Henry James once said of Nathaniel Hawthorne that his work was dedicated to one theme: the “consciousness of sin.” (Taylor, 135) In *The Marble Faun* and *The Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne examines two groups of individuals, their sin, and how much it affects their lives, their relationships, and the lives of those around them. *The Scarlet Letter* focuses on the story of Hester Prynne and her adultery with the Reverend Dimmesdale. *The Marble Faun* tells the story of four individuals—Miriam, Donatello, Hilda and Kenyon—and how the sin of murder affects their lives. When analyzed together, the novels illuminate each other in unexpected ways. The characters are faced with the same problem of sin but often choose different responses. This analysis allows us to better see what Hawthorne was trying to accomplish with *The Marble Faun* and *The Scarlet Letter* and what he was trying to teach about sin itself.

First of all, Hawthorne certainly does not dispute the fact that sin brings fearful consequences. His books are not, on the whole, cheerful or have particularly happy endings. In *The Scarlet Letter*, Hester becomes an outcast because of her adultery and is made to wear a physical representation of her sin in the form of a scarlet “A.” Dimmesdale has a tortured soul and eventually dies because of his sin. In *The Marble Faun*, Miriam exists on the fringes of society with no known past, and Donatello becomes a deeply troubled person after he murders the Model. Hilda is left alone with a terrible burden of guilt. The pain and isolation brought by their sins is irrefutable fact.

But paradoxically, there are good things that come out of their sins as well. Donatello becomes more human, as does Hilda. Miriam is no longer alone in her solitude, at least for a while. Dimmesdale becomes an even more marvelous preacher than he was before his sin. At times, Hawthorne seems to be suggesting that we must experience sin to make anything truly meaningful of our lives. Is Hawithorne then advocating the idea of the Fortunate Fall, as some of the characters in *The Marble Faun* suggest? The Fortunate Fall refers to the belief that mankind did well to sin originally as it allows God to show us even more mercy and grace. Kenyon tells Hilda, “Is sin, then... like sorrow, merely an element of human education, through which we struggle to a higher and purer state than we could otherwise have attained? Did Adam fall, that we might ultimately rise to a far loftier paradise than his?” (Marble Faun, 373) Hilda instantly repudiates this idea but it still lingers in the reader’s mind.

But this suggestion is not the real intent of Hawthorne’s books. “Rather, he sought to ask, ‘Innocence lost, what can be redeemed?’ His answer is that much can be redeemed.” (Hoeltje, 294) If Donatello can no longer be a blessed immortal, in touch with nature and a happy faun of the Golden Age, at the very least he can become a good human being. “Out of his bitter agony, a soul and intellect, I could almost say, have been inspired into him.” (229) Hilda sees in the bust of Donatello that “it gives the impression a growing intellectual power and moral sense.” (308)

Dimmesdale is much the same. His sin keeps him from “the high mountain peaks of faith and sanctity” but “this very burden it was that gave him sympathies so intimate with the sinful brotherhood of mankind.” (Scarlet Letter, 121) If he cannot become a purified person, at least he can touch others by using his sense of unworthiness to get in touch with God and with people. The distinction is a fine one. Instead of the Fortunate Fall, the idea is that if we do commit sin, then that sin can be used for our benefit, not that “original sin is the starting point from which moral growth proceeds.” (Levy, 155) Despite sin, God’s grace is greater. Sin can be “the occasion of good through the operation of a Divine Providence. Hawthorne holds that good can come from evil, not that it must come from evil if it is to come at all.” (Fairbanks, 891) It is also significant that the Fortunate Fall is only mentioned in connection
with Donatello. No one can really make a case that Miriam is better off for having sinned. Neither can the idea really be applied to Hilda, as she never actually sins.

The issue of the Fortunate Fall does occur in Hawthorne but it was not his main concern. A far larger issue is the consequences of concealing sin as opposed to the benefits of revealing sin. In The Scarlet Letter, we have an individual who is unable to conceal her sin as she bears a child, and another who manages to conceal his sin for seven years. This issue lies at the heart of The Scarlet Letter and is important to The Marble Faun as well.

The Scarlet Letter begins with the revealing of Hester’s sin of adultery to the community and her punishment (the wearing of the “A” and standing on the scaffold in view of the town) for that sin. In contrast, in The Marble Faun, we are informed early on that Miriam is hiding her real identity and gradually we come to realize that she is hiding something worse as well. After meeting the Model, she is a tortured individual, given to mood swings. “She grew moody, moreover, and subject to fits of passionate ill-temper; which usually wreaked itself on the heads of those who loved her best.” (Marble Faun, 28) Clearly, from the beginning, hiding whatever is bothering her does no good. Miriam’s situation only worsens when she and Donatello commit murder in an attempt to free her from the past that has tortured her.

Concealed sin has ill effects on a person, both emotionally and physically. Dimmesdale whips himself, fasts, and keeps vigils the whole night long. “In these lengthened vigils, his brain often reeled and visions seemed to flit before him.” (Scarlet Letter, 123) His health is a major concern for the community who rightly fears he is overdoing himself, though not for the reasons they suppose. Sin also has its effect on Miriam. In the Coliseum, “fancying herself wholly unseen, the beautiful Miriam began to gesticulate extravagantly, gnashing her teeth, flinging her arms abroad, stamping with foot. It was as if she had stepped aside for an instant solely to snatch the relief of a brief fit of madness.” (Marble Faun, 127) Donatello goes back to his lonely tower after having sin and conducts “midnight vigils on the battlements.” (176) He becomes a penitent man instead of a joyful faun.

After they sin, Miriam and Donatello experience a strong connection. “So intimate was the union that it seemed as is their new sympathy annihilated all other ties and that they were released from the chain of humanity.” (141) Hester tells Dimmesdale, “What we did had a consecration of its own. We felt it so.” (Scarlet Letter, 166) This connection is swiftly broken, however, as sin cannot create true, lasting intimacy, and really only leads to isolation. Hester is distanced from the man she loved, unable to even acknowledge him in the marketplace. Donatello and Miriam are likewise separated, as Donatello cannot bear the weight of what they have done together. However, both sets of main characters are briefly reunited with an interesting reversal. Before, Miriam was the one who concealed things and Hester was the open one. Now the roles are switched. Donatello and Miriam meet in the market place of Perugia while Dimmesdale and Hester meet in the woods. The scenes are similar as they talk about the past and discuss what to do about the future. Yet one feels that Dimmesdale and Hester’s solution is not right, while Donatello and Miriam have been brought together again by Providence.

The difference lies in the eventual aim of the couples. In a way, Miriam and Donatello are laying themselves and their sin open before God, and in a few short days, they will do the same before man. Hester and Dimmesdale have no such plans; instead they plan to run away and hide in a foreign country where no one knows them. The distinction between the meetings is shown in the very setting. The woods are often a place of darkness, and are where the Devil is said to reside. It is “primeval,” “dark and dense,” and definitely private. In the very public market square of Perugia, the main feature is a statue of Pope Julius the Third, which “is bestowing benediction” on all who sees it and is spoken of in almost god-like terms. (Marble Faun, 255)

In further proof their venture is blessed, Kenyon and Donatello do seem to senses the presence of God at work in the guise of the Pope’s statue. Donatello compares the figure to the image of the snake in the wilderness (often compared to the raising up of Christ) that cleansed the Israelites of their...
sin and says, “Why should not this holy image before us do me equal good?” (268) The very presence of Kenyon is also a factor as he acts as an outside guide to confirm or deny the couple’s conclusions. “I may discern somewhat of the truth that is hidden from you both.” (261) He also represents them revealing to their community. Miriam too speaks of the statue in god-like terms. “She had come thither for his pardon and paternal affection, and despised of so vast a boon.” However, the statue (or God) does appear to grant their request, as Miriam and Donatello gain a measure of peace in their reconciliation. “He (the statue) approved by look and gesture the pledge of a deep union that had passed under his auspices.” (263)

Miriam is able to gain a measure of peace because she chooses to sacrifice her life to become what Donatello needs, admit that she did indeed sin, and show true sorrow. “What repentance, what self-sacrifice, can atone for that infinite wrong? ... No good, through my agency, can follow such a mighty evil!” (260) For the first time, Miriam is looking outside of herself to find redemption. Donatello and Miriam also realize, with Kenyon’s influence, that their reunion cannot bring them lasting, earthly happiness. “It (their reunion) is for mutual support; it is for one another’s final good; it is for effort, for sacrifice, but not for earthly happiness.” (262) They are not going to work for themselves, but for each other.

By contrast to the openness of Miriam and Donatello, Dimmesdale and Hester plan to hide their sin where no one knows them and find temporary, earthly happiness. Hester lays aside her letter, thinking she will soon be free of it, able to fling it into the ocean. But there is nothing to be gained by hiding sin, as Dimmesdale should already know. After her meeting in the woods, Hester scolds Pearl when she wants to talk about the minister in public. "We must not always talk in the market place of what happens to us in the forest.” (Scarlet Letter, 204) If they had started in the market place like Miriam and Donatello, the ending of Hester and the minister’s story might have been different. Openness should be the goal of a relationship, not concealment. “The disease of silence dissipates sinners’ moral and spiritual health as they strive to protect themselves or others from condemnation.” (Taylor, 135)

The other visible symbol of their sin is well aware of this fact. Several times throughout the book, their daughter, Pearl, asks the minister if he will go with them, hand in hand, into the village. Dimmesdale tells her they will be together somewhere but not here. Pearl then wishes to know if Dimmesdale will still “always keep his hand over heart?” (181) She alone realizes that distance is not able to cover the sin of her parents. No matter where Dimmesdale and Hester go, they, like what Miriam experiences with the Model, will always be haunted by their past. Guilt cannot just be escaped from. For Miriam and Donatello, the scene at Perugia is the turning point of their lives and their journey with sin. Donatello will no longer try to take punishment on himself and Miriam accepts that her life must be for the edification of Donatello. The parallel scene in The Scarlet Letter however is not a turning point. Hester and Dimmesdale are not accepting of their sin; they are again rejecting their responsibility to live up to it. Their turning point comes at the scaffold when they at last jointly confess, something that should have happened seven years earlier.

Only when sin is revealed to the community or at the very least, a trusted friend, can healing begin to take place. Dimmesdale tells Hester, “Had I one friend... to whom, when sickened with the praises of all other men, I could daily betake myself and be known as the vilest of all sinners, methinks my soul might kept itself alive thereby.” (163) Hester assures him that she is such a friend, but he is not willing to pay the price of the openness that that friendship would mean. Hilda wishes nearly the same thing. “Had there been but a single friend... any dull half-listening ear into which she might have flung the dreadful secret- what a relief might have ensued!” (Marble Faun, 267)

Miriam too longs for someone to confide in. She has few connections in Rome, having left her former community. She has formed a new, albeit small, one with Kenyon, Hilda and Donatello. It is these people that should be a part of her secret. She attempts to tell Kenyon of her secret but despair-
Kenyon does not want to hear or at least she imagines that he does not. He wonders, “But if it were only a pent-up heart that sought an outlet? In that case it was by no means so certain that a confession would do good.” (104) No one is willing to take Miriam’s confession and this failure, is in part, what leads to the model’s murder. There was no outlet for her feelings. Her community fails her. Hilda, on the other hand, does finally fling her secret into someone’s ear. In an unusual move for a “daughter of the Puritans,” she confesses her knowledge of the sin to a priest, who is at least a New England priest. The confession does free her from the weight of the sin and she is free to move on with her life. “It was a marvelous change from the sad girl, who had entered the confessional bewildered with anguish, to this bright, yet softened image of religious consolation that emerged from it.” (294)

The most powerful part of The Scarlet Letter is when the minister does at last reveal his sin. Dimmesdale has known from the beginning what he should do. He himself begs Hester to tell the name of her lover when she is on the scaffold. “Though he were to step down from a high place…yet better were it so, than to hide a guilty heart through life.” He simply “hath not the courage to grasp it for himself.” (Scarlet Letter, 57) Later he says, “It must be better for the sufferer to be free to show his pain, as this poor woman Hester is, than to cover it all up in his heart.” (114) Hester refused to tell because she still does not understand that healing can only happen if sin is in the open. She believes she is protecting Dimmesdale when the main result of her action is that Chillingworth gains control over the minister.

Although he has hidden from the truth for seven years, Dimmesdale finally understands that revelation must happen for salvation. He asks Hester, “Is not this better than what we dreamed in the forest?” The disclosure has deep impact on at least one person. “As (Pearl’s) tears fell upon her father’s cheek, they were a pledge that she would grow up amid human joy and sorrow. Towards her mother, too, Pearl’s errand as a messenger of anguish was all fulfilled.” (218) Openness about her parent’s sin frees Pearl. It also allows Hester to understand the power of openness about sin, demonstrated when she later dons the scarlet letter voluntarily.

If Dimmesdale and Hester were wrong in what they planned in the woods, at least they have a far better reaction to their shadow figure than Miriam and Donatello. Hester and Dimmesdale are haunted by Chillingworth, who is determined to stay with them even into their new life. “Hester almost sank on beholding this dark and grim countenance of an inevitable doom, which- at the moment when a passage seemed to open for the minister and herself out of their labyrinth of misery- showed itself right in the midst of their path.” (209) It is much the same for Miriam, haunted by the model. He appears from nowhere in the catacombs and continually follows her around Rome. He tells her, “Our fates cross and are entangled. The threads are twisted into a strong cord, which is dragging us into an evil doom.” (Marble Faun, 77)

But instead of killing him, Dimmesdale chooses to free himself from Chillingworth’s power by finally proclaiming his sin in the market place. Chillingworth realizes this fact plainly. “Hadst thou sought the whole world over, there was no one place so secret-no high place nor lowly place where thou could have escaped me-save on this very scaffold!” (Scarlet Letter, 216) Perhaps if Miriam had taken a similar course, she would have been free from the model’s influence and Donatello would have felt no need to kill him. If she had revealed the truth, Miriam would have really been even freer than Dimmesdale as her past bore no real sin, only the stigma of it. She admits this fact to Kenyon, “Had I obeyed my first impulse (to tell Kenyon of her past), all would have turned out differently.” (Marble Faun, 351)

Hilda hopes for happiness for Miriam and Donatello at the end of The Marble Faun when she sees “sunlight on the mountain-tops.” Perhaps the sunlight is the ending that Hester is able to achieve in The Scarlet Letter. Hester is the only character that we follow from her sin to the end of her life. Thus she offers clues about what Hawthorne saw as the end result of revealed sin. Hester was never able to be free of her sin but she began to use it for good, to help those around her. “People brought all their sorrow and perplexities and besought her counsel, as one who had herself gone through a mighty
trouble.” (Scarlet Letter, 223) In time her letter is seen to mean “able” in place of its original meaning. She accepts the fact that she cannot find happiness in this world and begins to work for the next instead. Perhaps Miriam and even Donatello can one day achieve the same end of using their sin for good.

Although Hilda is the optimist in The Marble Faun, she is also the harshest critic. She condemns Miriam, and never wishes to speak to her again. In this trait, she is like other Puritan women in The Scarlet Letter who judge Hester. In that conversation, women go even to the extremes of believing Hester should be put to death. Hilda would not wish that on Miriam, but neither does she achieve the correct attitude of one of the other woman. This woman realizes, “Let her cover the mark as she will, the pang of it will always be in her heart.” (44) Without negating Hester’s sin in any way, she has sympathy and knows that sin brings its own consequences, without people adding more than is necessary. Eventually, Hilda is able to come to this point. When she frees herself from her association with sin, she still allows Miriam to go her own way, but now feels pity instead of anger. “The bracelet (from Miriam) brought tears to her eyes. For what was Miriam’s life to be?” (Marble Faun, 374) “Now (Hilda) is able to face the sorrows of others without fearing for her own happiness.” (Shumaker, 80) Hilda even reminds us of Hester’s hope at the end of the Scarlet Letter when she wishes for a prophetess that will establish a new order. “A woman, indeed, but lofty, pure and beautiful; and wise...showing how sacred love should make us happy, by the truest lest of a life successful to such an end!” (Scarlet Letter, 224) Who better for such a role than a Puritan who has experienced sin and yet emerged pure, with a new sympathy for mankind?

One might finish reading The Marble Faun and The Scarlet Letter and wonder if forgiveness and absolution for a sin are ever really possible. A Catholic priest offers the only absolution seen in the books, and his religion is flawed by the fact that it is far too human. Hawthorne continually brings to light sin and the pain that it gives but doesn’t often show the other side of the equation. Miriam, Donatello, Hester, and Dimmesdale need something beyond themselves to give them real redemption, as signified by the Pope in the square. They need God’s grace to ever truly overcome their sin and grace seems in short supply.

There is hope though. There might not be happiness, as Kenyon warns Donatello and Miriam, but that does not mean there is no redemption. Hester hopes when Dimmesdale dies, “Shall we not spend our immortal life together? Surely, surely we have ransomed one another, with all this woe!” Dimmesdale is not sure but concludes, “God knows; and he is merciful!” (375) The very fact that Dimmesdale was punished for his sin is proof for him of a loving God, who was not content to leave him alone. Pearl is seen as this agent in her mother’s life. She was “To keep the mother’s soul alive and to preserve her from blacker depths of sin into which Satan might else have sought to plunge her.” (96) Miriam and Donatello work this way for each other as they seek to build each other toward the right. Again as Kenyon tells them, “(your reunion) is for one another’s final good; it is for effort, for sacrifice.” (Marble Faun, 262) The real end of their stories will not be found in this world but in the next. Like Miriam at the end of The Marble Faun, the characters can only hope and continue to pray. With Hawthorne’s love of ambiguous endings, this truth is perfect for him.
WORK CITED


To date, 963 million people do not have enough food to eat – more than the populations of the United States, Canada, and the European Union combined – resulting in the deaths of 25,000 adults and children daily.¹ Yet, many consider access to adequate food a human right as defined in Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 11 of the International Covenant of Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). The latter, which states that everyone has “the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food” and “the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger” has not been ratified by the United States.² In fact, resistance to recognizing the human right to food in the United States within the context of the ICESCR is notably exceptional, and has been, with few anomalies, since its conception following the Second World War. Because of this, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the United States have historically shied from advocating and addressing the right to food, along with other social and economic rights, but recent studies suggest that this attitude is gradually shifting within both human rights and development-based NGOs. Given the unique objectives, functions, and structure between human rights and development-based NGOs, which type of NGOs are best suited to bring about the realization of the right to food (that is, make the right to food a reality, with or without the language) and which strategies are they to use to be most effective?

This paper suggests that development-based NGOs, as opposed to human right NGOs, will be best suited to bring about the realization of the right to food, particularly given their ability to use human rights language as a means to an end instead of the end in and of itself. Realizing the right to food will be best accomplished through the proposed Strategic Staircase Model, which seeks to utilize rights as Idealistic Objectives that guide the construction of step-by-step policy agendas, or “staircases,” leading up to their realization. With the Idealistic Objective determined through rational-comprehensive decision-making, NGOs will develop a more focused strategy as they lobby for incremental policy changes on Capitol Hill. Over time, this will lead to the convergence of U.S. policy toward the realization of the right to food, perhaps paving the way for the possibility of a recognized legal right at some point in the future.

**The Right to Food and U.S. Policy:**

The United States’ distinctive resistance to the ICESCR and its right to food can be found in its sole opposition to resolutions E/CN.4/2001/L.12 and E/CN.4/2004/L.24, in 2001 and 2004 respectively,³ as well as its reservation to paragraph 10 of the final declaration of the World Food Summit: five years later in 2002:

Further, the United States believes that the attainment of the right to an adequate standard of living is a goal or aspiration to be realized progressively that does not give rise to any international obligation or any domestic legal entitlement, and does not diminish the responsibilities of national governments towards their citizens. Additionally, the United States understands the right of access to food to mean the opportunity to secure food, and not guaranteed entitlement.⁴
Oddly, even though this position was written as a reservation to the right to food, it understands the right to food in the same way the ICESCR did when it was originally written. As a non-self-executing treaty, the ICESCR does not require that countries immediately take action regarding social and economic rights such as the right to food, but rather states must recognize them as goals or aspirations. This, of course, is unlike the self-executing International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which requires states to legally recognize and abide by its listed civil and political rights. Why then would the United States still oppose the ICESCR’s right to food if it theoretically accepts the covenant’s language? Mainly, the United States fears that, over time, parties will insist that the rights found within the ICESCR are obligatory and of equal status to the ones found the ICCPR; in fact, many human rights advocates in the NGO community and within the United Nations system already have. Therefore, even though its reservation from the World Food Summit: five years later aligns with that of the ICESCR, the United States government has taken an extra precaution to avoid pressure to make social and economic rights obligatory by refusing the ratify the covenant.

Interviews also revealed that acceptance of formal adoption or application of the right to food, along with other social and economic rights, is also impossible to come by with policymakers on Capitol Hill. According to Eric Muñoz of Bread for the World, which launched an unsuccessful campaign in the early 1980s to pass a U.S. resolution that recognized the right to food, “we are currently not in a place where we actively use the language of the right to food or talk about the right to food as an organization... because there is so much visceral reaction against the idea of the right to food in Congress. You really won’t get anywhere... if that’s what you lead with.” Muñoz’s colleague at Bread for the World, Charles Uphaus, shared a similar opinion: “There’s a better chance of getting things through Congress if you don’t use [the language] of the RTF.” This sentiment is the norm among both human rights and development-based NGOs and think-tanks throughout the Washington D.C. area, including David Kuak of CARE International, who stated that the right to food is “not likely to be effective in Congress” and its discourse “doesn’t have any legs on Capitol Hill.” Some blame Congress’ reluctance to discuss or debate economic and social rights as the remnants of continued post-Cold War tensions (since socialism generally accepts social and economics rights over civil and political rights, unlike the United States), while others blame it on the growing budget deficit or the massive welfare reform in the early 1990s. Either way, much of the criticism stems from the fear that a legal right to food would completely transform the U.S. system of government.

Many debates have ensued over what the ICESCR implies that governments should do to realize the right to food and improve food security in their respective populations and around the world. One argument against the right to food common in the United States, particularly in the conservative community, is the fear that an inerasable legal entitlement to food would “turn our entire economy and the relationship between the federal government and the people around” by requiring a restructuring of the U.S. legal system and, moreover, that the government gives hand-outs to every family. However, most experts on the right to food would disagree with the latter assumption. Rather, George Kent writes that “the government’s task is not to feed people but to make sure that people live in circumstances in which they can provide for themselves” and recognizes that this is not always possible. According the Right to Food Unit of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the obligations that states do have is to respect, protect and fulfill (through facilitation or provision) the right to food. Kent explains it best: “In brief, your government respects your efforts to get what you need by not interfering with you; it protects you from others who might get in the way of your getting what you need; it facilitates helping you get what you need; and in some cases, it provides what you need directly.” These general guidelines, and the wealth of already established literature that accompany them, provide a framework from which to build policy that works to realize the right to food, and therefore should be considered when evaluating U.S. policy as it relates to food and agriculture.
However, it has been argued that, even without accepting the language of the right to food, the United States does the most of any other country to bring about its realization. In 2007, the United States made donations worth $1,180,635,937 to the World Food Programme, contributing to 44 percent of its budget; the second largest donation was $250,437,204, or about 9 percent, by the European Commission. Additionally, the United States has provided 40 to 60 percent of all food aid donations in the 1990s. Even though this paper will discuss how the nature of this food aid puts it at conflict with some aspects of the right to food, what is important to distinguish is that the United States does not oppose ending world hunger, but rather is afraid that acknowledging the language of a progressive right to food today will lead to the unintended expectation of a legally obligated right to food in the future.

So who then would apply the right to food to U.S. policy? Despite its lack of formal recognition in U.S. law and resistance to its language on Capitol Hill, the right to food is increasingly present in the work of the specific human rights and development-based NGOs and in their advocacy strategies.

The Role of NGOs in the Human Rights Movement:
Since the first human rights NGO, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (known today as Anti-Slavery International) was established in 1839, international NGOs have played an integral role in the human rights movement, but in the past thirty years that role has expanded as NGOs have increased in number and size and have become more accepted by the international community. In total, it is estimated that in 1953 there were thirty-three human-rights international NGOs and by 1993 that number increased to 168. In that same period, the number of development-based international NGOs as increased from three to thirty-four. Just during the 1990s, registered international NGOs increased in number by nearly a third, from 10,292 to 13,206 and their memberships grew from 155,000 to 263,000. Furthermore, evidence of increasing acceptance of development-based NGOs can be seen in both former second-world and third-world states, whereas this was not the case during the Cold War. Similarly, UN human rights institutions were first suspicious of human-rights NGOs, but have gradually come to recognize the ability of NGOs to publicize human rights violations, seek out those violations on the ground level, and play an important role in standard-setting and implementation – as exemplified in Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. In short, international NGOs are growing in size, scope, quantity, and power.

With the dawn of globalization and the ever-increasing number of civil society organizations, new opportunities and challenges have presented themselves to international NGOs. There are calls for increased transparency and accountability, within each organization as they attain more power and influence. Additionally, expanding networks of NGOs have formed a global civil society that is now able to coordinate efforts to advocate for recognition of human rights. Richard Falk sums up the present role of NGOs concerning human rights best:

If the period between 1945 and 1990 was the time in which the normative architecture of human rights was established in law and converted into a political project (largely thanks to civil society pressures), then the period since 1990 has been devoted to the reorientation of global institutions and ideology so as better to enable the realization of human rights. Part of this adjustment involves the recognition that the struggle for civil and political rights cannot be cordoned off from the pursuit of economic social and cultural rights...

In other words, now that human rights legal frameworks and literatures have been available to state and non-state actors that willingly accepted them, international NGOs are now charged with the task of trying to persuade or imprint legally-binding human rights on actors that resist their recognition and adoption, including the United States.
Given that international civil society has always been the strongest supporter and promoter of human rights, it makes sense why if any group is to promote the right to food in the United States, it is the NGO. But particularly with Falk in mind, how have NGOs started to bring about the “reorientation” of “ideology” in the United States and pursue the right’s realization?

The Changing Focus of Development-Based and Human Rights NGOs:

Determining if international NGOs will be effective for bringing about the realization of the right to food is complicated by the historic divide between the objectives and functions of human rights NGOs and development-based NGOs in the United States, neither of which directly focus on social and economic rights like the right to food. On the one hand, human rights organizations have traditionally focused on civil and political rights, working to point out when countries do not follow already established human rights; in a sense, they set goals and standards for states, but do little work themselves to help states achieve them. On the contrary, development-based NGOs have sought to improve the economic and social livelihoods of the world’s poorest, but have focused on trying to help as many people as possible without utilizing a rights-based strategy. In other words, as T. Jeffery Scott explains it, “NGOs that focus on economic and social rights tend to be more involved with the fulfillment of rights, while NGOs that focus on civil and political rights tend to be more involved with the promotion of rights.”

Meanwhile, neither focus specifically on promoting social and economic rights.

Prior to the end of the Cold War, major international human rights NGOs, including Amnesty International and Human Rights watch, were wary to advocate for economic and social rights in the United States. Many feared that resources and attention given to economic and social rights would only detract from advocacy for civil and political rights, which were more attainable and familiar with the U.S. public. Similarly, development-based NGOs that addressed issues such as poverty and hunger avoided using economic and social rights as an advocacy tool. With the one possible exception being Bread for the World’s campaign for the adoption of universal right to food in the early 1980s, development-based NGOs have fought for actions to provide food for the world’s poorest, but not for the establishment of a human right to food. Resistance to promoting the codification of economic and social rights as inalienable legal entitlements stemmed from the belief that the advancement of civil and political rights as well as neo-liberal economic reforms were enough to bring about concrete development.

However, this attitude among international NGOs has begun to break down dramatically in the past decade or so as more established NGOs have started adopting new approaches toward social and economic rights in the post-Cold War era. These include both traditional human rights NGOs (such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch) and development-based NGOs (such as World Vision or CARE), though each are inching toward these rights in unique ways. Evidence of this paradigm shift, and examples of how development-based and human rights NGOs are adapting to it are thoroughly examined in New Rights Advocacy, by Paul J. Nelson and Ellen Dorsey. Their research indicates increasing trends in NGO advocacy that includes the embrace of human rights-based approaches by influential development-based NGOs as well as the adoption of active social and economic rights agendas by major human rights NGOs. For the development-based NGOs, this shift began in late 1990s as they sought to challenge the legitimacy of neoliberal economic norms that, from their perspective, made no impact in reducing global social and economic inequality. Similarly, human rights NGOs began to include social and economic rights after seeing that the adoption of civil and political rights by governments was not enough to improve the livelihoods of its citizens. The resulting formation of overlapping objectives is leading to collaboration in advocacy campaigns, adoption and adaption of each others’ strategies, and the brainstorming of new methods. However, this process is only beginning, and it would be wrong to think that there still are not major organizational and functional differences between these two types of NGOs. Recalling U.S. continued opposition to social and economic rights – one issue that Nelson and Dorsey omit from their discussion – do the distinctions between these two
types of NGOs prepare one to be more effective in leading the realization of the right to food in U.S. policy?

**Development-based NGOs are Best Suited for Policy Advocacy:**

In the past decade, both human rights and development-based NGOs have been shifting their approaches toward the use of the right to food even while the U.S. government has avoided discussing it both in the halls of the State Department and on Capitol Hill. Given the government’s resistance the legal prospect of a right to food, which type of NGO will be most effective in bringing about its realization in US policy? The answer relies on a key difference between the approaches used by human rights and development-based NGOs, even after progress in rights advocacy has brought their objectives closer together.

Since human rights NGOs are, by definition, ultimately concerned with the promotion and recognition of human rights, they must regularly use rights-based language in their work. While this language may connect with certain demographics of the population, and maybe even one or two members of Congress, it does not resonate with most Americans. Clearly, it would be difficult, and perhaps futile, for a watch-dog organization to report violations of the right to food if the large majority of policymakers did not accept its existence. Additionally, human rights NGOs often lobby for broad sweeping changes, such as those that would come about if the United States legally recognized the right to food, but as this paper will later discuss, this expectation does not match the incremental decision-making style on Capitol Hill. This is not to say, however, that human rights NGOs do not have an important role to play. Their continued advocacy within the population gradually builds up a legitimacy for social and economic rights that is ultimately necessary for their acceptance and adoption, but for lobbying on Capitol Hill, the approach is unattractive and maybe even counter-productive.

Development-based NGOs, on the other hand, who are ultimately concerned with the fulfillment of human rights, do not have to regularly use rights-based language. In fact, development-based NGOs have not been using the right to food in advocacy or lobbying precisely because they feel that it would contravene fulfilling the right to food. Rather, they can rely on variety of ways to appeal to policymakers, and do so through incremental reforms. When asked what language Bread for the World uses on the Hill, Muñoz replied “depends what person you’re speaking to.” If a Congresswoman is more interested in national security, a development-based NGO can appeal to her by explaining how U.S. food aid will secure valuable allies in the developing world. Similarly, if a Congressman is a devout Christian, the organization can gain his support by reminding him of Jesus’ call to feed the hungry. In neither case is human rights language used, but if the lobbying is successful, the policy changes can move toward a greater realization of the right to food. “It’s really a question of whether this language resonates in terms of bringing support for our issues on the Hill, or if it’s just an off-starter,” and in today’s political climate, human rights language for the right to food continues to hinder much needed progress.

Therefore, because development-based NGOs can treat human rights rhetoric as one of many tools to attain their objective, as opposed to the main one, they can be more effective in pushing government policies that align with human rights in practice. In this sense, “NGOs implement a rights-based approach in development and their policy analysis without actually identifying it as a rights-based approach.” For a development-based NGO, the role of economic and social rights should not be that of a primary lobbying strategy, but rather as the primary objective that guides the development of their strategic plan. This is being developed within many development-based and advocacy NGOs including Oxfam, Christian Children’s Fund, Bread for the World, CARE International, and the Congressional Hunger Center (CHC), the latter of which instated a new mission and vision statement that affirms access to food as a basic human right just last August. However, because this has been a relatively new development, there is no consensus for what this type of rights-based approach should look like, especially one that does not require the direct advocacy and recognition of human rights language. As
Margaret Ziegler of the CHC stated, “And now going forward in our strategic plan we need to really operationalize [the right to food]. What does it mean, both on the U.S. side and internationally, and what does it mean for our advocacy?”32 This paper will suggest a model to answer what a rights-based strategy for a development-based NGO might look like, given the limitations of the current political environment. But first, why do these NGOs even need a rights-based strategy?

**Reasons for a Rights-Based Approach for Development:**

When I asked a former Department of State desk officer who was familiar with the issues surrounding the right to food whether or not it was a worthy right, the response was that “it’s silly to say people do not have a right to food,” but “we’ve let the rhetoric become more important than it is.”33 This sentiment reflects the view of many in the government, both Democrats and Republican, who, in their experience, have seen lengthy debates on human rights rhetoric hinder meaningful discussion on development. Many, including this interviewee, often point to the fact that states that acknowledge the right to food are some of the most food insecure countries on the planet, such as Zimbabwe or India. Broken down, these critiques reflect wider disapproval of human rights for being too political, too lofty in rhetoric, and too abstract to be used by states practically.34 In brief, it is all simply jargon, and can serve as a barrier to meaningful development. If this is true, then why the need for another rights-based model?

The primary reason that humanitarian organizations are seeking to establish a rights-based approach based on the right to food is because they recognize that they can be too focused on U.S. policies that directly affect their organizations’ programming, not necessarily world hunger itself. Or in other words, “international development NGOs... have focused much of their advocacy on calling attention to particular crises or calling for more generous aid spending, rather than on challenging structural and institutional causes of poverty and inequality.”35 For example, during negotiations over the 2008 Farm Bill, humanitarian organizations fought for additional commodity-based food aid which allows humanitarian organizations to sell U.S. food aid abroad at a discounted rate and use the proceeds to fund their projects. According to one report by the FAO, this type of food aid can potentially damage local markets and disrupt commercial trade, costing more to developing societies than what benefits the development projects provide.36 There are potentially two core problems with the current system: 1) humanitarian organizations are prioritizing their ability to financially succeed over their ability to carry out their mission in lobbying for changes in U.S. policy, and 2) contentious, but relevant, issues such as agricultural trade barriers and the use of biotechnology are being discussed less than they should be, despite their potential influence on global hunger.

This is the result of incremental decision-making that focuses on short-terms needs instead of long-term objectives. In his book *Public Policymaking*, James Anderson characterizes incremental decision-making theory as:

1) Being essentially remedial and seeking to improve current social imperfections instead of promoting future social goals,
2) Utilizing limited analysis to produce limited, practical, and acceptable decisions,
3) Only evaluating a limited number of “important” consequences,
4) Stifling innovation and the creation of alternative programs, and
5) Politically realistic and expedient.37

Incremental decision-making does not reflect a well-thought-out strategy for humanitarian organizations, but rather one that only extends a few years down the line. However, it is what is most effective for advocating in Washington DC, as the last characteristic reflects, since it effectually works to minimize disagreement instead of taking an “all or nothing” approach. Advocating for smaller changes is
simpler and more pragmatic than fighting for sweeping reforms, which rarely stand any chance of being fully implemented. Baby steps, though tiny, get to somewhere eventually.

The dilemma lies in where that ‘somewhere’ is. The baby steps are only useful if they are heading toward an objective. As noted in the monetization of food aid example, sometimes the incremental actions of humanitarian organizations actually counter the right to food and their respective mission statements. In a worst case scenario, this may potentially result in an incremental policy process that looks akin to Figure 1 or a twisting labyrinth – each successful lobby may appear to be a step or an improvement, but the summation of that work deceivingly gets the NGO on no true path towards the realization its goal. While humanitarian organizations may have to lobby and advocate in incremental steps in order to work with policymakers, it is critical that they do so with a clear, long-term vision for what they will eventually accomplish. Determining the means to this end result requires a different type of decision-making and the development of a “step-by-step” strategy to realize it.

**The Strategic Staircase Model to Human Rights Advocacy:**

This paper suggests a new approach, called the Strategic Staircase Model, that relies on a more holistic approach to decision-making that will use human rights as its guiding framework. James Anderson refers to this other decision-making type as rational-comprehensive theory, which draws considerably from an economist’s worldview. It is characterized by the following:

1. Confronting a problem that can be separated or compared to other problems,
2. Having ranked goals, values, or objectives that guide decision-making processes,
3. Examining various alternatives for dealing with issue,
4. Investigating consequences, including a comparison of costs and benefits, and
5. Choosing the alternative that maximizes attainment of goals, values, or objectives.

By utilizing a rational-comprehensive analysis of relevant U.S. policy, humanitarian organizations can determine what is the best possible decision according to their mission.

Two substantial criticisms that explain why policymakers do not make rational-comprehensive decisions (as opposed to incremental ones), also explain why humanitarian organizations are in a good position to do so. Charles Lindblom argues that this theory is flawed because decision-makers are not faced with clearly defined problems; however, an NGO can define its own problem and intentionally focus on a select few. The most significant criticism of rational-comprehensive theory is that it requires unrealistic demands on the decision-maker. Given a lack of time, the challenge to collect information, and the complexity of global issues, policymakers can not effectively find the best solution to a problem, but informed NGOs may. With intellectual resources specialized in specific areas of hunger or development, humanitarian organizations should conduct research in order to determine their programming strategies.
Once these NGOs have established a clear goal, or an Idealistic Objective, through rational-comprehensive decision-making, they can then construct a Strategic Staircase to plot out what incremental steps must be taken to reach the Idealistic Objective. Figure 2 also has stairs, but unlike Figure 1, these steps lead toward the Idealistic Objective. Each step can either build off of previous stairs or can address an independent, yet related, subject. This approach keeps NGOs from incremental decision-making, while recognizing the need to adopt to Capitol Hill’s incremental policymaking.

Concerning the topic of the present paper, the Idealistic Objective would be the right to food. By recognizing the human right in this capacity, an NGO is using it as “goal or aspiration to be realized progressively,” which does not conflict with the U.S. position. Moreover, it creates a rights-based approach that does not require advocacy for the promotion of rhetoric concerning the right to food. Rather, the right to food is used as the framework or lens through which all programming is seen through. In this way, this model requires the participant to ask, “Is this next step truly in the interest of my long-term Idealistic Objective?” and in doing so, prevents organizations from contradicting their mission. For example, if the Idealistic Objective is the right to food, then the very lengthy staircase would include a set of stairs regarding food aid, on which NGOs would have to determine if calls for increased food aid for monetization purposes is really in the best interest of the right to food. Other sets of stairs could include contentious issues such as agricultural development, agricultural trade, biotechnology, biofuels and many more. In each case, the development-based NGO will have to use the rational comprehensive decision-making model to determine what each topic would look like under the right to food and then strategize how to get there incrementally. Already, this has been attempted by UN human rights bodies, including the Right to Food Unit of the FAO and the Special Rapporteur on the Right Food, as well as academics. In a presentation for the American Public Health Association, Johns Hopkins’s Roni Neff applied a right to food framework, known as the Voluntary Guidelines, to examine policy options and recommendations related to the 2008 U.S. Farm Bill. Granted, interpretations for some issues may vary between NGOs, but if all can coordinate and are successful in lobbying for change in these categories, then the framework ensures that the right to food will be realized quicker in U.S. policy as a result of NGO’s efforts.

Returning to example of humanitarian organizations monetizing U.S. food aid in order to fund their development programs, an example of a humanitarian organization that could have used the Strategic Staircase Model was CARE International, which in August of 2007, rejected $45 million a year in federal financing from food aid. Announcing that it would phase out the practice of selling subsidized food aid in foreign markets by 2009, CARE’s decision was determined after concluding that U.S. food aid competes with the crops of struggling local farmers, working against the right to food. “If someone wants to help you,” said one CARE official, “they shouldn’t do it by destroying the very thing that they’re trying to promote.” Though fifteen other charities defended the food aid, and in contrast, advocated for more of it, CARE stood by their mission of “strengthening capacity for self-help,” and “providing economic opportunity,” making the difficult, but honorable, choice. This is not to say that humanitarian organizations need to limit their capacity in pursuit of the right of food, but rather they must be willing to adjust the nature of how they function in order to progressively converge toward their Idealistic Objective. Of course, a decision like CARE’s is
risky, so it must be coupled with preparations for structural adjustment that will ensure the financial security of the organization. While CARE may struggle in the short-term due to a lack of funds, they are taking a large step toward their securing their long-term Idealistic Objective and realizing the right to food.

**Conclusions – Converging U.S. Policy toward a Right to Food:**

The Strategic Staircase Model was constructed in an effort to suggest an approach that allows development-based NGOs to utilize the principles underlying the right to food without establishing a barrier between their organization and policymakers in the United States. To do this, the model is based on a number of themes that have been highlighted throughout this paper:

1) The model does not treat the right to food as a legal entitlement, but rather as a goal to be realized progressively, much in line with the current U.S. position.

2) The model does not require that the development-based NGO uses the language of the right to food in accomplishing each incremental step, but rather encourages using the most effective technique in making the Idealistic Objective a reality.

3) The model avoids incremental decision-making on behalf of development-based NGOs while adapting to incremental policymaking on Capitol Hill, which can help ensure that NGOs that establish the right to food as their Idealistic Objective will pursue policies that tackle the root of social problems and benefit the most disadvantaged, instead of ones that are in their personal self-interest (at possible detriment to the ones whom they claim to serve).

However, since no organization has adopted this suggested model at this time, there is admittedly no substantial evidence to prove its efficacy. If a development-based NGO decides to test the Strategic Staircase Model within its programming, further research could indicate whether the model provides a helpful framework for these organizations.

Whether it does or not, hopefully this research serves as a starting point for future discussions on how to establish a new type of rights-based approach for development-based NGOs. When an approach is found that is effective, its coordinated utilization within the development-based NGO community can build up the momentum necessary to bring about substantial progress on converging U.S. policy to the principles of the right to food, as illustrated in Figure 3. In this diagram, the vertical axis represents the realization of the right to food from zero to a hundred percent, while the horizontal axis symbolizes the time it will take to accomplish that Idealistic Objective. The slope of the curve within the graph represents the rate of progression of U.S. policy, recognizing that as the changes necessary to realize the right to food become increasingly specific and detailed, and therefore more incremental in nature, it will take more time to fulfill them. This suggests that development-based NGOs will have to persevere in their efforts to realize the right to food, recognizing that it will become increasingly difficult to lobby for change over time. While the curve may never completely reach the top as a result of the work of development-based NGOs alone, the graph clearly illustrates how much work there is to be done.

The graph also shows why the work of development-based NGOs under this approach may also benefit human rights NGOs. To illustrate how, the diagraph uses Point 1 to signify where U.S. policy roughly measures today, about forty percent of realizing the right to food as a result of its already
established food aid and agricultural development programs. Thus, if the United States were to legally adopt the right to food today, then overnight, the realization of the right to food would have to jump from forty percent to a hundred percent; simply put, these costs are unrealistic, especially in the current fragile economy. However, if development NGOs can continue to perfect existing policy over time and move U.S. policy up to Point 2, then the transition costs of adopting the right to food would be significantly reduced. At this point, it may be more feasible for human rights NGOs to organize the movement of U.S. citizens necessary to make that jump from Point 2 to the top of the graph, and therefore, it will be beneficial for both types of NGOs when development-based NGOs act upon a rights-based model centered on the right to food over a significant amount of time.

Unlike the belief by some scholars that the role of the right to food in the United States is a lost cause, this paper has illustrated how NGOs are beginning to consider incorporation of social and economic rights into their strategic plans. Currently, given the high level of resistance to the right to food in the U.S. government, the development-based NGOs are in a prime position to push for policy changes that move toward the right to food, even if the United States does not recognize the official rights language. By using the Strategic Staircase model and rational comprehensive decision-making theory, NGOs can begin to apply the right to food to various aspects of U.S. domestic and foreign policy, including the role of international trade, biotechnology, and biofuels, many of which have been previously ignored. Subsequently, they will be able to develop incremental policy staircases to attain their Idealistic Objectives that avoid self-interested motivations and address the true causes of the social problems instead of trying to find “quick fix” solutions. As this strategy is implemented among development-based NGOs, it will help to bring about the realization of the right to food in the long-run, and perhaps even legal acceptance of its language as well, if human rights NGOs continue to build up the legitimacy of social and economic rights in the United States.
ENDNOTES

5 Derick Hulme, Alma College, interview by author, Alma, MI, April 2, 2009.
11 Kent, 24.
13 Kent, 24.
19 Freeman, 143.
20 Greedy, 26.
26 Ibid, 99.
27 Ibid, 18.
28 Muñoz.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Margaret Ziegler, Congressional Hunger Center, interview by author, Washington DC, August 13, 2008.
32 Ibid.
33 Sharon Kotok, interview by author, Washington DC, August 8, 2008.
35 Nelson and Dorsey, 94.
37 This summary draws primarily on James Anderson, Public Policymaking, 4th Ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 132-133. For a broader discussion, see Charles E. Lindblom’s “The Science of Muddling Through,” op. cit., and The Intelligence of Democracy, op. cit., 144-148, who argues that incrementalism is the typical decision-making procedure in societies like the United States.
38 Ibid.
40 Anderson, 130.
41 Ibid.
42 Roni Neff, “Right to Food, Public Health, and US Food / Agriculture Policy,” presented at the American Public Health Association’s 135th annual meeting and expo, November 6, 2007. The Voluntary Guidelines to support the progressive realization of the right to adequate food in the context of national food security was developed by an Intergovermental Working Group, which included the United States, in 2004 following the request of the World Food Summit: five years later.
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INTRODUCTION

Two-thirds of humankind live in developing countries, and most of the world’s worst deprivation is located there. Study of these societies is therefore of central importance to any enquiry into the human condition...

University of Oxford Department of International Development (2008)¹

International “development,” as constructed and implemented by supranational institutions, claims to measure improvement in human welfare through mainly economic indicators. Neoliberal policies attempt to place developing economies onto the first “rung” of a development ladder, then induce economic growth through free-market forces. Adherence to this linear model, however, risks oversimplifying or overlooking the complex social, political, and cultural factors that affect development efforts, contributing towards violations of fundamental rights as outlined in international conventions. Critically examining the existing “development” model, this paper first determines whether such a Western-style framework can support rights-based policies.

The Common Table Project at Alma College illustrates the possibility of alternative policies and measures of development which are both generated by local communities and situated within a rights framework. Linking scholars and community representatives from the farming, business, and
government sectors, the project seeks to explore ecological, cultural, and economic dimensions of agricultural change in central Mexico due to globalization. Field research and interviews conducted in Chihuahua, Mexico, a region which experiences significant attention from international institutions, demonstrate the roles which local actors can play in their own conception and implementation of “development.” Importantly for undergraduate liberal-arts institutions, this paper also emphasizes the significance of interdisciplinary studies as a method of successfully addressing complex issues.

TRAJECTORY OF DEVELOPMENT THINKING

Before asking what “development” means, it is important to understand why such a question is necessary in the first place. First, ideologies, power structures, and philosophies underlie development policy and practice. Questioning these assumptions, a hallmark of social scientific inquiry, enables researchers to disentangle themselves from these biases, or at least reduce their influence. Without such a critical perspective, it becomes difficult to discern emerging problems; defining terms allows for such review. Also, the meanings of buzzwords such as “globalization” and “sustainability” can be easily co-opted by academics, governments, corporations, and other actors with specific perspectives or agendas. As Pierterse suggests, the very concept of development is “a terrain of hegemony and counter-hegemony. In this contestation of interests there are many stakeholders and multiple centres of power and influence.”

Finally, tracing the changing meanings of development throughout the twentieth century is necessary to understand how the existing global order emerged. Situating the current philosophy as the culmination of development thinking allows one to propose alternatives and extend future research questions. In this section, modernization, dependency, neoliberalism, and human development perspectives, particularly rights-based approaches, are briefly outlined; these represent major sections of the field.

Modernization and Truman

This perspective, illustrated by President Truman in his 1949 inauguration speech, emphasizes technology and scientific progress as drivers of development. Rationalization and industrialization are significant contributions of modernization to development discourse. Important for future theorists, it creates a dichotomy between the “developed” and the “developing,” assigning characteristics to both categories. According to Truman,

...We must embark on a bold new program...for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant...

Truman claimed that “we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life.” Considering the influences of the Cold War, it is also no surprise he thought that “poverty is a handicap and a threat both to [underdeveloped people] and to more prosperous areas.” This clear preference for the “free peoples of the world” and his vision of a “world fabric of international security and growing prosperity” clearly demonstrates how the modernization perspective is an example of the United States’ cultural and hegemonic power in the post-World War II era.

Dependency

This perspective emerged in the period following decolonization of the British Empire in the mid-twentieth century. It directly challenged modernization theory, claiming that “because of colonial and later neocolonial relationships, European powers had subordinated the 'Third World,' linking to them merely as a source for cheap raw materials and as a market for its more expensive manufactures.” It also created terminology such as “core” and “periphery” statuses, observing that countries above the
parallel, or the core, tend to be developed.

**Neoliberalism**

This philosophy, synonymous with neo-classical economics, had its genesis in the Washington Consensus which promoted the idea that free trade and fiscal responsibility were the keys to development. Its principles and assumptions include measurable economic growth, free markets and trade as efficient allocators of resources, economic globalization as a benefit for most of the world, privatization and deregulation, commodification, and property rights. These illustrate some similarities between the modernist and neoliberal perspectives: both advocate a linear, primarily economic path towards a development objective. The human geographer Peck insightfully interprets these aims of neoliberalism:

...[to] purge the system of obstacles to the functioning of 'free markets'; restrain public expenditure and any form of collective initiative; celebrate the virtues of individualism, competitiveness, and economic self-sufficiency; abolish or weaken social transfer programs while actively fostering the 'inclusion' of the poor and marginalized into the labor market, on the market's terms.

This philosophy is embodied in capitalism, an ideology focused on transforming factors of production such as land and capital into finished consumer goods. Eventually, these goods are purchased, creating wealth for suppliers in the medium of money.

In the area of development program implementation, capitalism and neoliberalism have significant influence in two ways: discourse and financing. Institutions such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and World Trade Organization (WTO), as well as the Bretton Woods institutions, dominate the discourse and knowledge-production in the field of development studies; for instance, the vast majority of reliable economic and social statistics are published by these organizations. World Bank training programs, highly regarded in developing areas, also advance certain agendas through local community leaders. Membership in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is contingent upon the ability of the applicant country to reform its government policies to reflect open-market values.

These examples of institutionalized, soft hegemonic power are compounded by the sheer enormity of financing development efforts. For instance, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in its 2008 pilot assessment of eight developing states, estimates that over USD $350 million is required to meet existing needs in these states alone. Without supranational financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, such projects would be impossible to support on a unilateral, even regional, basis. Creating a need for economic globalization or interconnectedness is essential for neoliberalism to succeed.

**Human Development and Rights-Based Approaches**

Scholars focused on human and social development take issue with these conclusions. For instance, equity is not addressed in trade discussions: the gains from trade espoused by international institutions may actually “benefit a prosperous elite at the expense of the majority.” In its 2007 Millennium Development Goals Report, the United Nations reports that “poverty alleviation has been accompanied by rising inequality.” In developing regions, consumption levels of the poorest fifth actually decreased from 1994 to 2004. Latin America and Africa experienced the greatest divergence: according to the UN, “the poorest fifth of the people account for only about 3 per cent of national consumption or income.”

This perspective also claims that the nation-state can promote certain development policies, or the “possibility of unequal terms of trade, in other words, certain regions might actually exploit other regions through trade.” Hegemonic power built into modernization and neoliberal perspectives may
Britain, or later, the United States of America, [to] use their global power to ensure that countries of the South continue to produce those products that command lower prices and lower profits. They might also use state power to assist transnational corporations to monopolise the most profitable products which are, generally, the most hi-tech industries and, more recently, services.  

Development scholars focusing on human rights and ethical issues also take issue with neoliberal policies in poorer countries. A rights-based approach (RBA) to development, rooted in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and first articulated in the 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development, is a significant shift in the “development discourse from economic goals.” Henry-Lee explains that the underlying philosophy of RBA, that “any poverty-reduction programme should be based explicitly on the norms and values outline in the international law of human rights,” especially requires recognition of “informed participation of the poor in the conceptualization, formulation and implementation” of development policy. He further explains that “decisions taken at the global level...can undermine any social contracts between government and citizens,” posing a significant challenge to the requirement of citizen engagement. The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) also emphasizes that a rights-based approach should “empower people themselves—especially the most marginalized—to participate in policy formulation and hold accountable those who have a duty to act.”

A rights-based approach still represents an important alternative to structural adjustment programs and neoliberal reform, although its implementation and financing is still prone to co-option by supranational institutions. Use of this approach will be explored in the discussion of on-going Alma College research efforts.

**CRITIQUE OF NEOLIBERALISM AS AN APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT**

Significant critiques of neoliberalism arise in the literature. Most importantly, this largely economic perspective does not consider important social, cultural, and ecological dimensions of development. These factors contribute to underlying structural issues such as persistent poverty. Prominent economists, including Jeffrey Sachs and Thomas Friedman, echo the modernization approach by asserting that increased access to knowledge capital and technology moves developing economies into the realm of the developed world. However, Broad and Cavanagh, pointedly and concisely dispelling five myths of neoliberalism, suggest that the real barriers to development lie in a violent process of poverty creation rooted in unequal power relations and manifested through slavery, the colonial legacy of export economics, the presence of extraction industries, and the sale of natural resources by governments to the highest corporate bidders.

In economic terms, these environmental and social barriers can be thought of as negative externalities, or those costs of production and globalization borne by communities or individuals who otherwise are not involved. Such costs and processes, according to Broad and Cavanagh as well as other critical scholars, is propped up by neoliberal values of consumption and commodification. For instance, Villarroel claims that natural resource exploitation is actually encouraged in Latin America by “handling over territory, granting tax exemptions, [and] facilitating water right concessions and mining exploitation permits.” Furthermore, research shows that toxic waste generated by such intensive operations can threaten high-altitude aquifer sources that feed into lower-level streams and local agricultural projects. These negative externalities clearly hinder development efforts by damaging existing resources that could otherwise be used for local production.

Also, the assumption that knowledge capital transference to developing states occurs relatively
quickly may not be accurate. Durand suggests that “[this process] is not automatic, and the growing competitive pressure may even negatively affect the productivity of local enterprises and destroy their ability to incorporate new ideas, or lead them to bankruptcy.” Additional externalities may actually include a productivity slowdown as import pressures and global competition eliminate local competitors. In general, the literature suggests that development efforts occur within and through “a complex, multidimensional maze of power relations.” Neoliberalism, as it simplifies solutions into linear processes, tends to produce clinical, prescriptive policies which reassert colonial notions of dominance and hierarchy. This result is in direct contrast to the participatory, rights-based approach previously described.

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES: THE COMMON TABLE

The “Common Table Project” at Alma College is an on-going attempt to model a humane process for change in rural communities which experience significant environmental and economic difficulty. Intending to facilitate exchange among affected Midwestern and Mexican farmers, community members, and indigenous representatives, and funded by a Kellogg Foundation grant in 2007, it has three goals. First, it seeks to identify common challenges faced by rural communities in the United States and Mexico. Secondly, it attempts to find solutions to trends which undermine these communities’ success. Finally, it hopes to achieve both of these goals by encouraging the participation of typically affected individuals and groups, informed with an appreciation of local knowledge. These goals are articulated as a contrast to the dominant neoliberal approach described in earlier sections. Broadly, this project illustrates several key elements of the rights-based approach to development: an awareness of and sensitivity to the lived experiences of local communities, engagement of affected citizens, and the inclusion of social and cultural perspectives to development policy discourse.

Background and Process

The Alma College team includes two faculty leaders and several undergraduate students from the Public Affairs Institute as well as a Spring Term 2008 course. Using snowball sampling methods, the team identified key actors who in turn utilized their social networks to generate a core population of affected Midwestern and Mexican farmers, agronomists, community leaders, and indigenous Tarahumaran and Saginaw Chippewa representatives. Focusing on the south-central region of Chihuahua, Mexico, the original grant included support for three major phases: an initial fact-finding trip to the state of Chihuahua in May 2007, a conference in Mexico during August 2007 which included the Midwestern delegates, and a similar week-long conference hosted in Michigan during June 2008 which brought the Mexican delegates to Alma College. Throughout these phases, qualitative interviewing techniques in English and Spanish were used. Visits to local villages, homes, and farms, led by local non-governmental workers, enabled direct interaction with affected residents. The conference portions, particularly the Michigan event, included significant contributions by undergraduate students with the assistance of Alma College and Michigan State University faculty.

Drawing upon the expertise of local workers increased the reliability of interviews. These trusted individuals brought long-term relationships to the project, which in turn promoted more honest comments and reflections by delegates. The sampling method also increased the overall validity of the project: identifying only those residents who were directly affected by development, or were particularly engaged with the local community, helped to produce more relevant results. Finally, these methods were aligned with the goals and perspectives outlined in both the rights-based approach to development and the original grant.

Theoretical Background

Two scholars provide insight into the processes which underlie the construction and execution of this research. James Scott proposes the concept of high modernism (HM) as a significant force in development thinking. Key elements of HM thought include a “supreme self-confidence about continued
linear progress, the development of scientific and technical knowledge, the expansion of production...and...an increasing control over nature.”

This “deeply authoritarian” perspective leads one to conclude that an elite group of planners, able to “discern and create this superior social order,” should lead development efforts. Scott claims that twentieth-century global military action and economic depression, as well as national rebuilding projects, helped to “prop[el] liberal states into extensive experiments in social and economic planning in an effort to relieve economic distress and to retain popular legitimacy.”

More relevant to developing states whose history includes rule by empires, the HM ideology existed in the form of welfare colonialism—a phenomenon paralleling the emergence of dependency theory as earlier described.

HM theory provides additional support to the critiques of neoliberalism by using similar language of linear growth driven by technological improvement. Drawing upon examples from rural African regions, Scott illustrates the consequences of centralized planning without consideration of existing practices. Construction of model villages—“spread evenly across the rectangular grid of fields and linked by roads”—was met with resistance by local residents. Eventually, these projects failed because of their static and inflexible nature. Over-emphasis on standardization prevented the recognition that each family “had its own particular mix of resources and goals.”

The Common Table Project is framed as an alternative to such a top-down approach.

Frank Fischer’s work in client-oriented methods serves as a useful theoretical platform upon which to base a bottom-up approach to development. He defines such methods as “a deliberative process in which a practitioner(s) and a client system are brought together to solve a problem or to plan a course of action through the processes of collective learning.” This kind of interaction, he notes, is a methodologically “‘messy’ approach that both overlaps with, and diverges from, standard scientific research.” In contrast to traditional forms of research, and even applied research which intends to uncover useful knowledge, collaborative research seeks to generate goals and purposes for action.

Fischer’s framework distinguishes between two kinds of knowledge: “formal knowledge developed in professional inquiry, and the actor’s informal, contextual, local knowledge, often organized in narrative form and told as stories.” Blending these kinds of knowledge can “produce a deeper contextual understanding of the situation.”

Client-oriented methods inform the process of this project’s exploration into rural community development. Tapping into existing social networks gave the research team access to valuable experiences of affected citizens. From a public administrative view, these local individuals who interact with national bureaucracies can be thought of as Lipsky’s “street-level bureaucrats,” or those people who interpret, implement, and are affected by policies on the ground. The inclusion of epistemological theory adds value to this research by creating intellectual space for critical discussion of the dominant development paradigm. It also provides a longer-term methodological framework upon which future research can be built.

Findings

Seven dimensions emerged from the facilitated conferences and interviews: environment, society, politics and law, health, economics, gender, and ethics. Within these dimensions, delegates made specific observations and suggested strategic steps. For the purposes of this paper, these findings are grouped into four themes which cut across several dimensions: environmental degradation, migration, government policy, and education. Recalling that this project seeks to facilitate a sustainable, collaborative process by which citizens can take ownership of their own conception and implementation of development initiatives—in short, a rights-based approach to development—these themes are only intended to organize some of the comments and lived experiences generated by both Mexican and U.S. delegates.

Environmental Degradation

- Mexico: Poor management and contamination of natural aquifers and groundwater sources due
to pollution are straining existing water supplies. Climate change has also caused unreliable rainfall, even in the normally wet season.

- United States: Large-scale farming, including agribusiness, necessitates the use of pesticides, herbicides, and antibiotics which also contributes to environmental damage and external costs to citizens.

Migration

- Mexico: Emigration of rural labor population to urban areas deprives local communities of the human capital necessary to implement improvements. Women are often left in charge of the family.
- United States: Exploitation, nonpayment, and abuse of undocumented workers creates an artificially low price for agricultural products, placing further strain on rural communities.

Government Policy

- Mexico: National policies favor larger agricultural operations with little or no consideration given to indigenous people or smaller farmers. Effective presentation of these concerns to national policy-makers does not occur. Economic problems prevent the allocation of additional resources to develop viable long-term plans.
- United States: US policies discriminate against smaller operations through subsidies to larger farmers. Large lobbying organizations dominate the policy-making process, effectively silencing any opposition. Production and distribution policies, especially to schools, favor cheap, processed foods. National emphasis on converting food products into fuel, such as biomass and corn-based ethanol, threatens the sustainability of agriculture.

Education

- Mexico: There is a lack of technical and “formal” knowledge among poorer citizens, particularly with respect to sustainable farming practices and economics. (The term “formal” in this context seemed to refer to classroom or taught education.)
- United States: Consumers are becoming further distanced from both the physical source of their food, as well as the knowledge of its production, care, and processing. This results in a lack of understanding and awareness of agricultural change—locally and globally.

Several concerns, shared between the two delegations, emerged as useful summaries of the Common Table Project proceedings. They are reprinted below, appearing in their nearly original format in order to preserve the voice and language of the participants.

The following are common problems identified by the two-nation facilitation group and the U.S. delegation upon post-facilitation briefing:

- **Farming is Industry.** This has led to: loss of family farm and viability of small farming units; marginalization of poor and indigenous people; movement of agricultural subsidization towards large-scale farming forcing small farmers off the land and out of rural communities; prices of agricultural goods have dropped and may be at an “artificially” low level not sustainable given long-term externalities that are ignored; bigger “fish” get the ear of governmental representatives; bigger farms adhere to the “growth” model that is not sustainable over long periods of time.
- **NAFTA.** The specifics of how NAFTA has changed the agricultural economic dynamics between U.S. and Mexico is complex and lengthy. This should be a separate consideration that is developed in its own right.
- **Consumers Rely on Cheap Agricultural Products.** Even though they may be aware of
externalized costs such as environmental costs, consumers pressure governments to find low-cost foods not rural sustainability.

- **Cheap Food has led to Unhealthy Children.** Some of the low cost food production is achieved through new food production methods and highly processed foods that result in ill-health for many children and their parents.

- **Agricultural Education is Either Inadequate or Lacking Completely.** While we perfected an agricultural extension system a century ago that as a model of spreading knowledge of agriculture and food, the system has become a tool of industrial-global agriculture, losing its focus on protecting rural communities and quality food

- **Immigration / Emigration Concerns.** Mexican workers are knowledgeable and desirable, but can make more on U.S. farms than in their own country. Also, with some NAFTA provisions, campesinos [peasants] can work hard growing and harvesting a crop only to be undercut by dumping of the same crop on the Mexican market by U.S. farms.

- **Crop Diversity and Alternative Farming Practices are Lacking.** Loss of seed and animal diversity should be a great worry, but is ignored by science.

Indigenous representatives to the Common Table Project also identified four areas which “constitute a systematic approach to address the challenges [which] confront indigenous peoples, their agricultural traditions, and their quality of life.” They included indigenous autonomous organization, education and training, physical capital assistance, and legal accompaniment and advocacy. In addition to building the capacity for self-management of natural resources, representatives saw the need for ensuring authentic political representation at the local, regional, and national levels. This conclusion comes in direct opposition to the high modernist paradigm which “tends to devalue or banish politics” because “political interests...frustrate the social solutions devised by specialists with scientific tools adequate to their analysis.”

The discussion surrounding the right of indigenous people to ownership of their own development also produced a useful exchange between Tarahumaran and Saginaw Chippewa representatives on the role of culture and history in education—a thematic area which overlapped the general consensus statement. In particular, members felt that indigenous-indigenous education, or the process of having community elders and shamans train younger leaders, should be preserved and encouraged. Interpreting a philosophy of “respect for the earth and water” through conscious watershed and soil restoration via historically successful practices like terracing, natural filtration ditches, and earthen dams, appeared to be a central objective for these indigenous members.

**Conclusions and Future Research Areas**

Intended to explore and illustrate a process by which rural agricultural development could be critically examined and then implemented, the Common Table Project demonstrated several important elements of a rights-based approach. These included the sampling methodology, interview techniques, emphasis on story-telling and dialoguing, and the creation of a space for discussion among and with indigenous community members. The framing of this research as an alternative to the existing, neoliberal, high modernist paradigm opened the delegations to the possibility that development policies and practices could in fact be generated and sustained by those who needed them, instead of supranational institutions.

It is important to make clear that this research neither intends to claim nor conclude that international organizations should be completely removed from local development policy, agricultural or otherwise. The successes of the World Food Programme in reducing hunger, for instance, merit discussion and recognition. International organizations, both within the UN system and outside of it, continue to provide key humanitarian, legal, and financial support in regions which are devastated by a variety of causes. However, this research does point to the potential for and actual ignorance,
misrepresentation, or in the worst cases, abuse of historically marginalized individuals and populations by powerful institutions, despite the protections outlined in international covenants. By investigating the ground-level realities present in these regions, this project parallels Fischer’s characterization of client-oriented methods as “a conversation in which the horizons of both [social scientist and citizen-client] are extended through mutual dialogue.”

