

For more information regarding submission guidelines, evaluation criteria, and process overview, visit **uwosh.edu/osrca/present/oshkosh-scholar** or email us at ugjournal@uwosh.edu.

John and Linda Schuh Award for Best *Oshkosh Scholar* Article

The John and Linda Schuh Award for Best *Oshkosh Scholar* Article will be awarded to the best paper published in each of the volumes (15–19). The award amount is $500.

The Criteria for Selection include:
- Outstanding scholarship
- Depth of analysis
- Creativity, uniqueness, and originality
- Quality of exposition

The winner of each award will be announced at the annual Celebration of Scholarship and Creative Activity event at UW Oshkosh.

Recipients

Volume XV
Beginning to End: Mastery, Hierarchy, and the Anthropocene in Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick*

Sam Diemel, author
Dr. Don Dingledine, English, faculty mentor

Volume XVI
Anthropocentrism and Other Problems in Animal History: Methodological Reflections

Quill Graham, author
Dr. Michelle Kuhl, History, faculty mentor