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## Analyzing the Feminization of the Teaching Profession in the United States from the Perspective of Occupational Choice

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\$IWCHEEDWLQJ WKH TXHVWLRQ RI ZKR WR KLUH IRU W  
WKL V PDOD HDVWHUQ 0DVVDFKXVHWWV WRZQ¶V HG  
WHUP (OHYHWK ZDV D ILUVW

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6WRZ¶V H[SHULPHQW ZDV QRW DQ LVRODWHG FD  
(QJQ¶ VFKRRO ERDUGV KDG EHJXQ WR SHUPLW PRUH  
WKH ZLQWHU WHUP \$V WKLV GHYHORSPHQW DFFHOH  
FRPSRVLWLRQ RI WKH ODERU PDUNHW IRU WHDFKLQ.  
R DApT 0FDF%G`À@G1WHÀ,@U%0ÀWHRDAPVEV¶D@H7HDFKHUV`D  
WKH 6DOHP VFKRRO FRPPLWWHH DQQRXQFHG 3D ODUJH SRU  
HUYLEFHV IRU ZKLFK EXW D IHZ \HDUV VLQFH 0DOHV RQO\ ZH  
> @ 6XFK ZRUGV VHUYHG DV WKH KDUELQJHU RI  
RQO\ RQH LQ WHQ \$PHULFDQ WHDFKHUV ZHUH ZRPHQ  
QHDUO\ QLQHW\ SHUFHQW

+LVWRULDQV UHIHU WFKRNDSEHVLQ ZKHUHQLWHG  
ZRPHQTV ZRUN<sup>3</sup>WKH IHPLQLJDWERIQRLQWKWKDNDWKLH  
SKHQRPHQRQ GHYHORSHG XQH YHQO\ DFURVV WKH F



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ZRPHQ VWHDGLO\ HQWHUHG WKH WHDFKLQJ SURIHV  
GHILFLWV FDX VHQGLQW DMDHWL QW RWRWR ZRPHQW O\ 3HUO  
DQG ODUJR KDYH DUJXHG WKDW WKH DQVZHU WR WK  
FDPH WR GRPLQDWH WKH LQDWHUHQWR VFRQWXH\ POLGHV  
WKDFKRRRO ERDUGV IDYRUG WKHP RYHU PHQ

7KH DVVXPSWLRQ LPSOLFLW LQ VXFK DQDO\VHV LV V  
IXQFWLRQHG DV D UHVXOW RI D ODFN RI RFFXSDWLR  
WDNLQJ RYHURPHQDFKLQDG QR RWKHU RSSRUWXQLWL  
HPSOR\PHQW ODUJHO\ E\ GHIDXOW D LFDGDWLDQ  
RIMLWHG DUWLFOH RQ IHPDOHFKRRROWRZDFKHURPIDQ  
ORUDEQWHQGV WKDW HIIRUWV WR XSJUDGH WKH TX  
IXQFWLRQHG WR UHGXFH WKH DSSHDO RI WHDFKLQJ  
HQWDLOHG LQFUHDVHG FRVWV IRU SURVSHFWLYH LQ  
SRVVHVHUGRFFWSDWLRQDO FKRLFHV PHQ GHSDUWH  
UHVXOW DV ORUDLQH FRQFOXGHG ZDV IHPLQLDWL

\$GRSWLQJ D VLPLODU OLQH RI UHDVRQLQJ LQ KHU  
KLVWRQEDQRIDPDQ VWUHVHVG KRZ WKH LQG XVWULDQ  
FKRLFHV IRU PHQ LQ WHUPV RI RFFXSDWLRQV ZLWK  
RWKHU SXUVXLWV :RPHQ KDG RQO\ D IHZ FKRLFHV  
DQG FRPSDUHGZLWKPRQW VHZLQJ FOHDQLQJ RU  
WHDFKLQJ RIIHUG QXPURXV DWWUDFWLRQV

7KH FRQFOXVLRQV RI ORUDLQH +RIIPDQW DQGZRPJQS  
DV SDVVLYH DFFRPSOLFHWKWRVMDKFKLQPLQURDWWLRQR  
YDVW RFFXSDWLRQDO DOWHUQDWLYHV RI PHQ ZLWK  
HPSOR\PHQW WKH\ LPSO\ WKDW IHPDOH VFKRROWHD  
XQSUREOHPDWLFDQO\ LQWR WKH FODVUURSRPUV DQW  
TXHVWLRQV 'LGWKHVH JLUOV VLPSO\ UHVSRRG WR  
'LG QLQHFWQWZRPHQ VXIIHU IURP D ODFN RI MRE

)LUVW IURP WKH SHUFSQWUY\$PHUQLEQWZRPHQK WK  
IHPDOHVHGXIURP D VKRUWDJH RI ODERU RSWLRQV ZF  
YHUDFLW\ WKH LQFUHDVLDQO\ XUEDQ LQG XVWULDQ  
HQFRXUDJHG ZRPHQ WR SDUWLFLSDWH PRUH EURD  
WHDFKHUV GRPQXWLFWHFUDQWDO ZRUNHUV DQG L  
SURIHVLSFDQGLQJ WR HFRQRPLF KLVWRULDQ &ODX  
H[SDQGHG RSSRUWXQLWLHV ZDV WKDW EHWZHHQ  
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I H F R Q R P E F Q S W X V X L V  
I V W X G V H W K F D V O R Q G F  
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GHHUPLQHG WKH SUHVHQFH RI ZRPHQ LQ SDUWLFX  
ODVVDFKXVKKVWH ZKR ZRUNHG LQ FRWWRQ DQG WH[W  
VXSHULRU ZDJHV VXFK ZRUN RIIHUG EHWZHHQ  
DQQXDO DYHUDJH RI IRU SDSHU PLOO HPSOR\HH  
DPRQJ WKRVH ZLWK WKH JHPRQWWDILWDQFLDNOQLUH



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FLWHG SHUVRQDO HFRQRPLF QZHHVWHDUQDZ RDPHQRW G G  
WR WHDFK GHULYHG IURP WKH IDFW WKDW PDQ\ RI V  
D FDUHHU RI WHDFKLQJ DQG V\KXV\WKH DQGLDOR E\H HQW  
L Woman's "True" Profession + RIIPDQ PDLQWDLQFH DWRRDOR QHW  
HGXFDWRU LQFOXGLQJ WKRVH ZKR WUDYHOHG 6RXV  
WHDFKLQJ /LNH .DXIPDQ VKH WHQGV WR KLJKOLJKV  
FKRRVLQJ ZRUN DQG LQGHSHQ\G DQGLDOR YLQDUPKDFKUR  
UHFHQW VWXG\ RQ IHPDOH VFKRROWHDFKHUV LQ 1H.  
%HDGLH DUJXH WKDW WHDFKHU ZDJHV FRPSDUHG ID  
:KLOH FRPSHOOLQJ WKHLU FRQFOXVLRQV OLNH WKR  
SDUW IORZ IURP WKH H\FHSWLRQDO QDWXUH RI WKH