Such methodological extensions can occur within the academy, although on a smaller scale, through the use of interdisciplinary approaches as means of addressing complex, multifaceted issues like rural development. This emerged as a secondary conclusion of the Common Table Project, particularly through the undergraduate students who were involved with the small group facilitation in Mexico and Michigan. Although students’ academic backgrounds spanned a broad range of coursework—biology, political science, sociology, dance, foreign service, history, economics, environmental studies, and business administration—their conversation and discussion with delegates fostered a shared understanding and sense of purpose which transcended traditional majors. Creating a space for open exchange simultaneously enabled the participants to synthesize connections between the expressed concerns and generate solutions.

Intending to continue in this interdisciplinary tradition, the Common Table Project may find it valuable to include the field of community geography in its future direction. Uniquely situated between the natural and social sciences, geographical thought provides valuable perspective on concepts such as the role of the local, identity, and the relation between power and place. Also, it would open interesting avenues for quantitative methods, particularly via Geographic Information Science (GIScience). Public Participation Geographic Information Systems, or PP GIS, is a growing field of geography which mirrors many of Fischer's ideas of the role of researchers among residents. Asset- and needs-mapping, or the processes by which scientists can locate, identify, and label the existence or lack of resources in a particular region, are powerful tools which could augment the qualitative, lived experiences of citizens. This combination would be a valuable, locally-generated response to supranational statistical projects. The future of the Common Table Project, however, does not lie in the academic endeavors of its research team; rather, it remains in the generation, maintenance, expansion, and communication of a humane process of change by which truly rights-based development policies can be sustained.

ENDNOTES

5. Ibid, 4.
6. Ibid.
7. Truman, 4.
8. Ibid.


19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 O’Hearn, Ibid.


23 Ibid, 94-95.

24 Ibid.


30 Villarroel, 32.


32 Ibid, 395.

33 Broad and Cavanagh, 24.


35 Ibid, 94.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid, 97.

38 Scott, 227.

39 Ibid, 228.


41 Ibid, 176-77.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid, 179.

44 Ibid.


46 Report II of the Common Table Project, August 2007.

47 Second Common Table Conference: Consensus Statement, June 19, 2008.

48 Scott, 94.

49 Consensus Statement, June 19, 2008

50 Fischer, 254.
Traditionally, it has been argued that because early Christianity was so opposed to the values espoused by Romans in the late Empire (3rd-4th century CE), it caused conservative Romans to lash out against, and occasionally persecute, Christians. According to this argument, Christianity became a source of family division, dishonor to the emperor, liberation of women from male authority, and resistance to Roman order. Though many historians have argued this position, the evidence from the sources demonstrates that the situation was far more complicated. I argue in this paper that Christianity was very much related to and intertwined with Roman values. Indeed, many influential Christians and traditional Romans held similar views of gender, family structure, obedience to the state, and honor to earthly authorities. Hence, I argue that it was not in basic “societal” values where Christians and Romans differed, but in their understanding of the role and practices of religion. Because Rome eventually embraced Christianity, I contend that a substantial change must have taken place in the area of religious thought. Specifically, that the rise of Christian philosophy and the sporadic third century persecutions gave Christianity the image of being a religion of suffering intellectuals, and Romans responded positively to that image, which called to mind their own cultural heroes, such as Socrates and Cicero. Ultimately, I argue that by the 4th century, Christian identity no longer clashed with Roman identity, and the values of the Roman Empire would be recognized as the same values shared by the Roman Church.

Christian views of the family structure were strikingly similar to those of most other Romans, with the father acting as head of the household, honoring his wife and bringing his children up in discipline and obedience. Roman pietas (a core Roman idea of duty to the family, the gods, and the state) pervades the apostolic epistles, where the writers even commanded slaves to obey their masters. It would be hard to find a better summary of Roman pietas than in Paul’s epistle to the church at Ephesus:

“Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right. Honor your father and mother...so that it may be well with you...Fathers, do not provoke your children to anger, but bring them up in the discipline and instruction of the Lord. Slaves, be obedient to those who are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in the sincerity of your heart, as to Christ.”

Although some scholars have suggested that traditional Romans objected to Christianity based on their contempt for family structures, the earliest Christian sources show that it would have been ludicrous for Romans to accuse Christians of such a thing. Christians outlawed all divorce (with the exception of an adulterous spouse), and even demanded that Christian women who were married to pagan men must remain with them. Paul wrote, “And if a woman has a husband who is not a believer and he is willing to live with her, she must not divorce him.” Peter upheld the same teaching in his letter when he said “Wives, in the same way be submissive to your husbands so that, if any of them do not believe the word, they may be won over without words by the behavior of their wives.”

Similarly, there was very little difference between the Roman and Christian views of women’s roles in daily life. Christian and Roman women were expected to be models of perfect modesty, obedience, and hard work. Juvenal, in his Satires, facetiously wrote “If you are lucky to find a wife of
modest character, you should prostrate yourself before the Tarpeian threshold and sacrifice to Juno a heifer with gilded horns.” Roman writers esteemed women such as Lucretia, Octavia, Livia, Murdia, and Cornelia for their modesty and obedience. In the same light Paul, in his letter to the Corinthians, described the ideal woman saying, “Women should bedeck themselves in seemly dress, modestly and with discretion, not with braided hair or gold or pearls or expensive clothes, but, as befits women who profess piety, with good deeds. Let a woman learn quietly with all submissiveness.” Even the Hebrew Scriptures (which were the only Scriptures used by early Christians) carried the same message: “An excellent wife, who can find? For her worth is far above jewels... She looks for wool and flax and works with her hands in delight.” Thus, traditional and basic Roman values were not in any contrast with those of Christianity, especially regarding family relationships and the role of women in daily life.

Many scholars have assumed that Christians typically refrained from having any loyalty to the emperor, but the teachings on imperial honors in the New Testament writings tell us a more complicated story. When Jesus was asked about paying taxes, he answered “Then render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s and to God the things that are God’s.” Paul repeated the same message when he wrote to the Roman church saying “Render to all what is due them: tax to whom tax is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor.” And finally, Peter described the preferred Christian attitude towards the emperor:

“Submit yourselves for the Lord’s sake to every human institution, whether to a king as the one in authority, or to governors as sent by him for the punishment of evil doers and the praise of those who do right... Honor all people, love the brotherhood, fear God, honor the emperor.”

Thus, Christians and traditional Romans held similar views of gender, family structure, obedience to the state, and honor to the emperor. Honoring the emperor was not seen as a problem for Christians initially, but once religious honors were demanded of them they had no choice but to refuse. This suggests, once again, that the wall of separation rested upon religious values specifically. So what was it that Romans and Christians were unable to reconcile?

The main dividing point between Christianity and the Roman establishment was religious in nature. The exclusivity of Christianity, as opposed to the inclusivity of Roman cults, was a major problem. The fact that most Roman cults admired the emperor, even worshipped him, and offered sacrifices for the benefit of the state made Christians stick out like a sore thumb in Roman society. Early Christians understood their faith as being separate from the state and all world affairs, but Romans understood religion as being the very substance of the state; as Virgil so eloquently put it, “But, Romans, never forget that government is your medium!” Romans placed high value on performing specific rituals, but early Christians had hardly any formal rituals (with the exception of communion and baptism, though even these were practiced without uniformity in the early church). The rigid structure and ritualism of Roman worship was different from the informal and nearly unceremonious worship of the fledgling Christian movement. This explains why the most significant challenges that early Christianity faced from pagan writers centered on religious thoughts and understandings of the role of religion. In pagan Roman sources, there were few accusations made toward Christianity that dealt with destruction of the family structure, incitation of slave rebellions, or emancipation of women from male authority. Pagan Romans were much more concerned about how this new cult defended their religious ideology.

**Religious Differences in a Post-Apostolic Age**

After the apostles had exited the scene in the late first century, the apostolic fathers entered and reiterated the same basic message of the apostles. One would be hard pressed to distinguish the writings
of Clement (late 1st, early 2nd centuries) and Polycarp (mid-second century) from that of Paul’s epistles. The apostolic fathers did not change the societal values of Christianity, they continued them. Clement wrote to the Corinthians about their previous good reputation and said, “Your womenfolk were bidden to go about their duties in irreproachable devotion and purity of conscience, showing all proper affection to their husbands; they were taught to make obedience the rule of their lives, to manage their households decorously, and to be patterns of discretion in every way.” However, though they preached the same common-ground values that they shared with the pagans, they also reiterated the apostolic values of exclusivity and separation of faith from world affairs.

Celsus’ _Alethes Logos_, a Roman pagan source, perfectly displays the objections that pagans had against Christians during the second century, and it strongly suggests that the divide was a product of differing _religious_ values. To be more precise, for Christians religion was for the repentant sinner, and for Celsus, religion was for those who were already righteous. Celsus’ first objection to Christianity was on the basis of the truth of the gospel accounts. He asserted that Jesus’ birth was “fabricated” and that his mother was “convicted of adultery.” He maintained that Jesus learned his magical powers in Egypt and used them to claim that he was God. Celsus goes on to also deny the resurrection and various other parts of the gospels. What jumps off of the page is not Celsus’ difference from Christians in basic societal values, but the difference between Celsus’ own understanding of the divine and how the Christians understood it. He wrote:

“If Jesus wanted to show forth divine power, he ought to have appeared to the very men who treated him despitefully…But if he was so great he ought, in order to display his divinity, to have disappeared suddenly from the cross…Those who summon people to the other mysteries make this preliminary proclamation:…Whosoever is pure from all defilement, and whose soul knows nothing of evil, and who has lived well and righteously [may join us]…But let us hear what folk these Christian folks call. Whosoever is a sinner they say, whosoever is unwise, whosoever is a child, and, in a word, whoever is a wretch, the kingdom of God will receive him.”

Speaking of “normal” Roman cults, Celsus shows his approval for their prerequisites for joining—you have to already be righteous and of good repute. Christianity, as a religion focused on the redemption of mankind, called for all the sinners and evil people of society to repent and join. This was a major objection that Celsus held against Christianity, but as one can see, it was based on two different understandings of the role of religion.

In the same way, Christians opposed pagans based on their religious values and rituals. For example, they could not reconcile their Christianity with pagan practices during festivals or their high opinion of making imperial oaths. As a Christian living in the mid-second century, Tatian wrote: “What is one to make of your [pagan] teaching? Your official festivals are ridiculous, celebrated in honor of evil demons and bringing shame upon human beings… I refuse to stand and gape at a chanting crowd, and I do not want to ape the antics of someone gesticulating and writhing in an unnatural way.” When Saturninus interrogated the Christian Speratus, he explained that “we swear by the _genius_ of our lord the emperor.” For Speratus, it would have been problematic for him to swear by anything (as Jesus clearly taught to never swear an oath by what belongs to God in Matthew 5:33-37) let alone to swear by the _genius_ of a mere man. For the Christians, honoring authority was one thing, _worshipping_ authority was very much another. Peter’s exhortation to “honor the emperor” was not at all permission to give into the pagan demands of swearing loyalty oaths by the head of the emperor. What was being asked of Christians was not simply honor for the emperor, but a blatant worship of him. James, an influential first century Christian who was closely linked to the apostles, repeated Jesus’ sentiments when he wrote “Do not swear, either by heaven or by earth or with any other oath; but your yes is to be yes, and your no,
no, so that you may not fall under judgment." For this reason, Speratus and other Christians refused to swear oaths by the genius of the emperor, and they were killed for it.

In the second century Epistle to Diognetus and the writings of Tertullian, this same idea of false worship in pagan practices was reiterated. Addressing pagans, the epistle’s Christian author asked rhetorically, “Do you really call these things gods [carved images], and really do service to them? Yes, indeed you do; you worship them—and you end up becoming like them...Is it not because we Christians refuse to acknowledge their divinity that you dislike us so?” Tertullian affirmed this idea saying “So that is why Christians are public enemies—because they will not give the emperors vain, false, and rash honors.” Therefore, the Christian writings also recognize that the main source of division and conflict was centered on religious belief and practice, not differing Roman values.

**Bridging the Gap in Religious Difference—Philosophy and Martyrdom**

Knowing that Christianity eventually triumphs in Rome, one must wonder how Romans came to accept Christianity and how Christians came to accept Rome in the midst of such religious opposition. Because the basic societal values of Christians and Romans were similar, the change must have been a religious one. Romans must have changed their views of Christianity and Christians must have changed their views of Roman beliefs. The bridge to religious tolerance, and even acceptance, was philosophy. The rise of Christian philosophy combined with the sporadic persecutions of the third century effectively closed the gap between what was Roman and what was Christian. The image of the suffering intellectual was one that Romans had always embraced and tried to emulate. Once Christianity took on this image, more Romans were willing to accept the precepts of the young cult.

The image of the suffering intellectual, or the suffering idealist, was a Greek one that Romans adopted. Suffering idealists such as Socrates, Antigone, Lucretia, Julius Caesar, Cato, Cicero, and Aeneas all served as examples of pietas or piety for the third century Romans. At the same time, Christians had their own examples of this: Jesus, Paul (who took on the Greek philosophers on Mars Hill), John the Baptist, Peter, and even the martyred Perpetua (the Christian equivalent of the Roman Lucretia). Both parties made heroes of the ‘suffering intellectual’ and made a conscious effort to emulate them. Before Christianity had the apologists, these similarities went unnoticed, and Christianity was seen as the religion of “ignorant persons from the lowest dregs, and credulous women...[and] a rabble of unholy conspirators.” However, when actual philosophers like Athenagoras, Justin, Origen, and Clement of Alexandria composed their philosophic apologies for Christianity; the entire face of the religion changed. It is then no wonder that Justin the Martyr so famously referred to Socrates as a “Christian before Christ” and used philosophy as a means of linking Christianity to the Roman heroes of the past.

Looking at the teachings of Roman philosophy and mythology make it easy to see why Romans eventually found themselves able to embrace Christianity. Christians’ evangelistic results, their suffering, and their discipline all made it seem as though Christians were modern examples of the most esteemed Roman philosophers. Epictetus, one of the most famous Stoic philosophers in first century Rome, once wrote that “In the same way some people, when they see a philosopher and hear a man speaking like Euphrates...wish to be philosophers themselves...and then when the contest comes you must risk getting hacked, and sometimes dislocate your hand, twist your ankle, swallow plenty of sand, sometimes get a flogging, and with all this suffer defeat.” So the philosopher is effective by his words of reason, but after he has delivered his convincing argument, he must prepare to suffer for it. By the same formula, Romans were brought to Christianity first by the arguments of philosophers and then by the sight of the “stoic-like” martyrs of the third century who definitely endured to suffer defeat.

It is certain that Christianity became more than a “rabble of unholy conspirators” by the third century, and instead became an emerging mode of philosophical thought. Christianity was no longer for the poor, ignorant, and burdened of society, but was proving itself to be a religion of the upper classes as well. Cyprian, a third century bishop of Carthage, wrote to a close friend that:
“Valerian has sent an address to the senate, to the effect that bishops, presbyters, and deacons should be immediately punished, but that senators, distinguished men, and Roman equites should lose their rank and be deprived of their property also; and if, when their goods have been taken away, they should persist in being Christians, that they should then also be punished capitally.”

Thus, Christians were found among the senatorial and equestrian segments of society by the third century. The charges made in the past about Christians being nothing more than the poor, children, and ignorant women were no longer valid. The class barrier had broken down and Christians were found in all ranks of society. This added to their growing credibility among the higher classes.

While Christian apologists worked diligently to portray Christianity as a philosophical entity, the sporadic persecutions worked hand in hand with that effort. Philosophical schools of Christian thought were established in Alexandria and other cities of the empire, introducing men like Origen and Clement to the apologetics scene. The persecutions under Valerian and Decius unintentionally added to the ‘suffering philosophers’ image that Christianity was gaining and gave them the weapon of Roman sympathy. Great Christian philosophers were killed in plain view for all Roman citizens to see. Cyprian himself was killed in the Valerian persecution, along with other recognized intellectuals of the time. These men and women were dying stoically for a cause greater than themselves—this was characteristically and certainly ‘Roman’ in every way.

Roman sympathy for Christians did two important things: It opened a door for Romans to become Christians themselves and it made many Romans think twice about the imperial assertion that persecution was for the public good. Historically, we know that persecutions were often accompanied by conversions. That this sympathy for Christians existed and created new Christians, there can be no doubt. Tacitus wrote during the Neronian persecution that “though they were deserving of the most extreme punishment, a feeling of pity arose as people felt that they were being sacrificed not for the public good but because of the savagery of one man.” If Romans felt pity for Christians under Nero’s persecution (when Christianity was characterized as a religion of the poor) then there is no reason why that pity would not have also existed in the third century. Indeed, the pity must have intensified to an enormous degree considering the fact that Christianity was a religion that included, and was defended by, philosophers and thinkers of all classes by the third century. A Christian could have been a friend, a familiar neighbor, or a well-respected senator. No longer was the murder of a Christian seen as a decrease in the number of the urban poor, but as the defilement of a Roman citizen and possibly a philosopher.

All of this lends its hand to explaining why Emperors of the fourth century were typically friendly towards Christianity and why Christians were able to gradually assimilate into Roman society as Romans were able to assimilate into the church. Romans and Christians had already shared a common value system that focused on patriarchal authority and the stability of family structures. Obedience and modesty were the characteristics of the ideal woman, and slaves were advised not to revolt against their masters. Thus, the animosity that resulted was a product of different religious understandings. The Christian apologists aimed to ameliorate that animosity with the use of philosophy and Socratic reasoning. This factor, once it was mixed together with sporadic persecution, helped create a new image for Christianity—that of the “suffering intellectual.” This image was rooted deep within the historical and mythological sentiments of most Romans, and it made Christianity into a worthy candidate for Roman acceptance. Each of these factors certainly helps explain how Rome went from demanding the “loyalty oath,” to issuing the Edict of Milan; and how the church grew in between those two events. In the end, being Christian would become synonymous with being Roman, and the values of the Roman Empire would be recognized as being the same values of the Roman Church.
ENDNOTES

3 Ibid, 1Peter 3:1.
5 Lewis, p. 602.
6 NASB, Proverbs 31: 10, 13.
9 Ibid, 1Peter 2: 13-17.
12 Celsus, Alethes Logos, (Handout from class).
13 Lewis, 560-561.
14 NASB, 1Peter 2:17
15 NASB, James 5:12
16 Ibid, 564-565.
17 Early Christian Writings, 143.
18 Lewis, 556.
19 Lewis, 553.
21 Lewis, 567.
22 Lewis, 140.
Abstract

This article discusses the creation and evolution of the propaganda and recruitment posters used during World War II. This article examines, Rosie the Riveter posters, in particular and applies Burke’s theory of identification and persuasion strategies as a way to examine the visual and print messages embedded within these posters. This article also focuses on these Rosie the Riveter posters as a means to discuss women’s gender roles and how women were recruited during the 1940’s en mass into the war effort. This article also examines how the events of the war created a future pathway for the modern working woman. Lastly this article attempts to explain how persuasive iconography could change the course of American history.

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Imagine waking up on a peaceful Sunday morning. It is still quite early and already you are thinking about what you are going to do for the day. Should you get up and cook breakfast, perhaps you are thinking that you should attend church this morning, or maybe you are already thinking about the fun you are going to have with friends? After all this is Hawaii, a beautiful sunny, warm day, considering it is December seventh. You begin moving around to start your day when suddenly you hear a low level buzzing sound coming from the sky. You think it is a little early for the air base to already be running training as they don’t usually start until around nine in the morning. You step out onto your porch to see what all the commotion is, and as you step out you notice that the planes are flying really low to the ground. As you take a closer look at the planes, you begin to notice that they are not American aircraft nor are there Americans flying them. Before you can wrap your head around this strange sight suddenly you hear it, BOOM! You are taken aback by all of the explosions you see and the gunfire you hear.

The scene that was just described to you is what many people saw on December 7, 1941. This was the official start of the United States involvement in World War II. This new world war that the United States had worked so desperately hard to stay out of drew us in at a time when we only wanted to remain spectators. Fairly soon after this date the U.S. began a major call to arms that would greatly effect the landscape to a degree that no one had ever seen before. Soon after, this became a nation that with so many of our countries men away fighting, these women were expected to step up to the plate in more ways than one. In a very short time America’s workforce was infused with the working woman, something that was, up until this point, not expected nor even wanted. Not only were women expected to take care of a home but they were also a staple, at many if not all of the factories, distribution centers, schools, and almost every landscape that was dominated by the working class man. So what was the greatest persuading factor in women attempting to do something that they were either previously not allowed or expected to do? Well it can be said that it may have been the wartime recruitment poster.

This essay argues that World War II propaganda and recruitment posters such as “Rosie the Riveter” and others attempted to create feelings of common ground and persuade women into joining the workforce through the overt and implied identification strategies. In order to elaborate this point this essay will: (1) describe background on the evolution of WWII propaganda and recruitment posters; (2) define the theory of identification strategies; (3) analyze WWII propaganda posters and how they
persuaded women to join the workforce; (4) offer a summary and conclusion, and finally; (5) provide
some commentary for thought.

The WWII War Effort and the Propaganda Poster

Coming on the heels of the Great Depression which had greatly driven the vast majority of
Americans to live in abject poverty, came President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal act established at
the end of the 1930’s to early 1940’s. The New Deal was “a program for social and economic
reconstruction in the USA following the Great Depression launched by President Franklin D. Roosevelt”
(Oxford University Press). It was based on a massive and unprecedented federal intervention in the
economy. Early measures, including extensive public works, mainly dealt with relief. The New Deal
encountered bitter resistance from conservatives and did not avert further recession in 1937–38.
Industrial expansion, full employment, and agricultural prosperity were achieved less by the New Deal
than by the advent of World War II” (Oxford University Press). This recovery program was designed
specifically to end the Great Depression and send America back into an upswing providing aid such as
social security, unemployment benefits, and work relief. All of these benefits help to set the stage for
the American population to get back on its feet and put Americans, primarily men, back to work. During
the time of the war, Roosevelt had begun to see that the advances of the Nazi party across Europe were
slowly becoming a problem that needed to be quelled. “Americans were determined to say out of the
fighting. WWI had left most Americans disillusioned about war. After all, they had fought that war
believing that it was the war to end all wars” (Coleman 4). Keeping this in mind he pledged all the help
and supplies he could to Europe but for the most part continued to stay out of the fray. It was not until
Japan, after making further aggressions with China and inevitably attacking Pearl Harbor, was Roosevelt
forced to declare war and throwing us headlong into a war that would affect us like never before.

Keeping in mind that we were just beginning to recover from a great economic slump and also
understanding where a new war could possibly take us Roosevelt pushed ahead with the war effort.
The next step in the process of course was the recruitment of soldiers. But how was this to be done?
Most Americans were already used to the traditional means of recruitment. It was not an unusual
tradition that many young men often went into the service after high school or college; many even
received money from the military to further their post secondary educations. However, with the still
looming effects of WWI there was still a significant slump in recruitment numbers. What the
government needed was something to give their numbers a shot in the arm, something that would
make the average young man feel proud to serve his country. This something became the wartime
propaganda and recruitment poster.

Now, up until this time the American poster had served a very commercial purpose in American
history. In fact, the poster was rarely ever used except to advertise. “In 1940 the poster was one of
several media in a landscape of commercial promotion that had hardly existed for twenty years before”
(Bird & Rubenstein 11). However, “with the coming of the Second World War, champions of the
poster’s resurgence saw in postings a direct reflection of the spirit of a community” (Bird & Rubenstein
11). So, the direct intention of the poster became to bring about the feelings and the attitudes, that
were at this time what everyone was feeling, both in everyday thinking as well as what thoughts about
the war.

“In January 1942, the advertising industry offered its services to the
government. The newly organized War Advertising Council, made up of leading Madison
Avenue advertising agencies, nation advertisers, and mass-media outlets, placed its
members’ staff and facilities at the disposal of any and all government information
agencies. At the behest of Chester J. LaRoche, War Advertising Council chairman and
vice president of Young & Rubicam, Inc., the graphics bureau of the governments Office
of Facts and Figures (OFF) set up a national Advisory Council on Government Posters
composed of prominent advertising-agency art directors. At an early meeting between OFF and its advisory admen, representatives of Young & Rubicam proposed to use survey research to establish a basis for effective poster design. Pursuing a style consistent with the commercial campaigns with which they were familiar, Y&R specialists undertook a reaction survey of thirty-three different war posters in Toronto, Canada between March 16 and April 1, 1942” (Bird & Rubenstein 27-28).

“The most effective war posters appeal to the emotions. No matter how beautiful the art work, how striking the colors, how clever the idea, unless a war poster appeals to the basic human emotion in both picture and text, it is not likely to make a deep impression” (Bird & Rubenstein 28).

“In early 1941 Treasury officials began applying the poster to the new goal of securing widespread ownership of the public debt... transforming people from being mere observers into becoming active participants...emphasizing at all times participation rather than propaganda-voluntary cooperation rather than coercion” (Bird & Rubenstein 21).

So, once these parameters were collected, the actual production of the posters was started. What was to come out of this whole design concept is in my opinion, some of the most beautiful yet highly persuasive pictures and renderings that I have ever seen. Not only do they very plainly get their point across with minimal words they also appeal to ones true nature to be proud, progressive, enabling, and a host of other terms that above all else made the viewer want to act.

But the most important aspect of these posters is the content itself. These posters show unity of family; mothers and daughters, grandparents your father, sons, brothers, but most important, in my opinion, the working woman. Never to be forgotten or overlooked it was just as important to instill these feelings of participation into women because they would suffer the greatest loss. Mothers, wives, and sisters would soon see the men in their lives shipped off, some never to return. These women became, in most instances, the focal point of these posters because she was really the only one left on the home front. These posters show her doing anything that a man can do not only just taking care of the household but growing and canning food, putting in twelve to sixteen hours a day at the factory and collecting and purchasing war bonds and stamps. These posters were for the most part what motivated the woman to get out and work, save, and try her hardest to make a difference. The effect was so great that it spawned both women and men to join the war effort in an attempt to do their part. But at the same time it was not seen just how truly effective these posters would come to be on the American public. Later in this paper eight posters will be analyzed, but now let us next examine the theory of identification strategies.

Theory of Identification

The theory of identification was the brainchild of an early twentieth century philosopher and theorist named Kenneth Burke (Rosenfeld 173). Kenneth Burke’s primary contention in terms of identification is that; “We form selves or identities through various properties or substances, including physical objects, occupations, friends, activities, beliefs, and values” (Rosenfeld 174). “As we ally ourselves with various properties or substances, we share substance with whatever or whomever we associate” (Rosenfeld 174).

“Burke maintains that identification is necessary to compensate for the mystery or estrangement in the division of labor and in other ordered domains of human experience” (Cheney 145). Basically, we as humans, have a need on the deepest level to have some sort of relationship or understanding of the things we deal with day to day. Therefore, by establishing the three techniques of common ground, the common enemy and the assumed “we”; these examples allow for just about every human to be affected on some level by appealing to what they feel a need for the most. Whether that is everyone being on a level playing field, feeling that they are a part of a collective, or uniting together
against something you will usually be found to be open to one of these things. But there is also another basic principle that ties us together when it comes to identification and that is the act of congregation and segregation, so let us examine this principle first.

“People communicate in an attempt to eliminate division” (Rosenfeld 175). When congregation and segregation occur this causes us to pull away from one ideal to go with another, such as person A and person B talk to each other and this will lead to the alienation of person C. “Only because of their separateness do individuals communicate with one another and try to resolve their differences. Paradoxically, then, identification is rooted in division” (Rosenfeld 175). Now let us look at each of these three techniques separately.

The common ground technique is used when a person needs to make him or herself appear to be one in the same with the audience. “A candidate for office, for instance, may attempt to win votes simply by telling an audience of anti-abortion advocates that he holds the same position they do on the issue of abortion” (Rosenfeld 174). Whether we are identified as a member of a single race or grouped together as a statistic from a study the persuader will almost always try to instill the feeling that we are all in this together. This theory draws its power by overtly establishing a specific set of ideals that we will feel are shared between us and other individuals (Rosenfeld 174). It does not matter if these shared ideals are real or imagined; they only need to make us think we share these things in common (Rosenfeld 174).

For instance, viewers can always see a lot of facial cleanser commercials right after school time. In these commercials fresh faced teenage girls usually with a girlfriend are laughing and smiling and distressing about a clearly unseen pimple on their faces. They then go on to praise whatever cleanser has created the commercial for clearing up their horrible skin troubles. Now if we pay close attention to these commercials the first thing we will notice is that these girls look as if they never had a pimple in their whole lives, let alone need to use the product they are advertising. So why are these commercials so successful in selling these products? Because they have managed to tune into that primary feeling that all young girls have at that age, wanting to be pretty and happy like the girl in the commercial and like all the other girls who are seeing this same thing. They want to be included in that feeling of common ground that makes you have thoughts like “we are all alike because we go through the same thing.” Never mind that not every girl in the whole world has to deal with bad skin, the viewer just accepts that they do. This is just one example that shows how the persuader can invoke the feeling of common ground in a subset of the population.

“Identification through antithesis; the act of uniting against a common “enemy...” (Cheney 148)

“The second type of identification involves the operation of antithesis when identification is created among opposing entities on the basis of a common enemy” (Rosenfeld 175). Antithesis or identifying a common enemy is one that everyone can relate to. Sometimes we as humans have to unite or feel unity of some kind. Whether it is fighting in our community to stop violence or the neighbors that come together to form a neighborhood watch, there is a unity there against a greater evil. The most glaring example of how this was used was after September 11, 2001. This great tragedy struck a cord with every American to fight against the evils of terrorism. We all stood as a united front to send troops off to war to stop this terrorist enemy. The time after September 11 th became a time of flag pins and bump stickers proclaiming that we refused to let the enemy get the best of us that we would stand strong and fight. This whole idea of a common enemy also leads to feelings of us against them. We have to stop them before they can get us. This technique creates a strong division between us and them and this is who we have to band against, to remain strong. This is also an example of congregation and segregation that I previously discussed. Now let’s move on to the final example, the assumed “we.”

“The third type of identification—and also the most powerful—derives from situations in which it goes unnoticed; in this case, identification is used to persuade at an unconscious level” (Rosenfeld 175). It usually goes unnoticed because the words associated with it such as; “we, us, and our,” are common
everyday words that are used all the time. But, when these words are used properly they can give the sense of everyone being part of a larger group and that we are all equal. Be that as it may this is a very strong appeal in terms of identification. Who doesn’t want to feel like they belong? Whether we are a part of a class at school, a member of the choir at church, or even part of a clique at work or school, we want to be on par with our neighbors’ friends, and family.

The one area where this is most prevalent but also greatly unnoticed is in the political arena. Politicians are notorious for using this strategy. When it comes to running for office or attempting to gain the lead in an election the major tool these politicians will use is the assumed “we.” They want to ensure that everyday citizens alike will elect them because they are just like you. They grew up in the voter’s neighborhood, attended their church and have families just like the voters do; they neglect to say however, that they are not like us. They certainly have more clout, more connections and by far and away more money than the average person will ever have in a lifetime. They just want us to feel this way. They use their speeches to their advantage by saying things like; “we can overcome these obstacle together,” “we can succeed in bringing this community back,” never mind that they live in the best house of the area or don’t even live in the area at all, they just want you to believe they do, because this will ultimately solidify the “we.” Now let us move on to the third technique, the common enemy. Now that we have a basic understanding of the theory of identification let us see how these tactics were used in the design of WWII propaganda posters to bring about change.

WWII Propaganda Posters and the Persuasion of Women

In this essay it has been argued that World War II propaganda and recruitment posters such as “Rosie the Riveter” and others attempted to create feelings of common ground and persuade women into joining the workforce through overt and implied identification strategies. Now that we have a better understanding of what the identification strategies are and how they are used let’s now analyze some of these WWII posters and see how they could have this effect on women.

The first example of the overt use of the assumed “we” that will be analyzed is entitled “We Can Do It.” Many people have seen in passing this famous poster of a woman at work affectionately called “Rosie the Riveter.” She is pictured on plain yellow background, dressed in her wartime issue uniform, rolling up her sleeve while at the same time flexing a muscle to show how strong she is, while still appearing very feminine. Even though she looks as if she is ready for a day of hard labor she still manages to have perfect makeup complete with lipstick, blush, beautiful hair safely protected by a scarf and proudly displaying her work pin on her collar. Above her head in simple bold letters is the slogan “We Can Do It!” not to subtly implying that women can do the same job as men. This is just one of several posters designed by J. Howard Miller, as his contribution to the war effort. It is, in my opinion, one of the greatest pieces of persuasion I have ever seen because it takes the assumed “we” technique and applies it so effectively, it even uses the word we. But what makes it even more effective is that it made women want to stand up and act, to do her part to help in the great effort that needed all the woman power it could get. She [Rosie] is the woman every woman can identify with, she looks just like we all do and if she can do the job, so can we.

Another example of a poster that displays the overt use of the assumed “we” is another designed by J. Howard Miller. Produced for the War Production Coordinating Committee, this poster is quite interesting. It shows in the background a woman loading a revolutionary era rifle while in the foreground it depicts a “Rosie” driving rivets into a machine. In bold capital letters it says “IT’S A TRADITION WITH US, MISTER!” It attempts to draw a correlation between women helping the war efforts of both the past and the present. It also not so subtly uses the word “us” to draw the viewer into the remembrance that they had a duty to help their men before so they must help them again.

Lastly another poster that effectively uses the assumed “we” is one that was designed by the War Department Public Relations Bureau. It depicts both aspects of the wartime woman. One woman
dressed in a full army uniform and the other a typical “Rosie” dressed in her coveralls, outfit complete with her “V” for victory pin. Between the women is a man perhaps exempted from duty or perhaps a vision of the working man that was previously in either of these two posts. The trio stands outside a military depot station ready for work. Across the bottom of the poster is the phrase, “We Soldiers of Supply pledge that our fighting men shall not want!” This poster conveys to the viewer that she should rise to the challenge to ensure that the soldiers abroad are taken care of during their time at war. This poster is also effective in that it tells the woman that she is important to the fight no matter what position that she holds as long as she holds one to ensure the battle is won. It is designed to give the viewer the sense that she is the leading factor in the war being won because she stepped up to the plate to make sure that whatever was needed would be supplied because of her efforts. These three posters are just a few examples of how the assumed “we” was used to recruit women into the work force. Now let us look at some examples that utilize the common ground technique.

One example of a poster using the identification strategy of common ground is one designed by John Newton Hewitt. This poster depicts a grand size waving American flag as a background while in the foreground stands a wartime working woman whose husband hovers just behind and to her right placing his hands on her shoulders giving her a gentle push of encouragement. Her dress is very much the same as Rosie’s with her wartime issue uniform, scarf, coveralls, and work pin proudly displayed. Her makeup is flawless and her hands are cupped as if she is holding some imaginary wrench or other tool. Under her in bold letters is the phrase “I’m Proud...my husband wants me to do my part,” and smaller still, yet still visible is an advertisement encouraging women to go see their U.S. employment service sponsored by the war manpower commission. This particular poster is very convincing indeed, by depicting the woman at work and proclaiming to all women alike that her husbands wants her to work will encourage all women to get out there and work to be both proud and make her husband proud of her. This poster effectively creates the feeling of common ground because it keeps in mind that at this particular point in time all women not only needed to feel common ground with every other woman but also, did have common ground with almost every other woman because their husbands were all off to war leaving them all to pick up the slack and fill the void that was left.

Another example of a poster that uses the common ground techniques was designed by artist John Joseph Floherty. It is good example of common ground as it depicts a strong visual of the wartime woman. The woman in this poster is front and center fully decorated in a U.S. Coast Guard Uniform. She is quite beautiful with full make up, but still appearing strong as she holds military issue binoculars and stares off in the distance towards some unseen enemy. The background of the poster is filled with the depiction of a man, possibly hers, at the ready with his war issue rifle. Above both of the figures reads the caption “Your duty ashore...His afloat,” while across the bottom of the poster in big bold letters is the word, “SPARS,” and below that is the phrase “Apply Nearest Coast Guard Office.” The SPARS were the coast guards branch of women officers who performed clerical duties, nursing responsibilities and the like, but these women were mostly stationed on base while the men were out to sea. Still, this poster is excellent at using common ground because it gives the viewer a sense that she is also a part of the greater fight and that she stands shoulder to shoulder with the men, even though she will never actually see combat.

Lastly another poster that effectively uses the common ground technique is one created by artist George Roepp. It depicts another version of a “Rosie” in her work attire of head scarf and work uniform, her make up flawless as always depicted, stationed in front of work machine. Next to her smiling face is a phrase that reads “I’ve found the job where I fit best!” While below her are the words “FIND YOUR WAR JOB In Industry- Agriculture- Business.” It is effective in its use of common ground because it suggests to the viewer that “I” have found my place so “You” should as well. It makes the viewer feel that she is just like the woman depicted and that she is capable of doing the job just the same. It also implies to the viewer that she should find her place in the movement to be like all of the
other women around her. She wants to join up because she also wants to know that she was responsible for the victory that was soon to come. These few examples show that like the assumed “we” common ground was also an effective technique. Now lastly let us investigate the common enemy aspect.

The one thing that can be said is that WWII propaganda and recruitment posters are unique in that they all use equal parts of identification strategies across the board. These poster tend to use either the assumed “we,” technique, the common ground technique, and also the common enemy strategy. The common enemies in these instances were the combined enemies of Germany, Japan, and Italy. All of the posters whether they are telling us to buy war bonds join the forces; whether we are men or women, or convincing us to save all depict the instance of a common enemy. However one that I feel that was particularly startling and able to persuade women was designed by the Kroger Grocery and Baking Company.

This poster depicts a very ominous background of a city in a haze as the background. In the foreground is a very frightened mother clutching her daughter while a German enemy plane flies overhead waiting to drop bombs on the city. The wording while telling us to buy war bonds stating, “Before it’s TOO LATE! BUY WAR BONDS and Stamps,” is a depiction that is itself very persuasive. What mother during a time of war wouldn’t protect her child all while saving the fighting men by participating in the war effort? This poster and others like it effectively and easily created feelings that would appeal to women and tap into all their needs of identification at a time when they desperately needed something to identify with.

Another startling example of this was also created by the Kroger Grocery and Baking Company. It depicts in the front and center of the poster an Ominous looking man dressed in full Nazi war regalia holding at attention a war riffle complete with bayonet. He has a sinister look on his face underneath the signature Nazi helmet. What truly makes this a fearful image is the fact that in the background of the poster you can see what appears to be an everyday city street with a streetlamp. But the most important part of this poster is the fact that there is a street sign that clues the viewer into the fact that this is an American street. Next to this imposing figure is the phrase “Keep him off your street! BUY WAR BONDS and Stamps.” This is just as effective as the other poster in that you want to buy these war bonds and stamps if this will aid in keeping the Germans off our soil and out of our back yards. But the most important part of this poster is the reinforcement of the German as an enemy and certainly an enemy that must be defeated at all costs. These two examples illustrate that even if the common enemy aspect was not as frequently used as the other two it still was quite powerful in prompting the viewer to take action.

These posters were also very effective because at the same time they urged women to respond they were designed with express intent to make women feel wanted and needed. “Propaganda aimed at women workers presented war jobs as similar to housework” (Coleman 70). This was because almost all of the women who were left behind during the war equated their job to be housework and taking care of the children. Also in the grand design to ensure reaching women on the level of their identification needs most if not all of these posters targeted women with husbands involved in the war. “During 1943 and 1944, the WMC and OWI launched two massive campaigns to sell war jobs to housewives. And they decided to appeal to patriotism” (Coleman 65). Being patriotic and supporting our husbands, sons, and brothers is what was expected of us for this time and it worked. “Large numbers of women entered the workforce-almost three million in 1943” (Coleman 71).

But what was the backlash of this major campaign effort? Well the biggest concern was that first and foremost, women were not wanted in the workplace. “America’s industrial mobilization would require a staggering number of workers for traditionally male jobs at a time when millions of men were leaving the home front for the battlefront. So it was just a matter of time before America would be
forced to deal with its entrenched attitudes about women’s roles and capabilities (Coleman 39).

Most women were expected to be satisfied with the knowledge that their only job would ever be taking care of their husbands and tending to their household. Those that were presumably allowed to work were those that were in their late teens and early twenties or widows working to supplement the loss of income after the death of a spouse. They might hold an office job as a secretary, seamstress, or laundress, but they were certainly expected to give up this employment upon taking a husband. So when these women were then drafted in the work arena it was greatly feared that when the men came back from war it would be extremely difficult to get women back into the homes and kitchens where it was thought they belonged. Even though it was obvious that women were needed in the war effort there was still an underlying tension that women in the workplace brought about. “In 1943 the war Department joined the campaign persuade male employers. They distributed a booklet, ‘You’re Going to Employ Women.’ The booklet advised employers about hiring, training, and supervising women. According to the booklet, “In some respects women workers are superior to men. Properly hired, properly trained, properly handled, new women employees are splendidly efficient workers. The desire of a new woman worker to help win the war—to shorten it even by a minute—gives her an enthusiasm that more than offsets industrial experience” (Coleman 73). Even before the onset of the women’s liberation movement women were known to be just as capable as men doing the same jobs. This great campaign of propaganda designed and engineered by men to persuade women worked in all of its effect. “Between 1940 and 1944, the number of employed women increased from 12 million to 18.2 million. In 1947, two years after WWII ended, the number of employed women was 15.8 million, a higher number than in 1940 but lower than in 1944” (Coleman 106). But the most important aspect in my opinion is that this selection of artwork no matter how persuasive it was lifted women up at a time when it was desperately needed and that I can appreciate.

Summary and Conclusion

In this essay it has been argued that WWII propaganda and recruitment posters such as “Rosie the Riveter” and others attempted to create feelings of common ground and persuaded women into joining the workforce through overt and implied identification strategies. By examining the evolution of the propaganda poster it has been established how the war effort took great steps to push participation as well as appeal across all classes to reach people on a human level. By examining the Theory of Identification it has been explained how these strategies can effectively be used to appeal to our desires of belonging and coexisting with others in our given arena of everyday life. And by examining these principles against WWII propaganda and recruitment posters it has been shown just how effective these pieces of persuasion were to push women in their participation of the war effort during WWII. “During WWII, the number of wives working doubled. Wives of servicemen who were away from home were three times as likely to work as wives of whose husbands were not away from home” (Coleman 106).

The diverse workforces of the 21st century owe much to these women of work during World War II. Without women in the workforce during WWII this nation surely would have collapsed had it not been for the brave women who accepted a challenge and braved a new world were they were not accepted nor desired. But the United States should be ever thankful that women responded to these posters and joined the cause to victory.
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As part of a non-profit, student-run PR firm, Tri-State Communication Consultants performed a communication audit for Chicago-based client Goble & Associates. The audit consisted of the following four processes: Benchmarking, Interviews, Focus Groups and Surveys. These steps gave us tremendous insight to the business culture and employees’ views of the company.

With all of the research data compiled, we formulated analyses, and wrote recommendations for the client. The final product was a communication audit book consisting of 260 Pages of information that the client can implement both within the business, and externally with clients to enhance their communication. Within the 260 pages, the book consists of two chapters. In the pages of Chapter one is the Internal research, Chapter two, External research. The audit book also has three Appendixes; the Benchmarking, Internal Interviews, Focus Group and Surveys in Appendix one and two. External Interviews, Focus Group, and Survey research in Appendix three. Due to the promise of anonymity to our client, we only included the methodology of our research for Benchmarking, Interviews, Focus Group, and Surveys.

What is a Communication Audit?

Communication provides management and employees the resources they need to make informed decisions. When communication is encouraged with an organization, workers send and receive constant feedback to management and other employees. If an atmosphere of open two-way communication is created, problems often surfaced before they become detrimental to the company. A communication audit assists a company in determining strengths and weaknesses for communicating to its internal and external publics.

A communication audit is useful because it identifies a company’s publics and it analyzes the communication channels that exist. Through benchmarking, interviews, focus groups and surveys, researchers work with the company’s publics to determine what channels are utilized and how well the communication is flowing through them. A communication audit will also highlight communication opportunities that are not being utilized by an organization. Researchers then provide recommendations, rooted in theory, which can improve a company’s communication climate.

Overall, the main goal of an audit is to assist a company in adjusting to its environment. Companies must encourage feedback from internal and external publics in order to survive. It is necessary to learn how to effectively communicate to all publics. A communication audit outlines the necessary adjustments.

In order to guard the integrity of the audit, researchers protect the identity of their subjects. Furthermore, the subjects are given the opportunity to evaluate the researchers. This gives the researchers the ability to change their procedures, if necessary. It is imperative that the researchers establish trust with the organization’s publics in order to obtain the most accurate information and opinions.
Our Mission

As a non-profit public relations class, Tri-State Communications Consultants’ mission is to improve the quality and flow of communication internally and externally in a company through planning, researching and implementation.

Our Vision

• Give insight to the realm and flow of communication and provide recommendations regarding communication processes that can be implemented by the client in the future.

• To help make the organization run more efficiently and ultimately aid in the growth and productivity of the company.

Our Values

To provide ethical, adequate, and prompt service in the delivery of the communication audit.

Methodology

Benchmarking gathers information from different companies to evaluate their communication processes. This helps to provide a basis to compare and contrast communication within a client.

This benchmarking report includes three companies similar to Goble & Associates. These reports provide a diverse range of ideas and perspectives in order to give a complete look at possible communication practices that could potentially enhance those of Goble’s. These companies are AbelsonTaylor in Chicago, Classical Marketing in Schaumburg, Ill. and VIA Marketing in Merrillville, Ind. These companies were chosen because they are all part of the same Midwest market, range in size relationship to Goble and have similar clientele dealing with marketing.

Internal Research Methodology

A total of 26 interviews were conducted at Goble & Associates during October of 2008. This process was done through a randomized selection of all levels of the organization. The interviews that were conducted lasted between 30 to 45 minutes. Anonymity was explained to all the interviewees.

There were three Focus Groups and two Small Group Discussions conducted at Goble & Associates. Participants were randomly selected from each department. Each of the randomly selected participants had the chance to openly discuss all the topics given. The topics discussed were hiring process, meetings, red and blue teams, open door policy, and employee evaluation process. Each of the discussion ran for approximately 2 hours.

The internal survey was written to focus on areas of interest identified by the qualitative research stages of the communication audit. One survey was created to sample the internal population to confirm the information gathered from interviews and focus groups. Initially, a guide was created by pulling questions and topics of interest from interviews and focus groups. Questions were formulated from the data collected and a draft was created and revised by members of Tri-State Communication
Consultants.

There were 66 surveys distributed at Goble & Associates during the first week of December by two members of Tri-State Communication Consultants. Once completed, employees at Goble & Associates were asked to place the survey in a single white envelope and turn them in to one of the Tri-State Communication Consultants located in one of the offices. Employees’ names were checked off to ensure all employees have an opportunity to fill out a survey. The survey team returned at a later date to follow up on any employees who were unable to complete the survey. A total of 65 out of a possible of 76 surveys were collected and tabulated using S.P.S.S. This program is used to determine statistical significance. One employee said they did not have enough time to fill out the survey, two employees declined to fill out the survey, and seven employees were either unavailable or out of town.

External Focus Group’s Methodology

Focus groups and small group discussions were conducted to obtain qualitative communication information from Goble & Associates external publics in an open discussion setting. A focus group consists of 10 to 14 participants while a small group discussion consists of less than 10 participants. Discussion times ranged from 45 minutes to an hour and a half. All the discussions contained a facilitator and note taker, in order to keep the discussion on track and record data. At a group discussion, the facilitator explains all opinions expressed during the discussion would remain anonymous. At the end of the discussion, evaluations were distributed to participants in order to obtain their opinions regarding how the session was conducted.

The focus group team conducted one small group discussion on November 27 with four participants and one focus group on November 30 with 12 participants. The small group discussion and focus group were conducted in two different locations in Northwest Indiana. Participants in the small group discussion were an Internist M.D., Manager of Commercials Analytic and Business Development, Talent Acquisition Coordinator for a pharmaceutical company and a Nephrologist M.D. Participants in the focus group were a radiology student, dietician, a Professor of Medicine, Nephrology, Director of CRM marketing, two nurses, scheduler at a local hospital, cancer patient, a 30-year Type1 diabetic, EMT and two working medical professionals. Participants were selected based on demographics and potential exposure to medical marketing materials.

External Survey’s Methodology

Surveys are made for gathering quantitative data. The external surveys were written to focus on two external publics: medical professionals, which consist of doctors, nurses and medical personnel, and the hiring pool, which consists of marketing and advertising students and professionals. The medical professional survey focused on the public’s perception on information marketing firms, such as Goble & Associates, produces for their clients. The hiring pool survey focused on the perceptions and expectations of marketing firms. A total of 79 external surveys were completed, 62 medical surveys and 17 hiring pool surveys. The external surveys were distributed to advertising and marketing students on the Purdue University Calumet campus and in different hospitals throughout Northwest Indiana. An electronic version of the hiring pool survey was distributed via e-mail to marketing, advertising, communication and management students. All surveys that were conducted were anonymous.
Subject of the Paper

The subject of our research paper is the role of female models as art in high fashion ads. High fashion ads are used to advertise for high style companies and designers. According to answers.com, high style means “the latest in trend setting fashion or design usually intended for or adopted by an exclusive clientele.” High fashion ads are used to advertise for companies that fit the above definition.

High fashion ads are actually a form of modern day art. Since they are meant to act as art, we believe that they are not meant to influence a female’s self esteem, instead the photography, setting and other components listed above are intended to compose an artistic, almost still life shot. Our research project entitled Models as Art: An Exploration of the Artistic Role of Models in High Fashion Magazine Advertisements will explore this idea of high fashion advertisements as art.

A Review of the Literature

The main goal of this paper is to find the connections between high fashion advertisements and several different forms of art. Therefore, it is important to research classic art, photography and fashion advertisements. To achieve this, we are using books that take an artistic angle to fashion and advertising. Listed below is a sample of some of the works that we have found and are using for the research.

Other than our scholarly literature we will use a number of websites to research various works of art and photography images. Some examples of these websites include but are not limited to www.leonardo.net, www.mystudios.com and www.pbs.org. We didn’t use any of the information pertaining to the artists’ background, social significance, or the artists work history, but we did use the images as a comparison between the art or photography and the advertisements.

One of the studies we will be using for our research is Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of the American Consciousness written by Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen. This work touches on many aspects of advertising, including ideas on modern fashion and modern advertising. Not only will this help us explore advertising, but there are also interesting remarks on fashion, including its history and impact on American and global history. Channels of Desire helps us with our research as it associates social progress with fashion and all aspects of advertising, including marketing and merchandising. Although we are looking at the artistic aspects of high fashion advertisements, some sort of understanding about the history of advertising and fashion’s influence on society is necessary for our research and we will get that information from this source.

Another work that we will be using for this research is Irving Penn edited by Colin Westerbeck. Irving Penn was a famous photographer who worked for many years doing fashion photography at Vogue Magazine, as well as artistic photography, mostly portraits. (1). This study helps our project because it explores this artist’s career and finds parallels between his work that is considered fashion advertisements and those considered art work. Penn’s photographs as fashion and art clearly establish this connection, which may be less recognized in some other fashion photographers. This will allow us to explore this relationship in others who may have been seen as only fashion photographers.

A third source that will be used as research material for our paper will be Erving Goffman’s Gender Advertisements. This text is very useful in many ways, as it is a fairly broad view of advertising and all of the different components that go into it. Specifically, for this study, we will utilize Goffman’s...
definition of different types and styles of photography as this may help us explore the use of photography in creating the high fashion ads and lending itself more towards art. Also, this book takes a look at certain ads or photographs and investigates them. This will further our research by giving us a structure and context for taking a closer look at our comparisons.

A final example of a literary work we will be using to further our research will be The Joy of Photographing People by the editors of the Eastman Kodak Company. We will specifically be using the section that focuses on fashion photography. The book looks at all of the factors that go into creating successful beautiful fashion advertisements. Factors such as setting, lighting, clothing, makeup and most important for our paper, posing. The book also discusses makeup tricks used to emphasize the models mood or to make the models facial features pop.

Guiding Questions and Hypotheses

A first review of high fashion magazine advertisements shows us that these advertisements are strikingly different from other commercial ads in that they are a reflection of classic works of arts.

Through our research of the fashion magazines, we hope to confirm that high fashion advertisements have similar composition and structure with what is considered to be art. What are the parallels between fashion ads and works of art? What are the parallels between artistic photography and high fashion advertisements? What are some of the differences between commercial ads and high fashion advertisement? What are the characteristics of high fashion ads?

One of the ads from a February 2009 edition of Harper's Bazaar depicts a woman standing on what looks like the Eiffel Tower, which is an obvious outrageous setting. The woman is advertising for Christian Dior: a high end couture fashion line. She is standing in an awkward position, by not standing up straight and her legs are contorted and bent. Her eye makeup, although not brightly colored is still darkened more than normal. This is an excellent example of a high fashion advertisement. The next ad we chose to illustrate high fashion is an advertisement for Gucci, which is another high end couture fashion line, designed strictly for an exclusive clientele. The setting for the ad looks like a jungle or some sort of tropical area, very un-fitting for the clothes being shown. There are three women and one man and all three women have lavish purple eye makeup, done very heavy. Another aspect of this ad would be the women’s body positioning, each one is standing with a hand on their hip and chests out, not how a women would stand normally. These are all characteristics that make up high fashion advertisements.

When researching high fashion advertisements, it is important to understand the difference between high fashion and commercial ads. The exotic and artful touches that are noted in the description above contrasts sharply with a commercial advertisement. An advertisement for Johnson’s body care products in the Elle magazine of December 2008 shows a woman in her white pajamas, stretching on her white bed spread in a white room. Her makeup, if she is wearing some, is not noticeable. Everything about this advertisement is in complete distinction with the high fashion advertisements we have found.

One of the main goals of our research was to find parallels between high fashion advertisements and artistic photography. It is important to research these two art forms because through this research, we can find the artistic elements of photography that is brought out in high fashion advertisements. One of the artistic photographs used is Annie Leibovitz’s portrait of Susan Sontag. This photograph is black and white and shows a middle aged woman on the beach. The setting and clothing is drab and has a fairly dark and subtle feeling. She is resting her head on her hand that is propped up on her knee. Her hair is slightly wavy and she is barely smiling.

There are several similarities between this shot and a French Connection high fashion advertisement in the Elle of October 2008. This ad shows a woman sitting on a chair next to a table. Her elbow is propped up on the table and her head is in that hand. Her eyes have dark eye shadow, but the rest of her face is fairly pale and her lips are natural, if not slightly darker than natural. Her other hand
rests lightly on her lap. The setting is very gray with a wall in the background that has paint that is chipping away, which parallels the torn black stockings that the model is wearing.

Some of the similarities between this ad and Leibovitz’s piece is the dark feeling, the same head in hand position, the wavy hair, and the way that the model and Leibovitz’s subject’s eyes peer into the camera and neither one of them is exactly smiling. These similarities are significant to this project because it shows that the thought process behind the artistic photograph is similar to and probably influenced the French Connection ad.

In the Fendi advertisement found in the April 2009 Elle, there is a man and a woman. The background is a deep white walled room with a large black and white canvas of columns and stone structures in the background. The female model stands in the foreground in a black dress and leggings. She is tilting slightly towards the wall on her right, her left arms extended all the way out holding a large silver, gray, black and white purse. Her right arm is bent and rests as a fist on her hip, which juts out to the side, her left knee slightly bent in front of the right knee. Her face is slightly tilted up and to the right, her eyes gaze far fast the camera. The male lays in the background, facing towards the female model with his arms bent.

Although the bent arm and the extended arm are switched, the female model in this advertisement is basically a splitting image of Annie Leibovitz’s photograph of Nicole Kidman, done in 2003 seen in the exhibit entitled “A Photographer’s Life: 1990 – 2005”. In this photograph, Nicole Kidman is shot standing up in a grand room, which almost looks like an older theater. She is wearing a mermaid dress and is standing with her left arm bend, resting on her hip and her right arm extended all the way. Kidman’s head is turned to the left, looking far beyond the camera. Both Leibovitz’s shot of Kidman, as well as the Fendi ad described above have both women posed in nearly an identical way. Again, this comparison proves our point that some elements and compositional ideas are the same as high fashion photography and artistic photography.

In the Guess by Marciano advertisement found in the March 2009 Harper’s Bazaar a woman in a black trench coat with black stiletto heels is pictured lying down on a pool mat that is the ground. Her eyes are closed, her far hand or right hand is holding a clutch handbag over her torso and the other hand is hanging off the side of the lawn chair lightly holding an umbrella. Her face is tilted slightly up and slightly beyond from the camera. Also, her knees are bent.

This advertisement can be compared to Irving Penn’s “Woman with Roses”. This photograph is of a man, Michael Stripe is laying on a similar mat or cushioned bench wearing a black suit with black shoes. He is laying on his back, the far hand, or his left hand lies across his torso and his other arm, the right arm, lays falling off of the bench. His head is slightly crooked upwards, looking slightly past the camera. Although his right leg is bent and touches the ground, his other leg is also bent on the bench. Even though the head of the model in the ad described above right, and the man in the photograph is to the left, there are many similarities in the two shots. Their heads, hands, and body position is extremely similar and the subjects of both photographs are wearing black clothing. Through these parallels, another link to art and high fashion advertising is found.

In the advertisement for Longchamp in the March 2009 Harper’s Bazaar two women are shown in the advertisement, the one on the right is the one to be noted for this comparison. This woman is shown in a portfolio to the left with her right arm extended in front of her in a small ‘V’ shape while her other arm is bent and resting on her hip. Dangling from the wrist of her left, bent arm is a large hand bag. Her facial expression is non-descriptive with dark red lipstick and she is wearing a black with gold diamond pattern with a white shirt underneath. Her left leg is bent to the left as well. The background of this advertisement is a plain sea foam green.

This ad can be paralleled to Irving Penn’s “Woman with Roses”. In this photograph a woman in a black dress is shown in a portfolio to the left. Her right, or farthest arm, is bent upwards and out towards the left while her left arm, or the one closest to the camera is bent and rests on her hip. Her
face is very calm with obviously dark lips and her knees are slightly bent. Starting at the waist of the dress and extending just past her buttocks is a sort of sash that hangs out away from the dress. Many similarities can be seen in this art piece and the high fashion Longchamp advertisement described above. These corresponding elements are the positioning to their arms, the dark clothing the women are wearing, their characterless facial expressions with dark lipstick and the plain background. Also to be noted is although the accessory the woman in Irving Penn’s portrait is a band of roses around her left bicep and the accessory for the model in the Longchamp ad is a hand bag by her thigh, there is still a similarity because the small sash that hangs around the woman’s waist and thigh area resembles that of the bag held by the model.

In addition to comparing high fashion advertisements to artistic photography, we also researched the similarities between high fashion advertisements and classic works of art. The first advertisement we chose to compare for this aspect of our research was a Chanel advertisement from a December 2008 issue of Vogue. The advertisement is in black and white and it is a model that is photographed from the side and she has her head turned looking to the camera. Her left leg is closest the camera and it is extended straight. Her other leg is bent up and her right arm is resting on it. The painting this advertisement is being compared to is Renoir’s Young Shepherd in Repose. The person in the painting is sitting and he is shown from the side. His left leg is extended and straight in front of him, almost identical to the model’s leg in the advertisement. The right leg in the picture is bent up and his arm is rested upon it. Although the background of the advertisement seems to be inside and the painting looks to be outside, the similarity of the body positioning in both were just so similar it was hard not to compare the two.

The next ad compared was an Yves saint Laurent advertisement from a February of 2009 issue of Harpers Bazaar. We compared this ad to Renoir’s Young Girl Sleeping (1880). Although the settings are both very different, they are somewhat similar because they both seem to take place during the day time and the backgrounds are both brightly colored. The Women in both are wearing neutral tones and their eyes are both closed. The similarity which seems the most outstanding though is the placement of the woman’s right arms. They are both bent up and placed on their heads. Another similarity I noticed about both the painting and the ad, were the woman’s lip color. They are both very prominent and very bright red colored. The lips must have been what the photographer and artist wanted to stand out on both of the women.

Another example of an advertisement used was an ad for Bottega Veneta which was featured in a 2009 issue of Harpers Bazaar. The ad shows one woman and she is sitting in a room and seems to be alone. Her look is extremely somber and her hair is pulled tightly back making her features look very severe. Her makeup is lightly done and doesn’t seem to stand out as being lavish. The model is holding a bag in her hands and the bag seems to be placed closely to her.

We compared this ad to a Leonardo DaVinci painting “Woman with an Ermine.” The painting is of one woman and she seems to be sitting alone. Her face is very plain and facial features very dull and she is not making any sort of expression. The woman’s hair is slicked to her head and very severe. In the painting the woman is holding an Ermine in both of her arms and it looks to be her pet and very important to her because it is held closely to her chest.

The advertisement and painting compare to each other in a lot of aspects. Both of the settings are dull and nothing is going on in the background, they are also the only women shown. Both women have expressionless looks on their faces and they are both looking off to the side. Neither woman has lavish makeup on nor do they have eccentric outfits on. Another similarity between the two women is the item being held in their arms. Although one woman is holding an expensive purse and the other is holding an animal, both items seem to hold importance to the women. They are clutching on to both items and they seem to be the focal point of both advertisement and painting.

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Then, we looked at a John Hardy ad in a 2009 issue of Elle magazine. John Hardy is a high end couture jewelry retailer and so in this ad he is advertising the bangles shown around the woman’s wrists. When you look at the ad that is the first thing your eyes are drawn to and because of this, the photographer placed the model’s hands in an interesting position. Although the woman is beautiful and her dress is gorgeous, the eye is immediately focused on her hands and the jewelry around the wrists.

The painting we chose to compare the ad to is actually a drawing done by Leonardo DaVinci and it is entitled “Study of a Woman’s Hands.” The drawing is a black and white sketch of two sets of hands. The hands are placed together to make the eye focus on their positioning. They are a little awkward as well and not how hands would be placed in a normal situation.

The similarity between the ad and the drawing is obviously the hands. The hands are positioned in both so that your eyes are immediately focused on them. For the ad the hands are placed a certain way to emphasize the jewelry and for the drawing the focus is on the hands because that is the only item in the piece and it adds a certain amount of mystery. If you look closely at both the drawing and the ad, the hands are turned in exactly the same angle but in the ad they are wrapped around her arms and in the drawing the hands are on their own.

The final advertisement we chose to represent our research is an ad for Rock n Republic, which was found in a 2008 issue of Elle magazine. The ad is one woman her head is cocked to the side and her hair is long and wavy. The model is in a plain background and she is wearing nothing but extremely tight black pants with a flashy studded belt and she is also wearing a furry black shrug with nothing but skin underneath. The woman’s arms are bent up above her head and she looks to be dancing in the ad.

The painting we chose to compare the ad to was “Bathers” by Picasso. Although the painting features three women, we focused on the woman standing in the back with a blue bathing suit on. Her head is turned to the side and she is looking up. Her body is flowing and her arms are both placed above her head. The woman in the painting looks like she might have been celebrating or dancing.

The similarity between the ad and the painting are obvious. First is both women have long hair with is flowing with their body positioning. Secondly both of their arms are placed above their heads and they look like they are having fun, and they both appear to be dancing. Also their heads are both turned to the side, although the woman in the ad is looking down and the woman in the painting it looking up, they both have their heads cocked to the side.

Through initial research we plan to find connections between high fashion ads and various works of artistic photography. In many ways these advertisements have at least similar if not the same components of those used by artists for still life photos.

Method

Our method of research is going to the library and collecting various books, magazines and online journal articles to help us answer our guiding questions. We will find and document quotes, information, page numbers and the source of these findings on color coded note cards which will be divided into specific topics. Recorded on these note cards will be quotes comparing art and advertising and we will be finding and citing works of art or photographs that will enhance our research. Since we have started the research project we have found many quotes supporting our hypothesis.

Since we are comparing works of art and high fashion advertisements as well as comparing artistic photography and the high fashion ads, we will have three different sets of criteria, respectively. We will both find at least 20 ads each, so our total sample will consist of at least 40 high fashion advertisements. We will also each find five examples of classic works of art and artistic photography, totaling ten examples of each genre. These samples will not be restricted to a certain time period as long as they satisfy the criteria specified.

The first set of criterion will be for the high fashion advertisements that we will collect as samples for our research project. Since our examination is not exploring advertisements through
different times, we will be using the most recent of the high fashion magazines, so we will be using those published from 2008 to 2009. The advertisements must also be at least one full page and feature at least one female model. As long as there is one female model in the ad, there may be other models, including males. Also, the advertisements may be in color of black and white.

Next, the high fashion ads may only be for high end couture retailers. Examples of such retailers include Gucci, Prada, Fendi, Louis Vuitton, Yves Saint Laurent, BeBe and Christian Dior. We are only using these companies because they fit the qualifications as high style, thus their advertisements will meet the requirements as high fashion.

Finally, the advertisements collected may only be from fashion magazines such as Elle, Vogue Harpers Bazaar and Vanity Fair. These magazines are the best resource because they include not only advertisements, but also articles about the designers above.

We will also be using a different set of qualifications for the classic works of art used in our research to compare with the high fashion advertisements. First, it must fit the following definition of classical art: “Of or relating to the first class or rank, especially in literature or art. Conforming to the best authority in literature and art; chaste; pure; refined; as, a classical style” from brainyquote.com. Another trait that will be a requirement for the pieces of classical art is that it can be in color or black and white. Our last requirement is that the art can be created using any medium or any material such as; sketches, oil paintings or canvas paintings.