,I WKH ZRPHQ VWXGLHG E\ VFKRODUV VXFK DV +RIIP  
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&XUUHQW UHVHDFK VXJJHVWV WKDW WKH FRPPRQ I  
\$FFRUGLQJ WR 'XEOLQ WKH W\SLFDO 1HZ +DPSVKLU  
RI \HUV DIWHU ZKLFKWKH NDEURLHG DQGWLRRN  
KRPHPD\$JUHHLQJ ZLWK WKLV DVVHVPHQW 1HOVRC  
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DQG WZLHQWRUHRYHU HDFFRQFOXGHG WWDXGLMKH W  
HGXFDWRU OLYHG HLWKHU ZLWK RU LQ FORVH SUR[L  
WKH DYHUDJH ZRPHQ LQVWUXFWRU KDLORQWRUP D U  
LPSRUWDQW DJH DVWVSHEDQZO\ DIIRUGHG D SUHFDULR  
RWKHU WKDQ HFRQRPLF PRWLYHV DV WKH EDVLV IRU

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7KXV LW PD\ EH WKDW WKH PRQH\ PRWLVVHHD FKS-SJOLH  
WKR VH ZKR PDGH D OLYLQJ DQG D FDUHHU RI ZRUN  
ZRPHQ EHORQJLQJ WR WKLV PLQRULW\ RI WKH WRWD  
PRUH WKDQ SHFXQLDU\ PDWWHUV ZKHQ GHFLGLQJ X  
RI WKBQWLWDWLYH OLWHUDWXUH RQ WKH IHPLQLJDV  
YDULRXV VRFLVDOHGSQBFLXVHV DQG UHTXLUHPHQWV  
VWDWXV RU SUHVWLJH WR SWUDFWFRPSDFLQGVWVHPQW  
\$PAYPRFD@SQVUJDFHQJ`WKH

LLL 'R QRW NHHS FRPSDQ\ ZLWK PHQ

LY %H KRPH EHWZHHQ WKH KRXUV RI HLJKW 30 DQG

Y 'R QRW ORLWHU GRZQWRZQ LQ LFH FUHDP VWRUH

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YLLL 'R QRW GUHVV LQ EULJKW FRORUV

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~~W~~WKDUH RI ZRPHQ ZRUNLQJ DV FOHUNV JUHDWC  
HPSOR\PHQW \$FFRUGLQJ WR %DNHU ZRPHQ PD\ KD  
WHDFKLQJ EHFDXVH RI WKH VHYHUH UHVWULFWLRQV  
WHDFK<sup>></sup>HUV

:DJ~~F~~HQWHUHG H[SODQDWLRQV RI IHPDOH VFKRROWH  
WKH VRFLDO UHDOLWLHV RI ZRUN LQ WKH HGXFDWLR  
RFFXSDWLRQDO FKRLFHV +RZHYHU WKH REYLRXV V  
WKH DIRUHPHQWLRQH G H[DPSOHV QRWZLWKVWDQGLC  
IHPDOH VFKRROWHDFKHUV VXJJHVWV WKDW UDWKHU  
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EHHQ VWXGLHG LQ D V\ VWHPDWLF IDVKLRQ H[LVWLC  
VXJJHVWV WKDW VRFLDO LQFHQWLYHV PD\ KDYH RXV

\$V VHYHUDO VFKRODUV KDYH QRWHG WHDFKLQJ ZDV  
'XEOL~~Q~~Z +DPSVKLUH V IHPDOH HGXFDWRUV FRPSULVH  
IOHVKLQJ RXW WKHVH LGHDV 1DQF\ +RIIPDQ FRQWH  
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VWD<sup>></sup>W<sup>@</sup> WKHVH FODLPV VXJJHVW ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~H~~ ~~Q~~ ~~M~~ ~~X~~ ~~V~~ \HYLGHG  
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DQG KRQRU RI HGXFDWLRQDO HPSOR\PHQW ZLWK OR  
KDQG DQG XQZRPDQO\ ~~S~~ ~~Z~~ ~~K~~ ~~R~~ ~~I~~ ~~F~~ ~~K~~ ~~V~~ ~~E~~ ~~R~~ ~~Q~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~J~~ ~~S~~ ~~W~~ ~~R~~ ~~O~~ ~~X~~ ~~W~~ ~~H~~ ~~R~~ ~~W~~ ~~K~~  
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UHYROYHG DURXQG LWV DELOLW\ WR HQKDQFH SURV  
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DIIRUGHG WKHP D KLJK GHJUHH RI YLVLELOLW\ XQV  
LPPRGHVW\ \$V 1HOVRQ SRLQWV RXW VXFY YLVLELO  
SRWHQWLDO KXVEDQGV \$GGLWLRQDOO\ VRPH IHPD  
WR HQKDQFH GRZULHV

(YHQ IRU WKRVH OHVV FRQFHUQHG ZLWK ILQGLQJ PD  
ZLWK H[LVWLQJ LGHDV DERXW ZRPDQ V SURSHU URC  
FHUWODGQSHQGHQFH HYHQ LI XQDEOH WR ILQG D KXY  
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WKH SURPLVH RI LQGHSHQGHQFH DSSHDUV WR KDYH  
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WKH V UHPDUNHG KRZ QRW WKH OHDVW RI P\ SO  
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HPSOR\PHQW ZDVZKWKH\BXQE ZRPHQ FRXOGLOVHWKIGK  
RI QLQHMHWKWK IHPDOH VFKRROWHDFKHUV LQ :\RPL  
H[SODLQLQJ WKDW FRPSDUHG WR VXFY DOWHUQDWL  
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Constraint in Antebellum Td 1F>8<0048>6<0000.015 T8>14<005100003>1<0mncs 6U

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> @ † R O P H V D Q Qes: of Women Public Schoolteachers,

> @ † D Q F \ + R W P D Qs "True" Profession: Voices from the History of Teaching % R V W R Q 8 Q L Y H U V L W \ R I 0 D V V D F K X V H W W V 3 U H

> @ 8 V L Q J S H U F H Q W D V D Q L Q G H [ R I I H P L Q L ] D W L R Q W H D F K L Q J E H F D P H I H P W Q L J E H G L Q 0 B I Z V + D F K S W K H L W H L Q & R Q Q H F W L F X W L Q D Q G 5 K R G H , V O D Q G L Q ) H L Q W K H 0 R X Q W D L Q : H V W D F F R U G L Q J W R & K D U O H V 5 R I W K H W H D F K L Q J I R U F H L Q D Q G S H U F H Q W L Q , G H R O R J \ 6 F K R R O 5 H I R U P H U V D Q G ) H P D O H 7 H D F K H U : R P H Q V : R U N L Q & H I Q Q V W H H I Q V T h e N e w E n g l a n d Q u a r t e r l y ' H F H P E H U & K D U O H V ( 5 D Q N L Q 7 D Q G / M P L R Q D I R U : \ R P L T Q e W e s t e r n H i s t o r i c a l Q u a r t e r l y

> @ : R P H Q D F F R X Q W H G I R U I R X U R X W R I I L Y H S X E O L F F R X Q W U \ H [ F H S W W K H 6 R X W K E \ ' Q R W H - R H O 3 H U H F H Q W Y R O X P H < H W Z K L J O S H U Q F H Q W R R Q I O W K K 6 R W W K W H D F K H U V Z H U H Z R P H Q E \ W K H W K U X I U H S K I D G H L Q V P X F K F O R V H U W R W K H Q D W L R Q D O D Y H U W o m e n ' s - R H O 3 H W o r k ? A m e r i c a n S c h o o l t e a c h e r s , 1 6 5 2 0 & K L F D J R 8 Q L Y H U V L W \ R I & k

> @ 0 L F K D H O : \$ S S O H 7 H D F K L Q J D Q G : R P H Q V : R U N , G H R O R J L F D J o u r n a l o f E d u c a t i o n : Q W H U

> @ 3 H W H U e t a l % 0 2 F X X S D W L R Q D O & K R L F H \$ i n d u s t r i a l a n d L a b o r R e l a t i o n s R e v i e w - X O \ ) R U D G G L W L R Q D O H R F F X S D W L R Q D O F K R D e p a r t m e n t o f E d u c a t i o n a n d H i g h e r E d u c a t i o n G e n e r a l T 2 0 0 5 1 0 0 4 4 3 3 5 6 ( r ) 1 4 ( e ) 6 y t i o n s 9 3 4 C > 8 < 0 3 0 . 2 2 < 0 0 4 0 0 0 3 > T j 0 . 0 0 4 0 5 2 B 1 . 7



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> 3 HUOP BQQD WDR Ren's Work?,

> 6 XJJ Motherteacher

> 7 KRPDV 0RUDLQH 7KH 'HSDUWXUH RI 0DOHV IURP  
1LQHWHHQWK & W H W History, RZD 6XFK D  
FRQFOXVLRQ DOVR LQIRUPV WKH QDUUDWLYH FUDIW  
VFKRROWHDFKHUV LQ WKH 8QLWHG 6WDWHV )LQGLQ  
IHPLQL]DWLRQ RI WKH WHDFKLVWV RILHVKL RQ QLVPV  
OHDYLQJ VFKRRO WR HQOLVW LQ WKH DUP\ WKURX  
QHHGHG LQFUHDVLQJO\ DV Wives of Women Public ROPHV DQG  
Schoolteachers

> † RIIP Woman's "True" Profession [ Y L L

> † ROPHV Lives of Women Public Schoolteachers

> & ODXGL Underreading the Gender Gap: An Economic History of  
American Women 1HZ <RUN 2[IRUG 8QLYHUVLV\ 3UHVV

> @ RO Understanding the Gender Gap \$FFRUGLQJ WR RQH VWX  
HGXFWRUV LQ 0DVVDFKXVHWWV DW QR SRLQW LQ  
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> 7KRPDV 'XFDUQ Women's Work: New England Lives in the  
Industrial Revolution , WKDFD & RUQ3HUV 8QLYHUVLV\

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8 Q L Y H U V L W \ 3 U H V \$ O L F H + H V O O M W o r k : A H i s t o r y o f  
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DFNQRZOHGJHG WKHWSWFLHDPOOGXUSLWURWKH &LYLO :  
VWDELOLW\ RI WKH ODERU VXSSO\ ,Q IDFW LQ WKH  
UHDVRQ WR FKRRVH IDFWRU\ ZRUN RYHU WHDFKLQJ  
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> \$ V 1HOVRQ SXW LW WKH FRPPRQ VFKRROPLVWUH  
XQPDUULHG GDXJKWHUV RI UHVSHFWDEOH IDUPHUV  
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> @ X E O Traforming Women's Work,

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ILQDQFLDO VWUDLQV SODWHB BQLWKFHSDXEHQFHQFIROR  
UHJLRQDO GLIIHUHQFRQLQWRHDFRQFHQGRDMLFDMDQVRQ  
OLNH HVRVDEOLVKHG QRUPV DQG FKDQJHV LQ VRFLD  
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> )RU PRUH RQ WKLW VHH 5REHUW : )RJHO 6FLHQ  
+LVWRW. Which Road to the Past? HG 5REHUW )RJHO DQG \*HRIIU  
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> 2QH H[DPSOH RI WKFLQGHVGRUHLVDRIDRPHQWFRQRPL  
WKH IHPLQL]DWLRQ RI WKH WHDFKLQJ SURIHVVLRQ F  
&KDQJLQJ \$SSHDO RI 7HDFKLQJ 3HQQHGPEDQLFKDH  
WKH SLHFH DWWHPSWHG WR DQVZHU WKH TXHVWLRQ  
SHUVSHFWLYH &RPSDULQJ GDWD RQ WHDFKHU V PH  
ZRUNHUV JRYHUQPHQW HPSOR\HHV DQG D YDULHW\  
FRQWHDG WKH GHVLUDELOLW\ RI WHDFKLQJ KDV  
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REVHUYH WKDW ZKHUHDV PDOH WHDFKWKM KDWBWHQ  
HDUQHGE\ DOO PDOH SURIHVVLRQDO ZRUNHUV IHPD  
IURP PRUH WKDQ WKH IHPDOH FLYLOLDQ ODERU  
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WKHLU DQDO\VLVQLEH WKH WHDFKWHKDFWQWDJH RI ZRPH  
SXEOLF VFKRROWHDFKLQJ IRUFH KDV GHFOLQHG 7K  
VWHDGLO\ LQ DEVROXWH WHUPV VLQFH WKH HDUO\ V  
IHPDOHV KDYH LQRUMDRLOJCH 8SRWHVVLRQ \$IWH  
6FKORVVPDQ QRWH WKH SHUFHQWDJH RI PDOH WHD  
SHUFHQW E\ OHYHOLQJ RII WKURXJK WKH V  
6XFK LQWHUQDO LQFRQVLDQGHQFLORVVPDQ V HF  
JURXQGHG DQDO\VLV RI WKH IHPLQL]DWLRQ RI WHDF  
6FKORVVPDQ :KR :LOO 7HDFK" +LVWRULFDO 3HUVSH  
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FRQIOLFWV WKDW FKDUDFWHULJHG OLIH LQ DQ HDUO  
:ROIJDQJ %HKULQJHU DQG %ULDQ /HYD~~XNR~~~~EDD~~ HYH  
ZLWFKFUDIW LQ WKHLU DQDO\VVHV H~~EQ~~~~GD~~V~~M~~U~~Q~~D~~O~~W~~K~~