Also, there will be a set of criteria that the art photography must meet in order to be used for our research. First, the photograph may be in color or black and white. Secondly, the photograph must meet the following definition of fine art photography: “Fine art photography refers to photographs that are created to fulfill the creative vision of the artist. Fine art photography stands in contrast to photojournalism and commercial photography,” from Wikipedia.com.

The photographs used for our research may include people and/or objects. Finally, as the definition alludes, the photograph must contain some thought process behind it. For instance, it must be obvious that the photographer thought about and planned at least a portion of the photograph – such as the lighting, the objects in the photograph or the colors that the person or people are wearing.

For comparing artistic photography we will look for similarities in composition and methods. For our collection of quotes we will find relevant quotes like the ones above and we will apply them to our research. We will however not be researching how fashion advertisements influence a women’s self esteem, as this is not relevant in comparing art and high fashion ads.
WORK CITED


ADVERTISEMENT CITED


CLASSICAL ART CITED

DaVinci, Leonardo. “Lady with Ermine.” 1490
http://www.leonardom.net
DaVinci, Leonardo. “Study of a Woman’s Hands”
http://www.leonardom.net
Picasso, Pablo. “Bathers”
http://www.pbs.org
Renoir. “Young Shepherd in Repose” 1911
http://www.renoirgallery.com
Renoir. “Young Girl Sleeping” 1880
http://renoirgallery.com

ARTISTIC PHOTOGRAPHY CITED

Leibovitz, Annie. “Michael Stripe, New York City, 2003”
Leibovitz, Annie. “Susan Sontag” http://www.pbs.org/wnet/americanmasters/episodes/annie-leibovitz/photo-gallery/19/
The Spanish conquest of Mexico is attached to certain stereotypes and assumptions. Older wisdom held that the Indians were helpless against the onslaught of European arms, though they resisted valiantly. Or that they were numerous enough to succeed initially, but disease left them in utter ruin – unable to carry the victory as European superiority crushed them underfoot. In an article related to the history of weaponry, George Raudzens goes so far as to say, “A few hundred Europeans faced thousands of Aztec warriors in repeated pitched battles and generally won.”¹ This is, however, a serious distortion of the battles fought, and how the Spanish were ultimately victorious in the war. More modern scholarship holds that the Aztecs were more than able to defeat the Spanish, but disease and native allies were their most decisive advantages. Yet rarely are the ability and successes of Aztec warriors against the Spanish accounted.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how the Aztecs (to be called the Mexica henceforth), though at a severe technological disadvantage, proved highly effective warriors against the Spanish. Doing so elaborates on the idea that allies, disease, and *some* technology, along with Mexica methods of warfare, brought about the Spanish conquest of Mexico.²

To understand the battles, it is important to understand the forces involved. Both the Spanish and Mexica evolved from violent pasts. The Spanish had a long history of warfare, reaching from the invasions of Carthage and Rome in Antiquity, through Germanic domination in the Dark Ages, and finally to the Muslim occupation and the Reconquista. From the Roman era to 1492, over fifteen hundred years, Spain had been an occupied or contested region. It therefore had a long military tradition upon which to draw. And even beyond the Reconquista, the Spanish were pursuing other interests in Italy and in the New World.³

The Mexica likewise emerged a highly successful, militaristic society from a violent region. The territory in and around the Valley of Mexico had been conquered and dominated by a succession of imperialist powers: first the city-state of Teotihuacán, and later Tula. But both of these conquerors would themselves be conquered. As the city-states in the Valley of Mexico began vying for control, the Mexica migrated into the region. The Mexica were but one of many culturally similar people in the Valley of Mexico — collectively known as the Nahua, for their spoken language of Nahuatl. But though they had similar cultural practices, they were divided by ethnicity or city.⁴

Early on the Mexica were used merely as mercenaries by other city-states; and their settlement in the middle of Lake Texcoco is described by Inga Clendinnen “as a miserable collection of mud huts.” But due to the ferocious nature of the Mexica warriors, and laborious urban expansion, their settlement would become a city of 200,000-250,000 people within two centuries. This rapid climb to success, both domestically and militarily, was made possible by the constantly shifting “political rivalries that had existed in the region for centuries” — which would later turn against them.⁵ Just as the Spanish had developed from a long period of regional strife, so did the Mexica; but the methods of warfare, and the men who fought, evolved in dramatically different fashion.

The Spanish, like all Europe, was in the middle of the Renaissance — a time of cultural and intellectual flowering unlike anything since Roman times. The Spaniards who marched against the Mexica were, in comparison to the Mexica, a vastly superior technological force. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, a foot soldier and veteran under Cortés, recalled many of the weapons brought on the campaign into the Valley of Mexico, “guns, powder and crosbows...some falconets...muskets, partisans and lances.”⁶ Cortés, in his own accounts, mentions similar equipment along with pikes and pickaxes. The power of
these weapons should not be understated. Cortés, in his accounts of the early fighting, notes how a single cannon shot – supported by muskets and crossbows, killed eleven or twelve men at a time. And on an individual level, the horrifying capabilities of Spanish swords were described in the Toxcatl massacre:

They attacked all the celebrants, stabbing them, spearing them, striking them with their swords. They attacked some of them from behind, and these fell instantly to the ground with their entrails hanging out. Others they beheaded: they cut off their heads, or split their heads to pieces...They struck others in the shoulders, and their arms were torn from their bodies. They slashed others in the abdomen, and their entrails all spilled to the ground.7

In addition to their weaponry, the Spanish were well-armored. They wore steel armor and heavy clothing beneath, which were designed against similar European arms of the age. All their advantages in small arms, armor and artillery made their killing power significantly greater than the Mexica. However, for all these advantages, they had little uniformity in equipment; and were, as David Stannard describes them, little more than a militia.8

In contrast, the Mexica had comparatively primitive arms and armor, but nothing unfamiliar in principle to the Spaniards – or completely powerless. Cortés described the typical Mexica warrior as equipped with sword and buckler, and arrayed in an elaborate uniform and headdress; spears were also used, as were missile weapons. Possibly due to a lack of necessary local resources, Mexica metallurgy was confined to extravagant ornamentation. The swords described are the macana, which Clendinnen describes as a “heavy flat oak club, each end studded with flint or obsidian blades.” Stuart Schwartz notes the potential power of these weapons, recalling Spanish stories of a macana lopping off a horse’s head in one blow. The missile weapons consisted of “javelins and stones from slings, and arrows.” Clendinnen notes their general lack of penetrating power against Spanish armor, though their use was primarily intended for disruption of enemy formations; to that end, they tremendously hampered Spanish efforts, particularly during street fighting. It should be noted, however, that the Mexica atlatl, or spear thrower, typical in Mesoamerica, would readily pierce certain pieces of Spanish armor; they feared the atlatl more than any other Mesoamerican weapon.9

Typical Mexica armor was far more elaborate than Spanish steel, but also far less protective. The elaborate uniforms Cortés described were simply quilted cotton, which, while perfect for the geographic and military conditions of the region, proved of little value against Spanish weapons and firepower. The warrior’s buckler provided somewhat better protection, being made of thick wood overlaid with cotton. However, the equipment of the two opponents mattered less than their tactics.10

Due to the nature of the societies, both Europe and Mesoamerica developed dramatically different methods of conducting warfare. Of particular note are European cavalry and siege tactics, compounded by the battle requirement of killing enemies; and in the case of the Mexica, the practice of taking captives. For the invading Spaniards, their victory would have been impossible if not for the aforementioned developments – even more so than any technology they brought. This would play out in three distinct engagement periods between the two forces: the besieging of the Spanish in Moctezuma’s palace, the rout of la Noche Triste and the Battle of Otumba, and the climactic Siege of Tenochtitlan.11

In the opening stages of the war, the Spanish aligned themselves with the Tlaxcalans – bitter enemies and rivals of the Mexica. The Tlaxcalans fought in similar fashion and gear of war as the Mexica, and so made tremendously valuable allies to the few hundred Spanish. Cortés himself writes that the Tlaxcala leader gave him 100,000 men “all well armed for war”; though, he claims a mere five or six thousand actually accompanied him into Tenochtitlan – and were, of course, completely unnecessary. These allies would serve him well during all stages of his campaign.12
After entering the city and treating several days with Moctezuma, the Mexica emperor, a Spanish captain named Pedro de Alvarado conducted the Toxcatl massacre in Tenochtitlan. Regardless of the trigger, the massacre caused a mass revolt against the Spanish – and the beginning of open war.

Besieged in Moctezuma’s palace, Cortés and his men fought desperately for days against a horde of Mexica warriors. During this time, Bernal Castillo offers many insights into the Mexica warriors and their capabilities. Despite some apparent recklessness inherent in the Mexica offensives, there was strategy and organization behind many of their maneuvers. Although they had no professional army, in the European sense, the Mexica had divisions for their warriors – by local on a smaller level, and by city on a larger one. At the outset of battle, Bernal Castillo reported on the first Spanish advance:

Diego de Ordás set out in the way that he was ordered with his four hundred soldiers, but he had hardly reached the middle of the street…when so many squadrons of Mexican warriors fell on him and so many more were on the roofs of the houses, and they made such fierce attacks that on the first assault they killed eight soldiers and wounded all the rest, and Diego de Ordás himself was wounded in three places, and in this manner he could not advance one step further but had to return little by little to his quarters. During the retreat they killed another good soldier.

During the rout and subsequent assault, Castillo describes the Mexica as fighting in close-ordered “squadrons,” supported by a withering barrage of missiles that defeat even cavalry and heavy infantry. Even the discharge of cannon and muskets do not deter the assault, and each one is described as being “with more energy than in the beginning.” When artillery failed, the Spanish horsemen attempted to drive back the attackers. Far from being terrifying or effective, the horses slipped on the wet lake-stones and could not charge. Even when they managed to reach the enemy, they were under an unbearable missile barrage; and at the end found themselves facing a barricade protected by massed spearman (similar in description to a Greek phalanx).

On a more strategic level, Castillo unashamedly recounts how – whenever the Spanish would venture out and seem to gain ground – the Mexica warriors were simply drawing them away from their fortifications and support, so as to cut them off and crush them. This is impressive tactical forethought for a people commonly considered simple, if effective, individual fighters. And this occurs repeatedly throughout the campaign, even into the Siege of Tenochtitlan. At this early stage, even Cortés acknowledges their precarious position by saying that, in spite of their many forays, “We killed few of them.”

At the end of this first stage, not only were the “superior” Spanish wholly in defeat – despite their unsung Tlaxcala allies – they were being mentally broken. Castillo heard some veterans:

[swear] to God many times that they had never seen such fierce fights, not even when they had taken part in such between Christians and against the artillery of the King of France, or of the Great Turk, nor had they seen men like those Indians with such courage in closing up their ranks.

And adding to the ferocity of the fighting, Castillo mentions the deliberate psychological attacks, “Night by night…there were always many yells and whistles and showers of darts, stones and arrows.” At one point, a certain group of Spaniards begin rabblerousing and cursing Cortés, to which Castillo calls them “crazy and out of their minds.” Only once in this ordeal did Spanish ingenuity prevail, and their morale improve.

The Spanish managed, with the aid of siege towers, to assault and set fire to the Temple of Huitzilopochtli. And even then it is dearly bought. Fiercely defended, the Spanish are all severely wounded and driven back – their siege towers destroyed. Cortés himself said it took three hours to kill all the defenders, and that “the capture of this tower was so difficult that if God had not clipped their wings, twenty of them would have sufficed to hold off a thousand…” Soon after, with this victory only,
the Spanish would attempt to retreat – under cover of night – from Tenochtitlan. Later they would call it *la Noche Triste, the Sorrowful Night*.

*La Noche Triste* would become a rout. Despite their advantages and allies, the Spanish had been bested and did not want to commit to an open battle. During the retreat, they were discovered and attacked in force. At the final causeway, many fell into the lake and died, and they offered little resistance that much affected the Mexicas. Eventually they managed to regroup somewhat, and made flight to Tlaxcala. Between them and the promise of safety was a plain near a town called Otumba, upon which the Mexica had amassed an enormous army. Here the Spanish were forced into pitched battle; but unlike the street fighting in Tenochtitlan, this engagement offered them a crucial advantage that allowed them to win – room for horsemen to maneuver. Though few in number, Cortés ordered them to “charge and return at a hand gallop, and were not to stop to spear the enemy but to keep their lances aimed at their faces until they broke up their squadrons.” Because of this single advantage, the Spanish army was able to hold their ground against a superior, rested Mexica army; and ultimately they carried the battle when Cortés ordered a charge against the leader of the host and slew him. Until that moment, Castillo seemed doubtful of the outcome. And so the tide turned, not just for one battle, but for the war. Never after would the Mexica hold the advantage as they had those first few days.  

Cortés spent a good deal of time away from Tenochtitlan, which suffered the first of two epidemics of smallpox. The city’s population and leadership were ravaged; but they nevertheless bolstered the defense of the city in manpower, fleets of war canoes, and fortifications. These preparations, however, were not to their ultimate benefit, for the Mexica way of war shunned the idea of laying siege. David Stannard quotes Inga Clendinnen as saying:

‘Siege’…was for the Aztecs ‘the antithesis of war.’ Viewing it as cowardly and dishonorable, ‘the deliberate and systematic weakening of opposition before engagement, and the deliberate implication of noncombatants in the contest, had no part in their experience.’ But it had been the European mode of battle for many centuries, deriving its inspiration from the Greek invention of ferocious and massively destructive infantry warfare. To the Spanish, as to all Europeans when committed to battle, victory—by whatever means—was all that mattered.

The siege was for Tenochtitlan’s people a tremendous psychological and physical blow. Schwartz records the *Florentine Codex’* description: “The siege was frightening, and great numbers died of hunger. And bit by bit they came pressing us back against the wall, herding us together....” And yet it took – according to Castillo – ninety-three days to complete.  

Even with Spanish and Indian reinforcements, Cortés could not take the city by storm. Only after a laborious street-by-street, house-by-house battle did his forces finally take the city. Yet during the siege, many incidents similar to the first engagements occurred – and others of note. The Mexica warriors repeatedly tricked the Spanish forces into overextending themselves, then counterattacked. They also outfitted their war canoes with thick wooden shields that effectively protected them from shot and bolt. Captured Spanish blades and crossbows were turned against them, though these had minimal overall effect. At another instance, the Mexica warriors sacrificed captured Spanish and Indian captives – after which they hurled insults and body parts at them, continuing their psychological attacks to the last. And finally, to deal with Spanish brigantines launched on the lake, the Mexica planted stakes beneath water that impeded their movement; and in one case, allowed a war canoe fleet to overtake two – capturing one and heavily damaging another. In the end, several things ultimately gave the Spanish victory.

First was the cutting off of the city’s water supply from Chapultepec. Second was the brigantines’ blockading lake traffic, which caused mass starvation, dehydration, and dysentery from the people drinking salt water. Third was the reduction of the city, building by building, by land and sea bombardment (which removed defenses and allowed the Spanish cavalry level ground on which to
fight). Later a smallpox epidemic came through the city again. And lastly, considered by Francisco de Aguilar to be most important, was the defection of Mexica allies throughout the siege. Only through the Spaniards’ superior grasp of siege tactics was Tenochtitlan effectively weakened over time – never by superiority in battle, or even by numbers. On this, Castillo and the Florentine Codex agree.\(^{20}\)

Not until the siege did Cortés, with his superior Spanish arms and thousands of allies, have a decisive advantage over the Mexica. Not until he had reduced the city, and war and disease nearly wipe out the people, did he secure his conquest of the city. The Mexica, by all accounts, were adaptive, disciplined, experienced warriors more than a match for the Spanish. If the overall strategies and victories against the Spanish are insufficient proof of their superiority as soldiers, accounts of individual combat display it. Stannard recalls a Spanish account of:

one Aztec warrior who, in hand-to-hand combat, fought off a handful of Spanish horsemen—‘when they could not bring him down, one of the Spaniards threw his lance at the Indian, who caught it and fought for another hour before being shot by two archers and then stabbed.’

The Florentine Codex records a similarly harrowing incident. During the Siege of Tenochtitlan, a Mexica warrior is run-through by a horseman’s lance. Still alive, he manages to take hold of the lance, and along with some of his comrades, drag the horseman down and kill him. Not only should their valor and discipline be praised, but their individual ability against a technologically – and in the Siege – numerically superior force.\(^{21}\)

Ultimately disease, lack of siege craft, and lack of a counter to Spanish artillery proved the Mexicas’ undoing. Yet of all the vaunted technology possessed by the Spanish, only artillery and armor made a tremendous impact: the former allowing them to exact a heavy toll on Mexica formations and buildings; the latter allowing them to survive longer. Also, the Spanish were against a foe that valued captives rather than corpses, and so were in less danger of fatalities regardless. From their ability to meet – without fear – Spanish technology and horsemen, to their victories on the field, the Mexica repeatedly proved their tremendous effectiveness as individual soldiers – despite a general underestimation and simplification in source material.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


Schwartz, Stewart B. *Victors and Vanquished*. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2000).


ENDNOTES

2 Stewart B. Schwartz. Victors and Vanquished. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2000), ix. The people of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco, the heart of the Aztec Empire and those with whom this paper is concerned, referred to themselves as the Mexica. The decision to choose the name Mexico is based on its greater accuracy, as stated by Schwartz.
3 Stewart B. Schwartz, 12-13
4 Schwartz, ix
7 Bernal Diaz del Castillo. The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1956), 19, 32, 288. A falconet was a light cannon, much smaller than normal field artillery pieces used against fortifications.
8 Schwartz, 164. An account from the Florentine Codex, one of several Nahua accounts compiled shortly after the Fall of Tenochtitlan.
9 Raudzens, 411
Stannard, 75
10 Cortés, 57. Mexica uniforms were a distinguishing mark, very much like Western officers’ uniforms, showing how well a warrior had performed in combat; the uniform varied depending on the number of captured opponents, and the manner in which they were capture. These uniforms also signified the social status. Schwartz, 11.
12 Clendinnen, 60, 74
Schwartz, 11
Castillo, 301. Castillo frequently mentions hails of missiles so thick that even Spanish armor could not resist, and charging cavalry would be put to flight.
15 Barry L. Isaac. “Aztec Warfare: Goals and Battlefield Comportment,” Ethnology 22 (April 1983), 121-131. Barry Isaac, citing codices written after the Spanish conquest, contests the idea that warfare with lethal intent was not practiced by the Mexica. While these offer vivid, detailed accounts of genocidal, desolating wars waged against neighbors in the decades before the Spanish arrival, it seems inconsistent with the Spanish accounts of the enormous population of the Valley of Mexico, and its large number of pristine urban centers.
16 Cortés, 72
17 Castillo, 300-302, 306-307
18 Castillo, 303-304
19 Cortés, 130
20 Castillo, 304, 306, 309
21 Cortés, 304
22 Castillo, 318
23 Castillo, 318-320
24 Stannard, 78
25 Schwartz, 189
26 Castillo, 424
27 Castillo, 399-400, 416, 419, 437, 441
28 Schwartz, 137, 184, 197-198
29 Castillo, 399-400, 414
30 Stannard, 75
31 Schwartz, 189
American and British Influence on Australian Culture

Australia’s television began in the 1940’s but it was not officially introduced until 1956. In the early 1950’s, Australian broadcasters began importing programs from different countries, such as the United States and the United Kingdom. The main source of Australia’s culture was Britain. Most of Australia was populated with people of British descent. Therefore, Australia’s culture, history, entertainment, fashion, social values, and attitudes were that of the British background. By the end of World War II America’s culture and ideas began to take over Australia’s British heritage. The Americanization of Australia continues due to the importation of US media programming, joint ventures and transnational corporations, the implementation of US political beliefs, and the growing relationship between the US and Australia.

America had most of its impact on Australia in the 1990’s. American culture has had a strong impact on not only Australia’s culture, but many other cultures. America has influenced the way Australians talk, dress, spend money, entertain themselves, and socialize. Because of this, many fear that it would be hard for Australia to gain its own identity. Most of Australia’s music and film is imported from America. Therefore, Australia’s music and films are over powered by American movies and music. Since most of Australia’s entertainment formats are American, such as themes, issues, and characteristics, most Australian shows are structured like American shows. Australian television copied American television formats throughout the 1990’s.

Australian free to air programming is more expensive than imported material. However, to ensure that all shows are not American, the Australian Communication and Media Authority regulates all networks to insure that most of the shows are local. Fifty-five percent of Australia’s television content is free to air commercial networks and should be Australian. It ensures that the shows being aired are appropriate for public consumption. Also, it ensures that networks provide Australian content, children’s programming, community, public and commercial broadcasting, and, also, subscription television.

Against the Americanization of Australia

Some citizens of Australia do not like that America has had so much impact on Australia’s culture. According to Andrew Patterson, the “Americanization of Australia is a sad thing.” He also states that “Americanization is the effect upon a local culture by long term and large-scale importation of elements of a crass consumerist culture founded in the USA” (2008). American culture is viewed through so many different communication mediums that Australians are beginning to portray themselves as Americans do.

American words and phrases are being used by the youth in Australia more frequently. They use words like “babe,” “bro,” “hoe,” and “homies.” They also use phrases like “chill out,” “you go girl,” and “like totally.” The computer is also embedded with American terminology because most software programs are made for American culture, according to Andrew Patterson. He feels as though the software forces people to use American terminology because when one spells a word the way it is spelled in Australia, the program automatically changes the word to an American term. Bruce Moore states that listening “to a teen speak, and his or her language will be peppered with Americanisms” (2008).

Patterson also feels that American fashion has taken over in Australia. People used to wear fashions from Paris, and some people still do. Now teens are beginning to wear hip hop clothing.
Patterson says that it has gotten so bad that people dial 911 when Australia’s emergency number is 000. Patterson argues that this is because Australians are inundated with American television. According to Patterson, a teen wrote an essay that stated the following:

A major side affect of globalization is the Americanization of Australian culture... A lot of content on Australian TV is sourced from America, and our life styles are becoming more American. Many of the most popular music artists are American. This may result in the loss of our unique Australian culture because of the great influence that America holds over Australia. Teenagers are particularly susceptible to this influence, and now talk and act like American teenagers. Companies like Coca-Cola promote a consumerist culture...Australian television is threatened by the influx of American culture, and this could have negative effects on the Australian film industry, as American production houses are able to produce shows cheaper than Australian networks can. (2008)

Patterson feels as though Americanization is negative and destructive to Australia and cultural diversity worldwide.

Structure and Practices

Australia's media structure and practices are not much different from those of the United States. There are five major broadcasting stations; PBL Limited, Seven Network, Ten Network, Macquarie, and News Limited. There are only a few differences that make Australia's television more democratic, localized, and more foreign friendly, but at the same time coincide with the overall hegemonic relationship of viewer and broadcaster.

The Western Australian Community Broadcasting Association (WACBA) was made as an alternative to mainstream media by encouraging community access and providing a diverse range of programs tending to the needs of specific communities and special interest groups (WACBA, 2002). The radio stations that are under WACBA have to pay at the most $110 to be a broadcast (WACBA, 2002). The fact that the price is affordable allows people to be able to voice their opinions. The WACBA states the following about promotional material in their guidelines for sponsorship announcements: “The following types of promotional material can be broadcast by community stations: sponsorship announcements, community information material, community promotional material, station promotions, and advertising material that is an accidental or incidental accompaniment to the broadcast of other matter, where there is no payment involved” (WACBA, 2002).

The specific advertisement guidelines allow them to be impartial or unaffected by any kind of political affiliation. Also the WACBA encourages others to start their own radio stations by providing marketing strategies, tips on how to start a station, and a checklist of things that one needs. The WACBA is a great example of how media could be made more democratic with the assistance of the government and people who would be willing to take the responsibility of having their own radio stations. Although it helps make media more democratic it still has the attributes of the overall hegemonic framework as the rest of the global media market by still having one in control of the broadcasting stations and the idea that without the money and means you could not have a station.

The media is also more localized on the level of major media corporations due to government intervention. The government allowed major media conglomerates to develop, but they would not be able to dominate all the media within all the regions. For example there could be a Ten Network television station in eastern Australia, but would be owned by Seven Network so that people all over Australia would be exposed to multiple view points. On the surface this was a good idea, but soon after this regulation, the privatization of the media began and media corporations began forming keiretsu to save on costs. Once the joint ventures started to develop it didn't really matter that the media conglomerates could not have ownership in all the regions because they had CEOs to voice their opinion in the actions that the other corporations would take. Although the media conglomerates have formed they still report on local news, but in the light that they want it to be seen.
The last difference in the media is that it is a more foreign friendly. This is conveyed through the various television stations that accommodate to the various developed cultures that are in Australia, such as the Chinese, Japanese and the various people that come from Europe. The television stations not only have regular TV shows with subtitles, but movies that are shown in the native language. Even some of the mainstream stations have the option for captions in other languages. There is also a broadcasting station called the SBS that is devoted to special interests groups or non-English speaking Australians. With these stations, it allows people to still retain some of their culture in this more globalized world and makes people more accepting of other cultures.

Theories and Australia³

Australia is a by-product of the United State’s spread of neo-liberalism and cultural imperialism. Australia depends on the United States for media and economic ideas and influences. It does not fit right alongside the dependency theory because there is not equal collateral damage for both sides. For example, Australia has adapted neo-liberalism into its business sectors. Australians, like Americans, live on credit debit, and this led to the boom in the housing market. Damien Cahill, a professor at the University of Sydney, (2005) described the dangers of living on debit, predicting the insecurity of Australians and the economic backlashes that could occur. This debit secures hegemony by the banks, governments, and corporations.  The article was written by Cahill in 2005, before the recession and housing-market crisis happened in the United States. The United States does not depend on Australia other than to consume American goods.

Neo-liberalism, capitalism, and globalization have also spread to Australia. According to Cahill (2005), “…capitalism in Australia, and indeed internationally, is at the moment quite possibly under fewer direct challenges than at any time since its origin” (p.1). If there are no other venues for styles of change and/or uprising, then Australia will continue to follow blindly in the path of the United States. Australia has consented to the leadership of ideas and media- hegemony- from the United States.

Cahill (2005) mentioned that there has been the “deregulation of the labor market” (2005, p. 4) in Australia. This allows the government and private corporations to try and control the workers by destroying unions and any kind of organized resistance. Due to this, Australia has seen a large growth in “part-time casual employees” (p. 4) and the service sector, including increased hiring in jobs like fast food restaurants (Cahill, 2005). This is similar to America becoming a service driven job market.

Another theory, hegemony, applies directly to Australia and the population of aborigines also called indigenous people. According to Yanmin Yu, the chair of the Department of Mass Communication at the University of Bridgeport, (2005) originally the land belonged to the aborigines, until the English came in and colonized and manipulated them like cattle. Their treatment was similar to the way Christopher Columbus treated the Native Americans. The aborigines believe the land was stolen from them and still hold a grudge against higher authority. Hegemony includes keeping the dominant political system in power; this would help explain the negative stereotypical representations of aborigines that continue to be broadcasted by media organizations (Yu, 2005). These representations include high percentages of alcoholism, abuse, suicide rates, with low education rates (Yu, 2005; Hollinsworth, 2005). This is similar to the news treatment of African Americans in the United States. Aborigines are only shown in the media to reinforce the aforementioned stereotypes (Yu, 2005).

Aborigines have no outlet to express themselves in the media. Nothing is aimed towards embracing them into the Australian culture. Imparja TV was originally started to air shows and programs that were targeted towards the indigenous people (Yu, 2005; Hollinsworth, 2005). Currently, it runs little indigenous programming and a lot of American television shows like 24 (Yu, 2005). To make the scales even more tipped away from the aborigines favor, many high ranking employees of the network are not even from aborigine descent, they are white (Yu, 2005).
There seems to be few social, political, and cultural benefits that the aborigines are getting from this hegemonic relationship. Socially, they are isolated into communal-like living, away from the general population. Politically, they do receive handouts from the government (Cahill, 2005). Their cultural identity has only suffered due to the media’s representations and lack of dialogue between aborigines and general Australians. The reason this hegemony must work is because the indigenous people seem tired of fighting an impossible war and they seem to have settled for what little they are being given.

Due to our research, there are three main reasons we believe that Australia is allowing American hegemony and why the aborigines are allowing such inhumane treatment from other Australians. Australia is allowing American hegemony because being friendly with America has political, economic, and cultural benefits. America provides financial and military support, along with endless amounts of cheap entertainment. Australia is also conditioned to American culture. Aborigines submit to hegemony because they have no other outlets. Every media outlet, where they can have a voice, has been taken by white Australians.

Predictions and Conclusions

Our research indicates that Australia has transitioned, or is in the process of transitioning, into a capitalist, and consumerist culture like America. The transition has been made through a series of historical incidents (WWII, 9/11), but has been powered through the media. Most of Australia’s media is foreign (US), and America’s beliefs are being conveyed through it. Even domestic media conglomerates (News Corporation) transmit the belief system of Americans, which is neo-liberalism. Neo-liberalism is a political theory that ascribes to the belief that government should not interfere in markets (deregulation). Our research suggests that certain practices will continue to occur without opposition until all remnants of the traditional Australian culture are eliminated. Joint ventures will continue to develop, Australian media markets will be dominated by foreign enterprises, and the Australian government will continue to deregulate the media and work with the US government.

In recent years, joint ventures have sprung up all over the world and many governments have put limits on how much an enterprise can own of a market and others have not. In 1987 News Corporation, owned by media tycoon Rupert Murdoch, acquired over 60% of the newspaper market in Australia (Knight, 2007, p.121). During this time, the question was raised whether or not Australia would create antimonopoly laws (Knight, 2007, p.121). The Australian government decided against creating antimonopoly laws because Murdoch ascribed to similar political beliefs. Murdoch’s favoritism toward conservative beliefs is expressed through the editorial sections of his media (Knight, 2007, p.121). The giant media conglomerates will continue to compete with each other for complete control of the Australian media market by pleasing government officials.

If the media practices of today persist, Australia’s media markets will be completely foreign owned or locally owned, but produced for a global (American) culture. Rupert Murdoch is a prime example of both of these practices. Murdoch owns a huge percentage of all the media outlets in Australia. The home base for News Corporation has been in Australia since the 50’s, but in 2004, Murdoch shifted News Corporation’s headquarters to America in order to participate in the New York Stock Exchange (Knight, 2007, p.122). Moving News Corporation was just a symbol of what had occurred much earlier, Americanization. Since the shift of News Corporation, the majority of Australia’s media has become foreign owned and local media has been made for the global culture.

There are many ways that countries attempt to compete with the US’s Hollywood. One way to compete is to create media locally, but for the global culture (Knight, 2007, pp. 126-127). The Matrix Trilogy was produced by Murdoch when News Corporation was located in Australia. All of the actors in this movie acquired American accents; the screenplay was Hollywood style, and even major Australian buildings were covered and distorted to produce the illusion that the movie was American (Knight, 2007, p.127). This is an example of hegemony. The new global culture is a euphemism for American culture. By accepting American dominance, Australia receives not only economic benefits, but political ones. The
idea that American is better is spread via the media and it is accepted by its audience. People in Australia prefer American movies over Australian (Knight, 2007, p.127), and Murdoch capitalizes on this concept. If the media in Australia does not become completely foreign owned, the domestic media will be made for the global culture.

World War II was the beginning of the relationship between Australia and the US, but 9/11 instigated their current political partnership (Knight, 2007, p.125). Actually, it is an accepted dominance. Australia has become a transmitter of US ideals in the Pacific Islands. Bush declared Australian Prime Minister John Howard a sheriff for the US during a press release shortly after 9/11 (Knight, 2007, p.125). Much of the media in the Pacific Islands comes from Australia, and Australia has used it to make these islands fear American proclaimed terrorists (Knight, 2007, p.124-125). The Pacific Islands used to fear being taken over by the French or the Chinese; now, they fear terrorists. This is a clear of example of Americanization. What is most interesting about this example is that Australia Americanized these islands. This indicates that the Australian government gladly transmits American ideals to not only Australia, but anywhere they can.

Notes
1. Any and all of this section’s work is the sole responsibility of Shamicka Scott.
2. Any and all of this section’s work is the sole responsibility of Ian Ferguson.
3. Any and all of this section’s work is the sole responsibility of Caitlin Ryder.
4. Any and all of this section’s work is the sole responsibility of Genae Barron.

REFERENCES


The name of Louisa May Alcott is synonymous with her novel, *Little Women*, as well as with good, old-fashioned values. Despite the educational flavor of many of her books, they remain popular. What also remains popular is a discussion of the author herself and whether she was one of the wonderful little women in her books or a smothered but defiant feminist. Some critics say that Alcott conformed to society only because she had to in order to make money. These critics see her as a deeply conflicted individual who longed to be free from conventional society, even as she held up that society as the ideal to strive for. Other critics see the traditional Alcott—the one who rejoiced in the money for her needy family, but also wrote what she truly believed and wished to see happen in the world. The life and key works of Alcott must be examined and compared in order to discover if she did in fact hold to the viewpoints expressed in her novels or whether they were a product of society’s wishes alone. We will first look at the conventional elements in Alcott’s stories and then examine the elements that did not conform to her society. The truth about Alcott lies somewhere in the middle, and if we do not want to see stereotypes in her novels, we should not try to make her a stereotype either, but recognize the very real person behind the books.

We first must look at the life of Louisa Alcott, as many of her stories are based on parts of her own experiences. Her works and her life cannot be separated. Louisa May Alcott was born on November 29, 1832. She was the second child of her parents, Bronson and Abigail Alcott. From the first, the little girl made her personality felt. Alcott “even at ten months of age was subject to tantrums or ‘paroxysms of rage.’” (*Little Men*, xx) Her chief trait in her early years was a tendency to run away from home, even in the busy town of Boston, where she once spent a whole day wandering through the streets. Her older sister, Anna, had a milder personality, which took after her father. Alcott also had two younger sisters, Elizabeth and May, who were also much more like her father. Alcott resembled her fiery mother in temperament.

Alcott’s early life was characterized by many household moves and constant worries about money. Her father was a teacher, but could not be a school because of his progressive, transcendentalist ideas. The family lived mostly in Boston or Concord, moving back and forth depending on where work was to be found. In the first twenty-eight years of Bronson and Abigail Alcott’s marriage, they moved twenty-nine times. (*Little Men*, xviii) Bronson Alcott, who should have been the one to support the family, often did not seem to even live in the real world. His ideas overruled the mercenary concerns of such things as heat and food. He once worked a lecture circuit describing the ideals of transcendentalism for several weeks and returned to his cold family with one dollar in his pocket to show for it. Once Bronson even tried to found a utopian society named Fruitlands, which failed after just six months. Often the family lived in near poverty. Several times it was Ralph Waldo Emerson, Bronson’s best friend, who took pity on the family and kept them from starvation.

Alcott began to help her family financial situation (the women called their finances “The Alcott Sinking Fund”) when she was just 16 by opening a school for Ralph Waldo Emerson’s children and other locals. When she was 26, frustrated by the lack of work for girls, she vowed that “I will do something by-and-by. Don’t care what, teach, sew, write, anything to help the family; I’ll be rich and famous and happy before I die, see if I won’t.” (Shealy, 37) For the next fourteen years, she held various teaching jobs or did domestic work. All the while, she was also writing. Her first book published was called *Flower Fables*, short fanciful stories written for little Ellen Emerson. She was also writing dozens of “sensational stories” published anonymously or under a pseudonym that brought in badly needed money. The next
big change came in December of 1862, when Alcott volunteered as a nurse at the war hospital in Georgetown, MA. She worked before less than two months before falling ill of mercury poisoning. The incident would ruin her health for the rest of life, but did provide her with material for a new book called *Hospital Sketches*. The enthusiastic reception of this book cleared the way for publication of two more novels that had been written previously—*Moods* and later *Success*, both romances written for adults. *Moods* has alternately been called a more mature novel than any other Alcott wrote and a sentimental piece of trash. Martha Saxton, a modern biographer of Alcott’s, claims “it is her most evocative and poignant story. Written out of a desire to express and explain herself, it had all the strengths and weakness of genuine passion and none of the written-to-order limitations and predictability of her juvenile stories.” (Saxton, 274) The novel however was not extremely well received and Alcott grew discouraged.

It was at this point in Alcott’s career that a publisher named Thomas Niles approached her. He wanted Alcott to consider writing a book for girls. She had never considered such a thing and told him she didn’t know very much about girls. (Meigs, 196) But after some consideration and a look at the family fortunes, Alcott began to write what would become *Little Women*. Using people and places that she knew, she worked to transform them into people that anyone could recognize. The Alcott family became the March family. Her sister Anna turned into Meg, Beth stayed Beth, May became Amy, and Alcott herself was Jo. Laurie, the boy next store, was a combination of two young men Alcott knew, Alf Whitman and Ladislas Wisniewski. Published in October of 1868, the book became an instant bestseller. *Little Women* allowed the vow that Alcott had made as a young girl to support her family come true.

*Little Women*’s sequel, *Good Wives*, which is now just considered part of the book *Little Women*, and books of a similar nature, eight in all—*Little Men*, *Jo’s Boys* (both sequels to *Little Women*), *An Old-Fashioned Girl*, *Eight Cousins*, *Rose in Bloom*, *Under the Lilacs*, and *Jack and Jill*, followed it, as well as numerous short stories of the same flavor.

*Little Women* is based on Alcott’s own childhood experiences and is famous for its depiction of a normal 19th century family and its realistic, heart-warming characters. But not everything from Alcott’s life was included in the story. The Alcotts weren’t quite normal enough for a completely stark portrayal. As Perri Klass blandly states, “They were weirdos from start to finish.” (Keyser, 3) A story about a typical 19th century family could, for instance, hardly include the disastrous attempt at communal farming that the female Alcotts were forced to endure for their father’s ideals or the many, many times the family moved. Indeed, Mr. Alcott as Mr. March is not even in a great deal of the story, but is conveniently packed away as a chaplain in the army.

While the feminists hold up Alcott’s romances and thriller stories as proof of her real character and desires, they often frown on her children’s books and dismiss them as works written under social pressure and for money alone. Many claim the women in them might have some good characteristics at first, but the point of the books is watching them evolve into perfect, unrealistic stereotypes. “On their way to achieving complete diminution, they struggle with selfishness, greed, vanity, and temper.” (Saxton, 4)

In *Little Women*, there is indeed a progression to a supposed better moral state that Alcott does not attempt to hide. Even some of the chapter titles point to it, as they are taken from the book *Pilgrim’s Progress*, which is about a man named Christian traveling towards heaven. The girls decide to pretend that they are Christian and must work to reach the Celestial City. “Let us do it,” said Meg thoughtfully. “It is only another name for trying to be good, and the story may help us; for though we do want to be good, it’s hard work, and we forget and don’t do our best.” (*Little Women*, 14) Each of the girls’ particular trial is then detailed in separate chapters. In “Amy’s Valley of Humiliation” she is punished for her pride after bringing strictly forbidden limes to school. Beth’s trial comes when she has to face her timidity in “Beth Finds the Palace Beautiful” and Meg must deal with her worldly desires for clothes and the fashionable life in “Meg Goes to Vanity Fair.” “Jo Meets Apollyon” chronicles the
disastrous results after Jo loses her temper with Amy and refuses to speak to her, even to warn her away from the thin ice of their skating pond through which she falls. After a scare and a reminder of what really matters in life, all the girls inch a little closer to the promised Celestial City and reformed characters.

Although the girls make progress toward their goal, the reforming continues in the second part of the book. Jo in particular has to overcome her outspokenness. In one failure to control her tongue, Jo offends her Aunt March with her independence. “I’d rather do everything for myself, and be perfectly independent.” (331) In consequence, her more ladylike sister, Amy, is taken to Europe instead of her. “(Aunt March) regretted your blunt manners and too independent spirit... Amy is more docile.” (343) Here it does seem as if Jo is being punished simply for being independent, rather than any particular sin. She is several times contrasted in this chapter with her more feminine sister, Amy, who does all the social calls and cues correctly. And indeed Amy is rewarded with the trip of a lifetime while Jo must stay and work for her family. In this instance, it would have greatly benefited Jo to better follow what society wished of her.

The morals that Alcott express do very much reflect her times, at least the ones in her children’s books. Although it is never stated that the March family attends church, they do invoke Christian beliefs and often ask for the help of their heavenly father. Marmee’s advice to Jo in her trials is “you can overcome and outlive them all if you learn to feel the strength and tenderness of your Heavenly Father as you do that of your earthly one.” (92)

The main person, though, that helps the girls on the way to achieving goodness is their mother, based very much on Alcott’s own mother, Abba. Marmee is always there to guide the girls and give them counsel when they fall short. With Marmee, Alcott wished to pay a tribute to her hard-working mother, who had struggled so hard for years against poverty and her own stormy nature. Abba Alcott often found it just as hard to submit as her daughter did to the conventions of New England life. However, if Abba Alcott had not conquered her desires for freedom, her family might not have even survived, as she was often the one who made the money. She went to work to make sure her family had what they needed. Feminist independence was not something that would have benefited this family at all. Early on, Alcott watched a woman sacrifice herself to make sure that those around her were successful and happy.

Family was the most important thing in the world for Abba, a thought she passed on to her daughter, who in turn passed it on to her books. These values of sacrifice and family are some of the most conventional parts of Alcott’s works. One of the first incidents in *Little Women*, and also one of the most famous, is proof of Alcott’s belief in sacrifice. On Christmas morning, Marmee tells her daughters about a poor neighboring family. “There is nothing to eat over there. My girls, will you give them your breakfast as a Christmas present?” (19) The girls do, of course. “That’s loving our neighbor better than ourselves and I like it,” says Meg, setting the tone for the book.

Alcott continues the “purification” of young people in her other books as well. It is not a process solely for women to become tame members of the household, but something all people in general must go through to become good. No one is allowed to remain quite the same. Like their female counterparts, the boys in *Little Men* fight a myriad of faults such as lying, over-eating, greed, and simple childish naughtiness. To us, these lessons often do sound like preaching. The character of Dan in *Little Men* and *Jo’s Boys* is a good example. This boy has one of the most interesting personalities of any of the boys, but also is most in need of reform with his wild temper and stubborn attitude. He even nearly succeeds in burning down the school and is banished for a time. Before his character has been fully reformed, his temper kills a man, and earns him a year in prison where with the help of a Bible given to him by Jo, he finally becomes a good person. In another extreme example, in *Rose In Bloom*, Rose’s cousin Charlie loses his life because of his faults, in his case the evils of drinking.
Before we condemn Alcott too harshly for the didactic element of her books, we must consider the moralizing of the books in their time period. This preaching was simply what stories for children did—and Alcott’s books did it far less than many others. True, in some of the stories, the books are almost raised (or lowered) to this level, such as Charlie’s death in *Rose in Bloom*. However, “(*Little Women*) marked a departure from previous moralizing in children’s literature, the kind in which all the naughty boys were ‘eaten by bears because they did not to a particular Sabbath-school’ and ‘all the good infants who did go were rewarded by every kind of bliss.’” (Clark, 105)

Take, for example, Frances Hodgson Burnett’s *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, another immensely popular children’s book published nearly 20 years after *Little Women*. The title character, a boy of seven, is cloyingly sweet with every perfection and grace possible, including lovely blond curls and an incredibly bountiful nature. The book is hardly read or known now, and its character can hardly be taken seriously in today’s world, as it is so far from the truth. Another example is Martha Finley’s *Elsie Dinsmore* books, the first of which was published the same year as *Little Women*. This child is also a saint, a “Christian among cannibals who constantly beset her in the most hideous and perverse ways.” (MacDonald, 19) Alcott did not preach quite like these books, but made her characters much more life-like. Morals do occur frequently but often with a drop of humor. After her mother preaches her daughters a little sermon, Jo responds, “‘We won’t forget it. If we do, you just say to us, as old Chloe did in ‘Uncle Tom,’ ‘Tink ob yer marcies, chillen! Tink ob yer marcies!’ Jo could not, for the life of her, help getting a morsel of fun out of the little sermon, though she took it to hear as much as any of them.” (Little Women, 52)

Whatever we feel about the morals in the Alcott books, we must remember that we are not the original audience. That audience made Alcott one of the best-selling authors of her time. Children and adults alike enjoyed her books. “The children of her age did not find those sugar-coated pills hard to swallow for they persistently clamored for more.” (Stern, 488) Alcott, indeed, would have been content to stop writing the books if she had not wanted to satisfy the children that wrote demanding more stories about Jo and her family.

Another flaw that mars Alcott’s independence is the contention that she does not allow Jo to remain a strong character, but marries her off almost as neatly society would wish. Alcott admitted that she gave into popular opinion against her personal wishes. “Jo should have remained a literary spinster, but so many enthusiastic young ladies wrote to me clamorously demanding that she should marry Laurie or somebody, that I didn’t dare to refuse and out of perversity went and made a funny match for her. I expect vials of wrath to be poured out upon my head, but rather enjoy the prospect.” (Myerson, xxviii) The issue of marriage in general is a conformist part of Alcott’s novels. Mrs. March tells her girls, “To be loved and chosen by a good man is the best and sweetest thing which can happen to a women; and I sincerely hope my girls may know this beautiful experience.” (*Little Women*, 109) All of Alcott’s main heroines get married (except for Nan in *Jo’s Boys*) and most of the secondary ones as well. Although Alcott herself never married, she only had the courage to leave one of her women unwed.

Alcott did still manage to be unconventional in Jo’s choice of a spouse. She refused to give her to Laurie, who is the undisputed male hero of the book. Instead she creates Professor Bhaer for Jo to wed, who more resembles Bronson Alcott or Emerson than the irrepressible Laurie. Thus the romance of the main character is not very conformist at all. The marriage might not be very romantic and did not satisfy all the readers of the book, but it does allow Jo a certain amount of freedom and allows her to pursue her dream of opening a school for boys. It also permits Jo to remain the most dynamic character of her household.

*Little Women* and its sequels were extremely popular when they were released, and have continued to remain so. The trouble has come as critics have begun to take a look at her life, especially some of her previously unknown books, one of which (*A Long Fatal Love Chase*) wasn’t published until 1995 due to its sensational nature. These works are so different from the traditional books that critics wonder which reveal the real Alcott. Alcott herself did not fit the mold of a perfect Victorian woman.
She worked outside her home, never married, continually longed for freedom from both her responsibilities and her ill-health, and wrote novels that she never dared to have published in her lifetime or had published but under a different name. These stories made money as well. Why then did she continue to write domestic books that upheld the values of her society if she did not feel a part of it? But even in her children’s novels, there are sections that do not conform to the society of her day, and went against standard principles. Even while writing what the public wanted to hear, Alcott skillfully used her novels as teaching tools to proliferate her own notions about how an ideal society should work. As she has her counterpart say in *Little Women*, “I do like (reformers) and I shall be one if I can; for, in spite of the laughing, the world would never get on without them.” (330)

First of all, we have already established that Alcott did not grow up in a conventional family. But she also did not grow up in a conventional town. Concord was the center of the “American Renaissance” and besides the Alcotts; the town was home to Nathaniel Hawthorne, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Henry David Thoreau. Unusual ideas were normal for these men, and utopian notions abounded. Alcott would not have felt that she had to fit in a nice traditional box with Emerson and Thoreau as mentors encouraging her ideas and development. *Little Women* “provided a taste of the intelligentsia’s Concord for the American middle class, a concrete, even spirited taste.” Ironically, it has also been said that she is the transcendentalist author that is the most widely read today. (Clark, 105) Alcott knew there was more to the world than young girls were generally permitted to see, and wanted to show them that more was possible. She was also intimately aware of the world’s problems, as she had experienced poverty and war up close, which gave an added dimension to her work.

Also before any discussion of the characters or themes as groundbreaking, it must be mentioned that *Little Women* simply as a book itself was groundbreaking. Before it, there were no books written specifically for adolescent girls at all and few for boys. All of what we now consider quintessential children’s literature came after and was influenced by *Little Women*. Characters as diverse as Anne of Green Gables and Tom Sawyer are in part descendents of Jo and her sisters.

One of the best arguments for Alcott’s unconventionality is the fact that she had the courage to put herself on the page in the form of Jo. Her father had despaired of her personality when she was young, and was forced to renounce some of his dearest beliefs about children because Alcott refused to fit into his nice molds. She was aware of her faults and the frustrations she caused her father, often signing her letters to her father as his “loving demon.” (Myerson, 32) Alcott knew she was not a typical female and yet chose to recreate herself and not make Jo into a meek little woman like her sisters. From the first sentence of *Little Women*, Jo emerges as a dynamic, unconventional heroine. “Christmas won’t be Christmas without any presents,’ grumbled Jo, lying on the rug.” (*Little Women*, 3) What other novel about girls in that day would have dared to start with its main character lying on a rug- or complaining for that matter? Jo does not vow to love everyone around her or try to be a model child, like other heroines of her day. Instead she writes sensational plays and acts in them, gets angry with her sisters, cuts her hair off for money, and more than once refuses a wealthy suitor. Alcott is different from other domestic authors of her day because she dared to give her characters personalities outside of their stated faults or virtues. They are not caricatures, but real, complex people.

Although Jo and her sisters do have to learn to become better women, their process toward that goal is often very funny and keeps them human. For instance, when the girls decide they would like to lead a life of leisure, their mother agrees to give them a week off from their chores and responsibilities. In a culmination of the week’s calamities, Marmee “with a good deal of humor” leaves them completely to their own devices. The results consist of a dead pet bird, much comical anxiety, and Jo serving a dinner that includes burnt bread, undone asparagus, and salted instead of sugared strawberries. (*Little Women*, 128) The girls learn, of course, that play is no good without a little work as well, but they do so with style. “The author does not intrude to point a finger at the reader and preach. Instead she
demonstrates to the reader what is the right moral action by posing a situation with believable character trying to puzzle out the answers for themselves.” (MacDonald, 15)

Even after Jo’s calming and “purification,” in which she really loses little worth having except overcoming a temper that in one instance almost gets her sister Amy killed, her character is still recognizable. Even amid her later-life moralizing chronicled in Jo’s Boys, her impetuous spirit and fire is still clearly visible. Her fate is much like Louisa’s in that she does write a novel and becomes famous, which is not always to her liking. As she dodges visitors to her house and disguises herself as a maid to avoid giving endless autographs, one cannot help but think of the younger Jo. She is “the one young woman in 19th century fiction who maintains her individual independence, who gives up no part of her autonomy as payment for being born a woman—and who gets away with it.” (Myerson, xxviii)

Little Women is alive in a great part because of the character of Jo, who is able to keep things in perspective through her sense of humor, much as the same as Alcott did in her life. Alcott’s sense of humor helps keep her from being the angry repressed person that some modern critics would like us to believe in. Life might have been bitter at times, but Alcott knew how to see the outrageous sides of it. “As a woman gifted with a sense of humor, she had learned to watch for the ridiculous rather than the sublime.” (Sterne, 490) Her humor shines out from her letters, from her notes about the people that flooded to her house to catch a peek at the famous authoress--“I have resolved to defend home at the point of the bayonet and be called a cross patch for my pains” to an observation about her new neighbor, Nathaniel Hawthorne. “Mr. H is as queer as ever and we catch glimpses of a dark mysterious-looking man in a big hat and red slippers darting over the hills or skimming by as if he expected the house of Alcott were about to rush out and clutch him”) (Myerson, 57, 193)

The efforts to make women into people who conform better to society in the books is also balanced by their independence in jobs and marriage. Alcott adamantly supported women’s suffrage and incorporated these themes into her books. She worked diligently for “Woman’s Right to Labor,” more than for their right to vote, although she was also involved in that fight as well. Voting for women is mentioned in a few of her novels, but the importance of work for women is mentioned in nearly all of them. An Old-Fashioned Girl, in particular, chronicles one young, poor girl’s fight to sustain herself in Boston. This story was based on Alcott’s own troubled experiences working in Boston before the success of her books. Her women are often given careers, usually lasting until they are married, but sometimes continuing after as well. Nan, in Little Men and Jo’s Boys, becomes a doctor and never does marry, but finds satisfaction and meaning in her work alone. In the same books, Alcott finally allows one of her characters to be what she always wanted to be—an actress. Meg’s daughter, Josie, longs for the stage and after many difficulties, is able to make a success of it. Jo herself is a writer and even after her marriage runs a school. She does not meekly retire into the background when she becomes a wife, but remains the dominant figure in her household.

Perhaps the stories that most exemplify Alcott’s struggle to find independence and at the same time conform to the ideals of her society are Eight Cousins and Rose in Bloom. On one hand, these two books have more sermons that any others in Alcott’s repertoire. Already mentioned was the death of one of these characters because he goes back on a vow to Rose and continues to drink. Other vices attacked in the novels include smoking, fashionable clothes, coffee, vanity, and bad novels. In one incident, Rose’s small vanity of getting her ears pierced without permission becomes yet another character-building exercise when she gives up her earrings in a bargain with her cousin Charlie to stop his smoking. By the end of the books, Rose is almost too good to relate to.

But at the same time, these books also support the idea of women working on some career and not just getting married. The secondary heroine, Phoebe, refuses to marry until she has proved she can make her way through the world alone. Rose proclaims to her male cousins that marriage is “a very precious and lovely part (of life), but not all. Neither should it be for a woman: for we’ve got minds and souls as well as hearts; ambition and talents, as well as beauty and accomplishments.” (Rose in Bloom,
10) The book shows the unusual education of Rose as well. She is encouraged to run around outside with her cousins, not worrying about her complexion or delicate female constitution. She is even taught about her bones and nerves, a very remarkable for a girl to learn about in Victorian New England. Her uncle declares, "I mean to teach her how to manage her nerves so that they won't be a curse to her, as many a woman's become through ignorance or want of thought." (Eight Cousin, 162)

For the Alcotts, education was a must, for girls as well as boys. Alcott had grown up in an atmosphere that emphasized education. Her father had unique ideas about how to educate children, so much so that many of his schools failed or he was dismissed. He still brought his daughters up in light of these values however. Bronson believed that "children have minds and hearts and spirits of their own, and should have a voice in what was decided concerning them." (Meigs, 65) Bronson Alcott was, after all, a transcendentalist who deeply believed in the power of the individual to change their destiny. In the classroom, he stressed writing over rote-memorization, the value of physical education, equal education for boys and girls, and the importance of actually listening to what children said and believed— all novel concepts for his time. He also disliked corporal punishment and sometimes used the innovative method of having a child hit him instead. This practice, he believed, made a child realize how much his sin hurt those around him.

Although Alcott and her father often found each other difficult to understand, Bronson’s concerns about education and even his methods can be found in her novels. One of the main characters of Little Men, Nat, must strike his teacher, Professor Bhaer after Nat is caught telling a lie. The incident has a profound impact on him. “He gave (the blows), hardly seeing where they fell. Then he laid face down on (Mr. Bhaer’s hand), sobbing out in a passion of love, shame, and penitence: ‘I will remember! Oh! I will!’” (Little Men, 40) There is also the well-known incident in Little Women where Amy is punished with a ruler for bringing limes to school. Declaring the family does not believe in corporal punishment, she leaves the school for good. And certainly Alcott believed in listening to children. Her books as a whole might be said to be doing that. She understood children and what they were looking for.

Alcott had definite ideas about how men and women should interact. They should work for the mutual benefit of each other, treating one another as equals. Although Jo’s school at Plumfield is for boys, she wants to incorporate girls as well, in order to bring balance for both. “You know we believe in bringing up little men and women together. They (the boys) must learn gentle ways and improve their manners and having girls about will do it better than anything else.” For the little girls, Nan will be taught what to do with her wild spirits and Daisy will get some needed “stirring up.” (Little Men, 77) The independent Nan, who has benefited from these principles, later declares, “My idea is that if we girls have any influence we should use it for the good of these boys, and not pamper them up making slaves out of ourselves and tyrants of them.” (Jo’s Boys, 91) She adds, “Men are always ready to die for us, but not to make our lives worth having.” (95) Women must take the initiative and teach men that they are people too, with dreams and aspirations of their own. Only then can an ideal society be created.

Perhaps the story of Alcott is a tragedy. As she wrote to a friend, “Freedom was always my longing, but I have never had it.” (Myerson, xxxviii) In another letter, she comments, “I shall always be a wretched victim to the respectable traditions of Concord.” (Shealy, viii) Maybe her thriller novels do show the true desires of her heart to be a free woman writing about a new exciting world. Maybe her children’s novels are an almost satirical portrait of the world that kept her suppressed. However, we cannot ignore the fact that to Alcott herself, the Little Women novels brought her the other thing that she most wanted out of life besides freedom— safety and provision for her family. As she says of her equivalent in Jo’s Boys, “The success Jo valued most, the happiness that nothing could change or take away, few knew much about. It was the power of making her mother’s last years happy and serene; to see the burden of care laid down forever.” (Jo’s Boys, 36) Alcott really was content with what she had been able to accomplish with her writing.
And if Alcott did long for freedom and yet stayed to make sure that her family was provided, doesn’t she just become more of a hero? At times in her life, it proved so difficult to get work that she was tempted to jump into the river. “But it seemed so mean to turn and run away before the battle was over that I went home, set my teeth and vowed I’d make things work in spite of the world, the flesh, and the devil.” (Myerson, 34) She knew what she capable of, and probably could have found the freedom that she longed for, if she had been willing to leave her family. The greater sacrifice is to stay and keep on working, even if times are hard. Even if we cannot make Alcott a tragic, feminist hero, we should at least recognize her heroism and applaud what she did leave us.

Alcott chose the middle road in her work. She was a triumphant feminist in that she proved that she could support herself and her family with her writing. She both upheld the traditions of her society and worked to change them. She wrote all kinds of books, from thrillers to fairy tales to family stories. If we do not want stereotypes in her work, we should not try to make Alcott into one either, but recognize her as a real person who had joy as well as pain in her life. Alcott is neither completely the traditional woman nor totally the repressed feminist. She cannot be put into a box, anymore than her beloved counterpart.

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In an early scene from MacDonald’s *Lilith* (1895), the narrator Mr. Vane meets Mara, one of the many mythic women who populate the looking-glass fantasy world of MacDonald’s greatest novel. “When you know me, call me by the name that seems to you to fit me, that will tell me what sort you are. People do not often give me the right one. It is well when they do” (90). Late-Victorian society developed a standard for typical behavior in interaction between men and women. Take a social introduction for instance: Characteristically, an exchange of titles should take place initially which would identify the strangers, yet in this case Mara takes a different course of action to offer her male guest, Vane, a chance to establish his own perception of her. Mara is pointing out to the male adventurer that she can know a man by the way he defines women. Thus she highlights the reality that gender roles are flexible, and largely a matter of social convention, not innate biology. Vane is therefore given a chance to avoid the social archetypes of womanhood. This process will not only allow Mara to understand Vane’s character, but furthermore Vane will obtain a deeper insight on his journey toward enlightenment and the quest to find his “true self.”

In this text and within the larger late-Victorian age, these ideologies of gender roles were deeply embedded in society, and many men, fictional and real, could not overcome them. This essay will focus on literary scenes in which men attempt to think beyond the archetypes that give social definition to the women around them. MacDonald’s text is one of many texts of the period that structures a male character’s development around his interaction with women.

It has been well-documented since the feminism of the 1970’s that women in the nineteenth century were defined by a pervasive number of powerful (but also contradictory) literary conventions, from the “angel in the house” to the “mad woman” archetype. (*Madwoman in the Attic* (1979) catalogued many of these conventions of the female persona.) Scholars have also noted the ways that female novelists and poets struggled against these stereotypes, working to define newly liberated identities. However, few scholars have focused on the way that progressive male novelists, especially in the mid- and late- Victorian Period, also worked to transcend the gender ideology that defined their female counterparts. In particular, novelists and poets like D. G. Rossetti, Thomas Hardy, and Oscar Wilde focused on the difficulties that males had in overcoming the gender ideology that on one level they realize to be damaging and untrue. In fact, in male Bildungsromans of the century, encounters with women are a central element of the plot, and the enlightenment of these males seems to depend on their ability to work through the gender roles that have been instilled by their education.

The progressing male enlightenment of the late-Victorian era is depicted in the literature. Through the writing of the period’s novelists, readers can gather the ideologies of society pertaining to the idea of womanhood. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, in 1870, offered a strictly male approach to the female character that is presented through his poem “Jenny.” The enlightened (yet condescending) voice of the male narrator tells the story of Jenny, a sleeping prostitute who has fallen asleep in his lap, to his audience. He defines her by the archetype of the “fallen woman,” involving a loss of purity and lack of domestic knowledge (Reed 59-60). Self-confident and knowledgeable, this chauvinistic male character believes he has the ability to “save” this woman from herself and the life she is leading. His approach is to avoid labeling her as the “femme fatale” and the morally
corrupt mad woman which society would deem her. Her impure qualities are exhibited in this excerpt:

Our learned London children know
Poor Jenny, all your mirth and woe
Have your lifted silken skirt
Advertise dainties through the dirt
Have your coach-wheels splash rebuke
On virtue; and have learned your look
When, wealth and health slipped past, you stare
Along the streets alone. (Rossetti ln.143-150)

The narrator's intentions are noble, but the society in which he was bred has many advances to make before one man can rid himself of the need to “save” this young woman and thus overcome his own ideology of womanhood.

By 1891, some novelists were creating female characters who speak for themselves. Oscar Wilde in his novel, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* initiated the task of accepting a woman for who she truly was beneath the surface archetypes that define her social being. One of the story's early episodes involves a young man, Dorian Gray, becoming infatuated with an actress, Sibyl Vane, who meets his standards of intrigue and also allures his thoughts and passions. Dorian's attraction to Sibyl is illustrated as he admits to being fascinated by her mystery and uniqueness:

Ordinary women never appeal to one’s imagination. They are limited to their century. No glamour ever transfigures them. One knows their minds as easily as one knows their bonnets [...] There is no mystery in any of them [...] But an actress! How different an actress is! [...] why didn’t you tell me that the only thing worth loving is an actress? (Wilde 46)

Later, he faces the reality of the performer's true identity and is confronted with the task of accepting her as the opposite of what he believed her to be. Even though the literature is progressing, a reversal of attitudes takes time and requires a process of assimilation for it to thoroughly penetrate a single individual’s thought process.

For some fictional figures, the assimilation process took less time. Within the same year in which Oscar Wilde was struggling with the acceptance of womanhood beyond ideal conventions, Thomas Hardy was introducing Tess, who is portrayed at the opening of *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* as the “ideal woman” but who later is confronted with the burden of being labeled a “femme fatale.” This text examined a young woman’s journey in society as it existed in the late nineteenth century. Denoted as the archetype of the “angel in the house,” Tess is treated as inferior by Alec, a relation of hers whom she works for (Hardy 73-99). Most conventional literature pertaining to women mentions that they “exist only to be acted on by men, both as literary and as sensual objects” (Gilbert and Gubar 8). Alec and Tess do not share a mutual attraction, yet this does not prevent the sexually-driven male ego from obtaining its objective. He rapes her (Hardy 94-95). A loss of purity in the late-Victorian period classifies the young woman as undesirable and as unable to control her sexual desire. Retracting herself from society and its judgment about her, Tess seeks to work outside of her home town. Within this new country lifestyle, she begins anew. She stumbles upon love in a quiet dairy farm in the form of a young man Angel Clare, and a marriage follows shortly after (Hardy 179-219). Unfortunately, the honeymoon is short-lived once the two begin confessing their secrets. Angel, the love of Tess’ life, discovers that she is not who he believed she was: the pure domestic angel that would assist him with his new trade. And he finds he cannot live with the knowledge of her sexual past, despite his theoretically liberated views (Hardy 229-255). These archetypes of the female character suggest the trends of society; I will touch back upon the development of the relationship between Angel and Tess and the question of whether these ideologies can be overcome.
The literary conventions portrayed in these works exhibit the dualistic archetypes that existed in the late-Victorian Period. The archetype of “angel in the house,” a literary and societal image, was used to illustrate the ideal woman (Gilbert and Gubar 20). In a poem of the time written by Anne Finch, she denotes that women should desire “[g]ood breeding, fassion, dancing, dressing, [and] play” for “to write, or read, or think, or to enquire/ Wou’d cloud [a woman’s] beauty” (Gilbert and Gubar 8). The Virgin Mary archetype of these ladies specified that the purity came from a life at home as the domestic woman. For the sake of contrast, a binary opposite must be conjured. The “femme fatal,” often a madwoman, is discussed by critic William Raeper: “She is a symbol of a revolt, appearing at a time when women were asserting themselves against the patriarchal order and demanding independence, careers, and the vote. She is a threat to the male identity” (Raeper 377). Viewed as a moral pollutant, women who were supposedly mad were kept a secret, as society hoped to contain them, or disclaim them at the least. Consequently, this course of action led to the assumption that madness was a side-effect of moral pollution because society was not told anything different from the diagnosing doctors (Raeper 194). The contrary archetypes set in as the contrast between the self-controlled woman who dotes on her family and the madwoman who is morally polluted due to the loss of purity and virtue (Raeper 200).