SURFHVV LQWHDOWURDNDNHV LW SRVVLEOH WR GLVFHU  
SUHFLVH SRLQW DW ZKLFK GHPRQRORJLFDO FRQFHS

7KH UHPDLQLQJ WKUHH ZRUNV WR EH FRQVLGHUHG D  
UHSUHVHQWLQJ ~~QEVVDQWLYHRO~~ VGLIIHUHQW LQWHUSUHW  
GHPRQRORJ\ SODNYGORSUORRFBOWRUV RI ZLWFKFUDIV  
FRPSUHKHQV ~~The Witch Hunt in Early Modern Europe~~ IRU H[DPSOH  
IRUHJURXQGV WKH LQWHOOFWXDO DQG OHJDO IRXC  
³HVVHQWLDQ\ D ~~M@GUFILDOORSMUDMLQJ~~ QWKH GHYHOP  
³FXPXODWLYH FRQFHSW' RI ZLWFKFUDIW /HYDFN HP  
PXVW KDYH H[SHULHQFHG RQFH WKH GHPRQRORJLFD  
FRQVSLUDF\ SRLVHG WR LQLOWUDWH WKHLU FRPPX  
PLQG\@ FRQWUDVW 5RELQ %ULJJV D SLRQHHLQ LQ W  
RI ZLWFKFUDIW W ~~Witches and Negatives~~ WLVHURJH RI YLOODJH  
DQG SRSXODU EHOLHIV DQG UHJDUGV ZLWK VNHSWL  
SOD\HG DQ\ NLQG RI DFWLYH UROH LQ LQFLWLQJ SH  
GLVFXVLRQ LV /\QGDQ ~~5RSHQZKROV and Fantasy~~ W XG\  
Baroque Germany GHOYHV LQWR ~~WKRORZ~~ WKRORZ WKRORZ WKRORZ\  
KXQWLQJ H[SORULQJ WKH ZD\ LQ ZKLFK NQRZOHGJ  
SURVHFXWRUV D VHQVH RI DXWKRULW\ VXSHULRULV  
ZD\ LQ ZKLFK WKLW PD\ KDYH PDQLIHVWHG LWVHOI

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The Trial of Tempel Anneke PRUH WKDQ MXVW D VRXUFH RI LQVL  
W\SOZLWFK WULDO SURYLGHV DQ LQWLPDWH DQG I  
WKH RUGLQDU\ HDUGS ~~PRVGHUQDURSWERDZFN~~ VHG K  
FDOOHG RQ WR WHVWLI\ DQG ZKR ZRXOG RWKHUZLV  
UHGRU\$QQD 5ROHIIHV NQRZQ WR KHU QHLJKERUV LQ  
+DU[E•WWHO DV 7HPSHO \$QQHNH ZDV HOGHUO\ ZLG  
NQRZQ ORFDOO\ DV D SXUYH\RU ~~±DIOORUNHTXPHQW~~ LHVU  
FKD ~~DE~~ WWLWV RI WKRUVH ZKR IDFHG SURVHFXWLRQ II  
µJUHDW ~~WKRORZ~~ W DQW UHFRUGV RI KHU FDVH LQFOXG  
YLOODJHUV DQG H[SHUW ZLWQHVVHWUDQ ~~DFGLISWLV~~ W  
LQFOXGH GHVFULSWLRQV RI WKH PHWKRGV RI WRUW  
GXUDWLRQ RI WKH WULDO DOVR QRW XQXVDO ZDV  
DUUHVW RQ -XQH WR KHU H[HFXXLRQ RQ 'H  
LQWURGXFWRQ WKDW SURYLGHV QHFHVVDU\ EDFNJ  
FRQWH[W EXW KH VWHHUV FRQVFLHQWLRXVO\ FOHDU  
KLV RZQ WKHRULHV ³FRPH EHWZHHQ WKH UHDSHU DQ

SURWRFROV DQG ODFNLQJ WKH H[FHSWPRYQDO FKDUD  
μZLWFK FUD]HV† WKDW VRPHWLPHV SODJXHG \*HUPDC  
UHSUHV



EHW ZalefiQumDQG 'HYLO ZRUVKLS RU GLDEROLVP KH I  
ZULWLQJV RI WKHRORJLDQV ZKR HYHU VLQFH WKH I  
FRXOG RQO\ EH SHUIRUPH > @ W/HGHPROWECSRZG UGHYHO  
KDQGV RI YDULRXV SDWULVWLF DQG VFKRODVWLF W  
ZLGHVSUHDG FRQYLFWLRQ WKDW EHFDXVH WKH\ KDG  
WKH 'HYLO ZLWFKHV ZHUH <sup>3</sup>QRW VLPSO\ IHORQV VL  
KHUHWLWFV DQG DSRVWDWHV LQWULQVLFDOO\ HYLO  
IDLWK DQG KDG GHFLGHG LQV > @ W/HGHPROWECSRZG UGHYHO  
RI SHUVHFXWLRQ WKDW RFFXUUHG EHWZHHQ WKH IL  
SRLQWV WR IXUWKHU WKHRORJLFDG GHYHORSPHQWV  
1RWDEO\ WKH ILJXUH RI WKH 'HYLO ZDV XQGHUJRLQ  
ILIWHHQWK FHQWXU\ <sup>3</sup>7KURXJKRXW WKH 0LGGOH \$JH  
EHHQ GHVFULEHG DWVSKHRH &HPULDQ DQG WDMFLKLQJ KDW  
1RZ KRZHYHU KH ZDV LQFUHDVSRQ\ VGHIS\ DWKGDV  
VRXUFH DQG REMHFW RI LGRODWU\ DQG IDOVH UHOL