MacDonald, through Lilith, attempts to portray that these standard labels of women are more blurry than discrete and absolute. His book resists the either/or logic of the archetypal heritage. The revolutionary thought process of this novelist opens many avenues and questions about this much-explored topic of “giving a woman a voice.” Vane is presented as the interpreter in this literary piece. At the beginning of the novel, before he meets Mara, he is not aware that his encounters with the opposite sex have been influenced by the late-Victorian archetypes of womanhood. Making Vane consider his own interpretation of a woman before judging her, Mara attempts to revolutionize Vane’s acceptance of women. Thus after his stay with Mara, this male adventurer attempts more and more to create a dialogue between new female acquaintances and himself, allowing the women to express themselves and their qualities in their own words, rather than having an archetype thrust upon them. As Mara states earlier, “[p]eople do not often give me the right [name]” (MacDonald 90). Most men cannot move past the rigid, dualistic ideology that exists to define women. Unfortunately as the storyline continues, a complication caused by a combination of archetypes in a single woman, Lilith, proves too much for this self-seeking traveler. This setback will cloud Vane’s continuing effort to discover the reality of womanhood and all that lies beneath the surface. His self-deluded dream of becoming the enlightened male by overcoming the ideology of womanhood fails as he is unable to fully comprehend the depth of the female persona.

In order to fully comprehend the magnitude of such a revolutionary path that MacDonald has chosen for Mr. Vane, the potency and control of these ideologies on womanhood that existed in the late-Victorian period must be mentioned. Critic Nancy Armstrong has argued that the nineteenth century established dual archetypes of the female gender, stemming from the reality of what she calls “Occidentalism.” In a strong effort to domesticate the English woman, Britain as well as Europe felt the need to establish a standard to set themselves apart from the Orient, or the Eastern world, and the supposedly childish, criminal and primitive desires which their government was associated with (Armstrong 538). Arguing that certain sexual practices were causing Eastern governments to be less effective, moral physicians and social scientists went on to connect such behavior to the characteristics of European prostitutes. “The same logic that said a man’s family was healthy because his business was good could also be used to insist that other cultures were poor because their women were bad” (Armstrong 538). Their high standards for women led to a cultural identity that would set them apart from the East. Archetypes of the ideal woman were developed, and just as readily, the archetype of the deviant, or mad woman.
The objective to establish a society in which the male authorities were defined by a pure source, the good woman, led to the creation of particular conventions for British women. If a society were to be defined by the noble actions of the society’s female population, the standards for these women must be strictly abided by. Thus began the movement to idealize the British woman into an angel of purity. Poised with austere manners and a voice that was sweet and charming, the English woman was expected to be an ideal of what men desired (Gosse 439). Modesty was also one of these admired female traits. Basic etiquette of a lady meant that she was never to be left alone unaccompanied with a male if she was unmarried. Also, under no circumstances was a woman ever to call upon a man unless it was for business or professional matters (Pool 55). The limit of a woman’s premarital interaction with a man was “a hand around the waist, a kiss, or a fervent pressing of the hand” in accord with the idea that a woman should have no sexual contact before marriage. The prudent behavior of these Victorian women allowed them often to remain ignorant and terrified of sexual behavior (Pool 186). “Nice” girls, as they were considered, did not engage in premarital intercourse, or anything even vaguely erotic, but saved themselves for their future mate. The “angel in the house” is defined by a passive personality accompanied by a pureness signifying a selfless nature. This angelic quality originated from its connection to the Virgin Mary, who was depicted as mankind’s greatest teacher of purity. Although this powerful symbol stood for salvation and an ideal gender role for womanhood, the nineteenth century placed the angel’s role in the home rather than in heaven (Gilbert and Gubar 20). The Victorian angel was to possess grace, purity, delicacy, compliancy, chastity, politeness, reticence, delicacy, and modesty. These gender roles characterized the late nineteenth century classic archetype “angel in the house” (Gilbert and Gubar, 20). Such an ideal as this must be contrasted against the vision of a woman that a man deemed unsuitable, the deviant or madwoman.

One theory of the deviant archetype was that it was originally created to stand for all women who possessed the capacity to ruin the identity of the Western world, but as the century progressed, that definition was modified. If men of high stature were to marry a deviant woman, whose control of her sexual urges had not been suppressed, the male’s reputation could be ruined by her sins, also exposing his weakness to the view of society. This reiterates that the deviant woman existed as a moral pollutant not just because of her inability to control herself, but because a corrupt wife also held the power to ruin the relationship between society and her husband (Reed 194). Even though the sexually uncontrollable characteristic of a female was a threat to society, it was not the only one. Imagination and the inability to control her emotions were also traits that set women apart from the ideal archetype. In a culture where decision making and executive positions, in the literary profession as well as in the home, were the duty of men, any woman possessing the equivalent to her male counterpart’s imagination and creativity presented a problem and generated a fear of a failing male advantage (Reed 194). “When such creative energy appears in a woman it may be anomalous, freakish, because as a ‘male’ characteristic it is essentially ‘unfeminine’” (Gilbert and Gubar 10). Where a woman should desire “[g]ood breeding, fascination, dancing, dress, [and] play,” any act of thinking, writing, reading or enquiry would cloud her beauty, according to society (Gilbert and Gubar 8). This indulgence in education and creativity by women was feared by male society because these aspects could lead to more interaction between women and the environment outside of the home, exposing her to temptation, doubt and peril (Ruskin 59). While excessive creativity and education were looked down upon for being unfeminine characteristics, women reacted with a hyper-feminine model with features such as a lack of emotional control and sexual restraint. Ironically, the concrete side effect of such ideals was the illness classified as hysteria, which in turn reinforced belief in the madwoman archetype. Physicians believed the processes of a woman’s body, such as the reproductive cycle and a more sensitive nervous system, made women more inclined to experience emotional regression and instability. With such an
emphasis on the way a woman’s bodily processes were linked to hysteria, irregularities including vaginal infections, increased menstrual pain and uncontrollable emotions were often associated with prostitutes (Smith-Rosenberg 206-207). The Victorian S. Weir Mitchell believed that hysteria, or madness, occurred in women who had never developed the habitual restraint or rational endurance that women of the ideal type were expected to retain (Smith-Rosenberg 205). The hysterical personality was described by physicians as:

highly labile, their moods changing suddenly, dramatically, and for seemingly inconsequential reasons [...] [T]he hysterical woman was egocentric in the extreme, her involvement with others consistently superficial and tangential. Though the [...] woman might appear [...] as quite sexually stimulated or attractive, she was, [...] essentially asexual and not uncommonly frigid (Smith-Rosenberg 202).

From these observations, we can see Victorian culture viewed madness as a social infection preying on society just as a vampire would prey on innocent victims, sucking the life out of healthy people it would encounter. This morbid thought encompassed the aspect that these women no longer were selfless. They abandoned the archetype of self-sacrificing wife, mother and daughter, which was a vital aspect of the “angel in the house” mindset. These actions instilled a fear within the male society that their women would be plagued with this illness, and their home and country would suffer. These deviations from the ideal woman threatened the male ego. Female creativity, uncontrollable emotions, and promiscuity were evidence that men were losing power in their society. Women were advancing and becoming more complex. Novelists of the late-Victorian period thus began incorporating these fears into their literary works, depicting female characters who suffer from mysterious mental illnesses.

Although the “angel” and the “mad woman” were the archetypal extremes that society portrayed to define the female gender, the complexity that existed among the personalities of women in reality could not be narrowed down to two archetypes. Rather than an either/or interpretation, the female persona can be perceived as more of a range of archetypes, the ideal woman as the ultimate achievement and the madwoman at the opposing end, representing a regression of the ideal feminine characteristics. Additionally, the nineteenth century gave rise to two supplementary archetypes of female gender: the femme fatale/ fallen woman and the innocent child.

Within most literature, a connection is assumed between the female characteristics of moral corruption and loss of virtue, but a slight discrepancy can be noted. Seduction and the use of charm to attract a suitor were attributed to the “femme fatale.” This dangerous archetype was portrayed as a female demon or the enchantress. The sexually uncontrollable woman of which this archetype pertains was usually considered a prostitute or morally corrupt female (Reed 59). A unique perspective provided by critic, Nancy Armstrong stated that late-Victorian society feared sexually driven females due to the pollution or infection they were capable of spreading (Armstrong 539). Generalized by a man of medicine in the late- nineteenth century, Victorian women partaking in the act of prostitution were depicted as:

dirty, clad in unwomanly rags, some appearing half-starved, covered with vermin, causing those near them to shun them with aversion; careless in matters of common decency, their conversation having mingled with it such words as made one shudder to listen to; wofully [sp] ignorant, they appeared, in their utter filth and depravity, lost to all the better qualities of human beings. (Armstrong 539)

A phobia was thus derived from the fears of the male population that females were the original breeding ground for disease. This connection was made linking the female “monthly disturbance” to a release of poisonous fluids which were easily transferable to the male gender through sexual contact (Armstrong 539). Intertwined within the definition of the “femme fatale” was the “fallen
woman” persona of which women were characterized from a loss of virtue. A major discrepancy separating the two archetypes was how the loss of purity came about. Uncontrollable circumstances on the woman’s part, such as rape or molestation often labeled her as the “fallen woman,” a reference to a decline, or fall, from the ideal characteristics of the “angel in the house.” Although not directly, society was more inclined to display sympathy for the “fallen woman” than with the “femme fatale,” but unfortunately, any ruined woman was still regarded as a threat to society due to her lack of virtue. Faced with societal pressure and prejudice, a lifetime of degradation was not worth pursuing for some of these women, and they committed suicide (Lambourne 380). The ruined woman persona may have instilled fear among the community, but the mystery and unruly features of these deviants sparked an interest among novelists to invest creativity in this shadowed archetype of womanhood through their literature.

If the archetype of madness has a version of lesser corruption, the angel must be compared to a direct heavenly purity. An offspring of the “angel in the house” archetype, late-Victorian culture has established an ideology of childhood which connects to the ideal woman. Most often illustrated as a period of femininity, childhood was identified with the archetypal features of womanhood such as gentleness, vulnerability, softness and a need for protection (Robson 4). In this developmental stage, a child represents an origin of innocence and purity “deeply connected to the natural or primitive world, and as yet unmired by the sullying forces of language, sexuality, and society” (Robson 6). Sexuality had not yet developed in this period. Little boys wore Victorian apparel that coincided with their feminine counterparts’. It was only after this initial feminine era that a mixed masculine construction begun to come into play. This was why the little girl not only represented the true essence of childhood, but also a reconnection for older males to their lost innocence (Robson 3). Corruption of the pure heart of a child was possible and could happen if we were educated improperly or exposed to indecent activity. Literature pertaining to children could be very versatile. An author could choose to incorporate a touch of purity or take a separate route and have society and education corrupt the innocent mind. A child was a blank slate upon which novelists could inscribe their own opinion.

As for other literary routes taken, two directions pertaining to madness were established. John Reed has said one cause of madness was supposed to be a sinful or ruined life, and the other was the “natural consequence of a passionate nature trapped in unbearable circumstances” (Reed 201). British medicine’s claim pertaining to madness was that it was not a manifestation of evil, but rather a consequence of social conditions (Reed 195). As a societal definition of a deviant, the archetype of the mad woman was still a mystery which was viewed as intriguing especially by novelists. Society had hoped to contain the idea of hysteria in order to prevent its spread throughout society, but novelists took advantage of the opportunity and incorporated the archetype into their literature. It was claimed that a male novelist’s power was in his pen. With this instrument he could establish his ideals or enforce obedience, over reality. For “if the author/father is the owner of his text and of his reader’s attention, he is also, of course, owner/possessor of the subjects of his texts, that is to say of those figures, scenes, and events” (Gilbert and Gubar 4). This masculine power allowed the novelist to construct his female characters with his own variety of archetypes. The main two that were evident within most literary works played off the social gender roles of womanhood in the late-Victorian era. They were the “angel” creating the archetype of the ideal woman, and its dual opposite, the “monster” or the subversive female symbol.

In the looking-glass fantasy world created by MacDonald, Vane encounters a variety of archetypes of womanhood on his journey to self enlightenment. As a scholar, at first, Vane is apprehensive of this unfamiliar world he enters as he steps through a magical mirror. Many of these aspects he cannot explain scientifically, which is usually his approach to the unknown. To
make the situation more difficult for the male adventurer, Vane is introduced to Mr. Raven, or Adam, an inhabitant from the fantasy world who offers valuable (yet vague) information to his new acquaintance. Rather than directly answering the many questions that Vane has pertaining to this strange new place, Mr. Raven offers riddles and clues which Vane must learn to interpret. This process is to allow Vane to determine his own answers through experience, rather than believe someone else's view. In one instance, Vane comes across a prayer-flower. It is unlike any flower he has ever seen. Mr. Raven explains to Vane that it was created from an individual's prayer, and no two prayer-flowers are alike. Wanting to be enlightened, Vane asks his guide if he can teach him to identify a prayer-flower when he sees one, and Mr. Raven's response is, "I could not. But if I could, what better would you be? [Y]ou would not know it of yourself and itself! Why know the name of a thing when the thing itself you do not know?"

This same concept can be applied to the women Vane encounters. No two women are exactly alike and to generalize them under a single definition would offer no enlightenment about who each woman is individually. For Vane, this means he must interact with each woman on an individual basis in order to fully understand who she is and what defines her as unique.

His first female welcome comes from a woman whose appearance emanates warmth. This female is none other than Adam's wife, Eve. At once, he is drawn to her eyes for they hold a glimpse of heaven within each pupil, and the perfection of her features makes Vane's heart flutter. Her actions are reserved as she politely asks questions of Vane's purpose. When Vane seems incapable of understanding a concept, Eve courteously, speaks through her husband, denoting that her opinion may not be taken as seriously by a stranger as if the advice were given by a male acquaintance. "'He has not yet learned that the day begins with sleep!' said the woman, turning to her husband. 'Tell him he must rest before he can do anything!'" (MacDonald 33). Seen even from a first introduction, Eve is applying her motherly instincts and worrying about Vane's well-being. Continuing with her role, she also demonstrates a subtle hint that in order to receive food or drink within her home, manners must be applied. This domestic angel, whom God has sent to Adam, correlated with the perspective of late-Victorian society that the "eternal type of purity was represented not by a Madonna in heaven but by the angel in the house" (Gilbert and Gubar 20). Thus Vane's first exposure to a female character in this literary text is to Eve who portrays the ideal characteristics of a woman by providing the "perfect meal" of bread and wine, shows genuine hospitality to their guest and displays tenderness as she cares for Mara's kitten (MacDonald 35). Eve is not incorporated into the majority of the storyline, but the impression which she leaves upon Vane is vital to his enlightenment about womanhood. Her motherly persona gives Vane a contrasting point with which to approach other women, because he can consider the different lifestyles and contexts which the other female characters are accustomed to.

As he sets out on his journey to self-enlightenment, he is unaware of the dangers that exist within this world, and soon one of these threats has befallen him. He is captured by Giants, the greedy and selfish creatures that may be a reference to upper class men. This unfortunate event leads to a second female encounter. Coming to his rescue, Lona, the ideal example of the innocent child archetype, is introduced to Vane. He learns that she is just one of many children who are referred to as the Little Ones. The late-Victorian era, in which Vane was educated, considered children to be the source of purity due to their deep connection "to the natural and primitive world" and because they were "unmired by the sullying forces of language, sexuality, and society" (Robson 6). The Little Ones are very much connected to nature due to the fact that they live within the foliage of the woods and befriend the wildlife of the area. This sheltered residence, along with a lack of knowledge, allows the children to remain untouched by the trials and problems the rest of this fantasy world is encountering. Characterized as the motherly figure by the Little Ones, Lona protects the children from any threats that they do encounter, such as the Giants. The selfless child
also cares about others, their safety and their nutrition. Upon finding a newborn in the woods, Vane inquires about how she is going to feed the child. She brings a few plums back to Vane “put[s] one to the baby’s lips [...] squeezed a drop to the surface, and again held the fruit to [his] lips” and the baby began sucking until only the skin was left (MacDonald 76). Vane, aware that horrible events can occur, asks Lona “But what if you let the stone into the baby’s mouth when you were feeding him?” to which she responded, “No mother would do that” illustrating her naïve nature as a child (MacDonald 76). Upholding her motherly duty, she also felt that she needed to educate Vane of the selfish and greedy creatures that they refer to as the Giants, and the threats that they pose. Even though Lona is very wise, she lacks education. She believes children are born in the woods and will remain small if they avoid a greedy and selfish way of life (MacDonald 74-77). Vane finds these traits intriguing and becomes infatuated with his new acquaintance. His care for the child could be traced to a longing to be reconnected with the purity that is associated with childhood. “’[L]ittle girls represent not just the true essence of childhood, but an adult male’s best opportunity of reconnecting with his own lost self’” (Robson 3). Even though Vane meets Lona, the pure child, his education is fostered by his relationship with her because how he labels her as she grows will determine if he is progressing in his enlightenment of gender roles and womanhood.

Vane leaves the Little Ones and Lona in a quest for education. He feels that if he educates himself he could improve their world, and he felt this to be his calling. One day while climbing a tree, a large giant approached Vane from behind and knocked him unconscious. The children, in all their innocence and tenderness, asks Vane to leave the woods to recover, for if he does not the giants would surely return to trample him (MacDonald 84-85). A warning also follows for Vane to avoid the cat-woman who lives in the desert while on his journey. These children label Mara as a threat, and Vane willingly accepted their archetype of her without even a moment’s hesitation that they could be wrong. On his way to recovery, Vane is unaware that he has a guardian watching over him while he sleeps protecting him from the evils that lie in the darkness of this world. As he awakes, he is greeted by a new acquaintance. “They call me the Cat-woman. It is not my name,” Mara tells him (MacDonald 90). Vane has learned that he should not judge a woman by what others label her as, but rather he should let her define herself. Her veiled face offers no suggestion of her beauty, and Vane must rely on her personality to understand the woman beneath the façade.

For her kindness which she has already shown, Vane lets down his guard and asks for directions from this mysterious woman. Mara agrees to direct him in the right course if he can describe the location. Fulfilling her motherly duty, Mara educates Vane about the location of which he speaks. Where Lona gave vague details, the wise persona of this woman fills in the particulars of which the young child was unaware, for Mara’s extent of knowledge proves enough to fulfill Vane’s curiosity. She offers enlightenment about Lilith, the princess ruling over the city of Bulika, and the Lovers, whom Vane refers to as the Little Ones (92-93). As his trust in Mara strengthens, Vane feels comfortable requesting permission to stay at her cottage to rest before continuing on his journey. For her hospitality, Vane is grateful, as he departs from the “angel in the house” fed and rested.

Continuing on his quest, he comes across a “fallen woman” lying helpless in the woods. Vane believes that “[e]ven the garment of a woman claims respect” and feels an overwhelming duty to care for the woman should there still be a hint of life left in her (MacDonald 120). Vane nurses the frail figure back to health, attempting to restore the warmth by bathing her in the river, nourishing her as Lona had the newborn infant, and providing her protection from the dangers of the night. As he sleeps each night, Vane “dream[s] of finding a wounded angel, who, unable to fly, remain[s] with me until at last she [love him] and would not leave [him]” (MacDonald 121). His ideal woman, the angel in his dreams, has been subjected to the threats and dangers of life and is in desperate need of his help. As a way to repay him for his devotion, Vane envisions that this ideal woman will repent for straying from her course and fall in love with him. Unfortunately for this
daydreaming male ego, as he wakes each morning he is reminded of the “white, motionless, wasted face upon the couch” (MacDonald 121). Out of sympathy rather than attraction for this abandoned woman, the compassionate male narrator underestimates her regaining strength, for as she re-energizes, he is being drained of his blood. A moment comparable to a resurrection occurs as Vane’s once hopeless cause yields success. However, she is not the ideal angel that he has dreamt her to be. The drastic emotional changes that occur to her at the moment of her awakening shift between suggesting she is a self sacrificing beauty, warding off the blood thirsty creature, and the ungrateful woman, who leaves Vane behind (MacDonald 125-128). This “fallen woman” is not who he expected her to be, and it is implied that his once vulnerable maiden was in fact the leech. Selfish and ungrateful, the blood-thirsty vampire persona of this woman portrays her as the opposite of the female characters he has already encountered. Attributed as signs of madness, her characteristics of uncontrollable emotions, selfish demeanor and lack of devotion to the male figure label this nameless female as a deviant to Vane.

To Vane, this undefined female has no past or branded name which would be useful to describe her, thus once more he must allow his interaction with her to hint at her qualities. She must also take initiative and voice who she believes herself to be. From the accusatory tone she takes with him at the river, Vane feels compelled to apologize for any wrong he may have committed against her, but also to allow her to explain and introduce herself. He has come to the realization that his vision of her is primarily of his own creation, and to overcome this false, preset archetype, Vane must allow the woman to voice her thoughts. Upon arrival at her palace, he is greeted with open arms and hospitality. Returning the gesture which he extended to her, she offers a warm and refreshing bath as well as a feast to rejuvenate him from his long journey. She explains,

Many lovers have sought me; I have loved none of them: they sought to enslave me; they sought me but as men of my city seek gems of price.—When you found me, I found a man! [Y]our love was genuine [...] however, far from ideal. You loved me truly, but not with true love. [...] prove yourself priceless or worthless! To satisfy the hunger of my love, you must follow me, looking for nothing, not gratitude, not even pity in return (MacDonald 156).

Through the duration of her speech, Vane detects a superficial passion in this woman who attempts to win his affections. His emotions related to her beauty are conflicted with the many archetypes he has encountered within this single woman, but despite his initial thoughts, he finds it in him to forgive her for the reaction at the river. Everyone makes mistakes, and he is willing to give her a second chance. At this particular moment, she has transforms into a seductress offering to “repay [him] as never yet did woman,” as she drops to her knees in an act of submission (MacDonald 157). This “femme fatale” is very alluring and uses her beauty and charm to earn Vane’s trust so that her main objective can be fulfilled; his presence is required because her thirst for blood is in need of quenching. Vane’s instincts had proven to be correct in his assumption that her affections were shallow, and her allure, which had seemed sexually attractive to him at one point, now expose its frigid motive. He is still susceptible to the archetypes of women especially Lilith at this point, thus he ignores Mara’s lesson.

Still within her realm of temptation and danger, Vane was apprehensive of the princess’ next move. The temptress did return, seeking pity from her victim. Little did Vane know that he could still be of use to this conniving female. Instilling a sense of sympathy in Vane for her newly inflicted wounds, the princess is able to persuade him to climb the tallest tree in her garden to fetch a tiny blossom with medicinal power (MacDonald 160-165). When he falls from the tree, as the princess has hoped, her plan to create an exit from her world to Vane’s is successful.
For the first time, Vane is back in familiar settings within his backyard, but the circumstances were not as he left them. The princess has followed him back, as has Adam. While the princess was out of sight, Adam converses with Vane of his experiences. The male adventurer is educated that he would have been most useful to the Lovers, or Little Ones, had he just stayed and not doubted his own knowledge (MacDonald 169-171). His logic for leaving was in fear “that more knowledge might prove an injury to them—render them less innocent, less lovely” (MacDonald 171). Where Vane had intentions to help, according to Adam, he has failed. Education and “slavery would have been progress” for Lovers allowing them to survive within the world (MacDonald 173). The thoughts and beliefs of late-Victorian society are depicted in Adam’s character, and Adam is attempting to embed these archetypes of womanhood into his follower’s way of thought. This back and force struggle for education and enlightenment can be perceived as a struggle that exists within MacDonald himself.

Education for Lona would prove that she needs a protector to keep her safe from the threats and dangers of her world, and slavery would have provided her with a constant body to protect her. In society’s perspective, a child such as Lona must grow up and fulfill the archetype of the ideal woman. “Women were persuaded to view themselves as frail beings requiring the protection of virile males” (Reed 35). The idea of slavery is referring to the young, educated woman finding herself a mate, getting married and fulfilling the ideal archetype of “angel in the home,” which her husband would repay her for with protection from the temptations of society. Resembling a fatherly lesson on female education, Adam seems to feel a need to educate Vane on the women that surround him. After he gives his opinion of Lona, he begins filling Vane in on Lilith’s background. Adam interprets the poem that narrates the princess’ history: “[G]od brought me an angelic splendour [sp] to be my wife; there [Lilith] lies! For her first thought was power; she counted it slavery to be one with me, and bear children for Him who gave her being” (MacDonald 178-179). For bearing a child, Lilith felt that Adam should worship her, and when he refused, she sought out a male ego that would accept her deviancy, the devil. Adam informed Vane that Lilith’s child still resided among the living, and it was prophesied that Lilith would be saved by her childbearing. Lilith, fearing that her death was approaching, used Vane to get closer to Lona, her abandoned child whom she intends to destroy.

The deviant/mad woman archetype is perfectly encapsulated by Lilith’s character. She has withdrawn from her motherly duties, refuses to succumb to the authority and power of the male gender, and displays unfeminine traits such as greed, selfishness and uncontrolled sexuality. Late-Victorian society had a fear of women who were independent, untrustworthy and seductive because the male community felt their authority and power were being threatened. Lilith’s uncontrollable behavior is a threat to Bulika and a hindrance to the development of the land. The legend, as Mara described it, says that after Lilith fled from Adam, she became princess of Bulika, taking the city by force. As the city’s punishment for slaying a snake, she gathered all the water she could possibly hold in her lap, and locked it away in an egg. The remaining water retreated to underground streams (MacDonald 92). The madness that exists within Lilith’s being has polluted the realm in which she lives causing greed and selfishness to spread among the Giants as well as the Lovers. The purpose of educating Vane on Lilith’s past was to recruit him in the process to restore order to the fantasy world. In order to achieve this, Lilith must repent for her sins and leave her deviant behaviors behind.

Responding to a request which she deems unreasonable, Lilith believes she is “beautiful” in her own way without society attempting to make her what she is not (MacDonald 180). But Adam’s persistence has provided a strong enough argument of Lilith’s past to manipulate Vane into believing that she is a ruined woman. The complexity that Lilith has amounted to with all of her varying characteristics as well as the pressure of society has begun to cloud this self-seeking
traveler’s continuing efforts to discover the reality of womanhood. Unable to define order in the complex personality that exists within this one woman, Vane resorts to accepting the views of Adam, or late-Victorian society, and attempts to cleanse Lilith of her sins. The option of salvation is still available for this ruined woman to regain a sense of purity, which further exhibits the fluidity of the archetypes of womanhood because Lilith can be saved from a “deviant” woman to a woman who is obedient.

Unfortunately, Lilith is not as willing to surrender herself, and pursues her search for Lona. Vane has a sense of overwhelming responsibility to protect the children he has come to adore. Upon his return to the fantasy world, he decides not to inform the children of the impending danger. The Lovers, under the influence of a female acquaintance from Bulika, are premeditating an attack and are perfecting their defensive techniques to liberate the city from Lilith’s control. The exposure to the dangers and problems of the city has already begun to infiltrate the innocence of the children, but Vane encourages their endeavor. For Vane, his plan is to utilize Lona as the voice of reason to coax her mother to repent, causing order to be restored to the land. Underestimating Lilith’s selfishness, Vane witnesses his beloved Lona thrown to the ground as she eagerly runs to embrace her mother. Thrust into failure, Vane comes to a realization that he does not understand the complex emotional boundaries that inhabit the feminine way of life. His own stubborn, chauvinistic male ego prevents him from accepting the solitary, innocent life of the Lovers and his choices lead to Lona’s death. Realizing his mistake in not fully appreciating Lona as the innocent and pure child that she is, Vane must accept the consequences.

For all the trouble and complexity that Lilith encompasses, her salvation is the detriment to Vane’s journey to enlightenment of the reality of womanhood. Vane allows Adam, a representation of late-Victorian society, to save this fallen woman. Unable to accept Lilith for her independence in this era, the male adventurer, and possibly the novelist as well, falls back into labeling her as a deviant who needs to repent for her sins. The fluidity which exists between the archetypes of womanhood allows Lilith to choose her course of action to ask for forgiveness and to cleanse the soiled view that the world has of her past discretions. This purification process shows progress, as Lilith inquires, “Are the children in the house?” as she feels the great Shadow, who has tormented her soul for many years, pass over the House of Death, for Lilith is regaining her motherly attributes of caring for the children (MacDonald 260). The prophesy that “Lilith shall be saved by her childbearing” is fulfilled (179).

MacDonald has illustrated through Vane’s character that progress has been made in male society’s view of accepting the reality of womanhood, but limitations do exist. Through his journey to enlightenment, Vane was confronted with a variety of archetypes defining the female gender. Vane was able to accept the identities which Mara and Eve both portrayed themselves as having. Eve proved to him that some women are content with the role of “angel in the house.” The narrator left that world with an insight that some literary conventions may actually pertain to those they are depicting. As for Mara, he was introduced to a woman who wanted to define herself. Her intriguing approach to giving herself a voice proved beneficial to Vane on his quest because Mara opened his eyes to the idea that women can vary from the ideal archetype slightly and still not be viewed as a threat to the male society. A variation in small doses is easily accepted through Vane’s enlightenment process, but as he meets Lilith, who does not fulfill any characteristic of the ideal, a feeling of panic sets in. His anxiety and uncertainty over how to approach a woman of such complexity led him to revert back to a familiar idea of allotting society the power to judge these complicated women.

A particular trend can be seen in the mid- to late- Victorian literature that suggests men of this era were unable to overcome the conventions of womanhood set in place by their society. MacDonald is not the only male novelist of the period to attempt to “give women a voice,” yet he
has proven to have made the most progress when comparing Lilith to the Bildungsromans of the male characters of works including “Jenny,” The Picture of Dorian Gray and Tess of the D’Urbervilles.

The literary work of “Jenny” yields no sign of male progression beyond the archetypes of womanhood. The restricted male narrator suppresses the female’s “voice” in a literal sense because the process of enlightenment occurs while the prostitute is sleeping. He has come to realize that Jenny has been assigned the archetype of “femme fatale” by the male community “[w]hose acts are ill and his speech ill/ [w]ho, having used you at his will/ [t]hrusts you aside, as when I dine/ I serve the dishes and the wine” (Rossetti ll.85-88). A noble thought enters into this egotistical male’s consciousness: The thought that he will save this “femme fatale” from her fated doom to forever be the sexual object that men exploit. His journey to work past the social conventions of womanhood fails at this point, as he imposes a new archetype, the “fallen woman.” “Of the same lump (as it is said)/ For honour and dishonour made, / Two sister vessels.  Here is one. / […] / So pure, -- so fall’n!” (Rossetti ll.204-208). The narrator implies that Jenny and his cousin Nell have a feminine bond to each other, yet each chose a very different path in life, Jenny’s being referred to as the “fall’n” sort. By leaving her with her dignity for the night still intact, he believes that upon awakening without a man by her side, Jenny will be a saved woman.

Well, of such thoughts so much I know:
In my life, as in hers, they show,
By a far gleam which I may near,
A dark path I strive to clear.

Only one kiss. Goodbye, my dear. (Rossetti 386-390)

His chauvinistic perspective that his actions will change her life is the crucial factor that hinders his enlightenment of the female gender and the trials this woman is going through.

While the era progresses and more novelists are beginning to portray a more liberated view towards female conventions in their literary works, these male novelists are still restricted by the late-Victorian archetypes that have been inbred in their thought process. A limitation of the novelist is thus reflected in his literary characters. Oscar Wilde’s approach in 1891 is very distinctive as Dorian falls in love with a woman who is not the ideal convention of society but his own perception of the ideal. When her façade is removed, Dorian is able to see the true nature of Sibyl Vane that exists when her talent for acting is taken away. His fascination is immediately turned off for she is just an ordinary woman whom he feels no attraction for. “I loved you because you were marvellous, because you had genius and intellect, because you realized the dreams of great poets and gave shape and substance to the shadows of art. You have thrown it all away. You are shallow and stupid […] You are nothing to me now” (Wilde 74). Dorian believed that Sibyl’s act of throwing away her talent had wounded him emotionally more than it had affected her, claiming that women were “better suited to bear sorrow than men” anyhow. Due to this way of thinking, he had not even considered the fact that he had been unjust or cruel to Sibyl. A few days following the incident, Dorian’s self-portrait displayed an evil countenance where there had once been joy. This depiction of his wrongdoings led him to recount the immaturity in which he handled the situation with Miss Vane. “His unreal and selfish love would yield to some higher influence, would be transformed into some nobler passion” (Wilde 81). Out of sympathy for the broken hearted and fear of his own future if he kept his sinful ways, Dorian decided to continue with his plans to wed Sibyl. An archetype cannot be overcome if the intentions behind the action are not true. Unfortunately, the second generalization he made of Sibyl, that she could withstand sorrow better than any man, had also been proven incorrect, as the young actress committed suicide due to the unbearable sorrow and pain he had inflicted upon her. Twice this young man was unable to overcome the archetypes of which he labeled this female. This could be representing that Oscar
Wilde himself, portraying his ideals onto his characters, was not as willing to accept the woman as a figure of power in a sense to define herself.

Published within the same year, Thomas Hardy’s novel Tess of the D’Urbervilles is a great example of the effort of a man to overcome his wife’s label in society as the “fallen woman.” A woman’s reputation in society, if impure, would also reflect upon how society viewed her husband, for it was his choice to marry her. This was one of Angel Clare’s largest issues to overcome. His father was a man of the church who pushed the importance of marrying a virtuous woman. Even though Angel was the inventive child for choosing a different career path than his brothers, he still valued his father’s opinion. Tess was deemed a “fallen woman” with a loss of virtue and purity which had resulted from rape. Angel felt as if her sin was unforgivable and viewed her as a possession still belonging to Alec. Despite the fact that Angel had fallen in love with Tess’ personality, this one tainted aspect of her life had tainted his affections. Tess was taught as she was growing up to control her emotions, yet when life became too rough some emotions cannot be contained. To watch Tess beg and grovel for forgiveness “would almost have won round any man but Angel Clare. Within the remote depths of his constitution, so gentle and affectionate as he was in general, there lay hidden a hard logical deposit, like a vein of metal in a soft loam, which turned the edge of everything that attempted to traverse it” (Hardy 243). His solution was to leave at once and perhaps by distance from the situation he would be able to forgive her. Finding his light of reason while away, Angel returns after an extensive absence to find that Tess has committed another sin. She has killed Alec, the reason why she has the label of “fallen woman” (Hardy 372). While the first step had been initiated to reignite their love, Angel’s internal struggle to accept Tess was still in progress and may have eventually been overcome, but Tess was punished by society before they could enjoy their live together once again. Male enlightenment in Angel Clare’s case was very advanced for the late-Victorian period, but it was still evident that while the views were evolving, it would be left up to future generations to overcome the ideology of womanhood that was deeply inbred in the lives of many men.

When looking back on the late-Victorian efforts of many novelists to understand the complexity of a woman’s personality, many contemporary men are still plagued by the archetypes that have been created for the female gender. One approach that was used to define women was to use scientific reasoning. Women are difficult to understand where as scientific reasoning for the most part produce a concrete answer, so to use scientific reasoning to explain women could help to establish a concrete definition for the female gender. Men of the Victorian culture began applying this reasoning to their understanding of women, which yielded no concrete results, for women are complex beings. They are ever-changing. Sherlock Holmes exhibited this approach to the female gender as he was investigating crimes. It is evident that this Victorian male character is unaware of the complexities of womanhood. In stories of his investigations, most of the female characters are portrayed as mysterious, shadowy and often silent women.

Nonetheless these stories, whose overt project is total explicitness, total verisimilitude in the interests of a plea for scientificity[sp], are haunted by shadowy, mysterious, and often silent women. Their silence repeatedly conceals their sexuality, investing it with a dark and magical quality which is beyond the reach of scientific knowledge. (Belsey 385)

The silence is incorporated because Holmes does not understand the thought process of the female well enough to create a dialogue. His inability to interact and understand women is due to his tangible mindset and education, whereas to be able to accept a woman, an open mind is required. This is due to the idea that no two women are alike. As classic realism is being adopted in certain studies of society, a deconstructive approach to reading females was applied as a means to
belittle women by critics and scholars of the era. If evidence cannot be gathered to prove concrete answers, the result is to push the unknown into the margins and to leave it as a mystery.

While this inability to identify with the female gender was a great obstacle that existed with the late-Victorian society, it has continued to persist long after these male novelists were attempting to provide revolutionary thoughts. An article by Robert Scholes entitled “Reading Like a Man” attempted to disprove a fellow scholar, Jonathan Culler, who had been using literary theory, a deconstructivist approach, to belittle feminists and claim that the idea of “woman” has no stable essence. “No man should seek in any way to diminish the authority which the experience of women gives them in speaking about that experience” was Robert Scholes’ response to Culler’s argument (Scholes 217-218). This argument took place in the 1980s, almost one hundred years after the writing of Lilith. Giving a woman a voice that is her own is still a very delicate subject for male society. It may take another hundred years for men to be able to fully accept that women are capable of defending themselves, but we will have to leave that up to future generations to decide.

WORK CITED

An Analysis of the Image of Women in Promos of the Recent American TV Series

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1. Identification of the subject
The subject of this paper is the exploration of the values and features used most by the television channels in the promotion of their TV series, the importance of these series has been increasing in the past few years until began to compete with the great productions of Hollywood to be the people’s main source of entertainment.

That is the reason because it’s interesting to analyze these products, the media and the shows which are related has a bigger range and a bigger impact on the people than other media, as the printed publications. These promos are created with the idea of selling a show with millions of loyal viewers every week. Therefore, the TV channels create them with the hope to attract more viewers, making it as the way as they can be liked by the majority of people.

The promotional spots for these programs have a limited time to be liked by the audience; therefore they must present a selection of the more attractive features of the characters. The values of these characters contribute to help create a mental image of the actual women in the mind of the audience.

In addition these series tell stories of a large variety of women who can support themselves in almost any fields of their lives; they are women who have jobs, live in their own houses or have the same importance in the family as their husband.

2. Review of the literature
A number of studies on the role of women in advertisements express the idea that they are portrayed submitting to men. Erving Goffman in his book “Gender Advertisements”, published in 1979, concluded, after examining a selection of advertising pictures from magazines, that women are usually submissive to men in a variety of situations, relating to them not as equals but as children to parents. These conclusions are interesting to review because they can communicate a completely different idea of the women roles that I’m finding in the analyzed promos. This difference might be caused by the time gap with the year of publication, or it’s possible a matter of the media which is analyzed.

Adam Armbruster in his 2008 article “No Mystery in Marketing to Women” has an interesting interview with two of the industry's top female television ad sales executives: Jane Williams, Vice President of sales at Cox Television, and Lynda King, senior Vice President of guerilla marketing at Local Television Group. They don’t invite to make women to appear weak or helpless: “Having a man come in to ‘save the day’ is an outdated concept. Women want to be empowered and manage life on their own” they declare.

June Sochen in the book “From Mae to Madonna” analyzes the huge success of the TV show I love Lucy from the 50’s, which portrayed a woman more interested in show business than in domestic business. Sochen declares that the change from the stay-at-home woman and the independent woman was noticeable in TV by the audience in the decade of 70’s, in shows like
The Mary Tyler Moore Show, but just in a soft way, because the main characters “never gave up their old characteristics – their natural sweetness, charm, and willingness to cooperate rather than compete—“.

3. Thesis statement
A first examination of today’s TV series characteristics shows us that the roles of women in these products have been changing through the decades, adapting to the function of women in the society of each decade. Lucy was a disaster at her job, but some of the modern female characters are the boss of their business, or they are one of the most respected workers.

The role of the character still depends on the genre of the program: For example, in comedy it’s more likely to see a main character submitted to other characters, rather than being their own boss. The simple reason for this is that it is hard to believe that a successful person figure at a business can be clumsy and cause the typical situations of a slapstick comedy.

The idea in which I have based the investigation is that the female characters have been changing over the years, adapting to the reality of the women and the vision that the society have of them. Therefore, this change can be watched in the videos used to sell their series.

4. Method
The method used for the investigation has been the viewing of a number of promos of TV series, of as extensive variety of genres as possible, and analyzing the features and behaviours of the main characters.

The programs will only have women as their main characters, because the differences between past and present TV series are stronger than in series where men and women are main characters. I’ll consider a main character to who is taking the leading role in the story, just not one with regular appearances.

I will analyze promos of series where main characters have just graduated from high school, and are not considered “old”. At this age, women become independent, and thus, the changes are more appreciable.

The promos will be based on series aired during the first decade of the 21st Century. Promos of previous series can be used to compare with modern programs, following the main objective of the investigation. Videos can show part of the series or some scenes recorded only for that occasion, and they can be referred to as a group of episodes or just one. The important factor is to watch how the channel is promoting the program.

The programs used for this investigation must be developed by the major American TV channels, like ABC, NBC, CBS, FOX, The WB/UPN/The CW and the main cable operatives, as HBO, FX or TNT. It’s important to include this last group of channels because they have more liberty to show explicit content, which can be interesting to consider in examining the differences in adult content in different decades.

5. Findings
What I’ve found is that, despite all the evolution of characters, we can see the promos of these comedies are not so different: Both I Love Lucy’s and Ugly Betty’s promos are based on a variety of usual scenes in slapstick comedies. For example, Lucy tries to remember her childhood and
ends up behaving like an annoying child, and Betty gets in strange situation, like driving a motorcycle out of control. Both characters are portraying incorrect and unusual behaviours, which are the essence of this kind of humour. The characters have changed their lifestyles, but the most important way to make a comedy is still the same.

The difference is even bigger in other genres. Two examples of action series: Charlie’s Angels and Alias. In the decade of 70’s, the Charlie’s Angels were portrayed as almost perfect women, with a perfect appearance and invincible battle skins, they didn’t seem to have personal problems or difficulties adding their role as secret agents to their social life, with friends and family. Modern series don’t have such simple plots; in the 2001 series Alias, the main character is almost invincible too, but her weakness is her personal life.

But almost none of these problems are portrayed in the most generic promos. As we can see in the spot of the fourth season, Sydney Bristow is presented in almost the same kind of situations than the Charlie’s Angels in the 80’s, winning battles with martial arts and dressed with a huge variety of elegant costumes; just a few scenes reveal a more complexity in the plots, like the relationship with her boyfriend.

We have to watch a promotion of one specific chapter focused in the complexity of the story to realize that the current plots are much more complex than in the 80’s.

We can’t just talk about one type of comedy. We have to think in all these series that are not based on outrageous situations but in funny dialogues and an ironic kind of humour; those which portray women as strong people, who are not submitted to others but handling their own lives as they want. Which is one of the most popular kind of characters used by the channels to promote their series.

In the promo for the second season of ABC’s Desperate Housewives, we don’t see women in ridiculous situations or behaving strangely, we see all the main characters in a dominating position over the men: For example, Susan is kissed by her boyfriend, not the contrary; Gabrielle has a bath while her husband is in jail, and Lynnette takes her husband’s briefcase, while he is taking care of their baby.

There are some other kinds of series whose existence would be impossible to imagine decades ago because of the social consideration of the characters. Beyond the case of Desperate Housewives, another good example is WB’s show Gilmore girls, which relates the story of a woman who gets pregnant during high school and raises her daughter. The channel promotes this series by showing scenes where the girls surprise men with their unique family situation, with extremely intelligent humour.

This is one of the best examples of the usual profile of actual female characters in TV series where a woman can be independent and doesn’t need a man to support her financially.

These new productions stand out not only portraying women as the centre of their own universe, but also as real people with weakness. However, this is not an aspect that we use to see in the promos. Therefore the TV channels aren’t interested in showing a product which main character isn’t strong enough to solve her own problems, or perhaps because of the short length of these previews, it is safer to spend all the time to make sure that the viewer will find a model to follow in that series.
An example of this situation is the promo for the second season of “Private Practice”. The main character, Doctor Addison Montgomery, is one of the best surgeons in her field, but she has a big problem in her personal life; she can’t be loyal in her relationships, and the starting point for the series is the desire is to change her life. This desire is the point in which ABC bases the promotion of the show. In the video Addison is shown as being self-confident, far away from the depression which has taken her to start a new life. This improvement is shown to the viewer avoiding all the processes that she will have to undergo until she gets the change that she wants.

Another program goes beyond, with plots that can only be shown in this era for the social consideration, as the sexuality. In this sense, the series “Sex and the City” shows the loving and sexuality life of its main characters, and the promos doesn’t shows those plots as something strange, but just another element to make comedy.

6. Conclusions
In spite of the enormous change suffered by the series with women as main characters, the TV channels are used to selecting the most basic or superficial elements of their series to promote them. This comes to a point where they create videos very similar to those of previous decades, unless the series is based on that special characteristic.

In addition, even with the changes in all genres, the physical portrayal of women remains the same through the years. In most of programs they are less than physically perfect. Most of the female characters have an irresistible charm to the audience, which is used to be a mix of external beauty and funny personality. The absence of external beauty can be compensated with an irresistible sense of humour or and integrity.

7. Consulted Works
Sochen, June. 1999 “From Mae to Madonna: Women Entertainers in Twentieth-Century America” The University Press of Kentucky
In John Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, Adam and Eve are the first married couple in existence. They are, effectively, the prototype for all marriages to come afterward. There has been much debate among scholars as to the equality of this pairing: does Milton’s God make Eve inferior in creation to Adam, or just different? While the answer to that question is important, I do not believe that it has much bearing on the state of Adam and Eve’s marriage. I argue that, regardless of how each is created, Adam and Eve view each other as equals, and thus Milton presents an ideal of marriage as a loving partnership, this being the state of marriage in the prelapsarian world.

One piece of evidence suggesting Adam and Eve view each other as equals is the division of labor in Eden. Adam talks about work in Book 4:

> With first approach of light, we must be ris’n,
> And at our pleasant labour, to reform
> Yon flowrie Arbors, yonder Allies green,
> Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
> That mock our scant manuring, and require
> More hands than ours to lop thir wanton growth. (4.624-629)

Work is always referred to as “our,” which means that it is something both Adam and Eve must do. Neither one bears the burden alone. It is also never seen as toil, but as something that God has given them to do and something that gives their lives dignity. The last sentence quoted is especially interesting, because it implies that more people are needed to help tend the garden. The only way more people will come to Eden is if they are the children of Adam and Eve. The need for more hands suggests that, when Adam and Eve reproduce, their children will be working right along side them. The idea that the woman should stay “at home,” so to speak, to take care of the children is antithetical to that idea. This emphasis on shared work demonstrates a sense of equality between Adam and Eve.

The scene in which Adam tells Eve to prepare a meal for him and Raphael, with Eve in a seemingly traditional domestic role, could be viewed as evidence against the equality of gendered labor and therefore Adam and Eve, but I disagree with this assessment. There is no indication that food preparation is a less-valued form of work than any other in Eden. The reason Eve is making the meal has more to do with her knowledge than some inherent lack in her that leads to an assignment of subordinate labor. Adam asks her to gather “what thy stores contain,” and Eve replies that “earth’s hallowd mould, / Of God inspir’d, small store will serve, where store, / All seasons, ripe for use hangs on the stalk” (5.314, 321-323). She knows they do not need to store food because they have an abundance of fresh produce around them. Adam, on the other hand, does not appear to consider this. Eve’s preparation of the meal is due to her knowing more about food and how to cook, rather than an unequal division of labor in Eden. All work is equally valued, as well. Seeing this labor as unequal requires taking the viewpoint of our fallen world, where domestic work is often seen as less valuable.

Though the world of Eden is unfallen, that doesn’t mean it is free from patriarchal influences; Adam and Eve are subject to assertions from others that they are not equal. In her article “The Mischief-Making of Raphael Upon Adam and Eve in *Paradise Lost,*” Corinne S. Abate points out that there is a “negative influence Raphael brings to bear upon their relationship” (41). She specifically refers to the line where Raphael tells Adam to “warn / Thy weaker” about the dangers of falling (7.908-909). Abate argues that “this imperative is unnecessary because Eve is sitting right there. She has been listening to Raphael’s stories from the moment she served him dinner, and yet rather than address her
Raphael chooses instead to work through Adam and make him play the role of mediator” (46). Raphael appears to feel that Eve is subordinate to Adam. The strength of this bias is shown in Book 8 when he admonishes Adam for speaking so highly of Eve:

\[
\ldots \text{be not diffident}
\]
\[
\text{Of Wisdom, she deserts thee not, if thou}
\]
\[
\text{Dismiss not her, when most thou needst her nigh,}
\]
\[
\text{By attributing overmuch to things}
\]
\[
\text{Less excellent, as thou thy self perceav’st.}
\]
\[
\text{For what admir’st thou, what transports thee so,}
\]
\[
\text{An outside? Fair no doubt, and worthy well}
\]
\[
\text{ Thy cherishing, thy honouring, and thy love,}
\]
\[
\text{Not thy subjection.} \quad (8.561-570)
\]

Raphael’s words betray his sexism (which, in a being that can be of either sex, is somewhat ironic). He cannot fathom that Adam might have a deeper, intellectual connection with Eve. Abate offers an interesting explanation as to why Raphael is unable to understand Adam’s connection with Eve: “Raphael, an angel with divine nature, does not comprehend this human need for equal stimulus found in a mate. That is, Raphael does not understand marriage and its unifying capacity upon Adam who, unlike Raphael, is non-autonomous” (49). Raphael’s attitude will become important to understanding Adam and Eve’s marriage.

That Adam and Eve view each other as equals emerges in their perceptions in the text. One argument that Adam views himself as superior to Eve is that Eve is created for Adam. But in God’s words when he first tells Adam he is creating her, there is nothing to suggest that she is in any way inferior: “What next I bring shall please thee, be assur’d, / Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self, / Thy wish exactly to thy hearts desire” (8.449-451). And what desire lies in Adam’s heart? As Abate points out, he “does not want someone for sexual pleasure” as Raphael seems to see it; “in fact, he does not even know yet what that means” (48). Instead, he asks God:

\[
\text{Among unequals what societie}
\]
\[
\text{Can sort, what harmonie or true delight?}
\]
\[
\text{Which must be mutual, in proportion due}
\]
\[
\text{Giv’n and receive’d; but in disparitie}
\]
\[
\text{The one intense, the other still remiss}
\]
\[
\text{Cannot well suit with either, but soon prove}
\]
\[
\text{Tedious alike: Of fellowship I speak}
\]
\[
\text{Such as I seek, fit to participate}
\]
\[
\text{All rational delight.} \quad (8.383-391)
\]

Adam specifically asks God for someone who is his equal because unequal companions cannot give each other true pleasure. He would therefore logically assume that when God grants his request he has been given what he asked for—an equal partner. Nothing God says to Adam indicates otherwise, so Adam has no reason to view Eve as anything other than equal.

Adam’s speech also indicates that he sees himself and Eve as a unit of equals. As Abate says, he “never envisions them nor speaks of them as separate entities throughout their pre-lapsarian existence” (47). He often speaks of “us,” as in, “needs must the Power / That made us, and for us this ample World / Be infinitely good” and “Then let us not think hard / One easie prohibition” (4.412-414, 432-433). Abate suggests that, even when speaking with the biased Raphael, “Adam will not allow her to be forgotten, as his every response to Raphael contains a reference to himself and Eve together” (46-47). She cites this passage, where Adam speaks to Raphael after the angel has recounted the story of war in Heaven, as an example:
Great things, and full of wonder in our eares,
Farr differing from this World, thou hast reveal’d
Divine interpreter, by favor sent
Down from the Empyrean to forewarn
Us timely of what might else have been our loss.  (7.70-74)

Adam’s use of plural pronouns shows that he sees himself and Eve as a partnership, and he asserts this relationship even as Raphael “ignores Eve” (Abate 46).

In the prelapsarian world, there is one instance where Adam makes a statement that indicates he may view Eve as unequal; in Book 8, he says, “For well I understand in the prime end / Of Nature her th’ inferior, in the mind / And inward Faculties” (8.540-542). This expression seems out of place, given the previous evidence of Adam’s feelings of equality. So what has changed? According to Abate, it is the presence of Raphael, “because he is the one new addition to the garden that Adam actually speaks to and with whom he has been enraptured for his knowledge” (50). Adam has already heard Raphael, the teacher God himself sent down to instruct the humans, refer to Eve as “thy weaker” (7.909). It makes sense that Adam, the quick learner he is, might internalize this message as the reason for the differences between them. He says that she “In outward also her resembling less / His Image who made both,” the “also” referring to an addition to the “inward Faculties” of line 542 (8.543-544). It appears that he applies the newfound knowledge that Eve is weaker than he is to explain why they are different (though difference does not imply inequality). It becomes readily apparent, though, that Adam doesn’t really believe what he says. He refers to them later as having an “unfeign’d / Union of the Mind, or in us both one Soul” (8.603-604). It is doubtful that the man who could not connect with the animals because of their inherent inequality would have such a close connection with someone he considers his inferior.

If Adam views his wife as equal, then what does Eve think of Adam? The answer is not hard to discern from the text—she clearly adores him, as shown when she leaves Adam and Raphael to their discussion in Book 8:

... such pleasure she reserv’d,
Adam relating, she sole Auditress;
Her Husband the Relater she preferr’d
Before the Angel, and of him to ask
Chose rather; hee, she knew would intermix
Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute
With conjugal Caresses, from his Lip
Not Words alone pleas’d her.  (8.50-57)

Eve would rather hear Raphael’s tidings from Adam because she likes spending time with him and enjoys how they interact with each other. The issue with Eve is not whether she sees Adam as equal, but whether she sees herself as equal.

A passage that could easily be used to support the idea that Eve sees herself as inferior is in Book 4. She says this to Adam:

My Author and Disposer, what thou bidst
Unargu’d I obey; so God ordains,
God is thy Law, thou mine: to know no more
Is womens happiest knowledge and her praise.  (4.635-368)

This statement paints Eve as a submissive woman; it suggests that she will bend to her husband’s every whim. However, just as with Adam’s uncharacteristic remark about Eve’s inferiority, we must take into account whether her actions support her words. There are many places in the narrative where Eve challenges Adam’s supposed patriarchal authority. The first is the aforementioned food-preparation
Eve corrects Adam and, more importantly, shows that she knows more than Adam about something, disproving the idea that “to know no more is womans happiest knowledge.”

The second challenge to Eve’s sense of equality is the separation scene in Book 9. Adam and Eve get into a disagreement about whether they should work together or separately now that Satan is in the garden. Adam wants to stay together, saying “Seek not temptation then, which to avoid / Were better, and most likeli if from mee / Thou sever n ot” (9.364-366). Eve, on the other hand, wants to work apart because the amount of work to be done in the garden is growing and “what we by day / Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind / One night o r two with wanton growth derides” (9.209-211). After a long discussion, Eve eventually makes a declaration:

    With thy permission then, and thus forewarnd
    Chiefly by what thy own last reasoning words
    Touch’d onely, that our trial, when least sought,
    May find us both perhaps far less prepar’d.

The willinger I goe. (9.378-382)

Despite Adam’s warnings about the dangers of temptation by Satan if they part, Eve chooses to go out on her own. The “permission” she speaks of Adam giving her is merely his assertion that she can go “if thou [Eve] think, trial unsought may find / Us both securer then thus warnd thou seemst” (9.370-371). He disagrees with her, but he will not stop her if she leaves. By leaving, Eve asserts her independence from, and thus her equality to, Adam. Her actions prove her equality when her words misrepresent her.

The separation scene is one of the best examples of the equality of Adam and Eve’s marriage. It is an argument in which both sides have valid points. Neither view is presented as better or worse; they are just different, as neither Adam nor Eve is better or worse, just different. There is a mutual respect each shows the other throughout their argument. Adam refers to Eve as “Associate sole, to me beyond / Compare above all living Creatures dear” and “Dau ghter of God and Man, immortal Eve, / For such thou art, from sin and blame entire” (9.227-228, 291-292). He uses the same type of endearments he has used whenever he talks to her. Eve does the same for Adam, calling him “Ofspring of Heav’n and Earth, and all Earths Lord” (9.273). Her tone of voice is also important; she keeps her emotions in check, using “sweet austeer composure” and “accent sweet renewd” (9.272, 321). This is a picture of a couple having different opinions, but not fighting. They disagree, but there is no disrespect between them.

The specific moment that says the most about their marriage is when Adam says this to Eve:

    Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more;
    Go in thy native innocence, relie
    On what thou hast of vertue, summon all,
    For God towards thee hath done his part, do thine.  (9.372-375)

As I have said, this is Adam acknowledging that Eve has the right to go, even though he disagrees with her opinion. He does not force her to stay because that would violate her free will. That he accepts Eve’s decision shows Adam must see Eve as an equal. He says, “Not then mistrust, but tender love enjoyns, / That I should mind thee oft, and mind thou me” (9.357-358). He recognizes that both could fall, and they must both look out for each other. He looks out for Eve, but ultimately yields to her wishes because of the equal relationship they have. He cannot force his will on his equal. The end of the scene also speaks to the strength of their relationship; when she goes to leave, Eve “from her Husbands hand her hand / Soft she withdrew” (9.385-386). Their connection is so strong that, throughout their entire argument, they are holding hands. Disagreements do not damage their relationship.

Adam and Eve’s marriage in *Paradise Lost* represents the ideal of marriage because it is the state of marriage before the fall, before corruption. In its perfect form, married couples would have the
same qualities as Adam and Eve: love, mutual respect even in disagreements, and equality. Adam's
descriptions of his feelings toward Eve after her birth prove this point eloquently:

\[ \text{... I now see} \\
\text{Bone of my Bone, Flesh of my Flesh, my Self} \\
\text{Before me; Woman is her Name, of Man} \\
\text{Extracted; for this cause he shall forgoe} \\
\text{Father and Mother, and to his Wife adhere;} \\
\text{And they shall be one Flesh, one Heart, one Soul. (8.494-499)} \]

Adam and Eve see each other as equal, regardless of what other beings in their world think, and that
equality provides an ideal to which marriages in the fallen world would do well to aspire.

WORK CITED


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Jessica Hagedorn’s novel *Dogeaters* is composed of diverse characters who continuously overlap throughout the various excerpts. When critically analyzing the text, it is necessary to consider each personality and determine their fundamental role, representation, and vitality within the novel. When considering Daisy Avila, the reader initially recognizes her vain acceptance as the nation’s ideal image of beauty. However, through an emotional epiphany, Daisy rejects her feminine title and expresses her changed state with an absence from the public’s eye. Insulting the nation, Daisy departs with a lover and formulates a new identity. Unfortunately, despite her societal rejection, she remains a sexual emblem and suffers a brutal rape. Living seemingly isolated in the mountains, Daisy exposes the criticism, violence, and gossip that result from the nation’s obsession with her appearance, relationships, and actions. By chronologically analyzing Daisy Avila’s role in Jessica Hagedorn’s novel *Dogeaters*, the reader can identify Daisy’s responsibility as a feminist image and recognize the ultimate consequences she endures by rejecting the nation’s attention.

Daisy Avila is first introduced in the excerpt entitled “Sleeping Beauty,” which briefly exposes her impulsive actions throughout the novel. The introduction initially and straightforwardly reveals, 

> Before her twentieth birthday, before she marries a foreigner in haste and just as hastily leaves him, before she is given the name Muty by her guerilla lover in the mountains, Daisy Consuelo Avila is crowned the most beautiful woman in the Philippines... (Hagedorn 100)

As the daughter of Senator Domingo Avila and Maria Luisa Avila, Daisy contributes to the public’s obsession with appearance and promience. Her mother expresses disappointment over her daughter’s pageant participation labeling her a “disgrace to the Avila name” (Hagedorn 102). Despite her mother’s opinion, the reader can initially sense Daisy’s shallow desire for the nation’s recognition. Although the public treasures Daisy’s “Young Miss Philippines” win, there is disbelief over the General Ledesma’s decision to select the daughter of Senator Domingo. Underneath the civility lies mutual opposition which imposes irony and gossip on Daisy’s victorious title. Overall, we are briefly introduced to Daisy Avila, who proudly accepts the role as a national image.

Shortly after Daisy’s pageant success, she is overwhelmed with the inability to awake without sobbing. In “Epiphany,” Daisy refuses to leave her bedroom, forces herself to stay awake, and causes a national disturbance. Her sheltered state instigates phone calls, stalking, and gossip throughout the country. An article entitled “Female Embodiment and the Politics of Representation in Jessica Hagedorn’s Dogeaters” by Maria Zamora asserts, “Daisy Avila is the screen upon which public desire is projected. By hiding, Daisy defies the traditional role of a Filipina to serve her country through self-exhibition” (Zamora 171). Her inability to stop crying persists as she avoids the public and postpones her promotional tour and upcoming role. Disappointment over Daisy’s behavior leads to fury which ultimately inflicts a national crisis. On Cora Camacho’s infamous show *Girl Talk*, the First Lady and leader of the pageant sobs, “Daisy Avila has shamed me personally and insulted our beloved country” (Hagedorn 107). By the end of the excerpt, Daisy’s crying subsides and the public’s obsession over appearance is clearly revealed.

“Breaking Spells” demonstrates Daisy Avila’s assertive demeanor through her interview with Cora Camacho. Cora, a straightforward television personality, promises the public an inside look on the recently absent national icon. The novel reveals, “The moment Cora asks her first question, Daisy seizes the opportunity to publicly denounce the beauty pageant as a farce, a giant step backwards for all.
women” (Hagedorn 109). Daisy’s rejection of the aesthetic title alarms the public, which grants her more attention including an underground band hit and a sudden marriage. However, as the public’s shock declines so does Daisy’s relationship. The nation relies on gossip, creating assumptions and spreading rumors. Disturbed by the hysteria, Malcolm Webb, the momentary husband, leaves Daisy who has retreated back to the sanctuary of her room. She is rejecting her national responsibility as an image which was previously a major contribution to her pride and confidence. An article entitled, “Masquerade, Hysteria, and Neocolonial Feminity in Jessica Hagedorn’s Dogeaters” by Juliana Chang declares “Daisy Avila refuses the role of feminity as spectacle in service for the state” (Chang 649). Resulting from Daisy’s lachrymose stage, her personal evaluation of the self inflicts national disappointment and curiosity.

Daisy’s decision to briefly desert her secure bedroom introduces cousin Clarita Avila, an influential character on Daisy’s judgment. “In the Artist’s House” depicts Clarita’s difficult childhood, upbringing in Domingo Avila’s home, and controversial artwork. During her visit, Santos Tirador, an acquaintance of Clarita, catches Daisy’s attention foreshadowing the next segment of the novel titled “Excerpt from the Only Letter Ever Written by Clarita Avila.” The letter reveals Daisy’s impulsive decision to accompany Santos, secretly indulge in a love affair, and avoid the public eye. By excluding her physical presence, Daisy conceals her relationships failing to provide gossip for the interest of the public. Zamora’s article reminds, “Romance becomes the vehicle of a particular national inscription as Daisy’s mate will either fulfill or fail to satisfy communal imaginings and desire” (Zamora 174). The public lacks information on Daisy’s sudden love affair, while the reader is given slight insight through Clarita’s written perspective. Clarita exposes the personality traits of Santos, warns of his spontaneous behavior, and depicts the risk he takes by involving the Senator’s daughter. Clarita offers advice to Daisy stating, “Run away with him. Just don’t be shocked by how much you’re going to suffer. After all, you’re still a married woman to everyone’s eyes…” (Hagedorn 116). “Everyone’s eyes” refers to her parents’ disapproval and the public’s continual judgment as Daisy continues to represent a national emblem despite her frequent invisibility.

Excerpts continue with no mention of Daisy, possibly emphasizing a public disinterest with her prolonged disappearance. With Domingo Avila’s assassination, “The Weeping Bride” solely references the Senator’s daughter’s absence. A following excerpt entitled, “Movie Star” quotes Lolita Luna questioning the General stating, “Is it true Daisy Avila’s been captured?” (Hagedorn 175). The reader, who previously had the privilege of understanding Daisy’s reason for hiding, is now left to predict her current state. While immersing in the following excerpts, the reader, like the Filipino public, temporarily disregards Daisy’s existence. As her absence diminishes the nation’s interest, she is no longer worshipped within public gossip. Towards the end of the novel, we recognize Santos’ position as a guerilla leader and his influence on Daisy. She stands up for feminism with her revoke of a pageant title, dismissal of the spotlight, and engagement in militaristic affairs. By becoming a guerilla leader, Daisy rejects her identity of beauty and national superiority. Zamora’s article reminds, “Her depression and withdrawal from the public eye foregrounds the gap between who she is internally and what she must come to represent externally” (Zamora 172). She has acquired a feminist gratification by disregarding her aesthetic talents and embracing a supposedly masculine role.

“The Famine of Dreams” reveals a horrific violation of Daisy’s physical image through a brutal gang rape. Overlapping with the melodramatic tone of the radio show Love Letters, Daisy’s harassment is conducted by the General who has murdered her father, kidnapped her, and arranged brutal means of torture to make her speak. Refusing to cooperate, Daisy, showing early signs of pregnancy, sacrifices her body. The novel asserts, “Daisy vows to remain silent, no matter what” (Hagedorn 215). As the General’s men take advantage of her, Daisy has reverted back to the embodiment of public attraction. She is mistreated as a sexual image, forced to become vulnerable, and exposed to the public’s eye. An article entitled “Desiring Images: Representation and Spectacle in Dogeaters” by Myra Mendible depicts the scene declaring, “The chapter finally concludes with images of Daisy’s victimization-images that serve to
implicate the reader in a complicitous spectatorship...” (Mendible 297). Through spectatorship, the reader can recognize public commercialism surrounded by violation. Daisy’s demoralizing scene represents the patronizing reality of her previous role.

Following Daisy’s assault in the excerpt entitled “Bananas and the Republic,” the reader is provided a brief overview as the First Lady must involuntarily participate in a diverse interview concerning national matters. During Madame’s rants over her homemade shoes, national pride, and supreme beauty, she ridicules the journalist’s questions and which exemplifies her denial of controversial issues. Mendible’s article summarizes the excerpt stating,

While the journalist questions her about rumors of government-sanctioned torture and assassination, Madame skillfully assumes a variety of ideologically sanctioned “feminine” roles that serve to establish her “innocence”: beautiful martyr, compassionate servant of the people, proud wife to “the leader of an emerging and prosperous nation,” and “mother of such intelligent, unspoiled children. (Mendible 299)

Although the First Lady is consumed with her own personal manners, she eventually offers some insight on Daisy’s presumed state. Madame reluctantly cooperates with the journalist revealing,

It is a matter that pertains to our national security. But I will tell you this, okay Steve? As far as I know, Daisy Avila is still in the mountains. Another poor girl, led astray by that evil man! You should really interview General Ledesma about all this. (Hagedorn 220)

The First Lady’s vague response distinguishes her current disinterest in Daisy’s disappearance. Offering false sympathy for Daisy’s changed state, Madame represents the original rapid demeanor of Daisy Avila. Overall, this excerpt reminds the reader of Daisy’s previous preoccupation with appearance which the First Lady evidently praises and embodies.

After witnessing Domingo Avila’s murder, the novel’s controversial character Joey decides to desert Manila in order to avoid any false accusations. It is within this excerpt labeled “Terrain” that we are introduced to Lydia. Escorting Joey into hiding, Lydia reveals that her name is artificial along with the other accompanying men in order to ensure safety. Her personality is sympathetic, motherly, and naïve. Once Joey is evacuated into the mountains, Lydia’s identity is revealed to the reader as she mentions her cousin Clarita. Following the statement, Daisy confronts Joey demanding, “I want to know about my father’s killer” (Hagedorn 232). The excerpt concludes with Daisy’s recent encounters; the internment at Camp Meditation, her permanent exile, and the last experience with her mother and sister. She remains in contact solely with Clarita, has lost her lover and stillborn child, and begins to establish a relationship with Joey. Daisy asserts, “I claim responsibility for everything I do” (Hagedorn 233). Ultimately, Daisy has suffered from the impact of being a national image. Her rejection of representation and attention created national hysteria among her family and fans as well as the presidency and press. Therefore, Daisy’s actions continuously reinforce the public’s vain infatuation with appearance. Zamora asserts, “In the context of nationalism, the female body has been traditionally assigned great ideological and symbolic significance” (Zamora 170). From a feminist perspective, the public feels Daisy has misrepresented the nation by rejecting her expected portrayal of beauty, sexual desire, and innocence.

Overall, Daisy Avila is a prominent character within Jessica Hagedorn’s Dogeaters. By chronologically analyzing emotions, actions, and relations within the novel’s excerpts, the reader can recognize Daisy’s role as a national image as well as the public’s vain infatuation over her. By deserting her national responsibility, Daisy exposes the negative aspects that develop from having an advertised identity. In fact, Mendible’s article reminds the reader, “The manipulation and control of image production has obvious political implication” (Mendible 297). Daisy’s refusal to further exploit her appearance is solved through her disappearance which consequently inflicts harsh criticism, gossip, and violence within the nation. Expecting Daisy to represent the ideal beauty, the public accuses her of falsification. Ultimately, by avoiding her belittling role as a publicized image, Daisy Avila rejects nationalism, embraces
independence, and reinvents her self-identity.

WORK CITED


“Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité!” The revolutionaries’ cry embodies the doctrines of the French Revolution which transformed the Western mindset. Divine rights monarchy, feudal social structures, and economic composition based on land ownership and old wealth—all were overturned and reformed in the wake of the Revolution. Yet the turmoil of the late eighteenth century hoped to usher in something infinitely greater than political or social structure: Beneath the reforms it hoped to beget dwelt a vision for an entirely new World. The driving ideals of many revolutionaries were apocalyptic in scope and expectation. The seas of blood spilled during the revolution reflected no mere continental battle, but a battle for a new Heaven and a new Earth.

In his attempt to capture the spirit of the revolution and its prophetic visions, Victor Hugo embodies the hopes of the nation and the passions of the revolution. Hugo’s style and scale in *Les Misérables*, a work hailed for centuries as a masterpiece, reflects millenialist thought in several aspects of its tale. Hugo’s depiction of characters in their struggles though destitution to freedom captures the hope that the French people saw in the outcome of the revolution. Further, Hugo’s use of the Christ figure and his accompanying virtues of self-sacrifice, love, and piety reinforce the hope of millenial expectations. Similarly, Charles Dickens’ interpretation of the French Revolution through his classic work *A Tale of Two Cities* reflects the paroxysms of terror and hope exemplified in the apocalyptic thought of the day. Vivid and graphic in its depiction of the masses of France, the story traces individuals and society in their journeys through resurrection, the main theme Dickens uses to convey the constituent of hope in apocalyptic thought. Here as well, the use of the literary Christ figure strengthens the aspect of hope for renewal. In his role as a Christ figure, Sydney Carton embodies resurrection and symbolizes the renewal of the nations in a utopic era.

An examination of the historical and philosophical contexts of the French Revolution sheds light and clarity on the apocalyptic ingredients in Hugo’s masterpiece *Les Misérables* and Dickens’ classic *A Tale of Two Cities*.

**Revolutionary Redefinition: Historical Contexts**

The France of the late 18th century was a land dominated in its government by a monarchical system and organized in its society according to legal categories. These social divisions made France a land primed for the drastic civil changes of revolution. Beneath the church and the nobility, the lowest of these estates—composed of the commoners of society and including the majority of the population—was characterized by economic frustration and, in some cases, abject poverty. Even the craftsmen, artisan, and other skilled workers of the third estate were unable to earn a living since their wages fell beneath the cost of food. An Englishman visiting the French countryside encapsulated the poverty of those he encountered in his travels in his comment: “All the country girls and women are without shoes or stockings; and the plowmen at their work have neither sabots nor stockings to their feet. This is a poverty that strikes at the root of national prosperity” (Spielvogel 528). His analysis proved prophetic: the paucity in which the people found themselves led to the involvement of the masses in the French Revolution.

The bourgeoisie who maintained the upper ranks of the third estate, though not caught in the same web of poverty as others of their fellow citizens, found their own disputes with France’s monarchical structure. Though many bourgeoisie were allowed to rise to positions of nobility, they still found themselves excluded from many privileges entrusted only to the nobles in the elitist society.
When the Estates General met in 1789, the bourgeoisie influential in decision-making were equipped with a new political energy springing from myriad concepts to reform the political repression they faced in the rigidity of the social classes and rights of men. Concepts of natural rights (Locke), constitutional monarchy (proven effective by after the English Civil War and the American Revolution), government constituted of three branches (Montesquieu), and popular sovereignty (Rousseau) lent the bourgeoisie new zeal in the influence they had over changes in government policies. Indeed, the revolution proved to be the manifestation of ideas born and bred in the eighteenth-century salons of Paris and the coffeehouses of the bourgeoisie. These resurrected Enlightenment theories fueled the revolution.

The ramifications of some of these philosophies, especially those of Rousseau, led to unprecedented terror and bloodshed. Jean Jacques Rousseau grudgingly admitted the importance of government in modern societies and therefore essayed to transfer as much freedom as possible to the people in his Social Contract theory. In the case of the late 18th century, the people chose to overthrow the monarchy and the ancien régime. Since this was the “general will,” all were subject to it; those who disagreed were viewed as a threat to the good of the people and therefore punishable. The effects of Rousseau’s theory of Social Contract are especially noticeable in the political decisions of Robespierre. During the Reign of Terror, Robespierre, one of twelve leaders of the revolutionary government, recognized the function of government to “establish the Republic” which the population of France sought to usher in. He reacted by giving “to good citizens...the full protection of the state; to the enemies of the people...only death” (Spielvogel 540). The echoes of Rousseauean philosophies reverberate in Robespierre’s justification of the heads that rolled at the guillotine. Under Robespierre’s rule, the manifestation of age-old conversations nurtured in the delicacy of French parlors was brought to fruition in the blood-spattered, guillotine-marked monstrosity of the Reign of Terror.

Apocalyptic Thought: An Overview

In this tumultuous context, apocalyptic thought flourished. Clark Garrett perfectly summarizes the situation and thought process typical of apocalyptic expectations: Necessary in the context is a “desire to overcome the present...and an attempt to find solace in a time of trouble” (Garrett). Of the promise contained in the end of this misery, he writes that “future salvation becomes a consequence of present misery, and can stimulate efforts to supplant the abhorred present with a more desirable future.” Thus in the carnage that preceded the transformation, the French Revolution lent to millenialist thinkers the perfect stage for hopes of a faultless future in a perfected world.

Opinions diverge in relationship to the practical implications of the Biblical prophetic books from which apocalyptic thought is a descendant. A postmillennialist distinction can be “viewed in terms of historical progress, a series of victories by which the world finally enters into a stage of spiritual fulfillment” (Barnes 172). To the early Enlightenment philosophes, this was an “intellectually respectable” notion because it aligned with “humanistic visions of progress” (Barnes 172). God was a lesser variable in this rendition of millenialism; humanity trumped all because of its abilities and knowledge.

At the same time, there were those who saw in the Revolution a “faith in an inner moral and imaginative transformation—a shift from political revolution to a revolution of the consciousness—to bring into being a new heaven and new earth” (Norton). Here perhaps the distinction between politics and the role of man’s own virtue blurs a bit: In the hope of a new social order, many of the philosophes placed a deep trust in man’s own ability to rule himself and therefore limited the government’s role to protection of citizen from outside harm. Rousseau’s government in which each man “obeys no one but himself” must indeed have faith in the moral character of each man (Rousseau qtd. in Spielvogel 473). Thus in the application of Rousseau’ ideals to their new and transformed order, the Revolutionaries looked for a moral transformation.
Distinctions and factions aside, the “forward-looking ideals” of the era were expansive enough for Enlightenment optimism and Christian apocalyptic hopes to reinforce each other (Barnes 175). The French Revolution marked throughout Europe the “renewal of a tendency toward coexisting feelings of hope and terror”: surviving the terror of the age would lead, they believed, to a manifestation of hope and promise unlike anything before experienced (Barnes 177).

**Apocalyptic Thought in *Les Miserables***

Consideration of the work of Victor Hugo in light of the historical and philosophical frameworks of the era reveals the threads of millennialist thought in the character interactions and archetypal figures of the stories. In his novel of epic scope and scale *Les Misérables*, Victor Hugo demonstrates the apocalypticism of France’s revolutionary era primarily through the journey from destitution to freedom via hardship which typifies many of the novel’s characters, and secondarily through the Christ figure, Jean Valjean, and the hope he offers to readers.

The rise of several of Hugo’s most prominent characters from abject poverty to a tenable happiness evinces itself first in the individual, later in the French society. This rise in well-being is accompanied by a spiritual growth stemming from the hardships endured. After a time of incomparable struggles, the horrors of which many a reader cannot comprehend, and which parallel, in an opaque sense, the terrible reality of the war, each character faced with hardship comes up renewed, refreshed, remade. From examples given at the level of the individual, Hugo graduates to the altitude of French society to demonstrate the grandeur of the revolutionaries’ apocalyptic expectations.

Hugo displays several characters whose journey appears a failure after a step towards renewal. Though these characters may not realize their successes, the celebrations of their honest endeavors continue long after their sacrificial deaths. The most obvious of these characters the reader encounters from the early pages of Hugo’s novel, Fantine, the single mother of a beautiful child, slaves feverishly to support her daughter, whom she has entrusted to the care of the treacherous Thenardiers. She sacrifices all—from her handsome blonde tresses to her front teeth and later her purity—for the sake of the daughter she loves so deeply. For Cosette, Fantine learns “the art of living in misery” (Hugo 53). Her years of sacrifice are rewarded with impoverished death and therefore final separation from her daughter. Though in Fantine’s lifetime the two are never to be reunited, Jean Valjean hails her later in the book as “one who attained to sanctity in life...through martyrdom” (310). Fantine’s road from poverty to renewal is strangely abridged: while her death limits her ability to see the effects of her sacrifice, the labor for her daughter nonetheless serves to usher in a new order of peace and harmony. Jean Valjean follows in her stead and continues the care of Cosette, who not only learns the letters and prayers her mother had wished to teach her, but allows Jean Valjean to enter into a relationship and a love he had never before experienced.

From the truncated attempts of Fantine, Hugo moves on to illustrate a character whose rise from poverty to a transformed lifestyle is fully realized: that of Fantine’s daughter, Cosette. Through Cosette’s story, Hugo reflects in his writing the hope of the day placed in a future society.

Cosette begins a piteous existence under the care of the tyrannous Thenardiers. Used as a servant for the Thenardiers’ inn, Cosette fetches and carries, yet is still treated with scorn and contempt. Her sorrows and physical sufferings are such that she sports a black eye at the hand of the Thenardiess; her entire demeanor is characterized by a fear that even makes her “breathe [no] more than was absolutely necessary” (Hugo143). In contrast, Eponine and Azelma, the Thenardiers’ two spoiled daughters, are “charming...lively, neat, plump, fresh, and healthy” and blessed with the basic necessities which Cosette lacks.

Surpassing even the comparison between Cosette and her adopted sisters in conveying the deplorable situation in which Cosette lives, Hugo’s description of Cosette’s trip to the well to fetch water convinces the reader of the desperate situation surrounding the little girl. Though darkness has settled
on the village and its surroundings, Cosette, laden with a bucket larger than her scrawny frame can handle, begins her passage to the well. When confronted with the “black enormity of nature” and the “monstrous vault” of the “apocalyptic forest,” Cosette is several times tempted to flee back to the relative comfort and light of the inn (Hugo 137). The terror of the forest, however, pales in comparison with the dread the Thénardiess inspires within the girl. The image of the Thénardiess’ wrath propels Cosette to suppress the “insurmountable fear . . . more terrible even than terror” and to complete her journey and then labor home through the woods with the water sloshing at her knees in the frigid cold of the country winter (Hugo 137).

In keeping with Hugo’s wish to illustrate the society-wide transformation from an existence locked in scarcity and want to a lifestyle harmonious and pleasant in its passage, Cosette’s lifestyle is transformed. Once rescued by Valjean from her life at Montfermeil, Cosette feels as if “she were near God” (Hugo 157). Under the protection of Valjean, life is “inexpressibly happy” and free from sweeping and tears (Hugo 163). Jean Valjean nurtures her academically in teaching her to read and spell, ensures the development of her character and spiritual nature in teaching her to pray and providing the care of the nuns, and allows her to blossom into maturity before entering into the final stage of her happiness in her marriage to Marius Pontmercy.

On an individual level, then, Cosette’s renovation from a fearful, poverty-stricken waif to a child thriving in a protective environment supports the apocalyptic theme of Hugo’s writing. Through her terror and deprivation, Hugo paints a picture of the hopelessness experienced by the peasants of France. Her joys and freedom convey the glimmer of light that the anticipation of a regenerated society held out to sufferers of the Revolution.

If with examples from individuals’ journeys through hardship to a renewed state, Hugo’s point is still obscure, his portrayal of the new order through Enjolras’ descriptions demonstrates the terror of the revolution, but contrasts it with the utopic state of the coming world. Painted in broad, sweeping strokes, Enjolras’ depictions of the blissful conditions awaiting France after the abominations of the revolution stir expectations for a morally- and economically- changed world.

Enjolras, the leader of the student riot in St. Denis, appeared to have “passed through the revolutionary apocalypse...in some preceding existence;” for the group, he was the “priest of the ideal,” determined to usher in a new republic (Hugo 214). Enjolras crafts his impassioned petitions to his followers at the barricades to rouse their emotions; his addresses also sum the apocalyptic hopes of the Revolution.

The most compelling moments of Enjolras’ speech-making are found in his portrayal of the restored moral order. He portrays the new earth as “radiant,” a society in which “the human race shall love. ....all shall be concord, harmony, light, joy and life” (Hugo 383). The relationships he uses to make practical his ideas further illustrate the impacts of these virtues in society:

Citizens, do you picture to yourselves the future? The streets of the cities
flooded with light, green branches upon the thresholds, the nations sisters,
men just, the old men blessing the children, the past loving the present,
thinkers in full liberty, believers in full equality, for religion the heavens,
God priest direct, human conscience become the altar, no more hatred, the
fraternity of the workshop and the school...for reward and for penalty
notoriety, to all labor, for all law, over all, peace, no more bloodshed, no
more war, mothers happy! (Hugo 415)

Here, Enjolras paints a magnificent vision; perfection, however, does not come without a cost. Apocalyptic utopia demands “flesh and blood”; the radicals of the Revolution would not behold the perfection of the future (Hugo 213). The bloody horror of the Revolution Enjolras sees as a “tollgate” exacting the “terrible price of the future” (Hugo 417). The bloodshed paid in order to attain freedom pertained not only to the battles between the insurgent populations and the French soldiers: Enjolras’
assassination of La Cabuc because of his belligerent and brutal treatment of an innocent citizen reflects the tendency of the Revolution to turn inwards in order to efface the vices of the current society. Though La Cabuc’s actions were “horrible,” Enjolras’ admittedly “terrible” reaction was necessary in order to maintain unity within their ranks (Hugo 382). The spread of corruption and rash actions to their own company merely spurs Enjolras’ motivation to bring in the new order free from these monstrosities. Because they uphold the vision in spite of its high cost, Enjolras and his band are hailed “priests of the republic… the sacramental host of duty”; through them, the “human race shall be delivered, uplifted, and consoled” (Hugo 417).

Hugo uses the character Enjolras and his moving speeches to reflect the Revolutionary times in the exacting price of the upheaval and the terror it inspired, leading to apocalyptic hopes of a renewed world order. Enjolras paints the political and moral horizons which would characterize France’s future. Such were the prophetic visions of Revolutionary France.

**Accepting the Fearful Chalice: Sacrifice in Jean Valjean**

Apart from his use of individuals and society transformed, Hugo captures the epoch’s view of hope amidst the destruction of revolution in the representation of Jean Valjean as a literary Christ figure. In the themes of resurrection and sacrifice and in the final scenes of Valjean’s life, Hugo’s message mirrors the hope of a new order through the literary Christ figure.

First, Jean Valjean parallels Christ in the theme of death and resurrection. The first section of the story reveals Valjean’s two-fold death. Valjean (now known as Monsieur Madeleine) first dies to the self through his sacrifice to Champmathieu in forfeiting his secure and significant lifestyle to save the innocent man from false sentence to years in the galley. Regardless of his benevolent and wise dealings with the factory workers at M--- sur M---, the zealous eyes of the law see Valjean as a threat to French society who must therefore be imprisoned for the duration of his term. Since death to his former self evident in his morally renewed lifestyle at M--- sur M--- fails to satisfy the physical sense of the law, Valjean must die again—this time a physical death to supersede the death of his hardened moral self: When a sailor from the ship Orion is precariously suspended from the rigging, Valjean employs his characteristic strength to climb the swaying ropes and help the man to safety. As he walks determinedly along the wharf back to his place in the galley, Valjean appears to faint from his Herculean efforts and falls into the water, never to be found by the crews who search the bottom of the dock for his body. Thus, according to the law, Jean Valjean died in saving a sailor on the Orion. The resurrection aspect of the theme is evident in Valjean’s return as Fauchelevent, a gentle man untainted by Valjean’s moral past. Later in the story, Valjean’s determination in “helping the poor and downtrodden” demonstrates his love and piety and furthers his parallel as a Christ figure: Characters from the Thenardiers to Cosette benefit from his kindnesses.

Next, Jean Valjean’s decisions at crisis points in his life illustrate his Christ-like emotions and willingness to sacrifice. When Jean Valjean—under the pseudonym of Monsieur Madeleine—hears that Champmathieu, his evident double, is about to be tried and returned to the galleys, he must weigh his options—to continue along the path of righteousness and reform but condemn an honest man to an unjust future, or to return to his former life of “bitterness and weariness” in the galleys (Hugo 164).

As Valjean considers his choices, contemplating first the townspeople who heavily depend on him, then shaken by the voice calling from the “obscure depths of his conscience” asking him to consider the hypocrisy of that path, his anguished prayers mirror those of Christ at Gethsemane. Both are close to God through their prayers, Christ through his relationship with God, Valjean in Hugo’s description that “there was One [with him]; but He who was there was not such as human eyes can see” (Hugo 83).

Out of the turmoil of his soul emerges Valjean’s decision: “to fall back into [his former lifestyle] in appearance [and therefore] emerge in reality” (Hugo 78). To be truly resurrected, granted “sanctity in the eyes of God,” he would be exposed to “infamy in the eyes of men” (Hugo 78). His decision to save
Champmathieu is “the most poignant of victories” because in it Valjean embodies humility, therefore paralleling the humility that Christ teaches in preferring others above himself.

Though Valjean’s prayers and humility begin to align his nature with that of Christ, his self-sacrifice ultimately labels him a Christ figure. Valjean accepts the “death agony of his happiness” in grasping “the fearful chalice” and allows Champmathieu to retain the innocence that is rightly his (Hugo 78). Just as Christ accepted a fate that contradicted his perfect nature and created a horrific separation between him and the Father, so Valjean sacrifices his peaceful and significant lifestyle at M---- sur M---- in his decision to honor the innocent Champmathieu.

Valjean’s decision in the Champmathieu affair, however, pales in comparison to the decision he must make after Cosette’s marriage to Marius: to what extent will he and his ominous past darken their newfound happiness? His searching and sincere prayers again mimic the Gethsemane prayers: Again, he is accompanied only by “the One who is in the darkness” (Hugo 487).

At this “last crossing of good and evil” Valjean grapples to confirm, for the last time, his humility. After wrestling through his decision, Jean Valjean proves faithful to the renewed nature of good within him: He presents himself to Marius, admits his past life as an “old convict,” and with a “sovereign and sepulchral authority,” relinquishes his claim over Cosette, the ultimate sacrifice from the man who loved Cosette as a daughter (Hugo 489). In his interview with Marius, he explains his confession: “In degrading myself in your eyes..., I elevate myself in my own” (Hugo 489). This second example of Valjean’s toil through the agony of demanding sacrifices, his humility in acting in favor of justice and happiness for those around him, and his willingness to drink deeply the bitterness of the sacrifices he chooses show his parallels to the Christ figure.

What then is the significance of Valjean’s appearance as a Christ figure? Hugo writes to reflect the millennialism of the Revolutionary age, a desperate hope for renewal both physical and moral. Through his application of the literary Christ figure, he succeeds in portraying that hope. Hugo’s final descriptions are awe-inspiring: Valjean’s journey through purifying fires creates “a strangely lofty and saddened form... [of] unparalleled virtue...supreme and mild, humble in its immensity. The convict was transfigured into Christ” (Hugo 513). Through this depiction of the regenerated convict who struggles through trials of humility and sacrifice and yet emerges “all courage, all virtue, all heroism, all sanctity,” the reader perceives the author’s reflection of the revolutionary dream (Hugo 515). Thus Hugo embodies the new order of France through Jean Valjean, the literary Christ figure.

Societal Regeneration in Dickens

In a widely varying style, the great Victorian author Charles Dickens also reflects the apocalyptic thought of the French Revolution. His treatment of the times is much more graphic than Hugo’s sweepingly emotional style, and his lens shifts from Hugo’s barricade of the student rebellion to the guillotine of Paris and the streets of London. His use of symbols and motifs throughout the story highlights the masses of people crying for change, the ominous foreboding indicative of the politics of the age, and the bloodiness of the revolution. Dickens’ most prevalent theme, however, is that of resurrection, through which he demonstrates the hope of the millennial future. Similar to Les Misérables, Dickens uses the individual, society, and the Christ figure to depict the terror and hope of the apocalyptic revolution.

Dickens begins his tale with the resurrection of the good Dr. Manette. After an eighteen-year-long imprisonment in the Bastille, the doctor is finally physically “restored to life” by the “citizens,” those hoping to usher in the revolution that will change the course of France. Jarvis Lorry’s meditations on the stagecoach that takes him to Paris to “resurrect” Manette encapsulate both Manette’s horrible entombment and his strange resurrection in his comment “Eighteen years! ...Gracious creator of Day! To be buried alive for eighteen years!” (Dickens 19). Lucie, Manette’s daughter, reinforces the eerie nature of Manette’s return in her recognition that she will see “his Ghost – not him!” (Dickens 28).
The horror and duration of his imprisonment had truly reduced Manette to a shadow of a man: When Mr. Lorry and Lucie find him in his cell-like room under the care of Citizen Defarge, his voice had been reduced to the “faintness of solitude and disuse,” his name “One Hundred and Five, North Tower,” his trade that of a shoemaker (Dickens 42, 44). So much was his mentality that of a prisoner that Defarge found it necessary to noisily lock the door upon leaving his room because he feared that Manette would “rave – tear himself to pieces – die – come to I know not what harm – if his door was left open” (Dickens 39). Manette’s inability to function because of his weakened condition parallels the enfeebled French population who sought regeneration. From these depths of oppression, Dickens paints Manette’s renewal and reinstallation into society, a “stumbling course” mirroring the enormous task the French society had in rebuilding itself and creating a political structure outside of the monarchical organization which had previously characterized it (Strange 385).

Though released from the imprisonment that had broken and diminished him, Manette’s physical resurrection also requires his spiritual rejuvenation, achieved through Lucie’s “eagerness to ...love [the spectral face] back to life and hope” (Dickens 45). Lucie and Lucie alone holds the power of “charming the black brooding from his mind” (Dickens 83). The “light of her face, the touch of her hand” have the power to transport him to a “Past beyond his misery, and to a Present beyond his misery” (Dickens 83). Her influence over him brings about the full realization of his spiritual rebirth. From his death-like existence in the North Tower of the Bastille, Manette’s physical and spiritual resurrection illustrates Dickens’ reflection of the hope that the apocalyptic years of revolution would end in an era of bliss and serenity.

Manette’s resurrection serves later to benefit Lucie. Seen as a suffragette for the revolutionary cause by the French people, Manette was hailed as a hero. The face withered by hardship and hair whitened from miserable years in the Bastille won him the respect and devotion of the people of Paris. He used his influence to defend his son-in-law Darnay to the best of his abilities. Though Manette’s seemingly victorious attempts to rescue Darnay were overshadowed by the letter written in the North Tower condemning the St. Evremonde family of which Darnay was descended, Manette’s endeavors paved the way for Carton’s later successful deliverance of Darnay from the Guillotine.

From his portrayal of the resurrection theme through the individuals of his tale, Dickens moves to relate the anticipation of a renewed future through his rendering of society. The quarter of Saint Antoine becomes the canvas on which he paints the scene for his readers: Initially, the district is characterized by a heavy darkness: “cold, dirt, sickness, ignorance, and want, were the lords in waiting on the saintly presence...[The masses] sample a people that had undergone terrible grinding and re-grinding in the mill.....the mill that grinds young people old....The sign, Hunger,” penetrates every silhouette, every crevice of the lives of the French peasants (Dickens 32). Dickens’ picture of the economic distress that eclipses Paris begins to illuminate the hardships that presaged and gave way to Revolution. Further, Dickens uses the symbol of wine to foreshadow the coming uprising of the people:

> The wine was red wine, and had stained the ground of the narrow street in the suburb of Saint Antoine, in Paris, where it was spilled. It had stained many hands, too, and many faces, and many naked feet, and many wooden shoes. ...Those who had been greedy with the staves of the cask, had acquired a tigerish smear about the mouth; and one tall joker so besmirched... scrawled upon a wall with his finger dipped in muddy wine lees—Blood” (Dickens 32).

Dickens’ broad impressions of the Revolutionary spirit take a more violent twist than those of Hugo; through them, Dickens transports the reader through the depths of revolutionary emotion and the horrors of France’s privation, illustrating the apocalyptic tremors of France’s society.

* A Tale of Two Cities’ next vision of the quarter of Saint Antoine witnesses the masses moved to action by the injustices of the nobility. In their march to the Bastille, “a tremendous roar arose from the throat of Saint Antoine...all the fingers convulsively clutching at every weapon or semblance of a
weapon... [the crowd] demented with a passionate readiness to sacrifice” life for the reordering and transforming of society (Dickens 222-223). The peasants’ passion demonstrates their desire to speed the arrival of the coming blissful reality. The apocalyptic horrors of the present are further reinforced in Dickens’ scenes of La Guillotine. He begins his explanation of the “hideous figure...of the sharp female” with chilling satire; he concludes with prophetic phrases:

It was the popular theme for jests; it was the best cure for headache, it infallibly prevented the hair from turning grey, it imparted a peculiar delicacy to the complexion, it was the National Razor which shaved close: who kissed La Guillotine, looked through the little window and sneezed into the sack. It was the sign of the regeneration of the human race. It superseded the Cross. (Dickens 283-284)

Dickens’ analysis of the role of the terrible instrument of death proves his accurate reflection of the spirit of the revolution: Though fierce and brutal in its nature, the guillotine was yet justified, in the eyes of the new republic, in its role as purifier, preparing the human race for a unspoiled age.

Finally, Dickens uses the final scene at the guillotine to depict the societal renewal of France that flows from the Revolution. Sidney Carton’s vision for society completes the apocalyptic picture through its presentation of the Revolution’s hope in a future perfection. Carton’s prophetic utterances from the base of La Guillotine before his sacrificial death foretell “a beautiful city and a brilliant people rising from this abyss, and, in their struggles to be truly free, in their triumphs and defeats, through long years to come, [he] see[s] the evil of this time and of the previous time of which this is the natural birth, gradually making expiation for itself and wearing out” (Dickens 389). Here, Dickens captures not only the terror and hope of apocalyptic thought, but also touches upon the era’s justification of bloodshed in its role to usher in the new order of beauty and brilliance.

**The Resurrection and the Life: Sydney Carton as a Christ Figure**

As previously illustrated, the literary Christ figure plays a key role in the illustration of apocalyptic terror and hope. In *A Tale of Two Cities*, Dickens portrays Christ-like sacrifice and resurrection in the character of Sydney Carton. Carton, a lawyer, demonstrates his disposition toward a lifestyle of sloth and apathy, of “sinful negligence,” which Robert Strange sees as “parallel[ing] the past of eighteenth-century Europe” (385). Carton, however, also reveals his eagerness to sacrifice his life for the happiness of one he loves. Though he believes that his own ruined life is beyond salvation and of far too little value to offer to Lucie as a possible suitor, he seeks a modicum of renewal as he pledges his life to maintain Lucie’s happiness and the happiness of those nearest to her: “I would embrace any sacrifice for you and for those dear to you. ... think now and then that there is a man who would give his life, to keep a life you love beside you!” (Dickens 159). His readiness to sacrifice based on the love he bears initiates Carton as a Christ figure; the resurrection he achieves following his sacrificial death reiterates and solidifies his resemblance to Christ. In his first designs to capitalize on his resemblance to Darnay and rescue the condemned man from his imprisonment and separation from Lucie, Carton claims a phrase from his father’s grave as his mantra: “I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die.” The depth of his loving sacrifice and his association with Christ’s gracious gift of life institute Carton as the hope-giving Christ figure of the story.

Through the sacrifice he endeavors, Sydney Carton seeks to exonerate himself from his past meaningless existence and create a legacy through his carefully chosen last moments. Joseph Gold points out that, after a life in which he has neither “secured to [himself] the love and attachment, the gratitude or respect, of [any] human creature” nor “done [anything] good or serviceable to be remembered by,” Carton seeks to “eradicate the shame” of his existence and create meaning through his actions (Dickens 318; Gold 239). The decision to trade places with a condemned man earns Carton
the resurrection he seeks. In his final moments, he peers into the future and foretells his rebirth in the hearts of those for whom he dies:

I see the lives for which I lay down my life, peaceful, useful, prosperous and happy....I see that I hold a sanctuary in their hearts, and in the hearts of their descendants, generations hence.....I see that child...who bore my name, a man...winning [his way] so well, that my name is made illustrious there by the light of his. (Dickens 389)

In his role as a Christ figure lending hope to a generation overwhelmed with the weight of oppression and revolution, Carton dies “on the new cross which is the guillotine, transforms the city from Fallen into Redeemed, turns the guillotine into the instrument of salvation and looks through ‘the little window’ into an endless union of Grace” (Gold 239). From the perspective of literary apocalyptic thought, Carton succeeds in his goal of resurrection not only on an individual level, but on a societal level, given the transformation of the city—and, by extension, the world—into a renewed order.

Thus in capturing the themes and events of the French Revolution, both Charles Dickens and Victor Hugo reflected the apocalyptic thought that swept through Europe and lent both the oppressed populations of France and anxious onlookers in England courage to survive the terror of revolution and look forward to the bliss of the supposedly imminent millennium. Though couched in storylines that mirrored the darkness of the Revolution, themes of redemption and salvation in Les Misérables and A Tale of Two Cities illustrated the possibility of solace from seemingly hopeless times; the Christ figure in particular reflected society’s anticipation of resurrection. Thus through themes of sacrifice and expiation, horror and hope, the promise of regeneration inspires the optimism of utopia.

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At noon on January 20, 1961, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was sworn in as the thirty-fifth President of the United States of America. From the beginning, his presidency was overshadowed by the global effects of the Cold War conflicts with the Soviet Union. In 1961, the relationship between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. was still strained from the Gary Power U-2 incident of May 1960. Lt. Gary Powers, performing a CIA sanctioned reconnaissance mission, was shot down and captured over the Soviet Union along with his U-2 aircraft. This incident occurred at a time when the United States and the Soviet Union were beginning to seek a peaceful co-existence in the world. This international event exposed the frailty of the U.S.-Soviet relationship, leading to the immediate cancellation of the summit between President Dwight Eisenhower and Premier Nikita Khrushchev.

This affair led to a deterioration of U.S. and Soviet relations, continuing into John F. Kennedy’s presidency. Adding to this strained relationship with the Soviet Union, eighty-seven days into office, Kennedy ordered the initiation of former President Eisenhower’s plan to overthrow and remove Fidel Castro’s communist regime from Cuba. In this attack, known as the Bay of Pigs invasion, 1,400 American-trained Cuban insurgents were killed or captured. The action was defeated by the Cuban military within two days. This early strike by Kennedy created a foreign relations predicament with Cuba. Castro, fearing another U.S. invasion, aligned with anti-American communist regimes such as the Soviet Union in order to gain international leverage and protection from the United States. Also culminating from these events, diplomatic discord between Kennedy and Khrushchev increased. Russia challenged the United States and its European allies on the German front in a renewed campaign against West Berlin.

Upon the completion of the Berlin Wall by the Soviet Union, the Russians relaxed their European campaign and focused on moving defensive nuclear weapons into Cuba. This gave the U.S. cause for concern and motivated the American government to closely monitor all Soviet action within Cuba. As early as May 1961, the Kennedy advisers speculated that there would be a movement by Russia to convert Cuba into an offensive nuclear military base for strategic first-strike capabilities against the United States. President Kennedy and his top advisers decided that if this did occur, the U.S. would take some form of action, not only against Castro and Cuba, but against the Soviet Union as well. The concern with this “wait and see” policy adopted by Kennedy was that the decision for action, military or otherwise, would come when the problem was upon them. The next measure should have been to put appropriate surveillance capabilities in place to ensure immediate knowledge of any offensive Soviet operations, along with the development of contingency plans to respond to any Russian threats. However, due to Kennedy’s lack of trust in the military after the Bay of Pigs, these strategies were never established.1

In March 1962, U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy instructed the top American military officials to construct contingent responses for potential Soviet offensive nuclear missiles in Cuba. In response to this request from the Attorney General, several meetings occurred in which different plans were discussed. However, these meetings resulted only in ambiguity, dissent, and differing opinions about the best course of action. From April to October of 1962, one fact became obvious: President Kennedy and the U.S. military had two very different ideologies and agendas when it came to Cuba, the Soviet Union, and the prospect of a Russian offensive nuclear missile base in the Western Hemisphere. While the U.S. armed forces leaders were developing and promoting military strike plans against Cuba, President Kennedy at the same time assured the exiled Cuban community that the U.S. would never carry out an attack on Cuban soil.2
In October 1962, strongly concerned about Soviet movement to place defensive missile shields in Cuba, the United States initiated U-2 flights over Cuban airspace and found Russian offensive nuclear weapons on the ground. The first fly-over occurred on October 14. However, due to the military departments’ and civilian political agencies’ lack of highly technical resources, adequate budgets, or necessary manpower, the information pertaining to the discovery of offensive missiles in Cuba was not available to Washington, D.C. personnel until late Monday evening, October 15. In the President’s private quarters of the White House at 9:00 a.m. on Tuesday, October 16, 1962, National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy informed President Kennedy of the confirmed presence of Soviet offensive nuclear missiles in Cuba.

Kennedy’s initial response was quite emotional. When he saw the photographs, he shouted, “He [referring to Premier Khrushchev] can’t do that to me!” President Kennedy saw this Soviet action by Khrushchev as a personal attack. As Max Frankel discusses in his book *High Noon in the Cold War* (2004), Khrushchev had worked diligently to mislead Kennedy, lying in his secret, private letters and in messages sent through back-door channels by Soviet agents and diplomats. President Kennedy was visibly upset and angered by this discovery, feeling that a bond of honesty and trust between the two leaders had been betrayed.

Shortly before noon on October 16, President Kennedy summoned the following nine advisers to the Oval Office: Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, Secretary of Treasury C. Douglas Dillon, Acting CIA Director Marshall Carter, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman General Maxwell Taylor, Presidential Adviser Theodore Sorensen, National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy, and Arthur Lundhal from the Naval Photographic Intelligence and National Photographic Interpretation Centers (NPIC).

In this meeting, Kennedy and the attendees reviewed the developed U-2 photographs, defined the missile types discovered, assessed the construction activities being completed on the ground in Cuba, speculated on launch readiness, and evaluated the overall Cuban situation. Because no U-2 coverage had been gathered over Cuba since 1960, there were obvious gaps in the U.S. intelligence and geographical data available for the meeting. President Kennedy and his advisers agreed to authorize open U-2 flights as needed to gather all intelligence data deemed necessary. Secretary of State Rusk offered two further potential courses of action: an all-out assault and destruction of all Soviet bases on Cuban soil, or diplomatic talks with the Soviet Union, together with the Organization of American States. All aspects of these possible U.S. responses were discussed, including the global ramifications of American retaliation.

While there were differing opinions among President Kennedy’s advisers as to whether the Soviet Union would actually place offensive missiles in Cuba, everyone agreed that the Soviet Union was at least capable of this action. High-level meetings had been held by the President and concerns had been voiced by his advisers over the Soviet Union turning Cuba into an offensive military base since early in 1961; however, surveillance of the Soviet Union and Cuba did not occur. Nor were viable contingency plans tested and put into place so that the U.S. would be properly equipped to deal with this potential threat.

There were two main complications that led to this lack of preparedness on the part of the United States. First, President Kennedy, after the disaster of the Bay of Pigs invasion, did not trust his military advisers and was skeptical of their advice on how best to deal with the Soviet Union and Cuba if an issue were to arise. Second, the U.S. military was humiliated by its defeat in the Bay of Pigs and was consistently looking for a reason to initiate military attacks against Castro and his communist regime. The military was therefore incapable of making unbiased decisions about how to best address potential threats by the Soviet Union in Cuba. Due to the lack of trust between President Kennedy and the U.S. military, along with their separate agendas, neither side was able to work together and come to an agreement on how best to respond to possible threats. For this reason there was a lack of proper preparation for Soviet action in Cuba, and the United States was not prepared to handle the very scenario they had predicted eighteen months before.
During the October 16 morning meeting, Secretary of Defense McNamara stated that before any further discussions could be held, the members must agree on two things: any U.S. air strikes must be carried out before the missiles became operational, and any military assaults on launch sites must also target air strips, aircraft, and storage facilities to deny the Soviet Union and Cuba any future capability of retaliation against the U.S.\textsuperscript{12}

President Kennedy cited the disadvantages of a U.S. air strike response combined with a follow-up U.S. military invasion. Kennedy believed that Soviet retaliation would affect U.S. allies and could lead to a global conflict. Also, a U.S. invasion would give the Soviet Union the political cover necessary to move militarily against Berlin. President Kennedy and the advisers left with a general understanding that they were looking at a possible U.S. response consisting of a military air strike in three to four days, a follow-up military invasion seven days after the initiation of the air strike, a parallel naval blockade of Cuba, a reinforcement of Guantanamo, and limited political discussion with foreign allies and organizations.\textsuperscript{13}

From that Tuesday, October 16 meeting in the Cabinet Room, President Kennedy raised three questions:

1. Should we inform the world of the discovery of Soviet missiles in Cuba and the United States’ intention of gathering further intelligence data?
2. Should the United States precede any U.S. military action with political action?
3. What effects would the proposed military strikes have, and what should the factual timelines for prepared deployment be?\textsuperscript{14}

He then held a private discussion with his brother Robert and Chief of Staff Ken O’Donnell. From this private discussion, the President decided to form an informal group of relevant cabinet officers, their top deputies, and a few expert advisers. These men were instructed to meet in secret for a week of impromptu consultations, with no formal agendas or official presiding officer. This was, in effect, the creation of the very first U.S. Executive Committee of the National Security Council (ExComm).\textsuperscript{15}

It was decided that Robert would report directly to the President on meeting results and would keep the President as far away and as uninvolved as possible in order to avoid drawing any undue attention from the American press corps. It was also decided that O’Donnell would enter ExComm meetings only when the President did and would remain a quiet observer. O’Donnell’s infrequent attendance in these meetings was to provide the President with one trusted adviser who was privy to only the same information as himself. The President wanted O’Donnell in a position to advise him on future decisions and not be swayed by what had occurred during the remainder of the meetings.\textsuperscript{16}

Finally, it was decided that the President would maintain his normal public schedule throughout the week, including all national campaign trips, in order to prevent any speculations or interference from the American press. One of the shortcomings of this decision was that President Kennedy could not be involved in the full decision-making process; he would not be able to participate in the discussions, and he would not be able to maintain control of the group.\textsuperscript{17}

As the members of the newly formed ExComm exited the last of the October 16 meetings, they understood that the Pentagon team would immediately begin analyzing all options for a U.S. air strike against Cuba, followed by an invasion.\textsuperscript{18} Dean Rusk and the U.S. military leaders, in light of the Bay of Pigs, saw Cuba as a persistent threat to the U.S. and had long sought to take strong and swift military action. The missile crisis provided the political justification and opportunity necessary to implement the military’s course of action.\textsuperscript{19} During the ExComm meetings held throughout the rest of the week, a difference in mentality between military officials and politicians became obvious. The military officials thought that force and U.S. military strength would solve the current issues with no future repercussions from the Soviet Union. Political officials looked at every suggested response scenario and discussed at
length what future political effects it would have, not only on the U.S., but also on the global community as a whole.\footnote{This philosophical difference was apparent throughout the weekly meetings, beginning with the October 16 evening meeting between the Cabinet, military officials, and President Kennedy. The only options discussed throughout the entire meeting were military scenarios. There was no serious dialogue about political negotiations or United Nations mediation. Members spent the entire meeting discussing air strike and invasion options. The consensus of the meeting (although President Kennedy made no formal decisions) was that the U.S. military should be prepared for military action against Cuba by Saturday, October 20 or Sunday, October 21. At the end of this meeting, President Kennedy instructed the State Department to decide whether the United States needed to make a public or private statement prior to initiating military action. If so, they should decide whom the U.S. needed to contact. Additionally, the President wanted to know what benefits, if any, would stem from speaking directly to Premier Khrushchev prior to the U.S. launching the attack.}

On the morning of Thursday, October 17, John McCone and McGeorge Bundy briefed the President on all overnight actions pertaining to Cuba and the results of the morning meetings being held at the State Department. From this discussion with the President, McCone left the White House with the understanding that Kennedy was leaning towards a prompt U.S. military strike against Cuba.\footnote{However, after a conversation with U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson on the afternoon of October 16, Kennedy had begun to weigh other options. Stevenson, upon hearing from President Kennedy that the two options being considered were both military strikes, suggested that the U.S. not consider any U.S. military action until all peaceful solutions had been considered. To reinforce his opinion, Stevenson sent a memo to the President on October 17, urging him to consider peaceful diplomacy, pressing him to send personal emissaries to both Khrushchev and Castro. Stevenson warned the President that military action could lead to Soviet retaliation in Turkey and Berlin, and eventually to nuclear war. While the President spent the remainder of the day in meetings, at a luncheon at the Embassy of Libya, and on the campaign trail in Connecticut, ExComm continued to discuss new scenarios for the Cuban crisis. ExComm was not aware of Kennedy’s discussions with Stevenson or his shift in thinking toward peaceful solutions. There remained a lack of structure and communication between the various groups.}

Fifteen members of ExComm met for the majority of the afternoon without President Kennedy. During this meeting, there was a perceived change in philosophy, the majority of the attendees calling for political action over the proposed military plans for Saturday or Sunday. Throughout the afternoon, members reviewed possible political scenarios and speculated on potential Soviet responses. During the afternoon of October 17, the idea of a naval blockade of Cuba was mentioned and discussed at length by ExComm for the first time since Soviet missiles had been discovered in Cuba. It was from this set of meetings that ExComm members began to come to a resolution on the debate between military and political action. Secretary of State Rusk, along with Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Taylor and CIA Director McCone, endorsed an American strike against the Cuban missile sites without any public announcement. Chip Bohlen (a U.S. government specialist on the Soviet Union and recently appointed U.S. Ambassador to France) agreed with Rusk, Taylor, and McCone’s proposed response; however, he called for the President to give a public ultimatum to Russia before any military action was taken. U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Thompson, along with Assistant Secretary of Inter-American Affairs Martin and Deputy Secretary of Defense Gilpatrick, endorsed a complete blockade of Cuba accompanied with a declaration of war.\footnote{Culminating from the ExComm meetings on October 17, Robert Kennedy submitted to the President a late-evening brief, outlining five potential U.S. responses:}

1. A political resolution in which an ultimatum would be given to the Soviet Union and Khrushchev, followed by military strikes as necessary;
2. Limited U.S. military strikes without prior warning or negotiations, but with notification of all U.S. allies prior to initiating attacks;
3. A political warning followed by a naval blockade of Cuba and readiness to initiate U.S. military attacks;
4. A large-scale strike following political preparations;
5. A direct and full U.S. invasion of Cuba.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff still believed that military options were the only viable U.S. response and that a naval blockade was only beneficial as a complement to, and not an alternative for, military action. It is apparent that without the President’s direct involvement throughout the daily meetings, his advisers pushed their personal plans of action and different groups worked at cross-purposes with each other. The Joint Chiefs of Staff and McCone—believing that the President would approve military action on Saturday or Sunday—continued to work strictly on force strike contingencies. At the same time, the President, hearing and considering alternate, more peaceful solutions, was moving away from the military strike mindset. In yet another set of meetings, political advisers worked on the naval blockade scenario and discussed how to handle this crisis on a global political front. If the President had been working more closely with ExComm from the beginning, many of the problems of the week could have been avoided, as was evident in the progress made when the President returned to the meetings on Thursday October 18.

With President Kennedy back in Washington, D.C. for the day, a Cabinet meeting was held to discuss the current military options as well as the new political ones. During this meeting, Bundy asked Thompson what U.S. response scenario he preferred. Thompson replied that he preferred a U.S. naval blockade of Cuba, a declaration of war, and a demand for the immediate removal of all Soviet weapons from Cuba. Thompson also called for immediate worldwide pressure by the Americans for the Soviets to comply. Leaving this meeting, President Kennedy decided to give two scenarios serious attention: a rapid U.S. military strike against Cuba with short public notice and a naval blockade against Cuba with public notice but no declaration of war. Not wanting to leave Washington for Ohio and Chicago without knowing where his staff stood after the events of the day, President Kennedy held one final meeting with his advisers before he left on Friday. Due to the time and number of reporters in the White House following the President’s dinner with Soviet Ambassador Gromyko, the meeting was held in the Oval Room on the second floor of the residence. During the meeting, support by the President’s advisers to follow the blockade scenario (called a defensive quarantine) was growing. President Kennedy, aware that he could not record the Oval Room discussion, dictated a summary of the meeting around midnight. In attendance were Secretary McNamara, Deputy Secretary Gilpatrick, General Taylor, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Under Secretary of State George Ball, National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy, and Special Counsel to the President Ted Sorensen. By the end of the meeting the general consensus had shifted from a military strike to a naval blockade.

President Kennedy decided to maintain his public schedule and prepared for his campaign trip to Ohio and Chicago on Friday, October 19, and Saturday, October 20. He instructed his advisers to review both scenarios and to be prepared to report to him at the next meeting. Kennedy also instructed Robert to contact him if anything occurred that necessitated his early return from the campaign trail. According to Ken O’Donnell, the President’s Chief of Staff, “the next morning when the President left Washington to make his scheduled campaign trip to Cleveland and Chicago, he had definitely made up his mind to start his action against Khrushchev with a naval blockade of Cuba…"

ExComm had met secretly, never publicly announcing their knowledge or proof of Soviet missiles in Cuba. For one week, these men deliberated over the best course of action regarding the situation, finally settling on a naval blockade response. On Monday, October 22, President Kennedy addressed the United States and the world, announcing the U.S. discovery of Soviet offensive nuclear missiles in Cuba. Kennedy and the United States believed these weapons were for the sole purpose of...
giving the Soviet Union first strike capabilities against any nation in the Western Hemisphere, particularly the United States. Kennedy declared the U.S. response of a full and strict quarantine of all offensive military equipment being shipped to Cuba. He also stated that any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere would be viewed as a direct attack against the U.S. This action would warrant a full retaliatory strike.

President Kennedy and the U.S. military made preparations to initiate the naval blockade and quarantine of Cuba on Wednesday, October 22 at 10:00 a.m.; however, as with the meetings of the previous week, the President’s approach differed drastically from that of the U.S. military. While Kennedy looked for peaceful and political solutions, the armed forces continued to look at the need for military action. For six days after President Kennedy’s public announcement, Soviet ships moved toward Cuba, maintained a course outside of the quarantined area, and eventually sailed away. With the naval blockade, Kennedy forced the peaceful removal of the missiles from Cuba while giving no public concessions to the Soviet Union. However, while Kennedy dealt with the ongoing diplomatic struggle of the quarantine, he also battled the U.S. military’s attempt to force the Soviet Union into escalating the Cuban conflict toward military engagement. The U.S. military leaders and advisers continued to discuss possible military reaction to potential Soviet defiance of the U.S. quarantine. It was later revealed that many high ranking naval officers were upset that the Soviet Union did not challenge the blockade, giving the U.S. cause to attack. Following naval procedures, American ships began forcing Soviet submarines to the surface to defend the blockade before President Kennedy was aware or approved of this action. When Kennedy was made aware of the navy’s actions, he was “appalled…that the military imperatives [were] distinct from diplomatic necessities and [could], all too often, conflict.”

President Kennedy was determined to hold a strict line against any ships under Soviet control, while still maintaining a diplomatic stance and affording Khrushchev and the Soviet Union the opportunity to withdraw from the Cuban action without embarrassment. From the beginning of Kennedy’s presidency, he and Khrushchev had secretly maintained contact through letters and private conversations with trusted officials and through back-channel lines. Shortly before President Kennedy addressed the nation and the world, revealing Soviet actions in Cuba, he sent a lengthy letter and a copy of his prepared statement to Khrushchev.

Throughout the week of October 22, Kennedy and Khrushchev maintained private communication. On Tuesday, October 23, Khrushchev replied to Kennedy’s public address, stating that President Kennedy and the U.S. were in “gross violation” of U.N. charters with the naval blockade. The Soviet government declared that the United States had no right to dictate actions between Russia and Cuba. In Khrushchev’s words, the actions of President Kennedy and the United States with regard to Cuba were “outright banditry or, if you like, the folly of degenerate imperialism.” He went on to say that the U.S. was moving “to the abyss of a world missile-nuclear war.” Ending the communication, Khrushchev once again stated that all Soviet missiles in Cuba were of a defensive nature and that the U.S. had an erroneous perception of the situation.

President Kennedy quickly responded to Khrushchev’s communiqué on the eve of the blockade, stating that the U.S. had made repeated public announcements stating that they would not allow the Soviet Union to use Cuba as an offensive base in the Western Hemisphere. He also urged Khrushchev to use prudence and order Soviet ships to adhere to the terms of the quarantine. Throughout the week, Kennedy and Khrushchev communicated back and forth, the Soviet Union insisting that the U.S. was infringing on their international rights, and the U.S. maintaining that this predicament was created by the Soviet Union through their actions in moving offensive nuclear weapons into Cuba. While the Soviet Union chose not to challenge the U.S. blockade of Cuba, they publicly portrayed the U.S. as reactionary and guilty of rewriting international law.

It was not until a communication on October 27 that Khrushchev showed any signs of backing down and removing the missiles from Cuba. In the message, he stated that he believed the issue to be ended and that the only intention the Soviet Union had ever had was to defend Cuba. He stated that if
President Kennedy and the U.S. would publicly declare that they would not invade Cuba, or support in any way an invasion of Cuba, then the Soviets would withdraw all weapons and military specialists. Later that night, a second and far stricter Russian proposal for withdrawal was sent from the Soviet Union, calling for the United States to withdraw all missiles from Turkey. The second letter revealed obvious signs that it had not been written by Khrushchev. Kennedy and his advisers feared that the hard-line members of the Foreign Office of the Kremlin were now in control of Soviet negotiations. Kennedy was not sure how to respond to the two very different suggestions. In the end, the President simply acted as if he had never received the second communiqué. Kennedy called for the Soviet Union to immediately end work on all missile sites in Cuba and remove all weapons without delay; once this could be verified, the U.S. would formally agree not to engage in or support an invasion of Cuba and would lift the quarantine.

As a result of that communication between Kennedy and Khrushchev, the Cuban Missile Crisis quickly came to an end. For thirteen days, the United States and the Soviet Union had come perilously close to nuclear war. The solution became a matter of agreeing publicly and privately to disarmament actions on both sides. Premier Khrushchev openly agreed to remove all Soviet weapons from Cuba on the assurance and promise that the United States would never invade Cuba or support any action of that nature. Privately, the United States also agreed to remove missiles from Turkey within a designated time after the disarmament of Cuba was complete.

For thirteen days, not only did President Kennedy have to diplomatically maneuver through the Cuban Missile Crisis with Premier Khrushchev, but he also had to deal with his own armed forces in Washington, D.C. At every turn, the military was pushing Kennedy to finish what had been started at the Bay of Pigs. The U.S. military wanted to engage Castro themselves, with the full force of the American military power. Had Kennedy not held both Khrushchev and the U.S. military at bay, the world might have witnessed nuclear war.

This resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis was not easy, and Kennedy made some mistakes; one was not having viable response plans in place prior to this incident. The other was not garnering a better working relationship with his military advisers.

In addition, while Kennedy established the first ExComm, with its formation he also created a problem. By maintaining his daily calendar and removing himself from the daily discussions, he lengthened the time frame for a U.S. response to Soviet actions and allowed individuals and departments to dominate the discussion with their personal objectives. Had Kennedy been involved from the beginning, the meetings would have been more structured and effective, as was apparent in the Thursday, October 18, meetings and the dealings with the Soviet Union during the week of October 22. Working separately, it took the U.S. President, government officials, and military leaders seven days to decide on a response plan for the Soviet actions, while it took President Kennedy only six days to broker a Soviet withdrawal from Cuba. It is apparent that if Kennedy had been more diligent in addressing the issues personally from the beginning, the Cuban Missile Crisis might have been a less dramatic ordeal and might have been resolved in only a few days.

Because Kennedy placed the decision-making power in the hands of ExComm and allowed Robert to manage the process, he set a precedent for future leaders and situations. Presently, in 2009, when faced with issues concerning foreign military action, it is the duty of the National Security Council and ExComm to review the situation and provide the President with response scenarios. The President now maintains his political calendar and is updated through short briefings throughout the day, having very little personal involvement in the decision-making process. The creation of ExComm and the increased authority given to this body was perhaps the single largest influence President Kennedy had on the future of American foreign policy. The result of the Cuban Missile Crisis as it pertains to U.S. government policy in handling international affairs is that the power of the U.S. decision-making process has been moved from the President’s control and handed over to the policy makers and advisers. This had led to personal objectives and departmental goals clouding the judgment of U.S. foreign policy, as
was apparent in the U.S. involvement in Vietnam, Afghanistan, the Middle East, and Africa. While Kennedy left a legacy of wisdom, patience, and peaceful conflict resolution to some of America’s most troubling events, his creation of ExComm and the shift in decision-making power regarding U.S. foreign policy from the Oval Office into the war room may well be one of his largest errors in judgment.

Prior to Kennedy’s taking office as the President of the United States, and throughout his presidency leading up to the Cuban Missile Crisis, the United States had made several political mistakes in foreign policy that led to the U.S. being perceived as an aggressor in the Cold War. The Soviets used this international opinion of the United States as a political cover to move offensive weapons into Cuba under the guise of a defensive position in the Western Hemisphere. The world accepted the Soviet position and paid little attention to their actions. However, this covert offensive action was a political mistake by the Soviet Union and after the Cuban Missile Crisis, the international view of the United States and the Soviet Union took a dramatic turn.51

The events of the Cuban Missile Crisis exposed the Soviet Union’s international deception. They had publicly repeated that these weapons were for defensive purposes and that the United States was overreacting to their movements. When U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson provided irrefutable evidence of Soviet offensive weapons in Cuba, the world opinion moved to the side of the United States. The international community adopted the view that the Soviet Union was untrustworthy and that they were the aggressors in the Cold War battle of world political power. The United States was vindicated in their role of the consummate watchdog over the Soviet Union and their actions internationally, showing just cause for their surveillance actions around the world.52

From the events of the Cuban Missile Crisis, the United States emerged with a renewed strength in the international community and as a strong power for justice in the world. But the Soviet Union was politically weakened and internationally perceived as the aggressor in the Cold War, plotting to propagate their communist philosophy globally through deceit and force. Had President Kennedy followed the advice of his military advisers and chosen a military response to the crisis rather than a peaceful solution, he would have reinforced the Soviet and international perception of the United States. Had this occurred, the political landscape of the U.S., the Soviet Union, and the world would likely be very different today. Through President Kennedy’s peaceful resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis, he moved the United States into the position of a global power that would last for decades to come. He showed the world that the United States was a nation of humanity and understanding, working not for political or military gain, but striving to promote peace and harmony among all nations of the world.

2 Ibid., 1167-1183.

3 Ibid., 1183.


5 Jennifer Lynn Walton, “Moral Masculinity: The Culture of Foreign Relations During the Kennedy Administration” (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2004), 75.

6 Max Frankel, *High Noon in the Cold War: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: Ballantine Press, 2004), 75-76.


8 May and Zelikow, *Kennedy Tapes*, 77.


10 May and Zelikow, *Kennedy Tapes*, 57.

11 Ibid., 47-71.

12 Ibid., 73.

13 Frankel, *High Noon*, 77-78.


15 Frankel, *High Noon*, 77-78.


17 Ibid., 92-103.

18 Ibid., 118.

19 Ibid., 77.


21 May and Zelikow, *Kennedy Tapes*, 120.

22 Ibid., 119-120.

23 Ibid., 119-175.


25 May and Zelikow, *Kennedy Tapes*, 137-139.

26 Ibid., 160-167.

27 Ibid., 168-172.


39 Ibid., 317-319.

40 Kennedy, *Thirteen Days*, 93.

41 Ibid., 101-104.


48 McKeown, “Plans and Routines,” 1165.
49 May and Zelikow, Kennedy Tapes, 690-701.
50 Nathan, “His Finest Hour,” 256-259.
As technology advances, it seems that literature in its textual form is becoming less ubiquitous. Using other forms of media to explore the literary works of the past seems effortless—non-demanding. Although a novel idea, the transformation from text to visual representation has a price. The concepts or intentions of classic authors have and continue to be dramatically reinvented to “fit” modern trends, regardless of an accurate portrayal of the original text. Through offering these inaccurate depictions, the integrity of the classic piece has been compromised. In essence, the adaptation leads to a new creator and hence a new vision on the previous text and its connotations.

No era of literature is untouched. Early American literature has been affected: recreated and revised to fit the modern societal views. Unfortunately, efforts to create a visually acceptable version often end with loss of the essential intricacies in the original text and degradation of complex characters. Entertainment and stereotypical representations and ideals that exist in popular culture become the basis of the visual rendition. This only diminishes the purpose of the original work. Meaning is lost; the intent and value are diminished; the essence of the piece is trivialized to make it appropriate for today’s audience. Consequently, it is through these superficial versions or interpretations that popular culture, particularly the influence of visual media, has and continues to fundamentally alter the significance of classic American literary works.

To demonstrate the divergence between text and visual media, two examples are explored. The first victim of cultural and media dilution is Uncle Tom’s Cabin. In her novel, Harriet Beecher Stowe attempts to expose the evils of slavery through emotional urgency, emphasizing the cruelty (Bloom 5). To achieve the heightened emotional tone, Stowe creates a complex plot with dynamic characters. Stowe uses Eliza, a female slave whose son is to be sold, to illustrate the fight against man, law, and ingrained “Christian” teachings. Stowe illustrates how slavery tears apart the basic family structure and is cruel as “master” is willing to separate mother and son. Furthermore, the deeds of a “good” man, Tom, are “rewarded” with suffering. He follows the orders of his master although the callousness of Legree is well-known. It is these emotionally charged depictions by which Stowe emphasizes an urgency to eliminate this evil and injustice. Although the articulation of these ideas in writing can be challenging, the transition of these ideas becomes problematic when adapting the text to visual. Furthermore, with the visual adaptation centered on popular culture, priorities shift and the story loses significance.

Case in point—Disney®, in 1933, decided to use Mickey Mouse to integrate Uncle Tom’s Cabin into a cartoon short (CartoonShortsClub). The visual media completely discards the meaning intended by Stowe. Entertainment is more important than communication of ideas. Few words are spoken; the words and sounds act as distraction and are not products of the text. Characters are completely misrepresented. Uncle Tom, played by Mickey Mouse, does not speak but begs on his knees. No sounds can be heard, and it appears as if he may be whimpering. This inaudible plea alters the character as created by Stowe. Eliza’s character is also adversely altered: she from the protective mother to comic relief. Clarabelle, who plays Eliza, cries out “Woe is me; the hounds are upon us,” while crossing the river (CartoonShortsClub). More important than the knowledge that these words are an addition to Stowe’s story is the delivery of these lines. This extra dialogue creates an opposing view to the original and impacts ones understanding. The character’s tone and voice are inflated. The cries are thick with exaggeration and obviously staged. These words and actions are nonetheless added, without regard to the original text, to entertain the audience and do not offer a genuine representation.
Besides the creation of entertainment-worthy characters, the popular song “Dixie” was added to the background:

I wish I was in the land of cotton/ Old times there are not forgotten/ Look away/
Look away/ Look away, Dixieland/ In Dixie Land where I was born/ Early on one frosty morning/ Look away/ Look away/ Look away, Dixieland (CartoonShortsClub).

Addition of the popular song adds to the wide-spread appeal; however, it marginalizes the ideas of evil and injustice that Stowe was trying to present. The cruelty of slavery fails to be conveyed and rather is overshadowed by longing for the plantation home, ideas represented by the song and not Stowe. This, in combination with a frequent series of cheering or booing heard from the cartoon audience, illustrates how the focus of the visual adaptation clearly differs from the original text. The media version is to adhere to the needs of popular culture and not the purpose of the author. Thus, Stowe’s intended meaning is not simply diverted but weakened to non-existence.

Although the Disney® version of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was produced in 1933, popular culture continues to misrepresent classic American Literature. Contemporary examples of fundamental changes are found in the media adaptations of works by Edgar Allan Poe. In his piece, “The Raven,” focus is on darkness and loss, the grief and anguish as felt by the character. To achieve his purpose, a both depressing and melancholy tone is used for emphasis. Beginning, “[o]nce upon a midnight dreary,” immediately transports the reader into a cold setting (Poe 2467). Likewise, it is not only the end of the night but the night is also grim (Gale 86). The reply of the raven is also cold and disjointed: “Nevermore” (Poe). Yet, the conversation merely aims to mask the loneliness, longing for lost love, and deep pain. Therefore, Poe’s choice of words and images are elucidated by the tone and ultimately demonstrate the meaning of the piece. As analysis is critical to extract Poe’s rationale, visual media has difficulty capturing the essence of “The Raven.”

“[S]ince the late 1990s, several comics have given a new twist to Poe’s stories and poetry by opting for non literal translations through...cartoony illustrations and ambiguous tones that leave open the possibilities for comic irony”(Royal ). Although the lines rarely deviate, the *Simpsons* rendition fails to convey the attitude and significance of the piece. The tone of the speeches inherently alters the intended purpose. The dramatic presentation by Homer is often melodramatic and rushed. This emerges when the line “Tis a visitor entreating at entrance at my chamber door,” is recited (Poe 2467). Not only is it difficult for the viewer to discern (Mauz15), but Homer’s “fear” is comic in nature. The inappropriate humor continues as the mood shifts: an amusing fear to an exceedingly absurd anger. Homer shouts and badgers the raven (Mauz15); thus, creating a portrayal that is incongruous—out of place. Combining the improper use of humor and inept interpretation, the dark undertones and attitude of death and despair as expressed by Poe are replaced by absurdity and sensationalism. This serves to add to the tasteless comic appeal, a means by which to entertain the audience.