\$ VRPHZKDW GLIIHUHQW LQWHUSUHWLWV With Paad LV SXW  
Neighbors D ZRUN WKDW LV GLVWLQFWLYH IRU LWV HPSH  
LQWHOOFWXDO DVSHFWV RI SHUVHFHWLRQ WKDQ R  
DFFXVDWLRQV LQ WKH ILUVW SODGHWKWK SURVWLVPS  
PDLQWDLQV OD\ LQ WKH VRFLDO VWUXFWXUH RI WKH  
SHUVHFHWLRQ IRXQG LWV PRVW IUHTXHQW H[SUHVV  
FRPPXQDO IDUPLQJ SUDFWLFHV DQG GUDFWLRQV LDFQXGQF  
DLG D QHFHVVDU\ SDUW RI GDLO\ OLIH EXW DOVR E  
FRQIOLFW RU UHVHQWPHQW 7KH UHIXVDO RI FKDULV  
GRFXPHQWV DV WKH ILUVW RFFXUUHQFH RI VXVSLFL  
WXUQH DZD\ LQWHUSUHWHG DV D VLJQBXQWVLOL  
FRVPRORJ\ WKHVH ZLFOXZIDWHLHOWIRO\LVODQVODWHG  
PDOLFLRXV PDJLF DOWKRXJK PRVWGVDLSLHFORSDVSL  
IHVWHULQJ IRU \HDUV RU GHFDGHV EHIRUH WKH\ UH  
FU\VWDOOLJH LQWR D WULDO KRZHYHU %ULJJV DVV  
SUHVXUH IURP EHORZ QRW DERDFW:KULOHDKPEVVO  
YLWDO `WKH DXWKRU LV IDLUO\ DGDPDQW LQ KLV D  
IXQGDPHQWDOO\ 3D VRFLDO >D@G/SLQMLWLSFDHWSKHLRQ  
DGPLWV RI D OHVV SHUIHFWO\ GLFKRWRPRXV UHO@F

%ULJJV HIRUWV LQ H[SORULQJ WKH YHU\ μORFDO  
LQYDOXDEOH IRU WKH GHSWK DQG QXDQFH WKDW WI  
H[WUDRUGLQDULO\ FRPSOH[ VXEMHFW \$W WKH VDPH  
ZLWFK WULDOV WHQGV DW WLPHV WR RE WFKes H FHUW  
and Neighbors WKH LQGLYLGXDOV ZKR DFWKXHDIOOGJHLG WKH  
PDJLVWUDWHV DQG RWKHU ORFDO RIILFLDOV ZKR R  
DQG H[HFXMPLDQV UHODWLYHO\ VLOHQW :KLOH KH EU  
RFFDVLQR LW LV RIWHQ WR FODSDUWZ RDW LW KFR PPH  
WR GHEXQN WKH SHUVLVWHQ WQWQWQJGRRZD ]SWDSF WLFZ H  
VSRQVRUHG DQG JXLGHG E\ HOLWH LQWHUHVWV %U  
FRQFHSWV RI ZLWFKFUDIW VXEVFULEHG WR E\ GHIHQ  
ZLWFK WULDO EXW HYHQ LQ WKH FDVH VQREOB LWHV L  
WKR VH PRUH FRQVLVWHQW VZHQGHG FRQRORJ LFD OSV  
RQO\ DIWHU WKH SURFHHLQJV ZHUH ZHOO XQGHUZ  
KDG DOUHDG\ EHHQ KHDUG 7KLV DW OHDVW VXJJHV  
GRFWULQHV WR ZKLFK WKH\ DGKHUHG HYHQ LI WKR  
PRUH V\ VWHPDWLJHG FRQFHSWLRQ RI ZLWFKFUDIW W  
)XUWKHUPRUH LW LV LPSRUWDQW WR QRWH DV /HY  
GLDER DLFVX WDWLRQV FRHUUWDLQO\ ZRXOG KDYH PDGH  
VXVSHFWHG ZLWFK PRUH VHULRXV LQ WKH H\HV RI C  
VXFK WКУHDWV WR WKHLU FRPPXQLW\ PRUH GLUH

2Q WKH RWKHU KDQG /HYDFNDQVGDQWVHVEVDWIL RFD XRV DV  
WKH VSHFLILF GHPRQRORJLFD OEHOLHIV RI <sup>3</sup>HGXFDW  
NLQG RI DVVXPSWLRQ WKDW %ULJJV Witches And \ ZDUQV  
Witch-Hunts: A Global History :ROIJDQJ %HKUHLQW H PDWLW H V 800 YH  
RI 'DU DODDP DQWKURSRORJLVW 6LPHRQ OHVDNL WKI  
WRRN SODFH LQ 7DQ]DQLD EHWZHHQ DQG DO

5RSHU OLNH %ULJJV GHYRWHV FRQVLGHUDEOH DWV  
LQGHHG LW PDSaltdom H EYIHOZ MUK HR I 5RSHU V ERRN ZK  
FRQWH[W PRVW VXFFLQFWO\ ZLNWV KCH Y LZU DRJEV HWRY D  
ZLWFK





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% HK UL Q J H U W i t c h R e s A n d W i t c h H u n t s : A G l o b a l H i s t o r y & D P E U L G J H 8 .

D Q G 0 D O G H Q 0 D V V D F K X V H W W V 3 R O L W \ 3 U H V V

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> [5RS Witch Craze,](#)

> [@RUWempel Anneke,](#)

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> [@ULWitches and Neighbors,](#)

[/DVW 8SGDWHG](#)

'DQLHO - 3HDUVRQ

3DSHU 6XEP6S/WLQ

<sup>3</sup>μ3RVVLEOH 4XHVWLRQV DQOnThe6XJJHVWH  
Beach WKH (LVHQKRZHU \$GPLQLVWUDWLRC

/RRNEQFN RQ WKH &ROG :DU HUD LQ \$PHULFDQ KLVV  
HGGXULQJ OHJDF\ RI WKDW SHULRG WKDW KDV VXUY  
FXOWXUH LV WKDW RI μWKH ERPE ¶ 7KH SKUDVH LWV  
&ROG :DWHULD HPSKDVLLQJ WKH VLFNHQLQJ GHVW  
DUPHG QXFOHDU FRQIOLFW 7KH PHDQLQJ RI μWKH E  
KRZHYHU ZDV TXLWH GLIIHUHQW μ7KH ERPE¶ ZDV L  
FXOWXUH DRUWKIHZSIVRMHQWFLYLOLJDWLRC DJDLQVW  
DV WKH FUXFLDO FRPSRQHQW RI WKH QXFOHDU μXPE  
PLOWDU\ DFWLRQV 3