As tone disrupts and varies the meaning of Poe’s piece, likewise, the visual scenes cause interpretation problems. The dark overtones are replaced by a slouching and drooling Homer who resides in a recliner, appearing more exhausted than emotionally drained (Mauz15). Comic relief is added as Lisa and Maggie fly through the room, carrying what looks to be a thurible which strikes Homer (Mauz15). Even the raven, which resembles Bart Simpson, does not look menacing. Moreover, Homer’s chase of the raven (which at best is an incredible addition to the visuals, creating more misconceptions), diminishes the poem’s impact. Poe’s character is transformed to equate to the series’ existing characters. Simply, it becomes an imitation of the weekly annoyance and chase between the two reoccurring characters. To maintain this stereotypical characterization from the popular series, the rendition deliberately diverts attention from the longing for the lost Lenore. Thus again, popular culture through its use of media has trivialized an important piece of literature.
As shown in the two examples, popular culture can adversely alter the intent of a literary work when forcing modern trends and values onto the piece in an attempt to entertain or create a visual appeal for the viewing audience. “[L]iterature is more complex than film: literature seems to be defined with subtlety and implicitness which are seen as its major characteristics, whereas film seems to be characterised by its simplicity and explicitness” (Chung 54). The visual portrayal is but a shell of what the original work was. These inaccurate dramatizations continue and new adaptations visually rape the minds of viewers, creating invalid and insignificant renditions of literature. Although familiarity with literature is indispensable, visual adaptations can not be the method in which classic American literature is presented. These literary works offer a heritage and in-depth understanding that can not be gained outside of the original text. By not reading the original piece, something crucial is lost which can never be replaced.

WORK CITED


MS Word Export To Multiple PDF Files Software - Please purchase license.Cause Celeb: An Analysis of Celebrity Persuasion in Media

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Abstract

The One Campaign is a U.S based, non-profit organization which aims to increase United States government funding for effectiveness of international aid programs. Television commercials illustrating impoverished nations in need have been created by the One Campaign using both celebrity and non-celebrity spokespeople. This study examines some of the television commercials that have been created to bring awareness of worldwide crisis to the masses. These commercials employ two specific outlines: one featuring celebrity spokespeople, the other featuring imagery, statistics, and a non-celebrity spokesperson. This study investigates how celebrity endorsements, in the form of persuasive messages, can increase a level of agreement from viewers. The commercials were content analyzed to identify themes of effectiveness, and used the Elaboration Likelihood Model of Persuasion to help assess the effectiveness of both. Through critical analysis, results are compared through the investigation of research, and ultimately conclude that celebrity endorsements are more effective.

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In these times of a society over-saturated with media sources, an exploration of the elements that comprise ad campaigns marketed for mass media is warranted. Celebrities as endorsers are hardly a new phenomenon, and it is an approach that is still commonly being used in advertisements today. The One Campaign organization has produced commercials with common themes that employ both celebrities and non-celebrity spokespeople. The focus of this examination is to show the effectiveness of these celebrity endorsed commercials in a media driven society. This is an investigation of the media’s power to create a call to action based on the effectiveness of persuasive messages. The Elaboration Likelihood Model of Persuasion will be integrated into the examination these commercials.

The One Campaign

The ONE Campaign is a U.S.-based, nonpartisan, non-profit organization which aims to increase United States government funding for and effectiveness of international aid programs. It is an organization which attempts to mobilize supporters around its issues and organize them into a lobbying force, with the goal of encouraging America's elected national leaders to fund more U.S. international development and relief programs.

Although its central talking points center on ending extreme poverty and fighting the AIDS pandemic, ONE supports a broad variety of international development and relief issues, including debt relief, clean water, increasing the quantity and efficiency of aid, lessening corruption in the governments of the aid-recipient countries, providing basic education for all, making trade more fair, reforming the farm bill to make it more fair for farmers in developing countries, slowing deadly diseases such as HIV/AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis, and increasing the international affairs budget. ONE holds the position that increasing foreign development assistance will create a more secure world, believing that global poverty and the ideological extremism that fuels terrorism are linked (one.org 2004).
Celebrities in Endorsements

Celebrity endorsers are regularly used to promote and endorse products, or bring awareness to their prospective causes. The relationship between the endorser and the product represents a unit connection, or a perception by the consumer of the extent with which the endorser is associated or bonded with the product (Brown & Mowen, 1981, 437). About 25% of US advertisements employ celebrity endorsers. These actions suggest that many US firms have brought into the premise that celebrity endorsers positively impact consumer attitudes towards an advertisement and the associated brand, consumers’ purchase intention, as well as other measures of effectiveness (Amos, Holmes & Strutton, 2008). Some researchers suggest that celebrities make advertisements believable (Kamins 1989), help in the recognition of brand names (Petty 1983), enhance message recall (Friedman 1979), create a positive attitude towards the brand (Kamins 1989) and give endorsed brands distinct personalities (McCracken 1989).

Within the confines of this topic, there are several key factors to consider when conducting an investigation on celebrities in endorsements.

Source Credibility

Source credibility can be defined as “a communicator’s positive characteristics that affect the receiver’s acceptance of a message” (Ohanian 1990). The source-credibility model analyses the factors leading to the perceived credibility of the communicator. The model contends that the effectiveness of a message depends on the perceived level of expertise and trustworthiness associated with an endorser or communicator (Erdogan 1999). When considered jointly, expertise and trustworthiness are presumed to embody the source credibility construct (Ohanian 1990).

Source Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness and expertise have each traditionally been associated with source credibility, with expertise generally identified as the more important dimension (Homer & Kahle, 1990). Trustworthiness typically includes the items trustworthy, dependable, reliable, and sincere (Ohanian 1991). In an advertising context, trustworthiness refers to the honesty, integrity and believability of a celebrity endorser (Erdogan 1999). These conceptualisations imply that trustworthiness construct should proxy the confidence consumers have in the reliability and integrity of a given source (Amos, Holmes & Strutton, 2008).

Source Attractiveness

The source-attractiveness model posits that the attractiveness of any source is determined by the communication receiver’s perceptions of the source’s similarity, familiarity, and likeability. Essentially, if consumers perceive a celebrity endorser as similar to them and they are familiar with and like the celebrity, they will tend to find the celebrity more attractive (Amos, Holmes & Strutton, 2008).

Elaboration Likelihood Model

The Elaboration Likelihood Model by Petty and Cacioppo (1984) specifies that there are two routes to persuasion: central and peripheral. The route taken depends on people’s elaboration level, which is determined by motivation and ability, and elaboration level can be used to understand how people deal with the persuasive message, that is, by analyzing the information as arguments or by being influenced by simple associative and cue processes (Petty, Rucker, Derek, 2006).
Central Route

When elaboration is high, people tend to engage in central route processing. According to the ELM, people examine all the information presented in an attempt to uncover all of the reasons in support of the proposal and the substantive merits of these reasons (Petty, Rucker, Derek, 2006). The central route is used when a person is highly involved with the cause and devotes significant effort to perceive and gain information (Sen 2003). People have both the motivation and the ability to attend to the merits of the arguments being presented when elaboration is high. For example, if a message comes from an expert source, a person with high elaboration is likely to consider whether the source’s expertise is relevant for the judgment at hand. A message about the dangers of smoking would be more influential if the source were a Harvard medical doctor who specializes in lung cancer than a Harvard medical doctor who specializes in skin cancer (Petty, Rucker & Derek, 2006).

Peripheral Route

When elaboration is low, people tend to not take as much as a diligent consideration of the message arguments. Rather, post-communication attitudes are simply based on peripheral cues that are associated with the message (Dickson, Lord, Miniard, 1988). Variables are likely to function as simple cues under low elaboration because people do not scrutinize the message-relevant information for its substantive merits. Any evaluation that is formed is likely to result from simple associations or inference processes that do not require much cognitive effort (Petty, Rucker & Derek, 2006).

Attitude changes that occur via the peripheral route do not occur because an individual has personally considered the pros and cons of the issue, but because the attitude issue or object is associated with positive or negative cues—or because the person makes a simple inference about the merits of the advocated position based on various simples cues in the persuasion context

Peripheral Cues

The peripheral route does not involve diligent consideration of the message arguments. Rather, post-communication attitudes are simply based on the peripheral cues that are associated with the message. These cues may take a number of forms such as the quantity (rather than quality) of the message arguments, the source’s attractiveness or credibility, and/or the type of music which accompanies the communication, for example (Dickson, Lord & Miniard, 1988). Other peripheral cues include an endorser’s personal qualities; reputation, believability, likeability, etc (Brown & Mowen, 1981).

Summary of Studies

Celebrities in endorsements and how their level of noteriety influences the viewer has been investigated by researchers in many different realms. The One Campaign utilizes celebrities from different facets of entertainment. The celebrities used are attractive and by coinciding this peripheral cue with a strong message, it is possible that the potential for reaching a mass audience is increased. Homer and Kahle (1985), found that sometimes an attractive model may lure an audience into an advertisement, in effect increasing the ad’s involvement by transforming it into a source of information about that adaptive topic. The results revealed that participants were more likely to intend to purchase after exposure to an attractive than an unattractive celebrity. Physical attractiveness may affect attitude change at several different places in the attitude-change process. Their results support the idea that the attractiveness of a celebrity used in the One Campaign is a peripheral cue that can increase the strength of the advertisement. An audience member can first gain interest by the attractiveness of the celebrity, and can then examine the information provided after their attention is gained.
The One Campaign utilizes celebrities to ultimately incite the viewer and persuade them to take action towards the cause. Attitudinal responses to advertisements based on the Elaboration Likelihood Model of Persuasion were the focus of a study by Schumann and Petty (1985). Results showed that exposure to a famous endorser increased recall of the product category under low involvement conditions, but had no effect on product recall under high involvement. Under high involvement, the user of celebrity endorsers enhanced brand name recognition. This study argues that when people are more interested in the product category, they may be more motivated to access what brand the liked personalities are endorsing. (Cacioppo, Petty, Schumann, 1983). The basis of this study coincides with the aim of the celebrity endorsed commercials produced by the One Campaign. The celebrities are used as a catalyst to access the information that is being provided in the message of the campaign.

Accordingly, the use of spokescharacters utilized within modern advertising campaigns is a subject that carries a strong significance within the constructs of this exploration. In 2005, Burton and Garretson based their study on the strategic combinations of advertising cues, including spokespersons or product endorsers. Marketing practitioners believe that the use of consistent messages across multiple points of contact has important implications for brand equity and sales (Duncan and Everett 1993). Based on the results of the study, this article suggests that more relevant spokescharacters or endorsers, which consumers perceive as conveying a particular brand attribute appear to offer brands the benefits of both increased memory strength and improved evaluations among consumers who actively process brand information (Burton & Garretson, 2005). The results support the idea that celebrity endorsed versions of the One Campaign commercials offer the audience an opportunity for increased memory strength, which in turn may ultimately help gain notoriety for the campaign. While the possibility is there that a viewer may not find a celebrity endorser appealing, with the array of personality types presented, there is the possibility that one may inspire further investigation.

The celebrity endorsed commercials produced by the One Campaign implement the use of spokespeople as a tool to reach a message to the masses. In order to successfully catch the attention of an audience, it is strategic to use multiple endorsers to catch the attention of a mass audience. Mowen and Brown (1981), used ninety-nine individuals of both sexes served as student subjects as of a study investigating endorser effectiveness. Subjects were given experimental booklets based on new advertisements. The first ad was for a pen called the “Easy Writer” without a celebrity endorser, the second ad featured Paul Newman. Other ads of the same nature included multiple celebrity endorsers other than Paul Newman, and another features Paul Newman with college students. The results of the study showed that subjects liked Newman the most when the student endorsers were also shown because the student subjects could apparently relate more to Newman when people like themselves were also favorable toward the same product he was endorsing. In low motivation status conditions, the association of Newman and the students with the “Easy Writer” pen produced more believability for the celebrity. This suggests that even multiple product celebrity endorsers associated with low status products can have a relatively high believability if linked with average citizens similar to those of the target audience (Brown & Mowen 1981). The One Campaign relates to this study by using multiple celebrities in one celebrity endorsed version, as well as implementing an average everyday person in another version. The use of multiple spokespeople and an average everyday person increases the strength of the campaign.

It is imperative to explore the ways in which negative celebrity press can affect an advertising campaign while investigating celebrity endorser effectiveness. The One Campaign utilizes many different types of celebrity personalities and there the possibility that all may not be seen as favorable in regards to the way they are seen in the public eye. Amos, Holmes and Strutton conducted a meta-analysis (a quantitative review of a research domain that illustrates the typical strength of effect of a phenomenon, its variability, its statistical significance and the nature of the moderator variables from which one can predict the comparative strength of the effect of phenomenon) on studies between 1990-2005 to
provide a summary of the relationship between celebrity endorser effects and the effectiveness in advertising. The Kruskal-Wallis non-parametric test is used to identify the most influential celebrity endorser source effects on effectiveness. The results suggest that negative celebrity information can be detrimental to an advertising campaign. These results underscored the high risk associated with using celebrity endorsers as well as the huge impact negative information about that celebrity can have on consumer perceptions. This also suggests that when negative information about a celebrity endorser emerges, the revelation can dilute the equity of the product/brand associated with the celebrity. Results also show that celebrity trustworthiness certainly represents a critical issue for advertisers (Amos, Holmes & Strutton, 2008). While researchers argue that the message is strained when delivered by a celebrity with questionable character, it is ultimately up to the viewer to decide whether or not their participation in delivering a message is appropriate. This can vary from person to person, and as with any celebrity endorsed advertisement, the One Campaign runs the risk of being tarnished by a celebrity that has been portrayed in a negative light.

Additionally, Bailey (2007) concludes that negative events involving celebrity endorsers had little or no effect on their attitudes towards the brands and companies with which these celebrity endorsers are associated. Additional comments made by study subjects revealed that the nature of the controversy and the extent to which the brand and the celebrity endorser are intertwined are factors that would influence their attitudes toward an embattled celebrity and the brand he or she endorses (Bailey 2007). The One Campaign has the potential to reach out to a large demographic, and it is solely up to an individual watching these celebrity endorsed commercials to decide whether or not a celebrity endorser is trustworthy or not. These beliefs will vary among people and are not universal. The potential to create a successful campaign based on celebrity endorsers still has substantial potential because the variety of peripheral cues available to capture the audience is plentiful.

Method

Ten commercials in total were content analyzed using the Elaboration Likelihood Model of Persuasion (Cacioppo & Schumann, 1983) to exemplify the effectiveness of both (five Celebrity Endorsed and five Non-Celebrity Endorsed). These commercials were produced by the One Campaign between 2004 and 2008 and were classified into two separate categories: Celebrity Endorsed Commercials and Non-Celebrity Endorsed Commercials. The Elaboration Likelihood Model of Persuasion is very potent in this investigation because it has the ability to associate with the viewer on both the Central and Peripheral routes.

Celebrity Endorsed Commercials

Celebrity endorsed commercials produced by the One Campaign utilized familiar faces representing a broad spectrum of the entertainment world including actors and musicians. All but one of these celebrity-based commercials are produced in black and white, with all of the endorsers dressed in plain white clothes standing against a plain white background. Some of the celebrity speakers include: George Clooney, Tom Hanks, Brad Pitt, Salma Hayek, Bono, Angelina Jolie and Cameron Diaz. Each celebrity speaks a line in a serious, almost deadpan, tone. When each has completed his/her line, the next celebrity appears. The commercials conclude with either a logo of the One Campaign or a web address where you can add your name to a petition.

The first commercial is one minute long and begins with a male voiceover with the words “Every 3 seconds 1 child dies”, this is followed with a celebrity appearing on the screen and snapping their fingers to symbolize the death of a child that has just occurred in the three seconds it took for them to snap their fingers. The male voiceover continues, “somebody’s daughter, somebody’s son. dead. Every three seconds. Help make poverty history. We’re not asking for your money we’re asking for your voice.” As each line is read, the finger
snapping is continued as images of celebrities fade in and out with each other. At the conclusion, the statement, “We’re not asking for your money, we’re asking for your voice.” is heard followed by the image of a young boy, presumably of African descent, giving the final “finger snap” before the address to join the One Campaign online is displayed.

The second commercial is similar, but in contrast to the first commercial, the celebrity endorsers each speak a line straight into the camera instead of using the assistance of a voiceover. This commercial is one minute long. The celebrities representing the One Campaign come from very diverse backgrounds and vary in age, race, and ethnicity. The commercials begins with a female celebrity stating “One by one we step forward”, followed by a succession of male and female celebrities stating the following: “a nurse, a teacher, a homemaker, and lives are saved, but the problem is enormous. Every three seconds, one person dies. Another three seconds, one more. This situation is so desperate in parts of Africa, asia and even America that aid groups, just as they did for the tsunami, are uniting as one. Acting, as one. We can beat extreme poverty, starvation, AIDS, but we need your help. One more person, letter, voice will mean the difference between life and death for millions of people. Please join us by working together. Americans have an unprecedented opportunity. We can make history. We can start to make poverty history one by one by one.” The commercial concludes with the statement, “We’re not asking for your money, we’re asking for your voice.”

The next one minute commercial is modeled very closely to the first example, however this time the text used is modified slightly. A female celebrity begins with the line, “A child dies unnecessarily as a result of extreme poverty every three seconds.” Celebrities on a white background appear and their fingers snap to symbolize the death of a child that has just occurred in the three seconds it took for them to snap their fingers. This turns into the female voice is heard with images of various celebrities appearing and snapping their fingers in sync with her message. She continues with, “there we go (finger snap), that’s another one (finger snap), somebody’s daughter (finger snap), somebody’s son (finger snap), and the thing is (finger snap), all of these deaths (finger snap) are avoidable (finger snap).” The commercial concludes with the statement, “Make poverty history.”

Actor Matt Damon is the only celebrity endorser presented in this thirty second commercial. This commercial is the only celebrity endorsed commercial produced by the One Campaign that is done in color versus the black and white. Matt Damon begins with the dialogue, “Thanks to everyday Americans who chose to make a difference”. While his image remains for the rest of the message and he is “speaking” for the entirety of the commercial, his voice is morphed and over-dubbed with various voices of other male and female celebrities encouraging people to take action. The rest of the commercial is as follows: “Millions of lives have been saved in the worlds poorest countries. Forty-one million more children have been able to go to school, three more million people living with Aids have access to life saving medication, three million fewer children die each year from preventable diseases, but there is still more to do. In this election year please join the millions of Americans from every party who are coming together as one. We welcome your voice. Thank you.” The commercial concludes with the web address to the One Campaign in black on a plain white background.

The final celebrity endorsed example is thirty seconds long and includes both male and female celebrities. Each celebrity reads a short line of a continuous message that states, “Every three seconds a child dies from Aids and extreme poverty but lives are being saved. Millions of Americans are coming together one by one. We can beat Aids and extreme poverty when we act as one. We need your voice.” The commercial concludes with the logo of the One Campaign in black on a plain white background.

While these commercials all have the common trait of featuring celebrity endorsers, they also have many similar themes of effectiveness that make them valid examples of persuasive messages. When the commercial is viewed in the peripheral route, viewers are going on their first impression of what they see first: celebrities. If so many celebrities are collectively agreeing that this is a worldwide crisis, they may be more inclined to take action and sign the One Campaign petition. Celebrities in this
case may also be seen as a trustworthy source of information. Perhaps a viewer enjoyed a movie they appeared in, for example, and they may find them to be honorable because of that. With the campaign message repeated consistently and everyone collectively agreeing upon the same objective, this is another way in which a viewer in the peripheral route could be persuaded. These commercials capture the viewer by using source credibility.

By using celebrities, they might be viewed as reliable sources based on attractiveness or other peripheral cues. The viewer may also see them as a trustworthy source for information because they are familiar. Also, by using celebrities of different gender, age, race and from different fields of entertainment, the audience will have more reaction and thoughts in response to the message of the appeal.

The messages of the One Campaign found within these celebrity endorsed commercials can also be seen as an important peripheral cue, as well. When a celebrity reads the line, “One by one we step forward; a nurse, a teacher, a homemaker, and lives are saved”, a viewer watching this through low motivation (the peripheral route) may find the celebrity more human rather than just a celluloid image on a screen. If the celebrity is acknowledging the everyday “working man” in terms of nurses, teachers and homemakers, and how they can make a difference in a worldwide crisis, this in turn makes them feel equal in terms of how much power they have to make a difference. A viewer may find the celebrity endearing based on the fact that they are making themselves relatable to the everyday person, and in turn this raises the effectiveness of the campaign.

Using celebrities can influence the amount of cognitive responses the viewer will have when viewing the commercial. It is possible that the general public may find a celebrity to be more agreeable than using an everyday person they do not recognize or cannot relate to. While a viewer may not truly relate to a celebrity in terms of wealth, fame or status, they ultimately see a familiar face which can heighten their interest and encourage them to act on behalf of the campaign.

When a viewer watches this through the central route, they may be more empathetic with hearing about tragedy and global crisis. A viewer using the central route is highly motivated and processes messages in a more observant manner, and may also be struck by statements such as “This situation is so desperate in parts of Africa, Asia even America” because it is said in a blunt tone that makes the situation closer to home and invades their comfort zone. A viewer may feel empathy when reflecting on what they may have read in the newspapers or seen on the nightly news. To a viewer in the central route the “finger snapping” is a representation of a death of a child, and this is liable to have a profound effect as it could hit close to home on a personal level if they put themselves in the position of those facing hardship.

With the commercial being produced on a plain background, the viewer will not be distracted as if it were done with loud bright colors, or a lot of special effects. Being less prone to distraction means that the viewer will be able to process the message through the central route and increase the number of cognitive responses. The fact that “AIDS, poverty and starvation” are topics that are universally known, the viewer may have more reaction or thoughts about the message. It is not something that is foreign or unusual. Another way this may be achieved is through the repetition and rhythm in which the commercial flows. It is almost predictable what will happen next, but the message is still the main focal point.

Additionally, a viewer watching a celebrity endorsed commercial through the central route will not be impressed or motivated by who is delivering the message. As opposed to a viewer in the peripheral route that is apt to find a celebrity trustworthy or credible based on their status, a viewer in the central route will consider if a celebrity is an appropriate or worthwhile messenger for delivering such a critical message in the first place. A viewer in the central route will look past attractiveness and other peripheral cues and focus on the issue at hand. A more in depth look into the consequences of not
taking part in the alleviation of a worldwide crisis is more important to a viewer in the central route than it is to be associated with the campaign because of its celebrity representatives.

**Non-Celebrity Endorsed Commercials**

Non-celebrity endorsed commercials produced by the One Campaign employed imagery, statistics, and non-celebrity spokespeople to represent the topic of worldwide crisis to the masses. The commercials conclude with either a logo of the One Campaign or a web address where you can add your name to a petition.

The first commercial is thirty seconds in length and focuses on the progress that has been made throughout history. A female voiceover is used and delivers the following message over a succession of various historical images: “One by one they came together to make history. One by one, we can change the future.” Historical images used include women campaigning for the right to vote, the March on Washington, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The final part of the message, “This is our challenge. Make poverty history”, is delivered by a young Caucasian male wearing a One Campaign t-shirt. The commercial concludes with the web address to the One Campaign in black on a plain white background.

The second non-celebrity endorsed commercial is one minute in length and uses imagery of famine in Africa to persuade viewers to join the One Campaign to combat the climate crisis. This commercial features no male or female voiceovers and has only drumming, presumably African or tribal, as an accompanying background musical track. Images of sick children, starved animals, children drinking from dirty water sources, dry land, children in make-shift graves and animal bones are interspersed with the message, “The climate crisis: Africans will suffer first and worst. By 2025, almost five hundred million Africans will face water shortages. Less rain, less drinking water, less income, less food. Together we have to stop it.” At this point images of smiling African children in school uniforms are shown, children drinking clean water, children laughing, followed with the conclusion of the message that states, “Solving the climate crisis saves lives. Add your voice.” This is followed by the One Campaign logo in white on a black background.

The next non-celebrity endorsed commercial is thirty seconds in length and is similar to the second example. The focus of this commercial is to bring attention to the climate crisis and the dismal affects of a warmer Earth, in this case Malaria. This commercial features no male or female voiceovers and has only drumming, presumably African or tribal, as an accompanying background musical track. Images of sick children, make-shift graves and general hardship are interspersed with the message, “Already, more than one million children die every year from malaria. Warmer earth, more malaria. Africans will suffer first and worst from the climate crisis. Together as one, we can stop it. Solving the climate crisis saves lives. Add your voice.” The commercial concludes with the web address to the One Campaign in white on a plain black background.

A vast amount of non-celebrity spokespeople are featured in this thirty second commercial that focuses on taking careful consideration of the global poverty and disease epidemic when contemplating which presidential candidate to vote for. The commercial begins with the image of a girl standing alone wearing a white shirt with the number “1” on it and opens her mouth as if to scream. No audio is heard other than a male voice over delivering this message, “One voice, can make a difference. But one plus one plus one plus is impossible to ignore. Join us to plead as one. To heal and bring hope to the world. Ask each presidential candidate if they are on the record fighting global poverty and disease, One voice plus yours and millions of others, they will hear. One.Org.” As the audio message is heard, more non-celebrity spokespeople are added on screen, with white shirts on and numbers on them representing their part in the campaign. Each individual looks as if they are about to speak or scream as the message continues. The amount of spokespeople shown on the screen multiplies and they are seen walking in a line through deserted land. Flashes of names of presidential candidates are quickly shown before the commercial concludes with a prompt to visit “One.Org.”
The final non-celebrity endorsed commercial is thirty seconds in length uses a male voiceover to urge viewers to consider the One Campaign as the deciding factor when choosing their presidential candidate and to use “their voice” to help end worldwide crisis. The message, “One question for John McCain and Barack Obama: What will you do about global poverty and disease? America’s goodness is making a difference. Innovative and accountable efforts are saving millions of lives. Stopping the spread of aids and malaria and making drinking water safer and helping people in poverty make their own way out. The candidates have said we need to build on this success. Will you make sure they follow through?” This message is said in combination with matching black text that is shown on a white background. The commercial concludes with, “Add your voice to the millions who’ve said yes”, followed by the One Campaign logo in black on a plain white background.

These commercials do not follow the exact same themes of effectiveness compared to those of the Celebrity Endorsed commercials. While the consistency of the message is preserved, the nature in which it is delivered is vastly different. The familiar voices and faces of celebrity endorsers are stripped away and replaced with thought-provoking, yet somewhat graphic depictions of global crisis. These non-celebrity endorsed commercials give the viewer a first-hand look at the catastrophic situations without the glossy presentation of a celebrity appeal.

When a viewer watches these non-celebrity commercials through the central route, it is possible that they are more cognizant in terms of the global crisis and the urgency to offer aid to countries in need. A viewer using the central route is highly motivated and processes messages in a more observant manner, and may also be struck by statements such “By 2025, almost five hundred million Africans will face water shortages. Less rain, less drinking water, less income, less food. Together we have to stop it.” This message presents itself as a very realistic outcome to an already dire situation. The fact that people in other countries may possibly suffer from the effects of global climate change becomes a realistic probability in their own lives. This type of message will be carefully scrutinized by a highly motivated viewer and this will allow them to thoroughly examine the message being presented.

With the commercial being produced with minimal production, the possibility of the highly motivated viewer becoming preoccupied with the presentation is skewed. Being less prone to distraction means that the viewer will be able to process the message through the central route and increase the number of cognitive responses. The fact that “disease, poverty and starvation” are topics that are universally known, the viewer may have more reaction or thoughts about the message. These topics are not alien nor are they unfamiliar. The delivery of the message throughout the non-celebrity endorsed commercials is not predictable in terms of imagery, but the message is consistent and this allows the central route viewer an opportunity to formulate further inquest of the topics presented.

Furthermore, a viewer watching a non-celebrity endorsed commercial through the central route may not be fascinated or motivated by who is delivering the message. As opposed to a viewer in the peripheral route that is apt to find an endorser trustworthy or credible based on their status, a viewer in the central route will consider if an endorser is an appropriate or justifiable messenger for delivering such a critical message in the first place. A viewer in the central route will look past alluring qualities and other peripheral cues and instead focus on the issue at hand. A more exhaustive look into the ramifications of not taking part in the alleviation of a global crisis is crucial to a viewer in the central route.

When the commercial is viewed in the peripheral route, viewers are first inspired by peripheral cues presented in the form of images, music, endorser likeability, and endorser believability. In two out of the five non-celebrity endorsed commercials produced by the One Campaign, realistic imagery shown of children suffering and people living in impoverished conditions can be seen as a peripheral cue to a viewer with low motivation. The images of people living in complete destitution may be a cue that will encourage a reaction because of its believability. On the same token, these commercials also showcase
children living a happier life as result of the campaign which is also an important factor when focusing on the effectiveness of this appeal.

Images of historical figures and everyday people are used as peripheral cues, as well. In the case of the historical figures, they may also be seen as trustworthy sources of information. If the viewer is familiar with the historical figure and their contribution in history they may find them to be honorable or likable because of their positive association. When everyday people are shown, peripheral cues including attractiveness, likeability and believability play a major factor when the low-motivated viewer watches a non-celebrity endorsed commercial. A viewer in the peripheral route may be enticed by seeing average everyday people taking a stand for something they also believe in. While they may not fully investigate or explore the message at hand, they are moved to action simply by what they find appealing about the messenger. Music used in the non-celebrity endorsed commercials is also a peripheral cue to be considered. The type of music used as a backing track may form a positive cue for the viewer and may also influence the effectiveness of the commercial.

In a non-celebrity based endorsement the amount of peripheral cues available to the low-motivated viewer are limited. While a viewer can react to cues such as endorser believability, likeability or other personal qualities, there is a limitation to the number of cognitive responses that may be developed while viewing in the peripheral route.

Discussion

According to Brown and Mowen (1981), the relationship between the endorser and the product represents a unit connection, or a perception by the consumer of the extent with which the endorser is associated or bonded with the product. Additional research explores the notion that celebrities may make advertisements believable (Kamins 1989), help in the recognition of brand names (Petty 1983), enhance message recall (Friedman 1979), create a positive attitude towards the brand (Kamins 1989) and give endorsed brands distinct personalities. These findings support the notion that celebrities have an undeniable influence when it comes to effectiveness in the endorsements they partake in.

In the study by Homer and Kahle (1985), participants were called upon to recall information presented to them in celebrity driven advertisements. Their findings found that “physical attractiveness may affect attitude change at several different places in the attitude-change process. Sometimes an attractive model may lure an audience into an advertisement, in effect increasing the ad’s involvement by transforming it into a source of information about that adaptive topic” (Homer & Kahle 957). These results show the important role that peripheral cues play to the celebrity-endorsed commercials presented by the One Campaign. With attractiveness being a physical trait shared by the celebrity endorsers, it is a cue that exposes a gateway into further investigation of the subject matter.

Accordingly, Cacioppo and Schumann (1984), claim that their findings also “contribute to the idea that celebrities in endorsements raise a level of motivation which opens a route for critical thought within the message that is being presented” (Cacioppo & Schuman 137). While central route viewers are already prone to further scrutiny of a message without the aide of peripheral cues, the celebrity endorsers offer the peripheral route viewer an opportunity to explore the messages being presented in depth. The opportunity to fully grasp the message may be lost without the presence of these cues. With the message presented in a manner in which interest is peaked, the celebrity-endorsed commercial offers a greater potential for success when an attempt is made to reach out to the masses.

Based on the results of the study by Burton and Garretson (2005), this article suggests that “more relevant spokescharacters or endorsers, which consumers perceive as conveying a particular brand attribute appear to offer brands the benefits of both increased memory strength and improved evaluations among consumers who actively process brand information” (Burton & Garretson 122). The One Campaign offers a cornucopia of celebrity personalities in which a person can find appealing or relatable. While the possibility is there that a viewer may not find a celebrity endorser appealing, with
the array of personality types presented, there is the possibility that one may inspire further accessment.

In the advent of celebrity driven scandal becoming headline news, research has been conducted that investigates the impact of negative celebrity controversy. Amos, Holmes and Strutton (2008) studied the relationship between celebrity endorser effects and the effectiveness in advertising. The results of their meta-analysis suggests that negative celebrity information can be detrimental to an advertising campaign. These results “underscored the high risk associated with using celebrity endorsers as well as the huge impact negative information about that celebrity can have on consumer perceptions” (Holmes & Strutton 45). This type of negative attention could alter the scope of the message being presented in celebrity endorsed commercials produced by the One Campaign because peripheral cues such as reputation, believability, and likeability are being put in jeopardy. However, a study by Bailey (2007) reveals that the “nature of the controversy and the extent to which the brand and the celebrity endorser are intertwined are factors that would influence attitudes toward an embattled celebrity and the brand he or she endorses” (Bailey 94). The status of the celebrity and the effectiveness of their presence ultimately is determined by the viewer. The peripheral viewer may find one endorser more favorable over the other, but still find cues within the campaign that would make it effective. The central route viewer would look past the messenger, and would focus on the nature of the message. With the One Campaign offering an array of celebrity endorsers along with a strong message, the greater the chances are of reaching out to a wider audience.

Mowen and Brown (1981), conducted a study investigating endorser effectiveness. Their findings suggests that “even multiple product celebrity endorsers associated with low status products can have a relatively high believability if linked with average citizens similar to those of the target audience” (Mowen & Brown 439). This ties directly into the first celebrity-endorsed commercial presented by the One Campaign. Celebrity endorsers are represented by a voiceover delivering a message and at the end, a young non-celebrity boy is shown in the same clothes, delivering the same action. While, this young boy may not exactly fit the demographic of the target audience, he is still representing non-celebrities as a whole. With the One Campaign utilizing famous faces and an average citizen, their effectiveness and appeal is raised, which means that in the end the greater the chances are of reaching a broader audience.

**Conclusion**

In an age when sensationalism in the media has become part of our psychological wallpaper, it is my belief that these findings are what make the celebrity-endorsed commercials produced by the One Campaign a viable tool when a desire to motivate the masses is the main objective. Non-celebrity endorsed commercials by the One Campaign are powerful presentations in their own right. However, it is my contention that their lack of peripheral cues stunt the potential of their message.

When a desire to reach a global audience over this delicate matter is the goal, the celebrity-endorsed versions of these commercials have the greater potential for success. The message itself is so strongly conveyed that the central route viewer may not need the extra cues, such as celebrities, to help influence their opinions. Celebrities used in these endorsements are used to generate focus and heighten the sense of urgency that is needed. As a result, these celebrity endorsers play a powerful role in the success of the campaign.

The way in which an individual views or favors these two types of commercials presented is ultimately left up to their own discretion. However, the celebrity-endorsed commercials show characteristics that would make them a more powerful and effective advertising tool when the main objective is to convey a message to a mass audience.
REFERENCES


In this paper, our focus will be on the depictions of men and women in magazine advertisements between 2007 and 2008.

In our research we examine advertisements from a wide span of magazines that have a wide range of readers. Men and women are the main focus of our research in these ads. We have seen that the men and women in our ad selection fall into four groups; playful couples, romantically involved couples, family and friends. We observed different picture images from various magazines in an attempt to determine how Madison Avenue portrays gender and gender relationship in ads that tell a story.

Our first source of literature was Erving Goffman’s book Gender Advertisements. Goffman’s review of advertisements was key in our research because of his insight on the role between men and women. Goffman goes into detail about how “visible properties such as looks, height, elevation, closeness to center, elaborateness of costume, and temporal precedence can place a remarkable order in an ad.”

Our second source is Provocateur by Anthony J. Cortese. His book has a major focus on images of women in advertising. Cortese takes from Goffman’s views of physical behavior representing social and gender status. Cortese’s book states that men try to attract women by signs of strength and wealth while women try to attract a man with youth and beauty.

It’s Not Your Father’s Magazine Ad: Magnitude and Direction of Recent Changes in Advertising Style by Edward F. McQuarrie and Barbara J. Phillips. This source tells about changing styles of advertisements over the years, that ads still offer products much like those many years ago, but they use more pictures than words in today’s ads.

Our fourth source is Utopian Spaces in Magazine Advertisements by Luigi and Alessandra Manca. Their view on utopian spaces for the playful couple, family, and friends gives us a good source of information on recent magazine studies. The breakdown of their advertisements is very similar to the ads we found in our research.

In our research, we came across four distinct groups in the ads we collected; playful couples, romantically involved couples, family and friends. We can see that advertisers use the characters in these groups in a very similar way. The images, lifestyle, and emotions that the advertisements sell, tap into personal experience and draw the reader in. They mimic lifestyles and trends as well as companionship and love to bring the characters to life.

The method of our research was to go through boxes of magazines as a class and separate them into their respected years. From these magazines, we chose to stick with magazines between the 2007 and 2008 years. We collaborated our advertisements in class and broke them down into fitting criteria.

The first set of criteria that we had to meet was that the advertisement has to be a full page. The ad can be in color or in black and white.

The second set of criteria is that the advertisement has to use photography to show its message. The imagery can be supported by graphics and text.

The third set of criteria is that the advertisement must tell a story. The ad should consist of images characters and settings that show a situation that could be believable.

The fourth criteria are that men and women must appear together in the advertisement. With these criteria, we narrowed down our advertisements and set up the basis of our research.
The magazines in which we acquired our advertisements included LA Style, Newsweek, Ladies’ Home Journal, Eve, New Yorker, Good Housekeeping, O, Time, Family Circle, Redbook, Bicycling, and Martha Stewart Living.

Playful Couples

Through our research we found that playful couples depict a man and woman heartedly enjoying life and each other in a fun and casual setting. Playful touching, dancing, and displays of gentle affection are consistent between the characters in these advertisements. These couples range in age from young to old, thus portraying a utopian element where love can last through the ages. The playful couple sells its product by attempting to sell happiness and good times along with it. Through these smiles, these ads make a good connection with the reader, portraying a happier time they might have had or are looking for.

In the bright sun cascading over a big blue ocean, you see a tropical looking lifeguard station on a sandy beach. In the other two images, you see a young couple blissfully smiling and dancing. This is the image for Sperry Top-Sider, a sandal ad. The words “Get Wet,” appear. This can be seen as a double entendre meaning it is sexual or innocent beach banter. The ad gives a sense of fun in the sun activity. The female and male figure both show relevant signs of playful actions. As you see them dancing, you can see a sense of innocent attraction and interest in one another. The male and female characters are similarly dressed, both wearing sunglasses and white shirts. Their actions and position in the ad suggest a shared dominance in the photographs. Other playful couples similar to the previous would be in the ad for Holiday Retirement. This ad also shows a playful couple, but an old couple. In their old age, they are represented as still being full of life and love as they dance together on the dance floor. The couple is similarly dressed in red shirts and glasses. This couple is the focus of the ad as everything behind them is blurred out leading to a sense that they are enjoying each other’s company. From young to old, there is also a middle ground. In an ad for Bayer, a middle-aged couple is shown inside a home. The image leads us to believe that the couple is married, with the symbol being the wedding rings they are wearing. The man is sitting on a couch while his wife hugs and leans on him from behind the couch. The ad reads, “Help prevent heart attacks. And heartbreak.” The wife doesn’t want to lose her husband to a heart attack. This ad shows that the couple still has a playful attitude, but also have a loving concern for one another.

Romantically Involved Couples

In our research we found that romantically involved couples depict a man and woman in a more private environment. The chemistry between the couples is very intimate as displayed through acts of seduction. Eye contact, sensual touching, and closeness display the sexual tension between the couples. The women are usually depicted in more revealing clothing with a sense of enticing the male figure. These couples are all young and attractive, which might lead people to believe that there is a time, and age where intimacy is sexy.

In an upscale hotel room, you see an empty room, the romantic setting and elegance of the atmosphere leads you to a pile of bed sheets that seemed to be misplaced on the floor in this meticulously decorated room. This is when you notice the set of male and female legs sticking out of the end of these bed sheets. This image is one of the obvious examples of romantically involved couples. The setting and position lead you to the assumption that you will find passion and love when you stay at this hotel, The Taj Hotels, Resorts, and Palaces. Calvin Klein’s ad for euphoria shows a man delicately pressing his face against a woman’s neck. The ad makes us have a sense that the man is intoxicated by her smell, the smell of the perfume. The delicate touching and sensual facial expressions, lead to an intimate situation between the characters and the reader.
Calvin Klein uses repetition in their ad for men and women’s fragrances. The posture and body positions of the couple in this ad are very similar to the previous ad. Sexuality is a theme that is prevalent in these types of ads, and the attractive nature of this theme is what grabs the attention of the viewer, whether it is a male or female. Eye contact, intimate proximity, and seduction are some more of the attributes the people in the ad share. In the ad for Hotel Campari, an alcoholic beverage, Salma Hayek is seen sitting in a bar, cross legged, and her hands running through her hair, an act of seduction. If we look at this ad closely, we see the reflection of a man in a mirror, the man she is seducing. Though we cannot make much of an assumption about him, it is clear that Salma Hayek is trying to grab his attention while the ad has grabbed the attention of the viewer through her posture and bust line.

Family

We found that the family ads depict families in very relaxed and comforting environments. Two distinct subgroups are the homey lifestyle and the active thrill seekers. They are both living happy and fulfilling lives, but one set from the comfort of the home and the other in an active and social situation. The children are always depicted as an innocent figure, as well as curious figures that enjoy exploring and participating in adventurous and fun activities with an adult who shows love and nurturing support.

Active Thrill Seeking Family

Outside, beautiful weather, adventure and fun combined together represent this group of families. All age groups are represented as enjoying their time together as a family. A sunny day spent sliding down water slides, stretched smiles and arms raised in excitement is the image provided in a Carnival cruise ad with the words “Fun has no age limit” emphasizing that both the young and old take pleasure in spending energetic quality time with family. Similarly, in the other ad a family is fishing on a boat and the young boy is reeling in a photograph of a family photo. The words in the ad state that “Kids don’t remember their best day of watching television” emphasizing the importance of bonding as a family by doing fun exciting activities. Just like the previous ad the family is outside with beautiful weather and all age groups are smiling and having fun with each other. Also witnessed in the previous ad, the figures on the boat are slightly blurred while the photo is very clear and centered; thus presenting the idea that the family itself isn’t as important as the activities they enjoy together.

Homey Lifestyle Family

Sharing laughter from the comfort of one’s home is observably the theme represented in these ads. Each family contains both a mother and father with a child or children. These families are sharing eye contact and casual laughter from the everyday settings of their homes. One ad set at the dinner table enjoying a nutritious family meal portrays the average family doing run of the mill activities. Hamburger Helper shows a small family enjoying dinnertime in their household. The young daughter is sitting in her father’s lap with his arm wrapped around her. “One pound, One pan, One happy family,” is the slogan at the top of the ad. The ad relates to this by the big smiles and laughter on everyone’s face. This family enjoys their time together at home with one another in this cozy, well-known environment. This nonchalant behavior is represented with having just as much importance as the active thrill seeking behavior. Another ad depicts a father and mother cuddling their baby from the relaxing comfort of their bed. Once again, a regular everyday place is chosen to place the family. All the people in the ad are wearing white, which symbolizes innocence in the typical behavior they are displaying. Royal Velvet takes this approach also as the mother and father happily lay around with their children. The father is bouncing the baby on his lap while the mother lovingly holds her daughter’s feet. The family seems to be portraying a happy and healthy lifestyle, except for the daughter at the bottom of the ad. Her recessive
behavior cuts her from the happy family on the top half of the ad. The girl seems uninterested or distracted by something, but there is still a little glimpse of a smile on her face.

Friends

The Friends category shows men and women featured in a variety of environments where they are shown sharing the space. Although these characters are sharing the space, they are seldom ever seen touching in loving or affectionate ways. These ads depict the men and women having a good time while enjoying the company of others. Whether at a social get together or in a social situation, the people are depicted as light hearted and friendly. They are participating in activities that encourage innocent interaction; there is no love or seduction involved. There are no children and the settings depict a variety of mature adults. They dress according to what situations they are in, these meaning, nice clothes to a friendly get together and more revealing or sexy clothes to go dancing in. These ads generally encompass the young to middle-aged group.

A group of friends gather around in a kitchen happily conversing with one another. The women in the ad seem to be the hostess preparing the food to be eaten. At the top of the ad it reads, “The recipe isn’t complete until you add friends.” These people are sharing the space enjoying this social situation with food and drinks. Almost everyone can relate to a gathering of this sort. Land o Lakes Butter imposes on this familiar situation and uses it to be a focus for the reader. Snyder’s ad uses this image of a friendly get together in their ad as well. Although the main focus is on the characters in the foreground, there is still only a friendly overtone to the situation. The woman seems to be the host again in this situation, entertaining her guests at a social gathering. Michelob Ultra’s ad depicts two friends out most likely at a club dancing. Their dress is more revealing and sexy but nothing too provocative. These people are in social situation having a fun night of drinks and entertainment. The woman appears as the more dominant figure as her character is larger and in front of the man. One could say that they are a couple, but the space between them would suggest that they are friends or in a friendly encounter.

These four groups show a significant difference in the way Madison Avenue portrays men and women together. In different settings, men and women are used to capture the reader’s attention. The emotions the characters portray to the reader are meant to fit the way advertisers want you to feel about the product. They want you to feel aroused by the soft skin of your lover; splendor in a new found love, a sense of being fun and exciting to friends, and the family lifestyle many people look for. These ads convey a message, from first glance to deeper inspection. The advertisers use its characters accordingly. These scenes are all a story, told by the advertiser and read by the reader in a slight chance that the men and women will influence you enough to by their product.
WORK CITED


ADVERTISEMENTS CITED

Introduction

In this paper I will examine the differing interpretive methodologies advocated by Justices Stephen Breyer and Antonin Scalia. I begin with a discussion of our legal system as described in the Federalist and the manner in which justice may result through holdings handed down by the Supreme Court. My focus then shifts to Breyer’s and Scalia’s individual interpretive methods and their assertions that their respective strategy is the best way to prevent judicial decision making from descending into personal predilection. I follow varied writings which stress a justice’s constitutional obligation to rule even when particulars of a case may extend beyond a jurist’s practical knowledge and their responsibility to uphold the constitution’s intrinsic principles. The discussion then explores two aspects of Breyer’s theory: that legal interpretations should consider the purpose behind text and that decisions should turn on practical consequences, as well as Scalia’s assertions that a practical application of the rule of law rests within the text itself. The concluding sections compare Breyer’s and Scalia’s opposing opinions in three cases from the 2007-2008 Term and surmises that the disagreements in theses cases reflect their differing and similar conceptions of the judicial role.

Section I
Theoretical Justification

The Constitution is an embodiment of the human spirit’s innate desire to be liberated from the constraints of its rivals. Its structure is designed to channel the raw energies of the populace in directions conducive to their prosperity. The purpose of the judiciary predates the Constitution itself. In order to determine what constitutes good judgment in the context of the role of the judiciary it must first be determined what is the specific role of the Court as stated and implied by the Constitution. A concise reading of the Federalist Papers as a basic explanation of the nature and construction of our system of government can help to ascertain whether or not the current system holds true to its Common Law model.

The need for a centralized seat of the rule of law for the republic was evidenced in the mayhem that resulted among the states during the period of the confederacy. Varied laws state to state created an atmosphere of incongruity within the republic and presented an image of disorganized governance to the world. The establishment of the judiciary provided for a sovereign legal authority in which all the laws of the nation came to rest for resolution, “To avoid the confusion which would unavoidably result from the contradictory decisions of a number of independent judicatories, all nations have found it necessary to establish one court paramount to the rest, possessing a general superintendence and authorized to settle and declare in the last resort a uniform rule of justice.” The resulting tribunal is responsible for providing guardianship toward the preservation of the spirit of the Constitution and the fundamental liberties secured within.

To paraphrase Alexander Hamilton, the Court must also secure justice by ensuring that statutes contrary to the nature of the Constitution be nullified. This custodial duty is as complex and onerous as is interpretations of the document itself. Do justices have a responsibility to keep pace with the evolving culture of the citizenry in constitutional interpretation, or should they exercise a more intractable
adherence to the words written by the Framers as the method most viable to achieve the protection of liberty for the populace? Whichever path to judgment is chosen, a consistent mode of deliberation is necessary, particularly in times of war and other instances of national urgency. Viabilities of either interpretive method will not be tested here. What is salient to this discourse is an examination of the appropriateness of judicial activism or judicial restraint respectively within specific Court rulings. The question at hand is when or if the Court should either become actively engaged or conservatively restrained in the promotion or abeyance of liberties in their rulings.

Section II
Methodologies

For some, the Constitution is to be read according to the letter of the law; the words taken on their face for value. These textualists do not necessarily hold the view that the “letter of the law” should be strictly adhered to in a more literal sense as is the case in a strict constructionists’ view, but that judges should take into account the encompassing principles upon which a statute is focused. A textualist takes into account the factual connotation behind the words while avoiding additional personal suppositions. Justice Antonin Scalia contends that, “Words do have a limited range of meaning, and no interpretation that goes beyond that range is permissible.” In this context, Scalia claims that textualists hold to a particular form of judicial interpretation or judicial restraint. Simply put, these jurists emphasize conscious efforts to deliberate with an eye on the fundamentals of a statute and its constitutional implications while exercising restraint against the temptation to incorporate their personally held beliefs into their rulings.

Other jurists adhere to alternate versions of interpretation and are deemed, oftentimes pejoratively, as activists. More objectively, judicial activism promotes the view that a statute should be examined with a view toward its inherent purpose and the consequence that rulings hold for the governed. While critics of this technique argue that such rulings often result in the imposition of judges’ private convictions, Justice Stephen Breyer states that, “Since law is connected to life, judges, in applying a text in light of its purpose, should look to consequences, including ‘contemporary conditions, social industrial, and political, of the community to be affected.’” It is difficult to ascertain how a judge would be able to (1) separate his or her own predilections from a statute’s larger social circumstances in a culture of which they are themselves a part, (2) apply the rule of law and (3) maintain impartiality. The process seems dizzying at best however, Justice Breyer contends that this sort of reasoning is possible through, “...an attitude that hesitates to rely upon any single theory or grand view of law, of interpretation, or of the Constitution.” Breyer writes that this attitude calls for the restraint and humility which he states are necessary to dissuade “willfulness” on the part of judges.

Conversely, Justice Antonin Scalia contends that in the absence of written law, there can be no agreement on fundamental values within the context of common law. The question Scalia poses for ‘non-originalists’ is are “...the “fundamental values” that replace original meaning to be derived from the philosophy of Plato, or of Locke, or Mills, or Rawls, or perhaps from the latest Gallup poll?” Which if any theoretical approach should be followed minus stare’ decisis? According to Scalia, “The law means what it ought to mean.” Consequently, this leaves little room for justices to apply much if any analysis to the process of handing down rulings.

In order to comprehend current Supreme Court rulings and opinions, an investigation of the fundamental philosophical theories which motivates a justice’s line of reasoning is in order. These theories also have at least an indirect bearing on the interpretive process that present day justices employ when they concur or dissent with legal questions presented before the court. When ruling on legal issues, Supreme Court Justices must engage in a relevant and substantive examination of the Constitution; in its written statements as well as in its unrecorded implications.
Section III

True to Origins?

The issue is whether or not a sitting court holds fast to the *ideologies* inherent within the constitution when handing down their rulings. The constitution incorporates theories of civic virtue that are designed to personify rights and liberties that permeate the lives of citizens as the law of the land. The personification of these virtues facilitates justice. As an equal balance of justice serves as a basis for a successful civic society, the incorporation of these virtues is crucial for a society’s well being. Without proper justice, *civilized* society dissolves into little more than a Hobbesian state: “Remove justice, and what are kingdoms but gangs of criminals on a large scale?”

Has the present court held to the principles of liberty and restraint that are essential for good government? Whether or not judicial interpretations are expansive or constrictive in nature, that is, whether or not they conform to or conflict with current mores, the constitutional document is to be the basis for decision. According to many theorists, the judiciary has a responsibility to combine social mores and constitutional values in order to effect prudent judicial reasoning. Ronald Dworkin describes the judicial activist role thusly: “They should work out principles of legality, equality, and the rest, revise these principles from time to time in light of what seems to the Court fresh moral insight, and judge the acts of Congress, the states, and the President accordingly.” In this view, the Court must examine constitutional questions through contemporary conceptual lenses. Others argue that such reasoning is either impractical or impossible. Must justices possess specialized skills which would enable them to rule more efficiently according to the ramifications of specific cases? Richard Posner writes, “Judges think they know a lot about trading off liberty against safety in ordinary criminal cases...they’re not experts on national security in general or the terrorist threat in particular.” As a result, in cases which concern subject matter beyond the jurists’ level of expertise, rulings may be handed down based on misinformation or misconception. According to Posner, judges have oftentimes deferred judgment for precisely this reason. However, this challenge does not absolve them of their judicial responsibility: “…many judgments regarding the scope of civil liberties in times of national emergency are unsound...we cannot avoid making such judgments and there is no good alternative to making them pragmatically.”

Justices under the Constitution are charged with the protection of civil liberties in all times and for all time.

Section IV

Consistent Duty

The judiciary undoubtedly has an obligation to rule consistently whether in a judicially active or judicially restrained manner; consistency is essential to stability in the application of the rule of law and to the overall strength of government. This is not to say that the judiciary should apply an obstinate and inflexible methodology to the science of constitutional interpretation, nor should justices willfully affix the basis of their rulings on passing whims which result from evolving social epiphanies or from within their own personal consciousness. The Constitution inherently charges the judiciary to strike a balance between what must remain sound in order for the executive branch to ‘provide for the common defense’ and what ‘promote[s] the general welfare’ as part of a political process voiced by the people through their elected legislative representatives. This balance must be carefully weighed in times of peace as well as in times of crisis.

Active liberty is possible with the enacting of modern liberty that is encompassed by and enhanced with classical principles of liberty. Such enhancements involve the concise interpretation of the themes of classical liberty and can be achieved through dialectic debate to strip away dangers of faction and despotism from the democratic process. When this questioning is a permanent part of the
system of democracy, complacency will be mitigated and proper checks and balances can be best ensured. The result of such oversight increases impartial rulings by deterring judges from imposing their personal will and moral judgments on rulings.

In his introduction, Justice Breyer espouses just such a methodology to affect a balance between citizen participation in government and to limit the extent to which a majority of individuals may have a pejorative effect on the lives and liberties of the minority. Breyer opens his discussion of “active liberty” with a description of the balance between classical and modern liberty. Breyer expands on the theory of this balance through his chapters, “…As Falling Within An Interpretive Tradition” and “…And Consistent With The Constitution’s History”. Here Breyer discusses the interpretive tradition as one which is “...driven by purposes.” His method of interpretation suggests that traditional constitutional wording infused with a contemporary perspective is in order to facilitate cultural evolutions, hence Breyer cautions against inflexibility in rulings in order to avoid: “...placing weight upon eighteenth-century details to the point at which it becomes difficult for a twenty-first-century court to apply the document’s underlying values.” Simultaneously, his method advocates a particular prudence when contemplating the effects of rulings. Breyer argues that this ‘dual duty’ is a judge’s responsibility, “…the Constitution authorizes courts to proceed “practically” when they examine new laws in light of the Constitution’s enduring values.” This results in a type of ‘practical activism’ which Breyer maintains rulings should exemplify.

Breyer argues that strict constructionalism or “literalism/texturalism” does not contain the flexibility necessary to accommodate the evolving will of the people. This also equates to Breyer’s estimation of Scalia’s interpretive methodology. However, while Breyer concentrates his arguments for deference to consequence, he appears to promote restrictions on judicial interpretation in an effort to prevent the imposition of judges’ biases into the shaping of a statute. How is this possible? Does Breyer employ certain critical thinking skills when anticipating consequences? Does Scalia? Taken at face value the two interpretive methodologies appear diametrically opposed. One extreme gives the impression of enacting a marvel of Machiavellian maneuvering while the other seems to call for stoic inaction; as brittle as the parchment on which the original document was penned. It’s improbable that two seemingly opposite approaches to constitutional interpretation could exist amicably within the same sitting Court. The incongruity of this scenario may cause one to question whether or not the two approaches are truly as divergent as they appear to be on the surface. In order to reach a conclusion regarding the variance, one can examine the approaches in a juxtaposed manner; comparing and contrasting rulings in certain Court cases.

Section V
Practical Applications

In Indiana v Edwards Justice Breyer delivers, along with the majority opinion, his extension of the purpose behind the constitutional right of self representation under the Sixth Amendment. In determining whether or not Indiana had the ability to insist that a defendant deemed mentally diminished be accompanied by counsel to trial process Breyer resolves that legal precedent has had a determinate impact on constitutional values; “…Faretta itself and later cases have made clear that the right of self representation is not absolute.” This reasoning while recognizing that, “Mental illness itself is not a unitary concept. It varies in degree. It can vary over time. It interferes with an individual’s functioning at different times in different ways.”, stops short of asserting that the same statement can be made of the Constitution itself. In an application of Breyer’s own ‘practical activism’, the ruling exhibits restraint by refraining from granting Indiana’s request to adopt a more detailed standard of denying incoherent criminal defendants the rights to proceed to trial pro se.
Justice Scalia strikes back in his dissent with a more absolutist view of the Constitution: “...the Constitution does not permit a State to substitute its own perception of fairness for the defendant’s right to make his own case before the jury—a specific right long understood as essential to a fair trial.” In this textuirst understanding, Scalia delineates the range of interpretation of the Sixth Amendment to that which is literal to the document and further argues for the sovereignty of constitutional protection of individual rights against encroachments by States, “While one constitutional requirement must yield to another in case of conflict, nothing permits a State, because of its view of what is fair, to deny a constitutional protection.” Justice Scalia borrows some of Breyer’s interpretive tradition as he discusses the purpose inherent in the right of self representation: “...the dignity at issue is the supreme human dignity of being master of one’s fate rather than a ward of the State – the dignity of individual choice.”

So, while Scalia holds fast to the letter of the constitutional document, he, not unlike his counterpart seeks to expand the meaning behind the Constitution’s written terminology.

*Giles v. California* is another instance where both justices qualify their respective interpretive methodologies in a Sixth Amendment case. In this ruling, Scalia sticks more pointedly to the text in his interpretive technique reaching beyond only to convey supporting evidence by way of Common –Law precedent. According to Justice Scalia, although the defendant’s actions, (murder) has prevented his being able to confront his accuser, the defendant’s actions are not to be considered to have forfeited his rights under the Sixth Amendment’s Confrontation Clause lacking any premeditated action on the part of the defendant that would prevent testimony. He argues against California’s assertion that the exception to the Confrontation Clause was established during the founding era, “Not only was the State’s proposed exception to the right of confrontation plainly not an “exception established at the time of the founding,” id., at 54; it is not established in American jurisprudence since the founding.”

Justice Breyer, although dissenting, believes that although precedent is important, “…the language that courts have used in setting forth the exception is broad enough to cover the wrongdoing at issue in the present case...” Here Breyer appears to be subscribing to Scalia’s textualist doctrine by scrutinizing the factual connotation of the precedent’s wording.

Upon closer inspection, we may discover that much in either method of interpretation is oftentimes intertwined and the appearance of difference rests mainly on what and /or whom their respective restraint or activism benefits. For Justice Scalia, the protection of clearly demarcated constitutional rights for individuals seems to trigger a more energetic or circumstance dependent, a more contained response with respect to his rulings. Justice Breyer’s rulings on the other hand, give the impression that his efforts may be more squarely focused on securing the interests of groups or classes of individuals. Scalia’s strategy is viewed by some as oftentimes purposely resisting popular trend, while Breyer’s manner appears to others to embrace more politically correct leanings of the day. *District of Columbia v. Heller* exemplifies these contentions; Breyer points out that while crime rates soar and the court of public opinion rules against the ability of criminals to access firearms, Justice Scalia upholds the D.C. Circuit Court’s ruling that the Second Amendment protects individual rights to possess firearms. Justice Breyer’s reasoning in his dissent mirrors his reasoning in the majority opinion of *Indiana v. Edwards*, “…the protection the Amendment provides is not absolute.” Breyer codifies the public chorus, “...I cannot understand how one can take from the elected branches of government the right to decide whether to insist upon a handgun-free urban populace in a city now facing a serious crime problem and which, in the future, could well face environmental or other emergencies that threaten the breakdown of law and order.” Here Breyer applies restraint while anticipating the consequences of the decision.

Section VI

*Juxtaposition*
Justice Breyer describes his theory of judicial interpretation as a tradition of respect for the sovereignty of the people. This respect calls for judicial restraint that mandates the impartiality of judges, “...even if a judge knows ‘what the just result should be,’ that judge ‘is not to substitute even his juster will’ for that of ‘the people’.” According to Breyer, the judiciary reserves its personal opinion in deference to the voice of the people. In what seems to be a contradiction of his own hypothesis, Breyer engages in a discourse of how judges must ascertain the purpose(s) inherent within the Constitutional framework and “...look to consequences, including ‘contemporary conditions, social, industrial, and political, of the community to be affected.” This assertion makes it unclear how judges would be equipped to rule without the insertion of their personal judgment(s). 

Scalia’s dedication to the Constitution in its original form is admirable; his loyalty to the written ideals that serve as the bedrock for and have contributed to the growth of a great nation cannot be denied. Scalia seems however, to have missed the most salient theme of the Constitution’s intent: to serve as a framework for a vibrant, dynamic, society that can only remain so through its ability to grow and prosper. That growth emanates from the seed of democracy that existed within the framer’s mind’s eye; however, it is not uncommon for the blossom to bear no resemblance to the seed from which it was sown. Should our destination be the same as our starting point? What then of the journey? The framers meant for the republic to develop and to flourish however, Scalia is correct in his assertion that the responsibility for the extension of values within this nation is not a duty assigned to the judiciary via interpretive means or otherwise, but is the obligation of the legislature. To this, Breyer would agree.

Justice Scalia has often said that the Constitution is a dead document, yet it continues to breathe life into the imaginations of this and many other nations. Whatever the purposes and intention of its authors, the Constitution has become a divergent symbol to an even more diverse population. In its oftentimes wispy yet elegant ambiguity, the Constitution continues to hold wisdom for those who possess vision enough to grasp its inherent expression of human liberty. Its purpose is not to impede growth but to gently facilitate the development of the republic and its citizens in an orderly manner so that the spirit of human nature may positively flourish. This aside, questions remain; does judicial activism restrict the democratic process? If the role of the Court includes a presupposition of the inherent values of the Constitution and of statutes past and / or present, what role is left to the elected and their electors? These queries may broaden the discussion to an investigation of to what degree (if any) judicial rulings impact social change / reform. Gerald Rosenberg posits the discourse in his study of whether or not courts can bring about social change, “...courts acting alone...are structurally constrained from furthering the goals of the relatively disadvantaged”. This may cause one to surmise that interpretation methods are of no consequence if rulings are ineffectual. Whatever the social result and whichever ideology justices incorporate or preclude in their holdings, the Court must rule.

Judgments are constituted through the will of the people; voiced through their elected representatives. Rather than view the comparative methods of judicial interpretation as adversarial or divergent they may be re–examined in a perspective which causes them to appear to compliment one another. A fresh focus can also capture a view of the necessity for a melding of the two; striking a balance so that justice may successfully endure. Good judgment is in line with democratic principles which are consistent with the spirit of the Constitution and which balances justice and liberty along with the legislatively stated interests of the citizenry.
ENDNOTES

iv Ibid, page 19
vi Antonin Scalia, A Matter of Interpretation, page 22
vii Saint Augustine, City of God, BK IV.4
viii Ronald Dworkin, Taking Rights Seriously, Harvard University Press, 1972, page 609
x Ibid, page 41
xi Breyer, page 17
xii Breyer, page 73
xiii Breyer, page 74
xiv Indiana v. Edwards, No. 07-208, June 19, 2008, Opinion of the Court
xiv Ibid, Justice Scalia, Dissent
xvi Ibid, Justice Scalia, Dissent, Part B
xvii Giles v. California, No. 07-6053, June 25, 2008, Justice Scalia, Opinion of the Court, Section C
xviii Giles v. California, Justice Breyer, dissent
xx Breyer, page 17
xxi Gerald Rosenberg, the hollow hope, Can Courts Bring About Social Change?

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Abstract

Attention deficit hyperactivity disorder has been a prominent neurobiological disorder affecting children of all ages. The current prevalence of ADHD amongst children is unknown due to whether individuals are seeking treatment for this condition. Epidemiological studies suggest that there is a sex difference regarding a higher occurrence of ADHD amongst boys than for girls. Although this is a prominent thought new research shows that boys have a higher rate of comorbid conditions; once these conditions are controlled the prevalence is the same for both boys and girls. Medication use for ADHD is on the rise. In previous decades the only available medication for ADHD was a stimulant methylphenidate known as Ritalin. Today there are numerous additions of FDA approved and non FDA approved medications for the symptoms of ADHD. Upgraded versions of methylphenidate, amphetamines, and non stimulants are all FDA approved for use in ADHD. Under methylphenidate typical medications prescribed are Concerta, Metadate CD, Ritalin LA, Focalin XR, Daytrana, and Methylin ER. Under amphetamines medications prescribed are Adderall, Adderall XR, and Decedrine. Under non stimulant medication used is Atomoxetine (Strattera). Non FDA approved medications used are Tricyclic anti depressants, Fluoxetine (Prozac), Buspirone (Buspar), Bupropion SR, Clonidine. These medications have helped symptoms of ADHD but are not approved for the purpose of ADHD. Deciphering which medication to prescribe has always had considerable controversy. Each type of medication comes with side effects that are common and considered less severe and some with the possibility of more critical side effects such as hallucinations and cardiovascular conditions. With an outstanding amount of concern for doctors who misdiagnose it is difficult to say whether each clinician is capable of diagnosing ADHD properly. Determining if this is a factor there were two interviews conducted with both a nurse practitioner and psychologist to understand their thoughts and insight on ADHD medication.

It is not unusual for children to be energetic, impulsive, and active as they explore the world around them. Some children display higher levels of activity that are not in range with their age group. For the purpose of this research the term children pertains to 7-12 age range. These children cannot hold interest or attention to activities or goals as well as their peers. Children that function in this manner will have a lifetime of hardships in relation to their cognitive, social, academic, and familial life.