RI μWKH ERPE↑ DQG WKH QDUUDWLYH RI WKH &ROG :  
QHZ ZD\V RI GHDOLQJ ZLWK XQIODWWHULQJ ILOPV Z  
GHSDUWPHQW DQG WKH QLVHQKRZHU DGPLQLVWUDWLF  
WKH HIILFDF\ RI 86 SROLF\

6KXWH Beach: μ 1 XFOHDU \$SRFDO\SWLF↑

.HQQHWK ' 5RVHne NaionK UnderzBuddNGZHV FULEHV WKH FXOV  
RI &ROG :DU DQ[LHW\LVKODWEDDVMXSUHVMOE DQG WK  
QXFOHDU DSRFDORISWLFQ WR ZULWH WKDW WKH IOR  
DSRFDO\SWLF ZDV D UHPDUNDEOH GHYHORSHPHQW I  
WKH QXFOHDU DSRFDO\SWLF ZRUNV FUHDWHG GXUL  
WKURXJK WKH PLG On the Beach 6KXWH WKERLNQ  
RI WKH ILUVW SRSXODU QRYHOV WR GHDO ZLWK WKH  
IULJKWHQLQJ DQG UHDOLVWLF PDQQHU :KLOH GLVF  
ERPE↑ KDG EHHQ DURXQG VLQFH LWV LQFHSWLRQ D  
SURPLQHQW LQ Of the Beach ZLV FLXQFOTKH FXOWXUDO DQ  
RQH WKDW KHOSHG EULGJH WKHVH LVVXHV LQWR WK  
WKH XVHIXOQHVV RYHU QXFOHDU GHWHUUHQFH DQG  
EHIRUH

\$OWKRXXJK D ZRUN RI ILFWLRQ 6KXWH V ERRN ZDV J  
FDXVH FROFSDG W7RI WKH ERRN LQYROYHG DQ DFFLG  
WKH QRUWKHUQ KHPLVSKHUH OHDYLQJ \$XVWUDOLD  
(DUWK 7KH VWRU\ UHYROYHV DURXQG D JURXS RI S  
VRRQ RYHUVOLNH \$QG WUKHLU GLIIHUHQW VWUXJJJOHV  
KXPDQ UDFH ZRXOG VRRQ EH H[WLQFW 7KH ERRN V  
DQG ZDV ZLGHO\ UHSURGXFHG DV >DSVHWRRO LQ RYHU  
JDLQHG QRWRULHW\ TXHVWLRQV DERXW WKH HIILFD  
RI QXFOHDU GHWHUUHQFH EHJDQ WR HPHUJH \$Q DU  
VKRUWO\ DIWHU WKH ERRN V UHOHDVH HQWLWOHG  
6KXWH V QRYHO DQG LWV FULWLTXH RI FLYLO GHIHQ  
ULJKW LQ LJQRULQJ WKH SRV \$VE SOLWQVRIRD VQHDGD  
RI 6KXWH V QRYHO LQWR D PREWLDDPSL BWPXU HDFFREYHG

6 WDK\ . UDR the Beach V WRRG DSDUW IURP WKH YDVW DUU  
DSRFDO\SWLF ILOPV RI WKH HUD 7KH UHDFWLRQ LV  
DGPLQLVWUDWLRQ LQ :DVKLQJWRQ ' & GXULQJ DQG  
WKDQ HDUOLHU \*RYHUQPHQW On the Beach LQ JLD ZLWK RHOS P  
(YHQV LQ CeHuld ZRdnom Clouds 3VWDQGV DV RQH RI WKH  
FRQIURQWDWLRQV ZLWK WKH On the Beach RQ RQ MW MLORQ  
8 6 \*RYHUQPHQW GXULQJ On the Beach ZRQXDF SURGHRMV RI XQV  
YDFLOODWLRQ EHWZHHQ JUXGJLQJ VXSSRUW DQG GL

7KLV YDFLOODWLRQ On the Beach H UHGV B B FDXW Z HHQ WZR GL  
\$PHULFDQ NLOPJ RQH WKDW ZHDV B B DFNGLGXULQJ DWRI  
DQG \$DGLFDQ I K\VWHULD LQ +ROO\ZRRG ZKHUH IL  
UHLQIRUFHG 8 6 &ROG :DU QDWLRQDO VHFUXLW\ SR  
µEODFNOLVW I +ROO\ZRRG WKDW TXHDLWIDRQH B QVKBQD  
VHFUXLW\ SROLFLHV 7KH ILOP ZDV RQH RI WKH ILUV  
EURXJKW WR EH DU RQ WKH SRSXODU LPDJLQDWLRQ  
WLPH WR WKLQN FULWLFDOO\ DE B XWH QRYHDQ B HQWF G  
GHHUHHQH \$V /DZUHQFH Gub and Gladly He Making of the KLV Z  
American Military Image on Film On the Beach QRW WKH 9LHWQDP :DU  
UHDO EHJLQQLQJ DOEHLW LQ D YHUKHO & FL WPHLGLZDDU  
HVWDEOLVKPHQW E\ WKH PDVV P HG@ D DQG WKH FXO

7KH On the Beach ZDV FHUWDLQO\ QRW WKH RQO\ ILOP PD  
WKH HDUO\ &ROG :DU 3UHYLRXV ILOPV PDGH GXULQJ  
HDUO\ V WR WKH PLG V DGGUHVHVG µWKH ERF  
GLIIHUHQW YLHZV RI LW \$V 7RQ\ 6KDZ KDV SRLQWH  
War HDUOLHU ILOPV FRQFHUQ Above and XFOH DU FRQIOLFW  
Beyond Strategic Air Command Bombers B2 SRUWUD\HG  
QXFOH DU ZHDSRQV DV EHQLJQ On the Beach HLFORU Z HRUHGJLP  
VXSSRUW IURP WKH 8 6 \*RYHUQPHQW GXULQJ SURG  
XMIXOQHVV DQG HYHQ WKH QHFHVVLW\ RI QXFOH DU  
DXGLHQFHV

7KHHV HDUOLHU ILOPV ZHUH FUHDWHG DQG SURGXFH  
8 6 GXULQJ WKH 5HG 6FDUH RI WKH ODWKHDG V DQ  
DOUHDG\ EHHQ EDW \$WHUHQDQ \$FWLWLV QHV &RPPLWW  
LQTXLULHV LQWR VXVSHFWHG FRPPXQLVW V\PSDWKL  
DQG RWKHU HQWHUWDLQHUV EODFNOLVWHG WKH U  
ILOP WKDW FRXOG EH SRWHQWLDQO\ VLWXDWHG ZLWK  
FRQVLGH \$UPHGLBQQ %\ WKH ODWH V ZLWK WKH J  
µVWXGLR V\VWHRQd Charms HQV DGLW KH KEVLGLQJ ILOP  
PXFH HDW DFN QWRQH Z VXEMHFW PDW On the Beach DQG WLQGL

QHZ HQYLURQPHQW 6WDQOH\ .UDPHU D ILOPPDNHU  
PDNLQJ ILOPV ZLWK μD PHVVDJH † DWWDLQFH WKH C  
DQG GLUHFWD PRYLH WKDW ZRXOG LPSOLFLWO\ FKD  
&ROG :DU SROLFLHV

:KLOH .UDPHU ZDV VXUH RI PHVVDJH KH ZDQWHG KLV  
WKH 8 6 \*RYHUQPHQW ZHUH XQVXUH DV ZRWKLQHWKH  
'HSDUWPHQW RI 'HIHQVH ZKR KDG IXUQLVKHG ILOPP  
SUHYLRXVO\ ZHUH LQGHFLDOLHEDERXWDIPOYRIQDGH  
LQLWLDOO\ DSSURDFKHG WKH 8 6 1DY\ IRU LQIRUPD  
6XPDULQH DV ZHOO DV WKH XVH RI VWRFN IRRWDJH  
UHVSRQGLQJ WKDW WKH ILOP FRXOG LQ QR ZD\ <sup>3</sup>HQK  
RQO\ EH JLYLQJ <sup>3</sup>DQ RIILFLDO EOHVVLQJ WR WKH SR  
GLVDVWENH ZLVH WKH 8QLWHG 6WDWHV ,QIRUPDWLRQ  
<sup>3</sup>QRW GHVHUYH DQ\ FRRSHUDWLRQ' FLWLQJ LWV QH.



GHWHUUHQF [REDACTED] OV D VXLFL [REDACTED] RSWLRQ GXH WR OHW  
SUI PDU\ CH [REDACTED] SRGLT WRDW WKH (LVHQKRZHU D  
VDIHJXDUGLOJ DIDLOVW WKELW KURDWRVHW ER OBL 6L6  
(LVHQKRZHU \$GPLQVWUDWLRQ V SRLQW RI YLHZ Z  
8 0 [REDACTED] ERWK DW KRPO On the Beach DEVRHGG ZKIHOW KURW  
WDVWURSKET WR WHU [REDACTED] RYHU QPHQQDP RZD V WKHI IKFLJK  
OHYHOV RI :KLWH +RXVH DQG WKH DGPLQLVWUDWLR  
LVVXH

[REDACTED] OH WKH 'H [REDACTED] WPHOW [REDACTED] HIHQVH KDG GLVWDQFH  
SROXFWLRQ DWHU VRPH LQLWLDHQQ [REDACTED] DQFHV W  
DGPLQLVWUDWLRQ TXLFNO\ VKLIWHG IURP GLVWDQF  
RYHU [REDACTED] WKH (LVHQKRZHU DGPLQLVWUDWLRQ  
On the Beach DV WKH ILOP UHF [REDACTED] RGG DRQ GS & DW  
[REDACTED] ZKH [REDACTED] RI WKH &DELQHW PHHWLQJ I  
PHQWLRQ RI WKH ILOP LQ UHJDUGV WR LWV XSFRPLC  
SDUW RI D GLVFXVVLRQ RQ FLYLO GHIHQVH WKDW RY  
SDPSK [REDACTED] 71 )DPLO\ DQ [REDACTED] KH )DOORXW 6KHOWHU  
EURXJKW XS [REDACTED] UGH [REDACTED] QIRZVKHRRRQVWUXHG  
WUHPHQGRXQXEFLOM DU SONSLRJD RGGDK > 'L@HFWRU RI W  
RI &LYLO DQG 'HIHQVH ORELOLJDWLRQ 2&'0 WKHQ  
DQ REVWDFOH WR WKH VKHOWHU SURJUDP DV KH E

3UHVLGHQW (LVHQKRZHU KOD Be Bhdh QTKHGUHLS BGSUQY  
GDWHG IRXU GD\ V O+DWBUWURIPSOHDFLQHWLDU GLSORPDW  
3UHVLGHQW GRHV QRW JUDQW SDWURQDJH WR DQ\ F  
HPSKDVLJHV WKH SRLQW ZLWKHDSG RQQHTXWV BFDLQ QQR  
UHDFWLRQ WR SXEOLF UHTXHVWV ZDV WR FRQWLQXH

SURGXFWLGHDDGG ZRMOH WR JLYH WK, @ VWCPD GX UWKHH  
RIILFLDOV ZHUH LQVWUXFWHG WR VHHN RXW RSLQL  
SHUKDSV SHUVXDGH WKHP WR VHHLQJ WKPH \*RKHVWQP  
ILUVWO\ WKH PRYLH ZDV VFLHQWLILFDOO\ LQDFFXUI  
UDGLDWLRQ DQG WKH LQDGHTXDF\ RI &LYLO 'HIHQVH  
ERWK QXFOHDU DQG FRQYHQWLRQDO ZDV SRVVLEOH  
UGXFWLRQV E\ WKH 8 6 DQG WKH 6RYLHWV DQG OD  
WKH EDVLF QDWXUH RI PDQ DVVHUWLQJ WKDW WKH  
XQQHFHVVDU\ EXW DOVE ZKRVXULFVDOFRWQXGHV W  
SRLQW WKDW ZDU LWVHOI LV WKH UHDO HYLO DQG  
GLVWLQFWLRQ EHWZHHQ FRQYH, @ WWHODGORD GG VXD  
LWVHOI WKH IQ @ PSDMYLLVXKDC\ GWKH (LVHQKRZHU DGP  
DJJUHVVLYHO\ FRXQWHU WKH LGHD WKDW WKH ERPI  
UDWLRQDOHV SUHVHQWHG LQ WKH  $\mu, 1)2^*8, '(1 WR SU  
WKHRU\ RI GHWHUJXPCHW7 KCH EG VLFWDUQ WKH  $\mu, 1)2^*$   
DV D JXLGHOLQH IRU IXUWKHUED the Beach VWUDWLRQ DF$