Throughout history many individuals including Shakespeare and Heinrich Hoffman, a German poet, have noted children that display these characteristics. William James was first in further discussing the behavior of these children in Principles of Psychology. George Still took a more serious look at Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) in three lectures he gave before the Royal Academy of Physicians. Interest in these children arose in North America after the great encephalitis epidemics of 1917-1918 (Mash & Barkley, 2003). After surviving encephalitis many children had behavioral problems resembling those seen in what is now termed ADHD. It was thought that the behavioral problems arose due to head trauma or injury. This concept evolved into that of “minimal brain damage” and eventually “minimal brain dysfunction” as challenges were raised to the label in view of the dearth of evidence of obvious brain injury in most cases (Mash & Barkley, 2003). By the late 1950s, focus shifted away from etiology and toward the more specific behavior of hyperactivity and poor impulse control characterizing these children, reflected in labels such as “hyperkinetic impulse
disorder” or “hyperactive child syndrome” (Mash & Barkley, 2003). The influence of psychoanalytic thought prevailed over the belief from researchers and clinicians that the behavior may have been neurologically based. When the second edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders appeared, all childhood disorders were described as “reactions”, and the hyperactive child syndrome became “hyperkinetic reaction of childhood” (American Psychiatric Association, 1968). Research began emphasizing problems with attention and impulse control in addition to hyperactivity in the 1970s. This led to the renaming of the disorder when the DSM-III came out in 1980. The disorder was renamed “attention deficit disorder”. The DSM-III split ADD into two groups, one with hyperactivity, and one without. Concern arose within a few years of the creation of the label ADD that the important features of hyperactivity and impulse control were being deemphasized, when in fact they were critically important to differentiating the disorder from other conditions and to predicting later developmental risks. (Mash & Barkley, 2003). When the DSM-III-R was published “attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder” was separated from ADD.

Estimating the number of children who have had ADHD diagnosed and are currently taking medication for the disorder is an important step toward understanding the overall burden of ADHD in the United States (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2005). Population-based data on the prevalence of medication treatment for attention-deficit-hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) are limited (Rowland et al. 2002). Szatmari (1992) reviewed the findings of six large epidemiological studies that identified cases of ADHD within these samples (Mash & Barkley, 2003). The prevalence found in these studies ranged from a low 2% to a high of 6.3%, with most falling within the range of 4.3 % to 6.3% (Mash & Barkley, 2003). Differences in age and sex also affect prevalence. On average, male children are between 2.5 and 5.6 times more likely than female children to be diagnosed as having ADHD within epidemiological samples, with the average being 3:1 (Mash & Barkley, 2003). Some researchers theorize that this might be because boys are likely to have a comorbid disorder such as ODD or CD. Szatmari’s (1992) finding that sex differences were no longer associated with the occurrence of ADHD, once other comorbid conditions were controlled for in statistical analyses, implies that this may be the case (Mash & Barkley, 2003). According to the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences, school and public health officials may be greatly underestimating the public health impact of childhood ADHD (The Brown University Child and Adolescent Behavior Letter, 2002). Researchers at the NIEHS in North Carolina reported that when they surveyed parents in a typical county of rural and suburban communities- Johnston County, N.C. - the parents reported that more than 15 percent of boys in grades 1 through 5 had a diagnosis of ADHD (The Brown University Child and Adolescent Behavior Letter, 2002). The author of the study cited a report from the primary care network that suggests that 62 percent of primary care physicians do not use DSM criteria to diagnose ADHD (The Brown University Child and Adolescent Behavior Letter, 2002).

Advances in new treatment options for attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) provide clinicians with more choices for treatment (The Brown University Child and Adolescent Psychopharmacology, 2003). Children have trouble paying attention in their scholastic endeavors when afflicted with ADHD. This makes choosing an effective treatment an important clinical decision that has become increasingly complicated due to the rapid development of new ADHD therapies (The Brown University Child and Adolescent Psychopharmacology, 2003).

There are many different types of medicine involved in managing ADHD. Deciding which medicine should be used to treat a child with ADHD can be difficult. Previous decades have only had the option of Ritalin or a generic version of Ritalin. Now there are numerous choices that can be taken through pills, mists, and capsules that can be sprinkled on food and in liquids. There are many things to consider when picking the method of treatment for a child. Besides whether or not they can swallow pills there are many other factors that come into play. Some children only need a dosage in the morning; others might need a constant dose of medicine throughout the day. These medicines were
created in both time release which can be effective throughout the day and immediate release that can be taken as a once daily dose in the mornings. Many of the newer medicines only need to be taken once a day. This can also help children with the social stigma of taking medication at school. Stimulants include different forms of methylphenidate and amphetamine and they are available in short, intermediate and long acting forms. Most of the time stimulants will work to control ADHD. Since some of these drugs work on some individuals and not others, children are usually started on a low dosage of stimulant. The dosage is then raised about every week until the doctor receives the wanted affect. In cases where the first stimulant does not help, the child will be taken off the stimulant and switched to another formulation of stimulant. In the event that stimulants do not work, there is the option of amphetamines or non stimulants.

As stated previously before, initial medicinal treatment should be conducted as a trial with an agent that is first approved by the FDA (Pliszka, 2007). Medications approved by the FDA include methylphenidates (MPH), amphetamines, and non stimulant medications. “Randomized, controlled trials have consistently demonstrated the efficacy of stimulants for reducing the core symptoms of hyperactivity, impulsivity, and inattention” (Lopez, 2006). The stimulant that accounts for the majority of prescribed medications for ADHD is methylphenidates. Methylphenidate is medication that stimulates the Central Nervous System much like amphetamines but its action is not as strong. Methylphenidate increases dopamine levels in the brain in order to boost concentration and reduce hyperactivity and impulsive behavior. Under the category of methylphenidates there is an extensive list of medications which include Concerta, Metadate CD, Ritalin LA, Focalin XR, Daytrana, and Methylin ER (Julien, 2005). Most of these medications have under gone changes that result in more options of short and long acting formulas. One such medicine known as Concerta is effective for 8 to 12 hours. Medication Ritalin has improved to newer versions such as Ritalin LA that has an increased effect of reducing ADHD symptoms than previously before. Under the category of amphetamines there are medications such as Adderall, Adderall XR, and Decedrine. There are also long acting and short acting formulas (Julien, 2005). This medication is a psychostimulant which affects levels of norepinephrine, serotonin, and dopamine. In recent studies the effects of Adderall showed to last longer and were preferred over methylphenidates. Under the category of Non stimulant medications there is Atomoxetine (Strattera) (Julien, 2005). It is unknown how Atomoxetine helps reduce ADHD symptoms but scientists believe it affects neurotransmitters in the brain referred to as norepinephrine and epinephrine. These neurotransmitters regulate attention, impulsivity and activity levels. Due to Atomoxetine decreasing these levels it is a good agent for decreasing symptoms of ADHD. This non stimulant is a twenty-four hour medication, making its effects last longer than stimulants.

In the event that FDA approved stimulants are not effective for the patient the choice of non FDA approved medications are an option. These medications are used to treat ADHD but are not approved by FDA for the purpose of ADHD. These medications include anti-depressants known as Tricyclic anti depressants, Fluoxetine (Prozac), Buspiron (Buspar), Bupropion SR, and high blood pressure medication known as Clonidine (Julien, 2005). Trials have tested the effectiveness of non FDA approved medications and results implicate that these medications are not as strong as FDA approved medications. Due to this clinicians are recommended to provide behavior therapy either before prescribing non FDA approved medications or along with these medications. For parents who are concerned with giving stimulant medication to their child this may be a better option for them as well.

Medication use amongst children has always created a controversy. A major issue regarding medication distribution is due to possible side effects. In order for the best possible outcome clinicians need to prescribe the lowest effective dose possible when first giving medication and maintain a close observation. Inevitably, side effects will occur regardless of approval by the FDA. Stimulant medications such as methylphenidate have been the most researched and longest used. Its most common side effects are “appetite suppression, weight loss” (Myers, 2003). Other symptoms are insomnia, abdominal
pains, sleep disturbances and headaches.” There are also numerous reports of expected tics, cardiovascular issues, and height and weight deficits (Pliszka, 2007). Studies have concluded that there is a small but significant deficit in the growth of children while taking methylphenidate based medication. “Effects on all parameters of growth were most apparent during the first year of treatment and attenuated over time” (Faraone, 2007). Cardiovascular issues such as heart attack, stroke, and sudden death have been a cause for concern (Lynn, 2007). Even with the patient taking the recommended dosage this can be an effect. This has been seen in children with or without diagnosed cardiovascular issues. There are other issues concerning ADHD medication that have been documented which include unwarranted suspicion, auditory hallucinations, and suicidal thoughts (Pliszka, 2007). These are effects seen in patients that have not been diagnosed with prior psychiatric issues. Proper information on previous cardiovascular or psychiatric conditions must be taking into consideration before prescribing such medications. The chances of these issues are higher if a child has already been diagnosed. The chances of these severe effects are minimal compared to the primary effects shown with ADHD medication. Side effects of amphetamines include excessive stimulation of the nervous system leading to restlessness, nervousness, dizziness, excitability, headache, fear, tremors, anxiety, and even hallucinations and convulsions (Pliszka, 2007).

Atomoxetine primary side effects included gastrointestinal distress, sedation, and decreased appetite (Pliszka, 2007). Non FDA approved medications side effects are dry mouth, sedation, constipation, changes in vision, mild insomnia, appetite suppression, dizziness, and hypotension upset stomach, decreased appetite, nausea and vomiting, tiredness, and mood swings (Pliszka, 2007).

The immediate need for medication to solve mental health issues provides the opportunity for a misdiagnosis. Unfortunately there are many doctors whether they are child psychologists, family practitioners, or nurse practitioners that provide malpractice. Many may believe doctors can be trusted and provide proper health care for each individual. In some instances this is not the case. There are a growing number of children who are diagnosed with ADHD whom do not have this disorder. Family practitioners and psychologists use different tools when assessing children. Family practitioners use scales such as the Conner Scale which is not a sufficient tool. Psychologist use the DSM which provides criteria that needs to be met for an extended period of time in order for ADHD to be diagnosed. With different clinicians using different tools to assess, this causes controversy regarding which is right. Research conducted in two cities within southeastern Virginia wanted too see how drug therapy was used amongst children in grades 2 through 5. It states that “these findings suggest that criteria for diagnosis of ADHD vary substantially across US populations, with potential over diagnosis and overtreatment of ADHD in some groups of children” (LeFever, 1999).

Interviews conducted with both a nurse practitioner and psychologist has put valuable insight to medication use amongst children with ADHD. In the interview conducted with the nurse practitioner she has done extensive work with children affected with ADHD. The clinic where she practices does not prescribe medication without the proper diagnosis of ADHD. A question of what this center considers to be a proper diagnosis is an important aspect. What was stated as a proper diagnosis was the collection of extensive research on the child’s behavioral history from both the home and school. The use of the Conner scale is considered to be a good diagnostic tool and incorporates a limited amount of criteria within the DSM. There are both parent and teacher versions, while the parent version enlists 80 questions and the teacher version enlist 59 questions. Once the child is diagnosed with ADHD it is a practice that the child who is old enough to understand be involved in the conference that will go over the findings. Medication distribution is then based on what they believe may work for that individual child. At this clinic there has been no particular medication that has shown to be more effective. It is based solely on the individual and their particular issues. There may be the decision to use medication alone, or with the addition of talk therapy and counseling. At the beginning of medication distribution a low dosage is prescribed and with careful observation thereafter. This particular nurse practitioner has
seen the regular side effects with each of these medications. If a serious issue continues to occur, the dosage intake will be lowered and eventually if there is a continuance there will be a switch in medications. This nurse practitioner has not been involved in any cases pertaining to hallucinations or suicidal thoughts. There have been instances where children have displayed tics; although there is no assurance that it was due to ADHD medication the prominence of this occurrence was said to be most likely due to the child having tics already. Other side effects seen in personal cases include depression, anger, and irritability. Overall this nurse practitioner firmly believes in medication to help the symptoms of ADHD. Some cases have proven to be of immediate help and enormous gratitude from the child’s parents. While other cases seen have displayed enough help to maintain an adequate life for the child. The nurse practitioner believes that either doctors or psychologists are capable of properly assessing and diagnosing children with ADHD. The claim is that there is enough “clean cut criteria and reliable instruments, therefore the diagnosis should be fine”.

In the interview with the psychologist she has done extensive work with children with ADHD as well. Assessing and diagnosing children with ADHD involves DSM criteria and careful observation of the child in its natural state more than a few times. For this psychologist there is a belief that the prevalence has and will continue to increase due to a shortage of professional knowledge on ADHD through the work of family practitioners. Scales used by some family practitioners are not sufficient enough tools and there needs to be extensive observation of the child more than once. In fact it is considered that a good clinician would refer the family to a psychologist. Other circumstances for the increase of children with ADHD include families that have no idea how to control their child and believe that ADHD medication will be a “quick fix” for these problems. This psychologist displays great concern for the number of children who are diagnosed with ADHD and hopes it will not increase due to misdiagnosis. As stated “If it were my child I would get two or three opinions before I decide to give them medication”. With side effects there was actually a greater concern for regular side effects than there were for potentially harmful side effects such as hallucinations or suicidal thoughts due to its rarity. “There needs to be a cause for concern with the regular side effects. ADHD is not good for the heart; it raises blood pressure, and does have an effect on the growth and weight of a child”. In order to help relieve side effects some psychologists believe in what is called drug free vacations. This is where the child will take medication throughout the week when in school but during the weekend take a lower dose or no dose. Another option is taking medication throughout the school year and lowering or eliminating the dosage during the summer. During the summer especially is a perfect time to allow the child to work out their extra energy to where they can function and focus the same as a child without ADHD. It will also allow time to see if the child no longer needs medication. In accumulation to working among children with ADHD, this psychologist has additional neurological knowledge. With this being a factor another issue of concern is the damage medication has on the brain. “Medication for ADHD is the same as given a low dose of cocaine within a pill.” Asking whether it was known what areas of the brain are affected by ADHD, she stated “there are not many studies of which areas of the brain are affected by ADHD, but there is knowledge of potential brain stem damage and the reticular activating system.” This psychologist overall believes in the relief that medication provides, but feels that it is too easily prescribed. When asked if any clinician could prescribe ADHD medication her views were the same in that it is a tough statement to say that any clinician could prescribe medications. Family practitioners are the most likely to make this mistake and that child psychologists may be the best option. This does not go to say that all family practitioners or other psychologists are not capable of making a proper diagnosis; they just need sufficient enough information and knowledge to make that decision.

Discussion
ADHD amongst children has had a broad examination conducted throughout history. Until recent years researchers have not had an in depth understanding of what ADHD is, how medication can
be used, and how both affect the body. There is still a need for a comprehensive exploration to be done in certain areas of this disorder for a better understanding. This includes the areas affected in the brain by ADHD, so that it is certain this can be considered a neurobiological disorder. Another issue for concern is the medications effects on the brain, and long term effects from each medication. Although there are numerous tools to help assess and diagnosis there is still a main apprehension for misdiagnosing. These concerns need to be met by providing strict guidelines for all clinicians to abide by. Allowing clinicians to choose which diagnostic tool they prefer leaves room for error. Clinicians will debate which tool is better in proving the child in question has ADHD. Public opinion’s belief on ADHD is that of a cultural condition. For them, it is not real and thus places a considerable controversy on these issues. Information provided by The Center for Disease Control states “because of increasing concern and awareness among health professionals and the public alike, CDC’s National Center on Birth Defects and Developmental Disabilities (NCBDDD) is funding a joint collaboration research project with the University of South Carolina and the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center to conduct population based research on ADHD among school-aged children. This research will be able to respond to these questions that still exist.

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In Aesop’s fable “The Four Oxen and the Lion”, a lion attempts to make a meal of some oxen. The oxen group together, tail to tail, so that no matter how the lion approaches it is met by hooves and horns. But the oxen begin to quarrel and wander off to different corners of the pasture. The lion returns and to kill them all; one at a time. It is from this story we get the phrase, “Together we stand, divided we fall”. I have come to identify patriarchy as a kind of lion with women and homosexuals cast as oxen. Patriarchy is a social structure which values and privileges men over women and children all of whom are assumed to be heterosexual. It is a system of control where heterosexual men hold a disproportionate share of power. Instead of fangs or claws, this lion relies on hierarchical dualism and compulsory heterosexuality to maintain supremacy. These terms require explanation but first I’d like to turn to the bickering oxen in my analogy: women and homosexuals. Heterosexual women, gay men and lesbians for all their differences, have many of the same goals. Acceptance on their own terms, the right of self-identification and self-determination, equality; these are the ends for which they all claim to strive. Women have seen this as a struggle against patriarchy while gays have seen their struggle to be against what Adrienne Rich termed “compulsory heterosexuality”. I will show that these two adversaries are part of the same beast. Patriarchy breeds misogyny much the same way compulsory heterosexuality breeds homophobia. Instead of attempting to take on forces ‘in our own corner of the pasture’ or worse, fighting amongst ourselves, we should come together in each other’s defense to thwart a system which governs us all. In fact, the foundational links between homophobia and misogyny require that, in order to gain true equality, gay men and lesbians must overcome the patriarchal systems which subjugate heterosexual women.

Before I launch into my analysis it would be helpful to explain some key terms as well as introduce some of the authors from whose writings I will draw. In keeping with feminist tradition let me also introduce myself and where I best fit into the socio-economic scheme of things. I am a white gay man, rapidly approaching middle-age. I own a home and have a partner that I’ve been with for many years; and we enjoy what might be considered an upper-middle class life-style. Although I’ve had a peripheral awareness of the issues discussed in this paper I began to see their insidious, pervasive nature and interconnectedness only after reading several books. The first was an excerpt from Simone DeBeauvoir’s “The Second Sex” in which she develops the concept of “otherness”. Next was “The Creation of Patriarchy” by Gerda Lerner which presents a hypothesis for how patriarchy developed to become the dominating model for society. Kezia Ali’s “Sexual Ethics and Islam” was next. In it she used methodical, often complex, logical and legal analysis of Muslim texts to demonstrate their inconsistency and challenge their prescriptions in a post-modern world. In “The Coming of Lilith”, Judith Plaskow documents stages of feminist awakening and activism with her powerful model “critique, recover, construct” and Sallie McFague develops the concept of metaphorical theology to create new paradigms for understanding the Divine in her book, “Models for God – Theology for an Ecological, Nuclear Age.” For a different perspective I also drew from Leo Bersani’s work “Hemos” which argues that gay men in particular may gain more power by separating themselves from feminism than from embracing it. Through these writings I have a deeper understanding of words like dualism, hierarchy and compulsory heterosexuality.
Compulsory heterosexuality refers to the complex socio-political and economic systems that guide and push humans toward heterosexuality (Plaskow p. 186). It involves cultural beliefs and institutions, including school, movies, TV, books and advertising, in which people are taught and rewarded for heterosexuality. At the same time this system fosters homophobia, excuses violence against gays and encourages gay men and women to stay silent or in the closet. Dualism as I use it here refers to a system of binary opposition, that is, two things which are at once polar opposites while at the same time dependant on one another. One side, associated with the masculine, is considered normative, valuable and powerful while the other, associated with the feminine, is problematic, devalued and weak. Qualities on the masculine side are defined in their own right and dominate those on the feminine side which are considered an absence of those qualities. For example, cowardice is an absence of courage; poverty is the absence of wealth. This extends into biology: the penis is symbolic of male power while the vagina is its absence, a loss, a wound, a source of shame. Likewise, heterosexuality is generative or child-producing and is superior to homosexuality which is not. From dualism a hierarchy develops. Those associated with masculine characteristics are superior and dominate those associated with the feminine. Put differently, people on the wrong side of the dualism should know their place and not challenge those in power. In this manner, hierarchy promotes and sustains the precepts of dualism in a kind of ad hoc logic. This is the hierarchical dualism that places heterosexual white males above women, children and homosexuals. This patriarchal social construct supports other systems of dominance and influences our thoughts and actions in innumerable ways. Compulsory heterosexuality is but one example.

A concept that goes hand-in-hand with dualism is the perception of “otherness” shared by women, gay men and lesbians. “The category of “Other” is as primordial as consciousness” writes DeBeauvoir (DeB p8). It is much easier to define ourselves, the “One”, in opposition to some “Other” than to create an identity from the ether of our own fragile ego. The “One” represents the norm and the potent side of dualism while the “Other” loses even the ability to identify itself for it is defined as all qualities that differ from the “One” and are therefore unimportant and undesirable. This One vs. Other is played out when we identify ourselves to those around us. For example, a heterosexual would not find it necessary to include their sexuality in self-identification; it is presumed. DeBeauvoir proclaimed there is an absolute human type, it is male (DeB p.7). I would add that this male is also heterosexual. Our language then reflects and amplifies the hierarchical dualism. To be called a “woman” is synonymous with being weak, emotional, or spineless. “Gay” has become slang for anything boring, stupid, backwards or irrelevant. This demonstrates one way woman and gays occupy the same side of dualism and share “otherness”.

Homosexuals and women have also experienced “otherness” in how they have been addressed by Western philosophy and medicine. Aristotle said we should consider the “female nature as afflicted with a natural defectiveness”. St. Thomas referred to woman as “imperfect man”, an “incidental” being (DeB p8). For centuries homosexual desires were seen as an affliction of unnatural urges even though the phenomenon has been observed among 1,500 species, especially marine birds, mammals and in all primates. It wasn’t until 1973 that the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from its list of disorders; the American Psychological Association did the same two years later. Still, there are many religious run organizations which claim to “rehabilitate” gays and lesbians as if they need to be cured. In the movie “For the Bible Tells Me So”, one psychologist stated that “anyone can be shamed into acting a certain way but that does not change their nature and causes real psychological damage to the individual.” What if women were subject to the same treatment? Can you imagine a center which rehabilitates women by sewing on penises so they could pass as men? So if it is as natural to be female or gay as it is to be masculine or straight, why are they still “Other”?
Many of the classic reasons that women remain “other” are also true for gay men and lesbians. First, they lack tangible means to organize on a level that can challenge the dominating group. This has begun to change but both groups have much to do before overcoming the status quo that defines them. Like the Oxen we have been off fighting our own losing battles rather than coming together against a common foe. Another reason gays remain “other” is that we are dispersed throughout society and more enmeshed in hetero-culture than with each other. We fall prey to the benefits and biases of our socio-economic class which feeds into the dualistic model rather than challenging it. Lastly, gays are invisible and encouraged to live in the closet; compulsory heterosexuality demands it. If a woman could live her whole life in denial of her sex and enjoy all the privileges of being a man would she do it? Should she be morally obligated to do so in order to escape “otherness”? For gay men that is a tough question to answer. In his book, “Homos”, Leo Bersani argues that gay men should embrace homosexuality as a declaration for love of the cock, revel in patriarchal ideology and divorce from the feminine to claim the power they deserve in being male. But this logic is flawed at its foundation because patriarchy is inextricably linked to compulsory heterosexuality.

Both patriarchy and compulsory heterosexuality impose a set of immutable sex and gender roles which define “good” men and women. Deviation from these norms warrants suspicion and even violence. Let me clarify that by “sex” I mean the biological sex of an individual and by “gender” I refer to the qualities or attributes that are assigned to that sex by the surrounding culture. Sex/Gender systems reward people for following socially prescribed ideals of sex-gender roles in order to promote those ideals. Originally a division of labor based on sex was beneficial for survival (Lerner p.39-42). However, the duties performed by women, though essential, became devalued and women’s power was appropriated by men. By the advent of agriculture even women’s sexuality had come under male control. Before written history patriarchy had triumphed. Laws were designed to support a culture of male-rule and female subjugation. And so it’s been for centuries until what was social construction became seen as the natural order. Each generation indoctrinates the next, socializing children on how to be a boy, how to be a girl and how to be straight. The reasoning is so linear that if a boy plays with a Barbie doll the fear is that he may turn out gay. Girls are allowed a bit more freedom because at least it’s an error in the right direction, toward masculinity. But once she hits puberty our little “tom-boy” (notice that she is defined by the masculine) is told to be lady and the pressure is on to fit the heterosexual image society has chosen for her. She is supposed to grow up, find a husband and raise a family; the pinnacle of female success. This is the culmination of both patriarchal and heterosexist ideals. If women are to free themselves from patriarchal rule they must also challenge the compulsory heterosexuality that springs from and supports it.

Nowhere is there such confluence of these two ideas than in the institute of marriage. Let’s disregard for a moment minor modern alterations to the marriage contract like eliminating “honor and obey” or using “husband and wife” instead of “man and wife” in the pronouncement of marriage. Rather, let’s look at it historically which, to be honest, was rarely based on mutual love and consent or between a man and just one woman. Marriage was a way for a man to lay claim to a woman (specifically her sex); a man takes a wife, she does not take him. In Muslim marriage the payment of dower confers to the husband total control over his wife’s sexual and reproductive capacity (Ali p.4). When condemning divorce the apostle Paul proclaimed, “A wife must not leave her husband.” Yet marriage and divorce laws grant hegemony to men. So why wouldn’t Paul tell husband’s that they must not leave their wives? Because that would challenge the existing power structure of male dominance. This is a framework incompatible with both same-sex and opposite-sex couples that want to base their relationship on equality, consent, mutual respect, trust and love. Marriage reform is one more area where women and gay men and lesbians can work together to create a more egalitarian and inclusive future.
Yet another way in which our goals interconnect is in our battles against misogyny and homophobia. At first the two may not seem connected; misogyny being hatred of women and homophobia literally meaning the fear of homosexuality but more often, gay men. But fear and loathing go hand in hand. William Shakespeare said, "In time we hate that which we often fear." To fully explain the source of man’s hatred of women is the topic of another paper; my goal is to demonstrate its link to homophobia. Men do not fear or hate lesbians the way they do gay men because to men women are sex, absolute sex (DeB p8). Gay men are an assault to the foundations of patriarchy. A man who allows himself to be penetrated becomes “feminized” and willingly gives up his honored position at the top of hierarchical duality. This makes no sense to a male ego based on power and control. Men do not fear being dominated by a woman because it’s an illusion. The experience of being dominated by other men is real. It is the fear of being sexually dominated by another man; of being made woman; of being turned into that which is hated that drives homophobia. An objection you always hear regarding gays in the military is that soldiers don’t want gay men looking at them in communal showers. Just the possibility of being viewed sexually by another man elicits panic. Men fear having done to them what they have done to women: objectify, essentialize, devalue and disregard. As long as being woman is problematic gay men will be feared.

Now that we see how women and gay people share many of the same problems it is time to explore some of their shared solutions. Plaskow’s book is ripe with methods used by feminists that could greatly assist the gay community. Her pattern of critique, recovery and creation is a perfect example (Plaskow p66). Criticize theories, presuppositions and images that feed into heterosexism and support the vilification of gays and women. Just as women have had to reclaim their lost history it is time for gay scholars to show how same-sex couples have existed throughout time and across species. Gay people have held honored places as mystics and oracles in many cultures and it’s time to take ownership of our past. The creation of new theories and images from a feminist or homo-ist perspective is necessary to replace existing norms. These three stages have been very useful to feminists and should be used by gay activists as well. Another excellent strategy used by feminists is metaphorical theology which means experimenting with new images and ideas to represent God, our relationship with God and God’s relationship with the world. Nearly all theology is fictional in nature and built on specific metaphors and models but some models are more useful in building an egalitarian society (McFague p.xi-ii). For example, instead of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, Sally McFague explores a new trinity of God as Mother, Lover and Friend. This is a model of God as the creator life and the harsh judge of those that would withhold from others the necessities of life. “It is concerned with all life, not just humans (and not just some individuals) and the nurture and fulfillment of life not just birth” (McFague p103). The image of God as part of all life is non-hierarchal and undermines dualism; all life is important, all life is valuable. This model could aid both women and homosexuals in their battle against patriarchy.

It makes sense that approaches used by feminist would also be effective for gay men and lesbians. The roots of homophobia can be traced back to misogynistic attitudes toward women; gay males are feminized men. The sex/gender roles established by patriarchy and enforced through compulsory heterosexuality constrain both gays and heterosexual women. They limit how we can express ourselves and our love for one another. They impose on us a structure in which man is considered the “one”, powerful, over and above women and gays who are “other”. The hierarchical dualism that names and keeps us “other” is the same. Instead of trying to battle the status quo in our own corners or fighting amongst ourselves, it is time that homosexuals and women to take a lesson from Aesop and stand together. Only then will we see that our two struggles have one goal.
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A special thanks to Dr. Merlyn E. Mowrey and her Women in Religion class for not only awakening me to the issues discussed in this paper but also showing me how I can be part of the solution.
For years children were thought not to have rights; gradually, this view has developed into awareness that children not only presently possess rights but also possess future rights. First, this essay reviews the origin and importance of children’s future rights. It then continues to examine the arguments for and against the claim that an exclusivist religious upbringing often violates a child’s future right to religious choice. Finally, this paper demonstrates how some particular exclusivist religions’ beliefs enable parents to fulfill their desire to pass on their religious beliefs to their child, while still satisfying their child and the democratic state’s desires for the child to be capable of legitimately and autonomously examining alternative religious and non-religious belief systems.

For years, children were thought not to have rights; they were simply counted as their parents’ property. More recently, this view has changed to a realization that children not only possess rights in their present status but also possess future rights, rights that they presently have but cannot exercise until they mature into their future adult state. Since these future rights are neither well-known nor well-understood by most people, these rights can be easily violated; and, in particular, parents regularly do violate them. One of these future right violations that have been the subject of a considerable amount of debate is parents raising their children within a particular religious upbringing, in an exclusivist belief system. This paper contends that although an exclusivist religious upbringing (ERU) commonly violates a child’s future right to choose his own religion, parents strongly believing in an exclusivist religion can impart their beliefs on their child without violating his future right of religious choice.

First, this essay reviews the origin and importance of a child’s future rights. It then continues to examine the arguments for and against the claim that an ERU often violates a child’s future right to religious choice. Finally, this paper attempts to demonstrate how some particular exclusivist religions enable parents to fulfill their desire to pass on their religious beliefs to their child, while still satisfying their child’s desire and the democratic state’s desire for the child to be capable of legitimately and autonomously examining alternative religious and non-religious belief systems.

Origin and Explanation of Children’s Future Rights from Feinberg’s Essay

There are certain freedoms that have been analyzed, written about, and discussed by scholars and philosophers for centuries. In many countries, experts have agreed that these freedoms are basic and necessary for every individual in their societies. These freedoms are known as human rights. As was mentioned in the introduction, these rights recently were recognized to be inclusive of children. However, the problematic area of child rights arises when children possess rights but are incapable of exercising them due to not yet having developed the physical, cognitive, or emotional abilities their future self will have. These are described as a child’s future rights, and Joel Feinberg (1980) grouped this area of child rights into a child’s “right to an open future” (Feinberg, p.126). This portion of the paper
discusses the origin of Joel Feinberg’s famous child rights essay on a child’s “right to an open future”, and it seeks to define his innovative concept and explain its importance.

In the United States, the government requires children to attend some form of schooling, and it expects the children’s parents to ensure their children’s attendance. The laws determining to what age the children must attend school vary from state to state, but this variance is minimal, and all children must go at least up to that age the state deems necessary. Although this mandatory attendance is nearly always maintained, an exception occurred in 1972 in the state of Wisconsin. In the case Wisconsin v. Yoder, a Supreme Court judge’s ruling created a precedent that exempted the entire Amish culture from enforcing the state’s eighth grade education requirement on their children (Reich, 2003, p.445). This decision was made based on the reasoning that forcing the Amish children to go to public school against their parents’ wishes would be a violation of the parents’ right to freely exercise their religion. Moreover, because the Amish religion forbids Amish parents from allowing their children to be exposed to the world and its negative influences on Amish culture, the judge ruled that their right to free exercise of religion was in violation. Accordingly, the Yoder’s children were exempted from the Wisconsin law requiring two more years of schooling (Reich, 2003, p. 445).


These child “rights-in-trust” he spoke of are equivalent to the rights adults exercise; however, children lack the understanding or ability to exercise them, due to their inadequate cognitive skills, physical skills, or undeveloped personal values and opinions (Feinberg, 1980, p.125). For example, one such right would be a child’s right to exercise a religion of his choosing. Since most children do not understand the deep meaning and beliefs associated with most religions, most children cannot truly exercise their right to freedom of religious choice until they gain the knowledge and desire to do so. It is a “right-in-trust.” A second example of a right-in-trust is a child’s right to choose whatever career he wishes. Obviously, he can in no way effectively evaluate a career choice or engage in one as a child, because he typically lacks the reasoning, physical, and independence requirements that all careers have. Therefore, both of these examples would qualify as future rights of the child, rights-in-trust. Feinberg collectively termed all rights-in-trust, rights that a child cannot yet exercise but potentially will be able to in his future self, as the child’s “right to an open future” (Feinberg, p.126).

Though the child cannot yet exercise his right to an open future until he develops the capacity to in his future self, Feinberg asserted that any of these future rights of his can be violated by others before he ever develops the ability to use them (Feinberg, 1980, p.126). Usually, these violations occur imprecisely, in the form of extreme hindrances or inhibitions to the child’s right to his personal future choice (Marples, 2005, p. 139-140). For the sake of explanation, a grossly exaggerated example would be a parent raising his child to believe there is only possible career choice. The parent might teach his child that being a car mechanic is his only career option by home-schooling the child, working as a car mechanic out of his own home, and never permitting his child to come in contact with human or media sources that would “enlighten” the child to his vast array of potential career choices. This example seems preposterous, but a softer version of it could entail a parent incessantly informing his child that he is only “good enough to be a car mechanic”, that “all of your ancestors were car mechanics”, and that “I’ll only be happy with you if you become a car mechanic.” Roger Marples (2005) noted in his child rights article that if used enough times, these parental instructions unquestionably can form large
psychological and emotional hindrances on a child’s future right to choose whatever career he wishes (Marples, p.140). Theoretically, the child still has the choice to whatever career he wishes. However, even if some other strong influences happen to show the child that his parents’ wishes for his life do not have to be followed (which may happen), his chance to exercise his future career right to become something other than a car mechanic has been effectively limited. This limitation certainly would be said to amount to a violation, though the child in principle can still make his own choice. Thus, a child can have his right to an open future violated or severely hindered before he even possesses the ability to exercise it.

Furthermore, understanding the severe hindrance certain parental actions can have on a child’s right to an open future gives a fresh perspective on the case of Wisconsin v. Yoder. The judge’s ruling in the case created a precedent which carried crucial implications not only for the Amish community but also for the Amish children and their futures (Feinberg, 1972, p. 134-135). Through their parents’ choices, the Amish children were exempted from two years of schooling and whatever opportunities that schooling held for them. Though unlikely, it was possible that one or more Amish children could have gained certain knowledge, interests, or values during those two years of schooling that could have relieved him of certain inhibitions imposed on him by the Amish community, allowing him to consider the choice of a potentially desirable future apart from the segregated Amish culture.

However doubtful it was that those two years of schooling would have had any significant affect in this particular example, an important consideration was excluded by the Supreme Court’s decision. The idea behind a child’s right to an open future focuses on the interests of the child’s future self, but the child’s right to an open future also indirectly includes their current self’s interests. As Jeffrey Morgan (2005) observed, a child’s current interests are of utmost importance, for from his current interests his future interests will develop (Morgan, p.371-372). Nicholas Dixon (2007) agreed, and he went on to write that the role of parents is “to promote our children’s interests” (Dixon, p.147, italics added). Hence, a child’s right to an open future protects a child’s future rights while taking into account his present interests and values. The case failed to effectively address the current preferences of the children and whether they would have preferred to remain in the public school (Reich, 2002, p. 445, 457).

In summary, the case Wisconsin v. Yoder helped spark Feinberg’s innovative concept of a child’s “right to an open future” and its subsequent articulation through his well-known child rights essay. Child rights scholars agree with Feinberg’s concept of defending children’s future interests in conjunction with recognizing and cultivating their current interests. They recognize it as a right that every child should have— the right to an open future.

The Liberal Argument: An ERU RegularlyViolates a Child’s Right to an Open Future

Since Feinberg’s conception of a child’s right to an open future, perhaps the most controversial issue surrounding the aforementioned right is that of the parents’ raising their children in a specific, exclusivist religion. Though the traditional line of thought concerning a religious upbringing typically asserts that parents have the right to raise their children however they see fit, this type of upbringing may prove actually to be a violation of a child’s right to an open future. An exclusivist religious upbringing especially has this potential to violate the child’s open future right, since believers of exclusivist religions strongly believe their religion and their way to God is the only true way, and they of course desire their children to find this one true way as well. The Amish and Christian ultra-
fundamentalists are two notable examples. Because an exclusivist religious upbringing often inhibits a child’s future religious choice, this portion of the paper seeks to answer the question of whether an exclusivist religious upbringing habitually violates a child’s right to an open future.

First, an exclusivist religious upbringing often violates a child’s open future right by indoctrinating a child to assume its foundational religious beliefs are unquestionable facts. Warren Nord (1995) defined indoctrination as “the uncritical initiation of students into some particular ideology or worldview” (Nord, p.188). The key words in Nord’s definition are “uncritical initiation.” Those two words mean that a child is raised to believe something is true without ever given the opportunity to consider that it could potentially be false. This potential falsehood is particularly applicable to religion. As Morgan (2005, p.377) proposed, no religion has sufficient evidence to establish itself as the absolute, undeniable true religion. Because of this potential fallibility, parents should not portray their religion to their children as infallible. However, since exclusivist religions believe that they are the one true way to their god (Morgan, 2005, p.377), parents who legitimately and completely believe in such a religion obviously are very susceptible to informing their children that whatever sacred text or god they and their religion believes is a definite, unquestionable fact.

If parents teach their children to believe a certain religion is absolute fact, they are establishing a supposed “factual” religious perspective from which their children will view the world and make decisions. Nord (1995) noted that when children accept any worldview as fact, they are resigned to use this viewpoint as their basis for all their thoughts and opinions (Nord, p.188). The children are then unable to reflect on the worldview that their parents imposed upon them, because the children’s only means of evaluation originates from their worldview, which they were taught was factual. Consequently, if a child is taught to believe a religious worldview is factual when it reality it is not unquestionably so, he will not critically examine his religious worldview that he uses to make decisions. Thus, his open future right to choose whatever religion he reasons best will have been undermined by indoctrination of his parents’ exclusivist religious beliefs.

Another way an exclusivist religious upbringing regularly violates a child’s open future right is by inflicting a substantial emotional hindrance to a child’s choice of religious beliefs. Morgan (2005) mentioned that family attachments can cause a child to not choose alternative beliefs (Morgan, p.369). For example, Claudia Mills (2003) specifically spoke of the widely known practice of shunning that the Amish community practices. This shunning is an indisputable emotional hindrance for most Amish children’s future right to choice of religion (Mills, p.503-504). Most of them would obviously prefer not to be ostracized from their family, friends, and entire community; however, they face this disjointing once they choose an alternative religious belief. Although family attachments are definitely important, regard for one’s family should not be the major reason for any individual choosing what he truly believes concerning something as important as religion.

Roger Marples (2005, p.140) further discussed the idea of an emotional hindrance parents place upon their children who wish to reject the religion their parents raised them to believe. When a child matures to a level where he can understand the religion his parents have introduced him to and either does not completely agree with or totally rejects it, he very well may experience feelings of guilt or fear of having to face his parents with his decision (Marples, 2005, p.140). The child feels guilty because he is disappointing his parents who emphatically endorse his agreement with their own beliefs, which they have instilled in him. If the child has matured and made a decision at an age where he still lives in his parents’ house, he may fear possible parental anger in response to his decision and perhaps even punishment. Accordingly, these feelings of guilt or fear may be sufficient to cause a child or adult to
reject what religious beliefs he has determined to be true in order to maintain a good relationship with his parents.

Additionally, the emotional hindrance that regularly is imposed by parents with strong, exclusivist religious beliefs on a child can prove to distort the child’s future self’s ability to accept his own reasoning about religion. Eamonn Callan (2002, p. 129) narrated a fictional story he expanded on from the true biography of a man named Nicholas Wolterstorff. In his expansion of the story, Callan told how “Wolsterstorff II” (as he termed the adapted person) had thoroughly examined his religious upbringing and beliefs and determined that they were false. However, he was unable to renounce his beliefs because of the inconsistency between his rational thought and his feelings (Callan, 2002, p. 132). Wolsterstorff II’s feelings originated not from any form of reasoning but from simple repetition, the repetition of his childhood’s uncritical religious instruction (Callan, 2002, p. 132). Marples agreed with Callan’s synopsis and asserted that “restrictions on the capacity for autonomous decision-making exist where there is a mismatch between feelings and beliefs” (Marples, 2005, p.140). Thus, the emotional hindrance caused by childhood feelings can inhibit matured adults from rejecting the beliefs of their religious upbringing, though their rational reflection has shown them to be false. Whether the emotional hindrance to a child’s future choice of religion comes in the form of family attachments, feelings of guilt and fear, or inhibitions to rational thought, any one of these emotional hindrances caused by an exclusivist religious upbringing is a violation of a child’s open future right.

Finally, an exclusivist religious upbringing frequently violates a child’s open future right by strictly limiting the child’s access to alternative religious and non-religious belief systems. Religious exclusivism, as explained by J. Morgan (2005), is the belief that an individual’s certain religion is the only way to God or salvation (Morgan, p.377). Because of this absolute certainty concerning the correctness of their religious beliefs, individuals strongly believing in an exclusivist religion commonly abstain from open-minded dialogue with other religions and non-religious worldviews, because the exclusivist individuals simply have nothing new to learn about their beliefs. Jonathan Adler (2004) insisted that open-mindedness is necessary for individuals to be able to strengthen their beliefs and eliminate any errors by engaging in meaningful discussion with persons holding other viewpoints (Adler, p.127, 131). If an individual is close-minded to other points of view, Robert Noggle (2002, p.114) observed that he is “unable to reflect” on his belief system. Hence, exclusivist believers many times desist from open-mindedness because they believe they have no need to reflect on and revise their current religious beliefs.

Although these believers most definitely have the right not to engage in open-minded conversation with alternative views if they do not wish to, they do not have the right to impede their children from open-mindedly considering other alternative views. Mianna Lotz (2006, p.541) stated that Feinberg’s open future right imposed “negative duties” on the parents as well as “positive duties.” The negative duty Lotz stressed that parents must fulfill means that parents should not interfere with alternative views. In religion, this would translate into parents having the obligation not to restrict their children from learning of alternative religious or non-religious views. In contrast to the negative duty, the positive duty which Lotz contended parents have means that parents must actually provide some exposure to other views (Lotz, 2006, p.544-545). Religiously exclusivist parents quite often prohibit their children from contacting other worldviews and usually fail to expose their children to alternate belief systems. As Marples (2005) so candidly stated about strong exclusivist religious parents, “...getting children to critically evaluate different ways of life is tantamount to heresy” (Marples, p.140).
What makes the parents’ restriction of a child’s access to alternate religious and non-religious views a violation of the child’s open future right is the inhibition of his choice. The definition of Feinberg’s open future right is the accessibility of future choices. Having only one option to consider is obviously not a choice, and the fewer the options the child has the less the less freedom he has. If the parent decides to eliminate a number of these choices, as strong exclusivist believers tend to do, they have severely hindered their child’s right as an adult to choose his own religion. Therefore, exclusivist religious upbringings repeatedly violate a child’s open future right through their considerable restriction on a child’s evaluation of alternative religious and non-religious worldviews.

The Religious Argument

Although the argument that exclusivist religions very regularly violate a child’s right to an open future is substantial, the religious argument contains several points concerning the liberal claim that also merit consideration.

What the liberal argument rightfully holds dear is the opportunity for a child to be able to evaluate and revise his religious beliefs whenever he so wishes. However, a child must have an initial set of values from which to evaluate. David Aarchard (2002, p.157) and Robert Noggle (2002, p.113) agreed in their respective articles when they spoke of the necessity of a beginning set of values and beliefs for children, in order to have a foundation from which to make choices and assess value. While the liberal argument would favor some form of critical initiation of values by parents, for nearly all young children this is simply impossible in any meaningful way. This is what Nord (1995, p.187) asserted, speaking of an uncritical initiation of values, “…with small children there may be no alternative.” Although Morgan (2005) disagreed with Nord that the initial installation of foundational values in children may have to be uncritical, he concluded his writing without providing any solution to this problem (Morgan, p.384-385.) Thus, in a child’s early years, parents do not have sufficient reason to refrain from instilling their exclusivist religious values in him initially, due to the fact that an uncritical initiation of values is apparently inescapable.

Another important point regarding the liberal argument is its occasional paradoxical position concerning the indoctrination of a worldview in children. As was stated earlier, Nord’s definition of indoctrination was “the uncritical initiation of students into some particular ideology or worldview” (Nord, 1995, p.188). Although indoctrination is typically only thought in its association with religion, this simply is not true. Nord (1995, p.188) pointed out that any upbringing that precludes consideration of alternative worldviews, is indoctrination. For example, upbringings based solely on science or logic also would be forms of indoctrination. He observed that any person can be “rational” inside a particular worldview, but that most people are not “reasonable” about that worldview (Nord, 1995, p.188). Though science obviously has more observable, explainable facts than religion does, this fact does not mean that science is the only possible truthful worldview. Not everything is entirely explained by science, and only the presence of alternative worldviews, most notably religious, can allow children and all other people to truly, critically evaluate their world. They must objectively evaluate whichever worldview they hold and not just accept it simply because it is so pervasive or because they were “raised that way.” However, both dogmatic positions of this argument are inconsistent with their assertions in this case; the religious and liberal arguments are often guilty of uncritical behavior. Both of them in turn should take steps to critically evaluate it and not simply insist that “since the other does it; then it is permissible.” More moderate views do exist in both liberal and religious camps, and in the interest of discovering the unbiased truth about each of these and all other worldviews, both sides would benefit from securing a more critical stance of themselves.
Finally, a third point about the religious argument would like to make is that an exclusivist upbringing does cultivate a child’s ability to hold onto truly valuable beliefs and to not simply accept whatever belief system society has most readily available at the time. Eamonn Callan (2002, p.135) suggested that an autonomous fortitude is invaluable because of what awaits a person who is free from preconceived notions of beliefs about what composes a good life. Callan claimed that what currently awaits a person who is freed from any childhood beliefs about a good life is what he termed a “consumer hermeneutic” (Callan, 2002, p.135). Hermeneutic relates to the interpretation of something; in our case it refers to a consumer interpretation as a worldview. Callan’s point is that the pervasive belief in much of contemporary society is that whatever each individual can obtain for himself is the majority of individuals’ beliefs about what makes a good belief and subsequent life! Obviously not everybody acts according to this sort of ethical egoism, but Callan fears that this is often the case to the person who has been educated through high school that only he can find out the best life for himself and that he should go seek it (Callan, 2002, p.135-136). That individual typically does not begin critically searching for the true good life; instead he just does whatever he wants to do. Religious upbringings help instill a kind of autonomous fortitude towards something besides sheer self-interest that naturally arises in humans. William Galston (1998, p.478) succinctly stated the main problem in our society when he wrote “…the greatest threat to children in modern liberal societies is not that they will believe in something too deeply, but that they will believe in nothing very deeply at all.” Galston continued to question how an individual can find what a true good life is if he possesses no important core values to use as an accurate, comparative measuring stick (1998, p.478). A religious upbringing often provides one of the only alternate worldviews to the pervasive consumer worldview that Callan warns against, and if a child matures and reasons his beliefs to be false, the lack of knowledge about what the truth really does stimulate critical inquiry. The best solution would be an upbringing containing a balance between both critical inquiry and fortitude. This balance would ensure that individuals who are not interested in critically searching for the truth do not simply fall victim to a “consumer hermeneutic” or whatever other worldview their society is prepared to present them.

In summary, the liberal argument and the religious argument each have excellent reasons supporting their respective claims. The liberal argument insists that an exclusivist religious upbringing routinely violates a child’s “right to an open future” by restricting his ability to independently choose his own religious or non-religious beliefs as an adult. The liberal argument claims that this restriction is caused by an indoctrination of foundational religious beliefs, by an imposition of emotional hindrances to a child’s ration, and by limiting the child’s access to alternative worldviews. On the other hand, the religious argument maintains that an exclusivist religious upbringing is not in breach of a child’s open future right. The religious argument declares that a child’s initial values must be instilled before the child has values to evaluate from, and clearly these values must be uncritical. Additionally, a liberal upbringing as well as a religious upbringing must hold themselves to critically evaluating their respective worldviews and not simply from their respective views. Finally, the religious argument asserts that REUs are effective ways to instill in an individual a desire for a truly meaningful life, a true good life, and ultimately promotes critical inquiry.

Although the potential is there for children to actively pursue critical inquiry about the truth of religion once they understand the unproveable nature of their own, many simply accept their childhood beliefs as satisfactory for them and focus on other aspects of their lives. All three points from the religious argument are applicable, but they are not sufficient to overcome the facts that Feinberg’s open future right is all about the child’s future choice, and that ERUs habitually operate in a way that inhibits
the child’s choice. Therefore, an exclusivist religious upbringing does routinely violate a child’s right to an open future, as this paper set out to determine.

Having determined that an ERU regularly violates a child’s open future right, some sort of reconciliation must be provided to show why these upbringings should still be allowed in our democratic society.

In this portion of the paper, I will endeavor to provide a solution to this apparent conflict of interests among a child, his parents, and the democratic state in which they live. I will begin by emphasizing the potential psychological and emotional consequences of a child’s open future right violation. Next, I will observe how the religious argument presented only a partial definition of indoctrination; subsequently, I will discuss how the recognition of indoctrination occurring varies according to each of the three interested parties’ perspectives. Following this, I will present a stirring example of an adamant religious exclusivist parent who believes that his own child’s meaningful choice about his religion is indispensable; consequently, I will assert the claim that only this type of ERU is acceptable to our democratic state and both the parents and the children residing within it. Finally, I will stress the necessity of the fundamental condition my reconciliation requires.

Importance of not Violating a Child’s Open Future Right: Psychological and Emotional Consequences

Although some of the consequences stemming from parents’ violating a child’s open future right concerning religion have been mentioned briefly, the extensive impact these consequences can have psychologically and emotionally warrants further emphasis. Earlier, I mentioned the Amish practice of shunning as an emotional hindrance on a child’s religious choice. Possibly worse than the child’s restricted future choice is the emotional impairment which shunning causes. Obviously, shunning is one extreme example, but even a reduced parents-child relationship because of a child’s religious choice can be emotionally harmful. As Eamonn Callan (2002, p.122) sadly noted, a child’s reconsideration of religion “…raises the spectre of love’s withdrawal or at least provokes the disappointment and anxiety of those whose love one craves.” The child’s fear of disappointing his parents and weakening their bond of love through his choice of religion can impose a harmful emotional burden on him. Any emotional hindrance parents intentionally or unintentionally inflict on their children’s religious choice could result in a drawn out emotional scar on their child. Accordingly, every normal, loving parent would have to agree that such an emotional grievance in their children’s lives should be avoided.

Equally injurious to a child’s future self is the psychological trauma that can arise from his indecisiveness about his beliefs, due to the violation of his future right of religious choice. We already know constraining a child from alternative worldviews is a violation exclusivist parents are likely to engage in, and this constraining is described by Eammon Callan (2002, p.131) as “...psychologically impossible or at best very painful to remove...” However, by the time the child finally does mature and comes in full contact with alternative belief systems, his limited exposure to alternative belief systems will have caused his childhood beliefs to become just as painful to remove, and an indefinite period of comparison may ensue. The amount of time it takes him to evaluate and compare his treasured, imbedded childhood beliefs with these alternative beliefs may prove to be significant. Michael Hand (2002, p.556) reasoned that this indecisiveness was because grown children “…are likely to find the process of rejection psychologically disruptive.” The more significant the individual had held his beliefs, the longer this assessment may take. Ultimately, the amount of time the child’s indecisiveness lasts is equivalent to the amount of time his psychological inconsistency and distress endures as well. Thus, parents should not underestimate the extended psychological duress their children may face once they
are finally confronted with evaluating their most fundamental beliefs against potentially legitimate alternatives they have newly discovered. Everything considered, the importance of parents’ not violating a child’s future religious choice has been shown by uncovering the serious emotional and psychological consequences that can stem from this violation.

**Indoctrination and Varying Perspectives on the Truth of ERUs’ Content**

At this time, I would like to return to Nord’s definition of indoctrination in both the liberal and religious arguments and note that his definition was incomplete. Jim Mackenzie (2004) realized the great complexity and controversy surrounding this term, but he reduced the commonly agreed-upon associations of indoctrination to the content of the beliefs being imparted, the intentions of the imparter (in our case, the parent), the methods of the imparter, and the outcome of the beliefs in the individual (the child) receiving them (Mackenzie, p.135-136). Nord’s (1995, p.188) definition was simply “...the uncritical initiation of students into some particular ideology or worldview.” Although his definition would seem to imply the imparter’s intentions and methods to be perniciously calculated towards a desired end, his definition overlooks whether the content of the imparter has strong evidence to support its truth and whether the outcome of the receiver is one that allows him to accurately appraise the content. Much of a child’s early education is uncritically imparted; however, this does not mean he has automatically been indoctrinated. As was said in the religious argument, an uncritical initiation of values is inescapable for children. Charlene Tan (2004, p.263) went even further and argued that parents “…for the sake of the well-being of their children they have a duty to impart to them beliefs that are not rationally grounded.” If Nord’s definition was inclusive, then every child who learned that something was true without understanding how or why could be said to be indoctrinated, for his beliefs would be non-rational. For me, the more salient aspects of indoctrination concern the content and the outcome. If the content a parent is imparting is true, then we know the child cannot be said to be indoctrinated, providing that the truth of the content can be explained to the child. However, if the content is not proven to be true or is confirmed false, then indoctrination has the potential to take place. Equally important is the outcome of the beliefs in the child and whether they end up being held without consideration of legitimate opposing evidence or argument. Whether temporary or permanent, this outcome of inability to consider alternate views would qualify as indoctrination.

While both an ERU and a more liberal upbringing contain the possibility of indoctrination, the real risk occurs in the religious upbringing, due to its content’s lack of universal proof and the outcome that its debatable content may be held irrationally without consideration of opposing evidence. Thus, it seems with our more thorough definition of indoctrination, we now understand that an exclusivist religious upbringing has a very legitimate chance of indoctrination, while other upbringings do not.

Furthermore, after recognizing the importance of the veracity of an upbringing’s content to avoid indoctrination and a violation of a child’s future religious choice, I am going to discuss how the quality of an ERU’s content varies according to the democracy, the parents, and the children’s perspectives. First, the democratic state’s perspective is that an ERU is typically indoctrination. Because no religion has been proven to be true, the democratic state views the content of a religious upbringing exactly as that: not-known-to-be-true. Now, a liberal democracy such as ours obviously desires to reproduce itself, and it does this by producing good democratic citizens. Areneson and Shapiro (1996, p.403-404) identified one of the key components of democratic citizenship to “…include skills and habits of critical thinking that enable one to participate effectively in democratic deliberation.” Jonathan Adler (2004, p.127) agreed and distinguished open-mindedness as a vital democratic value, which he defined
as individuals’ “... access to a plurality of values and the skills for critically evaluating both those values and their own.” Because exclusivist religious parents inhibit rather than foster their child’s future religious examination, our democratic state perceives these parents to be failing to provide their children with the proper autonomous evaluative ability they deserve as citizens. Consequently, this inadequate provision—coupled with the view that the content of the children’s religious upbringing is not-known-to-be-true—provides our liberal democracy with the perspective that this upbringing is indoctrination. Naturally, the democratic state would also view close-mindedness and parental restriction on alternative worldviews as unjustified.

On the other hand, most exclusivist religious parents’ perspective on the upbringing they provide their children is whether it contains indoctrination is ultimately irrelevant, because to them the content they are imparting to their children is known-to-be-true. David Aarchard (2002, p.146) explained that parents seek to pass on their beliefs to their children because they believe that their beliefs are the definite, true beliefs, not just beliefs they have chosen to value for themselves. Viewing the content of their child’s upbringing as known-to-be-true, some parents feel vindicated in limiting alternative views, using emotional persuasion, and even resorting to indoctrination to convince their children to accept their beliefs. Pasquino (1996, p.29) discerned that “...political order, civil peace, and even the life of individuals can be... reduced to nothing by the preoccupation with salvation...” How could Christian parents raise their children without compelling them in any way possible to accept the true beliefs required for the eternal salvation of their souls? Doubtless, the parents would prefer a rational choice from their child to stay in their religion; however, most parents will sufficiently limit their children’s influences and fail to encourage critical inquiry about alternative beliefs, thus ensuring the only logical choice for them is to stick with their parents’ beliefs. Finally, the child’s perspective on the content of his ERU potentially has two stages. The first is where the child simply accepts the beliefs imparted by his parent as known-to-be-true. Michael Hand (2002, p.553) attributed this initial acceptance to a child’s belief in the “intellectual authority” of his parents concerning all matters, including religion. Once the children have matured to the point to understand the fallibility of their parents, they have entered the second stage where their religious beliefs now become not-known-to-be-true (unless they have been so indoctrinated that they never reach this stage). While they might have been subjected to a restriction of alternate beliefs and inculcation of non-provable religious beliefs as young children, the matured children may resist these inhibitions on their choice and proceed to critically evaluate their beliefs and either reject or keep them. Summing up, while the democratic state abhors the indoctrination an ERU can cause, the parents providing this upbringing appear to encourage autonomous religious choice only as long as their children accept their parents beliefs, considering the potential of indoctrination occurring as permissible in order to guarantee their child’s acceptance of these beliefs, the only true ones. Meanwhile, the child seems interested in making his own religious choice and avoiding all indoctrination in the process.

A Reconciliation between an ERU and the Child’s Right to an Open Future

It is true that our democracy state and child’s interests appear to be incompatible with the interests of parents desiring to provide their children with an ERU, due to their varied perspectives about the content of this upbringing. Although it appears that providing a reconciliation that satisfies all three parties is an insuperable task, I am going to argue for a resolution that demonstrates critical examination of one’s religious beliefs as acceptable to all three interested parties. The democratic state wants parents to encourage their children to critically examine their beliefs because of the not-known-to-be-true nature of them. Eamonn Callan (1985, p.118) insists that parents are loath to do this, because
this reconsideration of beliefs the parents hold as known-to-be true “...may very well destroy loyalty to the faith of their parents.” However, if a parent adamantly believes he has found the truth, to the point he considers his beliefs as known-to-be-true, why would he not want his children to critically compare their beliefs with alternative beliefs, if his children are searching for the truth as well? Only if that parent believed the truth would not necessarily be found when sought by his child. This fear might cause the parent to stifle his child’s critical inquiry.

Happily for exclusivist religious parents, a reconciliation exists between their desire for their child’s discovery of truth and their fear that critical inquiry that could lead somewhere besides the truth. In my interview with Mike Tarr, assistant pastor at an extremely dogmatic, exclusivist church, Tarr insisted that if when his two young children matured they came to doubt their beliefs and even the existence of God, he believes that they must critically study their beliefs and others as well (Tarr interview, Nov. 16, 2008). Tarr discussed the supreme importance of his children being “fully persuaded” in their beliefs, even if this means they must evaluate other beliefs and potentially choose a different faith or no faith at all. Nevertheless, because he is fully convinced of the truth of his beliefs, Tarr was resolute that when his children evaluated their own beliefs against others for themselves they would end up accepting their parent’s beliefs, not through any compelling or hindrance of Tarr, only through the intrinsic truth of the beliefs themselves. Tarr emphasized that true, permanent fulfillment can only be found in beliefs that are true, not in beliefs that just seem most likely to be true. This true fulfillment will arise only when the truth has been found (Tarr interview, Nov. 16, 2008). Thus, this adamant exclusivist religious parent believes he has found the truth so such an extent that he is willing to risk his children’s potential rejection of those beliefs through their autonomous, critical inquiry. This reconciliation is universally applicable to exclusivist religions that believe that God will unveil the truth to individuals who honestly seek it. In only this case, I believe the parent, the children, and the democratic state’s interests can each be adequately addressed. The democracy’s desire for the children to critically evaluate their not-known-to-be-true beliefs is satiated; the parent’s desire for his known-to-be-true beliefs to be accepted by his children is compatible with their critical search for the truth; the children’s desire to autonomously and uninhibitedly discover their beliefs has also been realized.

The Necessity of a Disinterested Search for the Truth

However, this reconciliation hinges on one unmovable requirement: the child’s critical inquiry must be for the religious truth. Whether the ultimate truth is the faith in which they were raised, another faith they discover in their search, or no faith at all, the search must be for the truth. An ultimate religious truth is out there, whether the truth is that one faith is true or that no faiths are true has yet to be proven and might never be. This is why the truth must be found through an individual’s subjective evaluation. Sadly, the problem which has arisen from this valorization of subjectivity in our liberal democracy is that the personal search for truth has become the search for personal truth. James Hunter (2000, p. 21) discussed this misunderstanding in contemporary democratic society:

The problem is not subjectivity, for moral life has always required a deep and rich subjective engagement. But subjectivity in our day has given way to subjectivism, where the experiences, interests, and sentiments of the autonomous individual are enshrined as the standards defining the height, length, and breadth of moral hope and possibility.

Callan’s (1984) statement that alternative worldviews should be studied so that “...children themselves might come to find a more satisfactory alternative to their parents’ religious convictions”
seemed to demonstrate this confusion between subjectivity and subjectivism (Callan, p.117, italics added). Callan’s writing seemed to presuppose that either no actual religious truth exists or that people simply do not care, as long as the “truth” they chose proved satisfactory for their lifetime. If the truth is that no religions are true, than Callan would be right in judging that the key factor in choosing a religious beliefs would be personal satisfaction. However, the majority of people would be dissatisfied in finding out in retrospect that the “truth” they chose for themselves in life was at odds with the actual truth, especially if the actual truth carried consequences for not being chosen, which most religions teach is this case. Even if the truth is that no religion is true, that no afterlife consequences exist, and that we may live as however we choose on this earth, individuals who had lived their life in accordance to religious beliefs they thought were true would also be dissatisfied with their choice of beliefs and the demands these beliefs required being ultimately unnecessary. Regardless of what the actual truth is, individuals have a vested interest and desire to find it, not just validate their own “truth” for themselves. Therefore, this search for the actual truth is of deep personal interest to everybody and is essential in order for our ERU reconciliation to succeed.

In conclusion, parents raising their children in an ERU in which they understand its content as known-to-be-true wish to avoid the emotional and psychological trauma a violation of their future religious choice can bring, while still seeing their children come to believe the “known-to-be-true content” of their parents’ religion. Although some parents may feel vindicated in resorting to indoctrination of these beliefs in order to save their children, most parents wish for their child to choose them for himself. Additionally, because the democratic state the parents reside in sees the parents’ beliefs as not-known-to-be-true, the democratic state demands the parents allow the child’s free choice, and the children wish to uninhibitedly choose their personal religious beliefs as well. This conflict of interests, due to the alternate perspectives each of the three parties has concerning the ERUs content, is resolved by understanding that parents’ in exclusivist religions who believe the religious truth will be found when an individual seeks after it will encourage the child’s meaningful, autonomous choice of religion. This reconciliation succeeds only if the individual critically evaluating belief systems is looking for the true belief system (which the majority of people have an interest in discovering) and not simply seeking to validate or eliminate any particular belief system, whatever the true belief system ultimately proves to be. Optimistically, the exclusivist religions that believe the truth will be made known to those who seek it will prove to be correct; Thomas Paine (1951, p.151) wrote that the very desire of the truth is for it to make itself known, “But such is the irresistible nature of truth that all it asks, and all it wants, is the liberty of appearing.
ENDNOTES

i The argument that an exclusivist argument violates a child’s right to an open future will be referred to as “the liberal argument” for the rest of this paper, and the liberal argument’s counter-argument will be termed “the religious argument.”

ii Although Hand continued to say that individuals choosing to accept religious beliefs once they have appraised them as being correct also will experience this psychologically disruption, I doubt this drastic change would amount as much as a harmful disruption than an enlightening, revitalizing transformation (Hand, 2002, p.556).

iii These religions would include most Christ-centered faiths that hold the Hebrew Bible as the word of God, which are numerous. For parents in exclusivist religions who do not include the belief that their god will assuredly reveal the truth to those who seek it, a sufficient reconciliation between a child’s freedom of future religious choice and the salvation of his soul may be unattainable. Future research is necessary concerning reconciliations of other religions whose beliefs do not insist that the truth will necessarily be revealed to those that seek it.

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Aiding a Silent Killer:
Global Warming, Infectious Disease, and the Next Pandemic

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One of the least known aspects of global warming is its relationship to the proliferation of infectious disease, and moreover to periods of pandemics in human history. Modern scientific understanding about the roles of microorganisms, viral strains, communicable bacteria, and the environment has shown the connection between the two is neither speculative nor spurious. The mainstream scientific community acknowledges that the next pandemic is not a question of “if” but “when”. This threat is so imminent, in fact, that a number of government agencies, including the office of the President, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and the National Center for Disease Control have created Pandemic Protocol plans in an attempt to prepare for the coming crisis. To appreciate fully the concern, however, it is important to understand the basic nature of disease. In addition, examination of several historical pandemics, cross-referenced with data collected about past climate cycles, will illustrate that these were not only past tragedies, but also a likely problem for the future.