\$V WKH UHOHDVH GDWH RI WKH ILOP DSSURDFKHG V  
L On the Beach KHLJKWHQHG ZLWKLQ QWLVW ULDWHLQRZR Z, HQU DD & B  
DJHQGD PPHR WR 9LFH 3UHVLGHQW 1L[RQ .DUO +DU  
VXJJHVWHG WKDW D VHFWRU RI WKH QH[W GD\ V & D  
GHGLFDWHG OLVW RI TXHV On the Beach DV @RVDQG ZHHU WR  
GLVVHPLQDWHG WR \$GPLQLVWUDWLRQ RIILFLDOV ER  
H[WUHPHO\ FRQFHUQHG WKDW WKH ILOP V PHVVDJH  
WKHRPE SURSDJDQGD ZRUULHG WKDW WKUWUPHQW  
WKH SXEOLF XQGHUVWDQGLQJ DQG VXSSRUW ZKLFK  
IRU DGHTXDWH FLYLO @WHUHQW HF PCHVXQHZV On the Beach @  
the Beach





How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb ZHUH EHJLQQQLQJ V  
PDGH E\ +ROO\ZRRG VWXGLRV ILOPV WKDW ZRXOG K  
DFWRUV EODFNOLVWHG OHVV WKDQ D GHFDGH SUH

,Q SDUW GXH WR WKH On the Beach RY DUQVZ/SBORWQSDQJF  
HPHQJLRQH ZKHUH 8 6 \*RYHUQPHQW RIILFLDOV ZHU  
WR WKHLU QHJDWLYH SRUWUD\DO LQ SRSXODU PHGL  
FRQVFLRXVQHVV ZDV DOVR HPHUJLQJ RQH WKDW HF  
RI FLYLO GHIHQVH SURJUDPV DQG WKH ORJ of RI QXF  
the BeachZDV QRW VLQJOHKDQGHGO\ UHVSQRVLEOH IRU  
\$PHULFDQ KLVWRU\ WKH ILOP GLG HQFDSVXODWH W  
VWUDLQ RI D QHZ \$PHULFDQ FRQVFLRXVQHVV HPEHG  
LPDJLQDWLRQ 7KH FULWLTXH RI WKH 8 6 \*RYHUQPH  
ILOP SUHVHQWHG UHSUHVHQWHG WKH YDQJXDUG RI  
WKURXJKRXW WKH &ROGZ:HQWU\WFWHQW DQG 7KHWHW  
6WDQOH\ On the BeachLW RQH RI D ILOP WKDW FKDOOHQJH  
UHODWLRQV KLS EHWZHHQ \$PHULFDQV DQG WKHLU JF  
FRQLQXH WR EH HODERUDWHG P & RQV ERWQRWDFW  
DQG V

:RUNV &LWHG

3ULPDU\ 6RXUFHV

\$QGHUVRQ -DFN /HWWHU WR &RQJUHVVDPDQ :DOOKD  
)LOH \*),,

\*HQHUDO )LOHV :KLWH +RXVH &HQWUDO )LOHV 'ZLJ

%HFNDXO 3 )LOP UHYLHZ The New York Herald  
Tribune, 'HFHPEHU

&DELQHW 0HHWLQJ 0LQXWHV 1RYHPEHU %R[  
6HULHV 'ZLJKW '

(LVHQKRZHU 3UHVLGHQWLDO /LEUDU\

&DELQHW 3DSHU €Va°LOUWÀ  
67H<BpLp@pí0ÀVHQKRZ`PHDFK KLWH@”0ÀOKL LFNOH\ 3

&DELQHW 0HHWLQJ \$JHQGD 'HFHPEHU  
6HULHV 'ZLJKW '

%R[

\*URVVPDQ &RUQHOO /HWWHU WR &RQJUHVVDPDQ :DC  
&DVH )LOH,\*)

\*HQHUDO )LOHV :KLWH +RXVH &HQUWUDO )LOHV 'ZLJI

+XHEQHU & On the Beach 65 FRUHG E\ &LYL The New York Times, 'HFHPEHU

3ULPDU\ 6RXUFHV FRQW

+DJHUW\ -DPHV /HWWHU WR GRXDUG 0RURW%R[  
+RXVH &HQUWUDO )LOHV

3UHVVLGHQW V 3HUVVRQDO )LOH 'ZLJKW ' (LVHQKRZH

0RURW (GRXDUG /HWWHU WR 3UHV 6HFUHWDU\ -D  
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+RXVH &HQUWUDO )LOHV 3UHVVLGHQW V 3HUVVRQDO )L  
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2SHUDWLRQV &RRUGLQDWLQJ %RDUG 6HUL  
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RQ WK On the Beach 'HFHPEHU %R[ \$QQ :KLWP  
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3DUNHU \$GPLUDO (GZDUG 1 0HPR WR WKH \$VVLVWD  
'HFHPEHU

%R[ 2SHUDWLRQ &RRUGLQDWLQJ %RDUG 6HUL  
3UHVVLGHQWLDO /LEUDU\

:DOOKDXVHU \*HRUJH /HWWHU WR &RUQHOO \*URVVP  
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\*HQHUDO )LOHV :KLWH +RXVH &HQUWUDO )LOHV 'ZLJI





> @HQ QHWK, One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture 1HZ <RUN 1HZ <RUN 8QLYHUVLW\ 3UHV V

> @RQ\ 6 Hollywood's Cold War \$PKHUVW 8QIDYHVDVFKWVIRWWV 3

> @REHUW 0RVHV 7KH & Harper's Magazine (HR)LDVFRRY

> @R\FH \$ @MHOV Mushroom Clouds %RXOGHU :HVWYLHZ 3UHV

> @ZUHGFH Guts and Glory: The Making of the American Military Image on Film H[LQJWRQ 8QLYHUV RI .HQWFXN\ 3UHV V

> @KDH Hollywood's Cold War,

> @KDH Hollywood's Cold War,

> @XIGGts and Glory

> @UHFWRU 0RWLRQ 6, \$FWKRJHRQH WYDUFK -XQH LQ 6Guts and Glory,

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> @LQXWHV RI &DELQHW PHRWLQJ &, (ZVJHQKRZHU 3UHVVLGHQWLDO /LEUDU\

> @ELG

> @OOLDP 6FUDQWRQ OHWWHU WR 6HFUHWDU\ +HU (LVHQKRZHU /LEUDU\

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> @RO - , &RIIH\ OHWWHU WR \$O 7RQU 1RFLDO \$%R[VW:KQWHRU 1DWLRQDO 6HFXULW\ \$IIDLUV 5HFRUGV 2SHUDWLRQ &RRUGLQDWLQJ %R /LEUDU\