In the most general sense, a disease works by impairing or destroying an organism’s physiological functions. The most common transfer method is through infection, which is a transmissible form of illness either as an airborne contagion or through fluid transfer between organisms. In his book, Evolving Health, Dr. Noel Boaz argues that all human illnesses are the result of adaptive failures our species took on during early stages of human evolution. He also acknowledges that the modern world’s most virulent viruses originated in geographical locations with higher temperatures and continuous moisture, such as Africa. This is significant because it highlights the delicate and complex relationships between humans, climate and disease.

Disease can be affected by climate change in many ways; warmer temperatures allow certain infections to spread more rapidly through thinner air. In addition, according to the Nature Conservancy, a leading global conservation organization, climate change will impact infectious disease “mainly because warmer temperatures allow disease carrying insects, animals and microbes to survive in areas where they were once thwarted by colder weather.” Furthermore, diseases adapt to climate change faster than larger organisms. Eugene Linden, author of Winds of Change: Climate, Weather, and the Destruction of Civilizations, asserts that organisms that adjust most quickly to environmental shifts are creatures such as microbes and rats, which have shorter life spans but large numbers of offspring. These groups of creatures make up only the carriers but the main transportation systems of infectious illness.

Recently, numerous respected medical experts have begun expressing public concern about the ways in which human health could be affected by global warming in upcoming years. In 2007, the American Society for Microbiology held a forum to discuss possible impacts of climate change on disease. One attendee, Dr. David Rogers of Oxford University, spoke on migration patterns of disease-carrying insects that could soon shift to warm areas of temperate zones. The panel concurred that this would could probable outcome of environmental change. Others in the medical field, including Dr. Khasnis from the University of Michigan, argue that global warming will alter the very epidemiology of infectious illness. Though he admits the complexity of the issue requires further study, Dr. Khasnis sees the interaction between climate change and disease as volatile. His theories on what will make this threat so potent include decreased human resistance to illness, new strains of infection, and enhanced transmission ability due to modern globalization. However, much of what scientists currently know about the nature of pandemic illness has been based on historical records and the journals of those who
lived during these catastrophes. In addition to providing invaluable knowledge about their eras, many of these records show that pandemics often coincide with periods of shifting global climate.

The first recorded pandemic in human history originated in the eastern Mediterranean, western Asia and northern Africa. It is often referred to as the Plague of Justinian, after the Byzantine emperor ruling at the onset of the disaster. Justinian’s official war historian, Procopius, witnessed this tragedy firsthand and chronicled its devastating effects. According to him the outbreak swept out of the ports of Egypt and Palestine, headed north until it reached Constantinople in 542 and from there it pushed on to the rest of the European continent. He also writes that “during this time it seemed no easy thing to see any man in the streets of [Constantinople], but all who had the good fortune to be in health were sitting in their houses, either attending the sick or morning the dead.” Over the next two centuries the plague continued to claim millions of lives.

In this case the word “plague” refers to an actual microorganism, the bacteria *Yersinia pestis*, first isolated by Swedish scientist Alexandre Yersin in 1894. The disease it causes in humans is characterized by high fevers, swollen lymph nodes (or buboes) in the armpit, groin or neck, and black blotches beneath the skin. The bacterium lives in fleas that attach to rodent populations. Bites from these fleas release the bacillus *Y. pestis* into the host’s bloodstream. Stages of the plague are increasingly painful and until the invention of antibiotics in the twentieth century the disease retained mortality rates of sixty percent or higher. The pneumatic form of plague, communicable through respiratory means, spread much more rapidly than its counterpart and was fatal in nearly all cases.

David Keys claims that climate changes caused the first major plague outbreak and consequently played a major role in the breakdown of the Byzantine Empire. His landmark book, *Catastrophe: An Investigation into the Origins of the Modern World*, argues that the massive volcanic activity in Africa and Asia had a cascading effect on all aspects of the Byzantine Empire. Large-scale eruptions often trigger mass migrations of disease carrying rodents. These rodents look for new food sources in the most obvious locations, human cities.

As a result, populations converged and the disease became centralized. The plague depleted the population, crippled the economy, and permanently weakened the military. Also, the increased humidity that accompanies volcanic activity may have aided *Y. pestis* in its mutation from its original form to its pneumatic form. Though this pestilence decimated the population of the Byzantine Empire, it was minor compared to its infamous return in the mid-fourteenth century.

In 1347 the bubonic plague returned to ravage the Eurasian continent. In its time it was known as *La Moria Grandissima*. Today it is popularly known as the Black Death. Arguably the most significant and researched pandemic in human history, the Great Plague killed an estimated third to one half of Europe’s population. This event was preceded by what climatologists refer to as the Medieval Warm Period (c. 900-1300 C.E.), which allowed large rodent communities to be confined to the Eurasian steppes. Climate conditions were also relatively stable. Crops thrived and the population of Europe quadrupled. However, it is also highly probable that *Y. pestis* evolved significantly and achieved new levels of potency during this period.

By comparison the next climate cycle, named the Little Ice Age, wrought havoc for the people of Europe. John Kelly cites data obtained from tree rings as evidence of the severe climate changes which occurred in the fourteenth century in his book, *The Great Mortality: An Intimate History of the Black Death*. Kelly argues that this may have been the most turbulent time for climate in the last two thousand years. Winters became increasingly colder, crops failed, and malnutrition from famine affected
the majority of people. The previous blessings of the Medieval Warm Period had led to unhealthy living conditions and overpopulation for many towns and cities.\textsuperscript{xiv} This created a prime breeding ground for both rodents and the diseases they carry. Other authors who study this event such as Norman Cantor agree that these factors and more contributed to the virulence of the disease as it spread from Mongolian trading ships into Europe.\textsuperscript{xv}

Another reason for the lethality of the plague was due largely to ignorance. Medieval medical science was unequipped to deal with the devastating effects of the Black Death. Most assumed the plague was spreading either through contamination of water supplies, or through “corrupted” air, called miasma.\textsuperscript{xvi} Numerous communities of innocent Jews were blamed and slaughtered by hysterical mobs for their supposed role in poisoning town water wells. Also, though he condemned the persecution of the Jews, Pope Clement VI, the supreme religious authority in Europe, retreated from the plague to his palace in Avignon, France. There he often sat in an open courtyard, surrounded by pits of fire, in hopes of “purifying” the air.\textsuperscript{xvii} Though he never contracted the disease, his fortune was happenstance.

As previously stated, extremely unsanitary conditions that existed in fourteenth century Europe allowed multitudes of black rats that carried plague to run rampant throughout the continent. This, combined with the preceding environmental conditions and climate changes, made bubonic plague a prime candidate for evolution into pandemic illness. Though limited waves have occurred, even as recently as the twentieth century, its potency and potential for transmission on a global scale have diminished due to achievements such as inoculations and antibiotics.\textsuperscript{xviii} However, other diseases in history have also spread to pandemic proportions, such as cholera, malaria, and influenza.\textsuperscript{xix} Unlike bubonic plague, these diseases have mutated and adapted to the modern world with surprising and deadly efficiency.

Since the end of the Industrial Revolution the number and frequency of infectious diseases that have become epidemics or pandemics has greatly increased.\textsuperscript{xx} In part this is due to the dramatic rise in human population, which allows for greater communicability in disease. Another major reason for this increase is global warming’s relationship to the causation of extreme weather events. Increased amounts of greenhouse gases taken in by the atmosphere continue to contribute to an overall increase in disasters that in turn release vectors that aid the spread of disease.\textsuperscript{xxi} One striking example of this occurred from 1918-1919 in the form of an influenza pandemic, and was the most widespread disease event in human history.\textsuperscript{xxii}

According to J.N. Hays, a professor of history in Chicago who has written several works on the role of disease in human civilization, at least 50 million people died worldwide from this pandemic, which originated in the central United States following a series of droughts.\textsuperscript{xxiii} This event also corresponded with the first years of the warming trend the world is currently experiencing.\textsuperscript{xxiv} The Great Pandemic, as it was called, jumped from America to Europe and then to Asia in a matter of months. American soldiers going to Europe to fight during World War I acted as carriers, and the close-quarter contact between allies almost surely aided the disease’s rapid transmission. In the United States, more than one quarter of the population contracted the disease, and over 675,000 people died from it.\textsuperscript{xxv} According to the National Library of Medicine, more Americans died from influenza than died in World War I.\textsuperscript{xxvi} The reasons behind its virulence remain debated among the scientific community, but most accepted theories contend that this was a new form of flu that had little immunity in humans.\textsuperscript{xxvii}

The flu pandemic did yield some positive effects, however. The flu’s prevalence among the populace forced the United States government and scientific research facilities to reevaluate their understandings of how communicable disease operates. At the beginning of the nineteen hundreds, influenza was incorrectly thought to be caused by a germ. That misdiagnosis aided the illnesses dissemination by causing people to take ineffective actions to prevent its spread.\textsuperscript{xxviii} Thankfully, intense study and research led to numerous scientific innovations such as the advancements in virology, which finally isolated the Influenza A Virus in 1933. Another milestone in protecting humans against this
prevalent illness was the development of the flu vaccine in 1944. This innovation drastically reduced the number of people which contract flu on an annual basis and has saved countless lives.

However, Influenza A can infect other species besides humans, including animals such as pigs, ducks and horses.\textsuperscript{xxx} Currently, the most dangerous form of flu to humans is the Avian (or bird) flu, and is thought by the vast majority of experts to be the next disease that will reach pandemic levels. According to a web site managed by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, “Avian flu (AI) is caused by influenza viruses that occur naturally among wild birds. Low pathogenic AI is common in birds and causes few problems. Highly pathogenic H5N1 is deadly to domestic fowl, can be transmitted from birds to humans, and is deadly to humans. There is virtually no human immunity and human vaccine availability is very limited.”\textsuperscript{xxx} This succinctly captures why avian flu is considered such a threat.

The World Health Organization (WHO), which directs and coordinates health issues within the United Nations, recognizes that the growing number of bird flu-related infections could lead to a possible influenza pandemic in humans.\textsuperscript{xxxi} In May 2008 the WHO, along with representatives from nearly two hundred participating nations, met to address the growing concerns over pandemic flu and climate effects at the sixty-first World Health Assembly. Together these nations agreed to outline detailed plans designed to lessen climate change and its subsequent impacts on human health. Several speakers at the event also urged various nations to continue sharing data, vaccines, and studies about pandemic flu openly with one another, hoping to stimulate more accelerated scientific advancement.\textsuperscript{xxxii}

The World Health Organization, like many other countries, has also developed a Global Influenza Preparedness Plan meant to efficiently deal with a pandemic outbreak on all levels of government and municipal organizations in the international community. The awareness of global warming and its effects on infectious disease depend on the sharing of information between the scientific and medical communities. Efforts by the United States, the U.N. and the European Union continue to show a serious commitment to this problem. Consequently, there is greater hope for survival of a major pandemic now than ever before.

Global warming’s relationship to infectious disease cannot be ignored. The preceding evidence shows that periods of increased global temperatures and extreme weather events have also led to increases in communicable illnesses amongst humans. The fear of pandemic remains prevalent in our society. Popularly, this can clearly be seen in such works as Stephen King’s \textit{The Stand}, and the movies \textit{28 Days Later} and Will Smith’s \textit{I Am Legend}. Though these works portray exaggerated and/or unrealistic circumstances, they accurately depict the apprehension most people have concerning pandemic disease. They also do an excellent job illustrating the breakdown in society that occurs due to contagious pestilence, and the chaos that would exist as a result.

New factors are surely going to impact the way people plan for or deal with a future pandemic; the rise and relative ease of global travel makes carrying a potentially dangerous disease much more likely than in previous occurrences and therefore much more difficult to contain. Global commerce also continues to grow, requiring massive fleets of air and land transport vehicles that alter the environmental balance. Furthermore, the increased absorption of carbon dioxide throughout the last two hundred years will undoubtedly continue to play a significant role in altering, releasing, or spreading harmful infections through changing weather patterns. While these events may be unavoidable, the steps which humans can take to prepare for it are not. That is why it is vital to reduce carbon emissions on both the corporate and private levels, and to continue to develop national and international strategies for dealing with issues of this magnitude. Hopefully, the lessons of the past will better prepare us for an uncertain future.
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12 Keys, Catastrophe, 262-266.
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Elias Boudinot was a Cherokee patriot. A tireless advocate for the Cherokee cause who made frequent trips to the Northeast to tout the “civilization” of the Cherokees, he also championed the creation of a Cherokee newspaper and was its first editor. That he loved the Cherokee Nation cannot be disputed. Yet, he signed an illegal treaty which ceded all Cherokee land to the United States and led to the Cherokees’ removal on the Trail of Tears. The obvious question is “Why?” He knew that to do so was illegal under Cherokee law. He also knew the overwhelming majority of Cherokees were adamantly against any cession of lands and that his actions would brand him a traitor in the eyes of his own people. The prevailing consensus is that Boudinot betrayed his people in the name of personal interest. But such an explanation ignores the facts and is too simplistic given the circumstances facing the Cherokees during the 1830s.

Elias Boudinot was born “Buck” Watie in 1804 in Oothcaloga Valley, Georgia. At that time, the American government believed that if Indians could be converted from hunters to farmers, from idolaters to Christians; if they could learn to read and write English, wear European-style clothes and govern themselves according to republican principles, they could be assimilated into American society and, more importantly, they would require less land.

Boudinot’s father was an adherent of this “civilization” program and took advantage of it by sending his six-year-old son to a mission school run by Moravian missionaries. There, the boy was completely immersed in American culture – from reading, writing, math and history to cooking, sewing and plowing. At thirteen, Boudinot enrolled in the Foreign Mission School in Cornwell, Connecticut where his “civilization” was completed. In early 1826 he married a white woman causing a scandal in town. The reaction of the townspeople stunned Boudinot. Prior to his marriage, he had believed that education and conversion to Christianity – “civilization” – would erase any distinction between whites and Indians. Now, after having spent more than half his life in the white man’s world, indeed, after having lived as a white man, he was faced with the stark truth that this divide could never be bridged. This experience had a profound effect on Boudinot and colored his thinking throughout his life.

To make matters worse for Boudinot and the Cherokees, a sea change in American policy regarding the Indians had begun to take hold. Following its victory in the War of 1812 and the crushing defeats of Tecumseh in the Great Lakes region and the Creeks in the south, the American government came to the realization that it no longer had to fear Indian reprisals. In a report to the House of Representatives in 1818, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun stated the Indians had “ceased to be an object terror. The time seems to have arrived when our policy towards them should undergo an important change…. Our views of their interest, and not their own, ought to govern them.” Although an official policy was never enacted, the great object of the Monroe administration and those that followed was civilization and removal.

Throughout the 1820s, removal remained a voluntary option for the Cherokees and other Indians, with “civilization” remaining the official policy of the government. But while the government clung to the “civilization” policy, increasing numbers of Americans not only demanded Indian land, they simply took it. It was against this backdrop that Boudinot set about the task of advancing the Cherokee cause.

In late 1825 he was authorized by the General Council of the [Cherokee] Nation to set out for the northeast on a campaign to raise funds for the purchase of a printing press and the establishment of a “national academy,” as well as to heighten awareness of the increasingly worrisome plight of the Cherokees. His experience in Cornwell, however, had fundamentally altered Boudinot’s conception of
“civilization” and what it could achieve for the Cherokee Nation. While he remained a fervent supporter of the concept, the end result for him had changed. He no longer saw “civilization” as the means by which Cherokees could assimilate as equals into white society; rather, he saw it as the only means of survival for the Cherokee people: “There are, with regard to the Cherokees and other tribes, two alternatives; they must either become civilized and happy, or sharing the fate of many kindred nations, become extinct.”

The pinnacle of Cherokee “civilization” was the Constitution of 1827. Not only did the Constitution create a republican government and pronounce the sovereignty and independence of the Cherokee people, it also defined the borders of the Cherokee Nation. The Constitution set off a firestorm in Georgia, which had coveted Cherokee land within its borders for decades. In response, the Georgia legislature announced that the State had sovereignty over all the lands within its borders and asserted that it could take possession of Cherokee lands whenever it wanted and by whatever means it saw fit.

In the face of this threat, Boudinot made it clear that the Cherokees would not be made to leave their ancestral home:

In regard to the controversy with Georgia, and the present policy of the General Government, in removing, and concentrating the Indians, out of the limits of any state, which by the way appears to be gaining strength.... the public should know what we think of the policy, which, in our opinion, if carried into effect, will prove pernicious to us.... [Indians] are as capable of improvement in mind as any other people; and let it be remembered, notwithstanding the assertions of those who talk to the contrary, that this improvement can be made, not only by the Cherokees, but by all the Indians, in their present locations. (Emphasis in original.)

Even as the situation with Georgia deteriorated, Boudinot remained steadfast in his opposition to removal. In addressing the removal issue and the prevailing opinion of the day that removal was the only means by which the Cherokees could avoid extinction, Boudinot asked:

How dare these men make an assertion without sufficient evidence? What proof have they that the system which they are now recommending, will succeed? Where have we an example in the whole history of man, of a Nation or tribe, removing in a body, from a land of civil and religious means, to a perfect wilderness, in order to be civilized? (Emphasis in original.)

Two months later, Boudinot professed his continued faith in the “old” idea of “civilization.” Based on U.S government figures used to calculate the cost of removing the Chickasaws from Mississippi, he calculated the cost of removing the Cherokees to be $2.2 million. He wrote:

If this project is intended ... for the good and civilization of the Cherokees, cannot this sum be put to a better use? Supposing with this money, the United States begin to establish Schools in every part of the Nation? With this money let there be a college founded, where every advantage of instruction may be enjoyed.... What would be the consequences? If we fail to improve under such efforts, we will then agree to remove.

In August 1828, he castigated Cherokee chiefs in Arkansas who had exchanged their Arkansas lands for territory farther west: “We are sorry that there are self-interested men in all Indian tribes, who will not scruple to sacrifice the interest of their people ... contrary to the feelings of the rest of their brethren.” He afforded similar treatment to western Cherokees who visited the Nation to encourage removal: “Why are these inter-meddling Cherokees thrust in amongst us & paid by the United States when they are unwelcomed, and possess no right in this country.”
As the 1820s drew to a close, however, a confluence of events caused a reluctant change of heart in Boudinot. First, Georgia’s hunger for Cherokee land was sharpened with the discovery of gold in 1829. Then, in May 1830, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act. In December 1830, Georgia passed a series of laws which divided Cherokee land into districts and established a lottery procedure for its distribution to Georgia citizens, authorized the governor to take possession of the gold district, and required any “white person” living in Cherokee territory to obtain a permit.

The Georgia laws led to two Supreme Court cases. In the first (1831), the Court recognized the Cherokee Nation’s rights as a state but termed it a “domestic dependent nation.” As Boudinot realized, “this [wa]s certainly no enviable position.” In the second case (1832), however, the Cherokees won a seemingly decisive victory when the Court held that “The Cherokee nation is a distinct community, occupying its own territory... in which the laws of Georgia can have no force.” While much of the Cherokee Nation rejoiced, Boudinot’s excitement was tempered by the realization that the Court’s ruling was meaningless if President Jackson, a staunch supporter of removal -- if not extermination -- of all Indians, did not agree to enforce the Court’s ruling. When Jackson flatly refused to enforce the ruling, even the Cherokees’ friends in Congress, concerned with Georgia’s veiled threats of secession from the Union, recommended that the Cherokee’s give up the fight against removal.

Another close ally, Supreme Court Justice John McClane, advised the Cherokee delegation in Washington, including Boudinot, that resisting removal was now a futile exercise, and even the missionaries who had supported the Cherokees for so long now supported emigration.

With every avenue closed and all influential friendships evaporated, Boudinot came to the conclusion that removal was the only means by which the Cherokee Nation could survive. Upon his return to the Cherokee Nation in July 1832, Boudinot’s name appeared on a petition in support of removal. When Boudinot’s change of heart became known, the Cherokee government enjoined him from publishing his views in the Cherokee Phoenix. Boudinot, however, believed that the people had the right to hear both sides of the argument on removal. Principal Chief John Ross disagreed. Thus, Boudinot resigned as editor in August 1832.

The rift between Boudinot and Ross grew wider when, perhaps out of desperation, Ross proposed a plan in Washington by which he would agree to sell most of the Cherokee land in Georgia if Jackson would promise to protect the rights of the Nation for a period of years, at which time the Cherokees would become equal citizens of the states and abide by state law. According to Ross, the Cherokee Nation would then cease to exist and the people would embrace their “inevitable future of amalgamation.”

To Boudinot, perhaps recalling his experience in Connecticut, such a course of action would be the death of the Cherokee as a nation:

And think, for a moment, my countrymen, the danger to be apprehended from an overwhelming white population – a population not unfrequently overcharged with high notions of color, dignity, and greatness – at once overbearing and impudent to those whom, in their sovereign pleasure, they consider as their inferiors. They should have, our sons and daughters, be slaves indeed. Such a population ... would create an enemy more pernicious and destructive to the Cherokees than the pestilence that walks in darkness.

Ross later changed his position and conducted on-again-off-again negotiations with the United States for a removal treaty. As Ross stalled and held out for redress from the United States, conditions grew increasingly worse for the Cherokees in Georgia. Boudinot later excoriated Ross for these tactics: Now, sir, can you say that in all this the Cherokees had not suffered one half what their country was worth? Can you presume to be spending your whole time in opposing a treaty, then in trying, as you say, to make a better treaty, that is to get more money ... I say, can you be doing all this while the canker is eating the very vitals of this nation? Perish
your goldmines and your money, if, in the pursuit of them, the moral credit of this people, their happiness and their existence are to be sacrificed!... Removal, then, is the only remedy – the only practicable remedy. By it there may be finally a renovation – our people may rise from their very ashes to become prosperous and happy. (Emphasis in original.)

By 1835, one Georgia newspaper estimated that two-thirds of the Cherokees in the state were homeless due to the theft of their lands and their homes by Georgians. In December 1835, with his people starving and homeless, Boudinot and a small group of Cherokees, without Ross’s authorization, signed the Treaty of New Echota. He did not do so lightly:

I know that I take my life in my hand, as our fathers have also done. We will make and sign this treaty. Our friends can then cross the great river, but... people who violently oppose removal will put us across the dread river of death. We can die, but the great Cherokee Nation will be saved. They will not be annihilated; they can live. Oh, what is a man worth who will not dare to die for his people? Who is there here that will not perish, if this great Nation may be saved?

In signing the Treaty of New Echota, Boudinot realized that he was signing his death warrant. He was, in fact, murdered by Cherokees in Oklahoma on June 22, 1839. Thus, the question is raised again: Why did he do it? Unlike the others who signed the Treaty, he was not a rich man, nor did he have political ambitions. He did not receive a financial windfall after the signing. After all, despite leaving for the West in 1837, he was murdered at the construction site of his home. Had he suddenly become wealthy, surely it would have taken him less than two years to build a home for his wife and six children.

The true answer is perhaps the simplest and most obvious: He was a patriot who loved his homeland, but who loved his people even more. And it was this passion bordering on overzealousness, when combined with his strong feelings that Cherokees would never be equals in a white society that led him to sign the Treaty of New Echota. While removal would mean the complete loss of the Cherokee homeland, the overriding consideration had to be the survival of the Cherokee as a people. In Boudinot’s mind, survival could be ensured only by remaining separate from American society. His own words best convey his sentiments:

In one word, I may say that my patriotism consists in the love of the country, and the love of the People. These are intimately connected, yet they are not altogether inseparable. They are inseparable if the people are made the first victim, for in that case the country must go also... But if the country is lost, or is likely to be lost to all human appearance, and the people still exist, may I not, with a patriotism true and commendable, make a question for the safety of the remaining object of my affection?... When we come to the last crisis, (and my opinion is, that we are at that point,) one of three things must be chosen. 1. Nature’s right of all nations to resist and fight in the defense of our lands. 2. Submit and peaceably come under the dominion of the oppressor, and suffer, which we most assuredly must if we make that choice, a moral death! 3. Avoid the two first by removal. (Emphasis in original.)
ENDNOTES

3 Cherokee Editor, 6
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears, 46-47.
7 Ibid.
8 John C. Calhoun to the House of Representatives, December 5, 1818, American State Papers: Indian Affairs, 2:183
9 The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears, 52.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid., 52-53.
12 Cherokee Editor, 12-13.
13 An Address to the Whites, Delivered at First Presbyterian Church, (Philadelphia, May 26, 1826).
14 The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears, 54-55.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., 58.
17 Cherokee Phoenix, February 21, 1828.
18 Ibid., March 13, 1828.
19 Ibid., May 14, 1828.
20 Ibid., August 20, 1828.
21 Ibid., August 27, 1828.
22 The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears, 74.
23 Ibid., 76.
24 Ibid., 84.
25 Ibid., 82.
26 The Cherokee Phoenix, April 9, 1831.
27 The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears, 87-88, quoting Worcester v. The State of Georgia, January Term, 1832, 6 Peters 562.
28 Ibid., 94.
29 Ibid., 94-95.
30 Cherokee Editor, 25.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears, 103.
34 Ibid., quoting Ross Papers, Ross et. al. to Andrew Jackson, March 12, 1834.
35 Cherokee Editor, A Reply to John Ross, August 4, 1832.
37 The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears, 100.
38 Ibid., 91.
39 Cherokee Editor, 27 citing a recollection of Boudinot’s speech by J.W.H. Underwood, who attend the signing of the Treaty of New Echota and made official copies of the document.
40 Ibid., 30.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid. 173 Letter to the new editor of the Cherokee Phoenix, October 4, 1832.
Abstract

This study examines themes occurring in computer-mediated communication (CMC) that contributes to promoting self-disclosure that occur in computer-mediated communication (CMC). Emails, blogs, text messages and instant messages are examples of communication through the use of computer-mediated technology. Some general research suggests that CMC is becoming a part of the “norm” in today’s American culture. The authors specifically assessed the concept of self-disclosure which means the sharing of personal information. By examining online forums that focus on interpersonal communication issues, an analysis was completed on how self-disclosure occurred in the computer-mediated environment. Previous research suggested that there were a larger number of self-disclosures via face-to-face communication as compared to self-disclosure that occurred in computer-mediated communication. However, the results provided strong evidence that key online forum themes do contribute to promoting self-disclosure. This study provided the researchers with the opportunity to explore how self-disclosure, a topic that has traditionally been based in the face-to-face context, develops in a computer-mediated communication environment which has become so prevalent in today’s society.

Introduction

In today’s American culture, individuals constantly sending and receiving text messages on their Blackberries and IPhones, communicating through Yahoo, and AOL IMs and internet chat rooms, or sending and receiving emails several times throughout the day, is actually...“the norm.” This is an information age, and the current young generation lives and breathes within the electronic world of communication. Whether it’s during an online conference, taking an online course here at Purdue, or chatting online, individuals are self-disclosing to people they’ve never met. Even within inner circles of friends and family, texting and email have become the way of life and a definite form of communication. The fact is that more and more people are getting as comfortable with expressing their inner deepest thoughts and emotions through a text message, or an email as with expressing those thoughts and emotions to someone in the more traditional face-to-face communication. Thus, a question is raised whether it is possible to promote self-disclosure through computer-mediated means?

The concept of self-disclosure can be defined as the sharing of personal information. By definition, computer-mediated communication is, “communication that takes place using some type of computer technology” (Monberg, 2005, p. 181). As previously mentioned various types of computer-mediated channels such as instant messaging and emails, online forums are among the most popular ways of communicating. Online forums contain message threads about different topics, for example, topics regarding money and health. By examining online forums that focus on interpersonal communication issues, self-disclosure occurring in computer-mediated communication can be examined.

Review of Literature

Self-disclosure is defined as, “personal information verbally communicated to another person” (Omarzu, 2000, p.175). This definition left out a major aspect of self-disclosure; it was not broad enough to cover self-disclosure that occurs in a computer-mediated setting because this definition was based
solely on a verbal face-to-face scenario. The majority of the communications on-line are electronic textual messages from the sender that communicate meaning to the receiver. For the purpose of this article, self-disclosure will be defined as, “Anything a person tells about oneself to another” (Barak, Glucko, 2007, p. 408). This definition can apply its meaning to computer-mediated communication (CMC) that occurs within online forums.

One unique characteristic of self-disclosure in an online environment is how individuals find it easier to self-disclose. There are several reasons why individuals find it easier to self-disclose online versus self-disclosing face-to-face. Individuals tend to not feel judged by others when they disclose something personal about themselves; whether it is negative or positive. Computer-mediated communication lacks nonverbal cues; therefore, the sender of the message can avoid nonverbal judgment from the receiver. In other words, “the receiver has no (or very limited) information available to test, validate, discredit, or refine the information presented by the sender” (McQuillen, 2003, p. 620).

Three of the most common characteristics of self-disclosure are depth, breadth, and duration (Omarzu, 2000). Although depth and breadth are prevalent in both face-to-face and CMC, duration which is defined as “the sheer amount, or persistence of self-disclosure” (p. 175) happens to be a very unique aspect within CMC. Previous researchers suggested that “the rate of social information exchanged will be slower, but that the amount, over time, will not differ from FtF. Accordingly, development of interpersonal effects will be slower, but the depth of the relationship will be equal to its FtF counterpart” (Walther, Tidwell, 1996, p. 619). In addition to self-disclosing online, researchers have also found that time allows “participants to plan and edit comments more mindfully. In contrast, the spontaneous and simultaneous requirements of FtF communication place greater demands on cognitive resources” (McQuillen, 2003, p. 620). In other words, individuals in a face-to-face interaction are forced to respond rapidly, where as in a computer-mediated setting, individuals may take time to organize and construct their thoughts before “speaking.”

First impressions are essential when meeting someone face-to-face. They allow an individual to make judgments based solely off of looks and personality. When involved in a computer-mediated environment, individuals engage in constructing an idealized perception. In other words, they present themselves as a “perfect” person when involved in computer-mediated communication. Researchers say that “each participant can impression manage by presenting only that information believed to be favorable about self” (McQuillen, 2003, p. 620).

It is no surprise that there has been an increase in social networking sites over the past few years. MySpace is a very popular social networking site that was created July 2003 by co-founder Tom Anderson. The social networking site consists of millions of users being able to customize their own web pages. MySpace also has a section dedicated to forums. The forum consists of several different categories, and there are a vast number of posts in every category for every topic.

**Methods**

For this research, several MySpace online threads were analyzed. The texts collected for the study were from on-line forums that displayed on going self-disclosure throughout the threads analyzed. The participants who published the messages within the forums were male and female. The age of these participants was anonymous. These participants were chosen randomly within the different forums. The authors analyzed five forums for this research, and studied the common themes that promoted self-disclosure within each forum. The forums used were: Business and Entrepreneurs, Health and Fitness, Campus Life, Love and Relationship, and Religion. The researchers made sure that all the forums used had been active for at least one year and displayed significant posting activity dealing with self-disclosure. The importance of selecting these forums was that they all related to everyday way of
life, and are important topics concerning self-disclosure. These forums were some of the most active venues for conversation at the time of the study, but the numbers change on a daily basis.

The researchers chose to use the content analysis aspect of textual analysis in the research. The authors were interested in the content (themes) imbedded within the texts. A content analysis is used, “To identify, enumerate, and analyze occurrences of specific messages and message characteristics embedded in texts” (Botan, Frey, Kreps, 2000, p.236). Content analysis is an unobtrusive technique and gives us the opportunity to research unstructured forums. In each forum studied, the researchers analyzed first messages (i.e. messages that started a new thread). Four threads were sampled from each of the 5 forums, giving us a total of 20 different threads to study. The authors tried to choose threads that had a relatively equal number of male and female participants. The researchers analyzed all of the different threads within the forums and pointed out the specific instances and themes that promoted self-disclosure. The five disclosure categories were chosen based on the most prevalent categories within the threads. The categories were defined as follows:

**Personal Experiences:** Experiences explained in first person.  
**Story:** Any narrative that may or may not involve the author of the message.  
**Opinion:** A personal belief stated by the sender or receiver.  
**Advice:** Any helpful information that would benefit another person.  
**Other:** Anything else that was not able to fit into the other categories. Examples include one word answers and picture answers such as, smiling faces to portray emotion.

### Data treatment

We began by categorizing our data into five categories. The five categories were themes that promoted self-disclosure. Within the five selected forums, we selected four threads within each one. The selected thread length was based on the first five to seven pages of the thread to establish and end point. We made sure that the forums being analyzed had at least 50 posts and at least 100 topics.

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<th>Opinion</th>
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Results

Our results show that within the forums chosen, levels of self-disclosure were present. Some of the forums disclosed more than others. The forum that showed higher levels of self-disclosure was “Health and Fitness.” This forum displayed high levels of disclosure in all five categories. Though all categories were relevant to the study, we were particularly concerned with the category “Personal Experiences.” As stated before, “Personal Experience” is defined as, “An experience explained in first person.” We believe that this category was most important to our study because this was the area where communicators would express themselves on a more personal and intimate level. With that in mind, we determined that the forum “Love and Relationships” was also an affective theme where self-disclosure could occur more often. In this observation, we were least interested in the category of “Other.” This category was designed for messages that were not clear enough to determine occurrences of self-disclosure.

Discussion

As with many studies done there are weaknesses that are pinpointed once a study is complete. In this analysis three weaknesses had been pinpointed. The first one was the factor of time. The study did not quantify the time that it took for sender and receiver to begin and end self-disclosure. The second weakness was to see if age had any influence in the amount self-disclosed by a person. The different age groups could have been quantified to see what age groups self-disclose more. The third weakness was that independent coders were not used. By using independent coders, the validity of the categories could have been established, and bias into what categories to put the message threads into would have not been a factor.
In suggesting further research to be continued, the authors would be intrigued to see what would happen if one applied the five categories of self-disclosure to real life face-to-face (F2F) discussion forums to see if the results would remain the same or be different. Another suggestion to extend this study would be to implement gender into the study to see who self discloses more in online forums, men or women.

REFERENCES


“All plots tend to move deathward. This is the nature of plots.” (DeLillo 26) Olson explains in his article that the topic of death has generally been avoided by philosophers and that one will find more discussion on the topic in personal writings than in philosophy texts (307). In many respects one can approach Don DeLillo’s *White Noise* as the personal writings of Jack Glandey. In his novels, DeLillo attacks the deeper questions of God, life, and death (Eaton 34). This is much like the author’s search for meaning in the book of Ecclesiastes. In his novel *White Noise*, Don DeLillo uses death and Jack’s fear of it to illustrate his belief that life is meaningless, a view that appears to be shared in the book Ecclesiastes; however, the author of Ecclesiastes departs from DeLillo’s philosophy to find meaning beyond this life.

Before DeLillo can explore Jack Gladney’s fear of death, Jack, like the rest of human kind, must know that he will die, a realization which comes through experience (Olson 307). The first of these necessary experiences occurs as Jack is exposed to death through white noise in his life. Eaton defines this white noise as the “advertising jingles, screaming headlines, and TV sound bites” (42). The constant interruption of the television and advertising throughout the novel underscore the prevalence of white noise in Jack’s life. Brand names like “Dacron, Orlon, Lycra Spandex” are interjected within the text and simulate the frequency at which technology and media fill Jack’s life (DeLillo 52). DeLillo seems very aware of the notion that “death anxiety ... exists at a disturbingly high level in the United States” (Kastenbaum 447). It appears that DeLillo draws on this and uses the white noise of American consumer culture as a subtle reminder of death.

There are also many clear examples of death in the novel. Jack is constantly reminded of his own mortality by the deaths of those around him. One example of this is when Jack recalls the death of the Chancellor of the College-on-the-Hill (DeLillo 4). Another instance of this reminder is when the Gladney’s find out about Mr. Treadwell’s sister’s death (DeLillo 99). When Jack goes to the airport to pick up his daughter Bee, he hears a passenger from another flight retell their near-crash experience. Their “four miles of prime-time terror” serve as a vivid reminder of death to Jack (DeLillo 92).

The “Airborne Toxic Event” serves as the most vivid example of death. The dark cloud looms over Jack just as death does in his mind. Despite Jack’s wishful thinking and denial of its effect, the Event forces Jack to eventually accept his own reality of death. At first, Jack insists, contrary to his family’s insistence otherwise, that “nothing is going to happen” (DeLillo 114). His exposure to Nyodene D in the black cloud results in the computer report with “bracketed numbers with pulsing stars” that announces his imminent death (140). With this news Jack finally recognizes his own mortality. He now admits, “I’ve got death inside me” (150). As a result of these exposures to death, Jack finally “realizes that he cannot avoid death” (Kallionsivu 8).

Lepp asserts that one must either accept the reality of death or try to distract one’s self from it (62). Some philosophers hold that “man tends to ... follow this advice” (Olson 307). At first, Jack resorts to this strategy of distraction and denial. Jack distracts himself from the reality of death by embracing the consumer culture of America: “the surfaces and packaging, the objects of popular culture” (Hardin 21). There are two examples that illustrate this strategy of Jack’s. The first is the episode in which Jack seeks comfort through materialism in his experience with the ATM. When the ATM’s screen confirms his estimated balance, Jack feels “waves of relief and gratitude [flow] over [him]” (DeLillo 46). DeLillo uses this humorous account to show how Jack tries to “infuse his mundane and superficial life with some grander meaning” (Barret 101).
Jack also utilizes this strategy when he goes on a shopping spree with his family. In his need to distract, Jack shops on impulse and with little restraint. His family happily spots “things they thought [he] might want or need,” serving as his “guides to endless well-being” (DeLillo 83). This comical exercise in diversion illustrates what Uhlmann means when he says that “we sometimes go to bizarre and comical lengths to avoid thinking about the one irreducibly predictable fact of human existence: one day we shall die” (15).

A second strategy Jack uses to avoid the reality of death relies on his obsessive study of Hitler. As Chair of Hitler studies at College-on-the-Hill, Jack has built his reputation and sense of worth upon his knowledge of Hitler. He has created what Kallionsivu calls a “fantasy ... to not think about death as an individual, but to confront the whole concept of academia” (6). Jack goes to extreme and comical lengths to create and maintain his academic image. The former chancellor of the college had suggested that for Jack to be taken seriously he must “grow out’ into Hitler” (DeLillo 17). Jack takes his advice and begins to put on weight and changes his professional name to J.A.K. (17). When on campus, he always wears dark glasses and his long black robe. His professional life becomes so important that it seeps into his personal life. At Christmas Jack even has a copy of Mein Kampf beside him as the children open presents (95). It is in this pursuit of academic fulfillment that Jack “yearns for stable and transcendent meaning” (Barrett 101).

Finding no comfort in either the consumer culture of America or the academic prestige he has worked so hard to attain, Jack begins to deal with death directly. Kubler-Ross proposes “that facing death and surviving it, gives one victory over death in the future” (27). In what was framed as a purely theoretical discussion, Murray suggests this very possibility to Jack (DeLillo 292). Using Murray’s suggestion, Jack begins attacking death indirectly and later moves to confront it head on.

Recognizing the death behind the white noise of his life, Jack begins to clean his house of material goods he has collected. He throws away “fishing lures, dead tennis balls, torn luggage, ... old furniture, discarded lampshades, warped screens, bent curtain rods,” and other things he has accumulated throughout his life (DeLillo 262). To Jack, these items are “an immensity of things, an overburdening weight, a connection, a mortality” (262). Jack feels that by throwing away representations of death in his life, he rejects death itself (Eid 75).

Jack also proceeds to attack death through an experimental drug called Dylar. Jack finds out that his wife, too, has a severe fear of death and has been taking Dylar as an attempt to alleviate that fear. The drug is designed to make the brain “produce fear-of-death inhibitors” (DeLillo 228). Jack becomes obsessed with finding where his wife, and later his daughter Denise, have hidden the pills. For Jack, this drug is an avenue by which he can eliminate the threat of death in his life.

Jack’s final attempt to confront death directly is his plot to kill Mink, the man his wife slept with in order to get Dylar. Jack takes Murray’s theoretical concept of killing someone to overcome death and decides to make it a reality. During the would-be murder scene, Jack repeats his plan to himself many times. In the end he hopes to make it look like a suicide (DeLillo 304). However, his plan gradually strays from what he first intended, leaving himself shot in the hand and Mink bleeding severely from two bullet wounds (312-3). This, along with his prior attempts at attacking death, proves futile, much like Jack’s earlier attempts to avoid death.

It appears that DeLillo uses Jack’s attempts to avoid death to bring out what he believes to be meaninglessness in both the capitalistic and intellectual pursuits of modern American culture. Jack’s pursuits to deny, and then to attack, death reveal “the insignificance of ordinary, routine life” (Eid 75). It is at this point where DeLillo appears to arrive at conclusions on life similar to those of the author of Ecclesiastes. In Ecclesiastes, the author seeks out to find, “What does man gain from all his labor at
which he toils under the sun” (New International Version Eccles. 1.3)? His answer seems to agree with DeLillo’s: “Utterly meaningless! Everything is meaningless” (Eccles. 1.2).

DeLillo reveals the emptiness of materialistic pursuits in several ways. One example of this is when Jack finally frees himself from the white noise for the first time. When he finally does so, Jack finds neither comfort nor meaning beneath the noise, but instead a cemetery. As Jack stands in the stillness, he waits “to see the light that hangs above the fields of the landscapist’s lament,” but instead is left with these thoughts: “May the days be aimless. Let the seasons drift. Do not advance the action according to a plan” (DeLillo 97-8). Here, DeLillo shows that there is no meaning, only death, beneath the white noise of consumer culture.

DeLillo illustrates this conclusion through one of Jack’s frantic attempts to find Dylar. When his daughter Denise reveals that she sent the Dylar pills through the trash compactor Jack searches for them in the trash. What he finds in the garbage haunts him. DeLillo’s gross description of “a horrible clotted mass of hair, soap, ear swabs, crushed roaches, flip-top rings, sterile pads smeared with pus and bacon fat, … [and] toothpicks still displaying bits of impaled food,” reveals the dark underbelly of consumer culture (DeLillo 259). DeLillo not only uses this to illustrate the result of such a culture but to show how Jack is bound “to the fate of material things” (Barrett 3).

The most striking image of this is the Airborne Toxic Event. During the evacuation Jack realizes that this is “death made in the laboratory;” death as a result of human creation (DeLillo 127). Later, the spill is taken care of and the cloud consumed by microorganisms with “a built-in appetite for the particular toxic agents in Nyodene D” (DeLillo 160). Either these organisms or the Nyodene Derivative causes the the sunsets in the area to become more beautiful (DeLillo 170). Despite their new beauty, the sunsets are “tinged with dread.” Throughout the novel they invoke both terror and awe in the characters and force them to think about death (DeLillo 227). Thus, both the cloud and the subsequent sunsets represent the death created by products of our consumer world (Eid 75).

The time of Solomon’s reign described in the book of Ecclesiastes provides a good basis of comparison to modern America. During this time, “Isreal’s history was richer in possibilities for various pleasures,” and Solomon was in “position to make the most of them” (Leupold 58). This extensive freedom to explore luxuries and the value of wealth applies well to the America of which DeLillo writes.

In the beginning of chapter 2 of Ecclesiastes, the author has Solomon examine pleasures of this world. In this pursuit the author “denied [himself] nothing his eyes desired; [he] refused [his] heart no pleasure” (Eccles. 2.10). He examines wine, undertakes “great projects”, enriches his domestic life, “ammasse[s] silver and gold”, and in this “became greater by far than anyone in Jerusalem before [him]” (Eccles. 2.3-9). Even this thorough examination of the pleasures the world had to offer leaves the author empty handed. When he assesses what he has gained, he concludes that “everything was meaningless, a chasing after the wind; nothing was gained under the sun” (Eccles. 2.11). This is much like DeLillo’s view of the “dark side of consumerism.”

DeLillo also examines the Western view “in the omnipotence of intelligence” (Lepp 59). He does this by showing the emptiness of Jack’s academic pursuit. Although Jack has built his success on Hitler, he knows no German, which Ironically is a requirement for anyone studying in Jack’s program (DeLillo 31). To deal with this inconvenient fact, Jack has private lessons with one of the boarders where Murray lives. This dissatisfaction in academic standing is further illustrated when Jack attends the Hitler conference the college hosts. Jack finds no satisfaction in the event and even secludes himself in his office during the conference.

The author of Ecclesiastes, too, searches for meaning in wisdom. The end of chapter 1 outlines Solomon’s pursuit of wisdom. Leupold explains this “experiment” by drawing an analogy to someone trying to “solve all problems and to attain to all knowledge by the processes of rational thinking” (53). This analogy relates very accurately to Jack, who sees “death [as] a threat that needs a solution”
As seen in the pursuit of pleasure in chapter 2, Solomon is able to examine wisdom quite thoroughly, since he had “grown and increased in wisdom more than anyone who has ruled over Jerusalem” (Eccles. 1.16). This too, proved for the author to be meaningless: “a chasing after the wind” (Eccles. 1.17). This is a surprising revelation considering the value a wise person in Israel would have placed on wisdom (Longmann III 32).

Another search for meaning in wisdom comes in chapter 2. Again, the author arrives at the same conclusion when he considers wisdom: “this too is meaningless” (Eccles. 2.15). Here he states that it is “meaningless” because “like the fool, the wise man too must die” (Eccles. 2.16). The author recognizes “that death is the great leveller” (Lepp 68). So, both in wisdom and pleasure, the author of Ecclesiastes and DeLillo agree that no meaning can be derived from them alone.

DeLillo and the author of Ecclesiastes depart from one another when they consider possible meanings beyond this physical life. Due to its repetition throughout the book, one might assume that the theme of Ecclesiastes is meaninglessness (Leupold 19). One might also mistake Ecclesiastes as a pessimistic commentary on life and even a call for ending one’s life (Scott 203). However, the author qualifies his conclusions by excluding the spiritual realm for most of his discussion (Leupold 28). He does this by using the phrase “under the sun” (Eccles. 1.3). Leupold likens this to the author saying, “Let us for the sake of argument momentarily rule out the higher things” (42-3). He makes this clear when he breaks his view from this world and turns unto God. He says that “for without him [, God,] who can eat or find enjoyment” (Eccles. 2.25). Through God, the author’s “soul affirms what his reason would lead him to deny” (Anchor 204). This notion is confirmed in the final verses of the book. The author’s conclusion is this; “fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man” (Eccles. 12.13).

DeLillo does not provide for such a conclusion in his novel. DeLillo examines a variety of beliefs in the novel from Christianity, to Eastern religions, and even New Age religions (Eaton 32). During a discussion in the supermarket, Jack’s colleague Murray invites Jack to pick which one he likes best (DeLillo 38). During the Airborne Toxic Event, both Christian Millennialists and Jehovah’s Witnesses use the disaster as an opportunity to attempt to convert Jack. After Jack’s murder plot goes awry, he seeks help for Mink, his victim, at an emergency room run by nuns. When he asks them about their belief in heaven, they respond with shock at his insistence that they should believe in it. One says to Jack, “We are here to take care of the sick and injured. Only this. You would talk about heaven, you must find another place” (DeLillo 318). This last attempt to find meaning beyond this life shows how Don DeLillo sees religion as hollow.

Instead, DeLillo seems to be approaching a philosophy that provides no consolation of death, like those of Schopenhauer or existentialists (Olson 308). The final chapter of the book seems to imply a Schopenhauer approach to death. His strategy towards death is described as “a state of indifference ... best known in moments of pure aesthetic contemplation but to which the awareness of death substantially contributes” (Olson 308). In the final scene of the novel Jack witnesses his son Wilder ride his tricycle across a divided highway and displays no emotion. From this he turns to gaze at another sunset caused by the Airborne Toxic Event. In this moment of tremendous beauty, Jack displays immense indifference to the sunset tainted with death. “Some people are scared by the sunsets, some determined to be elated, but most of us don’t know how to feel, are ready to go either way” (DeLillo 324). It is in this moment that DeLillo reveals the stark reality “that there is nothing more than what we can see here” (Eaton 34).

Death presents itself to Jack in subtle and overt manifestations throughout the novel. Jack responds by both denying and attacking death. These failed responses to his fear of death lead Jack to similar conclusions found in Ecclesiastes. Although the author of Ecclesiastes and DeLillo agree that neither pleasure, material goods, nor wisdom provide death its meaning, they diverge when it comes to
finding meaning beyond this life. Ecclesiastes points to God as the source of man’s meaning, while DeLillo offers no consolation to Jack for his fear of death.
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"It thinks you’re trying to do this." “It thinks you mean that word.” “Just wait, it’s thinking.” “It thinks in terms of binary.” These are just some examples of how the ability to think has been applied to machines, more specifically digital computers, in recent times. Could Alan Turing have been right when he proposed that it would soon not be thought a contradiction “to speak of machines thinking” (Turing, 39)? Are thinking machines a genuine possibility, and if so what would the machine and, more importantly, its thinking faculties look like? Intelligence, at the very least a contributing capacity that Turing is attributing to such machines in question, remains largely an elusive and debated term in the various sciences in which it is studied (Grigorenko 70). The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy defines it as “most generally, the capacity to deal flexibly and effectively with practical and theoretical problems.”

Instead of concerning himself with a proper definition of thinking or intelligence, Turing proposed a test that would assess whether or not a machine could be said to be thinking. The test itself, dubbed the “Turing Test,” has caused substantial controversy in philosophy of mind and is credited as being responsible for the formation of the artificial intelligence (AI) field. It isn’t explicitly clear exactly what Turing meant when proposed this test in “Computing Machinery and Intelligence,” but it is commonly treated as a behavioristic test or logical condition for the “presence of mind, or thought or intelligence” (Oppy and Dowe, Introduction). Considering the test’s ambiguous goals, the Turing Test will be treated as a test for the attribution of intelligence, broadly defined, to a machine. Although the Turing Test exists within the framework and under the assumptions of behaviorism in philosophy of mind, which itself is subject to criticism within philosophy, this examination of the Turing Test will grant those foundational assumptions to provide a thorough critic of the test.

Three arguments against the Turing Test as a sufficient condition for assessing the presence of intelligence will be examined. The arguments include an attack against the imitation game as a foundation for the test, John Searle’s Chinese Room, and Ned Block’s Blockhead. Although the arguments against the test’s foundation in the imitation game and the Chinese room provide reason to believe that the Turing Test does not account for some features consciousness, they do not conclude that the Turing Test cannot account for intelligence. However, Block’s argument does illustrate that passing the Turing Test is not sufficient for the attribution of intelligence, but rather, that it provides probabilistic grounds for attributing intelligence to a machine.

Before one can examine arguments against the Turing Test’s validity for providing a sufficient condition of intelligence, one must understand the nature of the test itself. Turing proposed the following test as a response to the question, “Can machines think?” What he constructed was a test that he asserted would provide evidence for a machine possessing intelligence. This test was based on social game called the imitation game (Turing, 29-30).

The imitation game consists of three players, a female, a male, and an interrogator. The man and woman are confined to separate rooms and communicate with the interrogator through written communication (preferably typewritten) to eliminate verbal qualities as a discriminating factor. The interrogator’s goal is to determine which of the players is female based on their responses to whatever questions he or she chooses to pose. The woman’s goal is to try to convince the interrogator that she is in fact a woman, while the man tries to deceive the interrogator into believing that he is the woman (Turing, 30).

It is upon this game which Turing bases his test for intelligence. In his version, he proposes that one player be a human and the other a machine. They would also communicate through typed
communication as in the imitation game. The goal of the human player is to convince the interrogator
that he or she is a human while the machine attempts to prove that it is a human. Turing believed “in
fifty years’ time it will be possible to program computers ... to make them play the imitation game so
well that an average interrogator will not have more than a 70 per cent chance of making the right
identification.” Thus, Turing asserts, at this point it would no longer be necessary to ask, “can a machine
think?” (Turing, 38)? The test has become a classic in the fields of cognitive psychology and artificial
intelligence with an annual contest for the best performance of a machine in a Turing Test (Oppy and
Dowe, Section 1).

It seems that there are three possible ways to interpret what the Turing Test provides as criteria
for the attribution of intelligence (Oppy and Dowe, Section 4). The first is that the Turing Test provides
both necessary and sufficient conditions for intelligence. There are several arguments brought against
the test on grounds that an intelligent entity could fail it. For instance, if the machine were to pass it
must we then conclude that the human who has failed lacks intelligence? It is hard to imagine that
Turing had this in mind when constructing the test for he could have easily foreseen the restrictive and
problematic implications of such a claim. The next reasonable conclusion is that Turing saw the test as a
sufficient condition for attributing intelligence to machines. According to this, a being need not pass the
test to have intelligence, however passing it would guarantee possessing it. Lastly, one might not accept
that the Turing Test does provide sufficient reason to conclude that a being is intelligent (see Block
below). Instead, it would be said that something passing the test is likely to have intelligence.

An initial response to proponents of the Turing Test as methodologically sound would be to
examine the relationship between the original imitation game and Turing’s version of it. What exactly
does a man winning the imitation game prove and in turn, what would a machine winning the game
prove? It’s preposterous to claim that a man’s ability to win is a sufficient condition to consider him a
woman. For although he possess enough knowledge of women to imitate one, he certainly lacks the
anatomical features of one and, more importantly, a first hand experience of femininity. An argument
against the Turing Test would follow that in the same way that the imitation game doesn’t show that a
man is a woman, the Turing Test does not show a machine possesses intelligence. Such a response
seems to misinterpret the purpose of the test.

Just as the imitation game does not serve as a test for femininity, so the Turing Test does not
serve as a test for human intelligence, but rather intelligence in general. The man’s ability to win the
game demonstrates the acquisition of knowledge concerning femininity sufficient to make his discussion
of the topic indistinguishable from a female’s. Hofstadter’s characters make this observation in their
conversation about the Turing Test. Sandy remarks, “It seems to me that you could conclude something
from a man’s win in the imitation game. You wouldn’t conclude he was a woman, but you could
certainly say he had good insights into the feminine mentality.” (Hofstadter, 73) Likewise a machine’s
ability to imitate a human would demonstrate sufficient insight into human intelligence, making its
discourse with the interrogator indistinguishable from the human participant.

It is beneficial to make a clear distinction of between a machine possessing human intelligence,
which, as demonstrated above, is the inappropriate goal of the test, and intelligence in general. If we
understand intelligence to be a capacity which broadly encompasses faculties such as reason, problem
solving, the ability to learn, and abstract thinking (common traits used within definitions across the
sciences), then we can distinguish this from aspects of the intellect distinct to humans (Grigorenko 70-
72). This distinction separates the abstract capacities of intelligence from the nature and means by
which they are achieved. For instance, in humans these means involve the biological processes of the
brain and first hand mental experiences unique to humans that give rise to intelligence.

Hofstadter uses the conversation’s later dialogs to further this point. He demonstrates that just
as the abstract principles that constitute a hurricane and other physical phenomenon can be
instantiated in a variety of different matter or in virtual representation, so intelligence should not be
limited to the human brain. Sandy argues, “There are all these physically very different brains, and yet they all support ‘the same thing’-thinking ... the same kind of thinking can happen inside any of them.” Hofstadter extrapolates this to conclude that we should not discount intelligence if we see it manifested in a “new kind of medium” (Hofstadter, 78-79).

An analogous example of such extrapolation is the capacity of flight. With the advancement made in flight over the past one hundred years it would now be considered foolish to restrict the talk of flight to winged creatures who may, at one time, have been thought to solely possess this capacity. When we speak of flight we do not speak of it strictly in terms of possessing feathers or wings that make flight possible, but instead we speak of the abstract combination of thrust and design of wings or propellers that make lift possible and cause things to move about in the air. There exist a variety of instantiations of flight from winged creatures to paper airplanes to fighter jets to helicopters. In the same way we cannot deny a machine the ability to think strictly on the basis of not having the same physical matter or matter that functions in the same way as a human being. Instead, we must look for the abstract processes that constitute intelligence.

However such an argument may not be without value. As mentioned earlier, the man in the imitation game is not granted classification of a woman by passing the game and in the same way a machine should not be classified as a human having passed the test. The man certainly must have some kind of knowledge of femininity in order to win, just as the machine has to have acquired human knowledge, in this case human language. But just as the man lacks the first hand experience of femininity (a reasonable criteria along with anatomical features prior to our classifying him as a woman), what does the machine lack? It seems that it lacks a first hand sense of personhood, it lacks a certain qualia, at the very least a qualia unique to humanity. Although we may restrict the attributions of qualia as it pertains to human beings, it remains possible that machines would have a subjective experience of what it is like to be a machine, a qualia particular to a machine. This possibility is closely related to Nagel’s discussion about the subject experience of consciousness in his article “What is it Like to Be a Bat?”

Moving from arguments against the Turing Tests underpinnings we can now examine counterexamples to the test. Such counterexamples propose to show that there can exist a machine that while passing the test can be found to be unintelligent. The validity of such a counterexample would undermine the claim that the Turing Test provides sufficient grounds for a system having intelligence. Two of the most famous counterexamples associated with the Turing Test are Searle’s Chinese Room and Block’s Blockhead (Oppy and Dowe, Section 4, 6).

In his essay Mind, Brains, and Programs, Searle proposes a complex thought experiment to refute the claims of what he calls “strong AI.” For Searle, strong AI is where “the appropriately programmed computer really is said to understand and have other cognitive states.” What Searle imagines is himself, lacking all understanding of Chinese or other related eastern languages for that matter, locked in a room in which he receives Chinese symbols with instructions for manipulating them. With these instructions he manipulates the symbols and writes back responses in Chinese. No amount of time would allow for Searle to gain an understanding as to what the symbols mean since the provided instructions are only methods for manipulation and the resulting response in Chinese, not a translation of Chinese into his native tongue, English. Furthermore, he asks one to suppose that the symbols provided are actually questions in Chinese to which he provides answers. Overtime, he becomes so proficient at manipulating the symbols that native Chinese speakers are unable to distinguish Searle’s understanding of Chinese with that of a native Chinese speaker. (Searle, 184-185)

From here, Searle draws an analogy between his predicament and a possible solution to Turing Test. The Turing Test requires that a machine take questions posed it by an interrogator and provide responses back just as Searle is given Chinese questions and provides Chinese answers. The instructions that Searle receives while locked in the room are analogous to programming of the machine
participating in the Turing Test. Furthermore, in the same way that Searle’s responses could not be distinguished from a Chinese speaker, the response of a machine that passes the Turing Test are not distinguishable from a human’s. Therefore, just has Searle lacks an understanding of Chinese it remains possible that a machine that can pass the Turing Test would lack understanding of the questions it receives or the responses it provides. (Searle, 186)

It is here that one must consider whether or not a distinction exists between intelligence and understanding. In an example from personal experience I hope to show that a distinction can exist. In an undergraduate course in computer programming I was thrust into a world of object oriented programming, a paradigm of programming I was unfamiliar with (see “computer science”). For the majority of the course I floundered through methods and practices of writing programs without knowing the purposes behind this programming paradigm. To complete the required projects for the course, I would print the in class example source code and use the techniques in my own projects. Sometimes this involved simply substituting the required components of the assigned projects for parts of the example code. At other times I would take components from a variety of example code and merge them into my project to fulfill the requirements. On occasion, I even sought out outside sources to solve problems I experienced in writing the code. However rudimentary the process may have been, it was intelligent and achieved the project requirements. I followed logical steps, inferred from patterns and gathered knowledge from other sources in coding my programs.

It was only late in the course that, after some independent reading outside of class, I began to understand the reasons for why I took the approaches in my programs that I did. Prior to my further reading on the topic I knew the concepts of object oriented programming only to the extent of which they fulfilled the project requirements. Afterwards, I understood why they should be used and how this paradigm of programming related to the code I was typing. This example shows how I could lack understanding of my assigned coursework yet approach it intelligently.

An analogous example for machines of such a gap between understanding and intelligence may be a computer system in charge of computing optimal conditions for business operations. The system could utilize raw data (financial, inventory, supplier, customer, etc.), historical calculations, appropriate business processes, and other relevant business data to calculate desirable conditions for optimal business processes. Although a particular instantiation of such a machine may intelligently learn to provide appropriate and useful information for a business it can also lack all understanding as to why the particular states of variable data (amount of inventory, manufacturing costs, taxes, supplier and shipping costs, etc) achieve the desired results. Such a system would be intelligently manipulating numerical symbols to the same end I completed programming assignments without and understanding of business logic, approaches, and processes just as I lacked an understanding of the object oriented programming.

If such a distinction, as described above, exists between intelligence and understanding, then a distinction could exist in the Chinese room. An unintelligent example of the Chinese Room thought experiment would be that Searle’s instructions included a complete list of possible Chinese questions and the answers that he would return. Since this scenario is akin to Blockhead, which is discussed later, we will assume for now that Chinese room does not contain a giant lookup tree of all possible Chinese questions with appropriate responses but rather a method of information processing; a form of intelligence.

One possibility is that instructions contain complex set of judgments for discriminating among the types of questions posed to it based on a general arrangement of the Chinese symbols. The instructions include arrangements of specific groups of characters which are judged and lead to other rules about specific characters until enough judgments have been exhausted to provide an appropriate method for providing an answer. Another possibility is that the instructions provide a very basic framework for manipulating the symbols and overtime, through either conditioning (positive or negative
external feedback) or extensive inferencing, Searle has developed a method for manipulating the characters. In the second scenario, imagine that Searle is given the same input repeatedly. The instructions don’t provide an exact response but he attempts to provide one based on what they do provide. Once he stops receiving the same input he copies down what rules he followed in giving that response and moves on to the next input. Overtime he builds upon these sort of trial and error experiences to develop a complex and extensive knowledge-base of appropriate manipulation so that he becomes proficient at the entire process without need for trial and error.

In both cases there can exist intelligence apart from understanding, just as they did for me in my programming course. In the former the intelligence lies within the carefully written instructions provided. Their ability to assess the input and provide appropriate output provides evidence of intelligence on the part of their author while denying Searle understanding of their meaning. This approach, applied to the Turing Test, would credit intelligence to programmers not the machine. The latter attributes a vast majority more of the system’s intelligence to Searle. Overtime he has been able to develop for himself the complex set of rules, judgments and conditions that the author of the instructions provides in the former account. However, like the first account, Searle still lacks understanding; an intentionality concerning the characters is nonexistent. For Searle the characters represent nothing beyond themselves, therefore his use of them lacks intentionality. Thus, Searle provides reason to believe that success in the Turing Test is not a sufficient condition for the presence of intentionality in general and understanding specifically, but his Chinese Room does not provide reason to believe that the test cannot be a sufficient condition for intelligence.

The final argument to examine is Blockhead, the name given to the machine proposed by Ned Block in his refutation of “natural behaviorist analysis of intelligence” titled *Psychologism and Behaviorism*. What Block proposes is an information processing machine that has at its disposal a lookup tree to provide responses to questions asked. Block argues that English has a finite amount of words and that the set of all possible arrangements of these words (called “typable strings”) however large, is also finite. In addition there is a set within the set of typable strings that constitute a “sensible” set of strings. Block asks one to suppose that a large team of individuals have spent an enormous amount of time “exercising imagination and judgment” in creating a list of this sensible set of typable strings (Block, Section 2).

Block goes on to suggest that after generating such a list the team begins to provide sensible replies to every item on the list. Here, the team can agree upon a consistent approach when generating replies to the set of strings. He suggests that they might choose to provide responses founded on a personality such as his “Aunt Bertha.” Then a lookup tree is constructed in which a certain typable string input is associated with a typable string output. Each of these associations creates it’s own branch from the tree and itself contains the rest of the set so as to have responses available to all possible typable string input in a unique series. This lookup tree is then implemented in a machine which is exposed to the Turing Test. Since the machine has a repository of all possible questions posed by the interrogator then the machine stands the chance of passing the Turing Test thereby concluding the existence of intelligence. What Block argues is that such a machine is not intelligent but is merely an “echo” of the intelligence of the team that created the lookup tree (Block, Section 2).

A common response to Blockhead is that the leap from conceivability to logical possibility is too great (Oppy and Dowe, Section 4). A modest calculation of sensible typable strings produces a number that is believed to be larger than the number of particles in the universe making the storage of such information an impossible feat (Block, Objection 6). Block’s refutation of this argument rests on either the possibility that physics can hold that matter is “infinitely divisible” thus providing the necessary storage or that it should be the laws of cognitive psychology that constrain its possibility not the laws of physics (Block, Objection 6 Reply).
If Blockhead remains theoretically possible, then the intelligence that the Turing Test attributes it must be accounted for. It is possible that one accepts what Block calls the “echo” of its creators intelligence as its intelligence (Block, Section 2). Another possibility is that Blockhead’s informational processing, though merely grounded in a lookup tree, is where its intelligence lies (Oppy and Dowe, Section 4). Both of these options seem to diminish what Turing meant when he proposed a test for a machine’s intelligence. Would Turing be satisfied in a solution in which intelligence was said to be granted in a machine that merely delivered responses created for it and did it via a lookup tree? Based on his essay it appears that this is not what Turing anticipated as a solution (Turing, Section 7). However, providing the possibility of Blockhead’s existence, the Turing Test is forced to attribute intelligence to it. Therefore, the Turing Test cannot serve as a sufficient condition for which one can credit the presence of intelligence to a machine, instead success in the test can only serve as a probabilistic condition.

In their entry on the Turing Test, Oppy and Dowe argue that this is exactly what the Turing Test should been seen as. Given the enormous ambiguity of the test (exact length of the test, an exact measure of success, wether there is a need for multiple positive outcomes to ensure passing, etc.) and his seemingly arbitrary prediction of when a machine would pass it, they find that Turing mean for the test to serve as a goal for the future, not a standard for assessing mechanical intelligence (Oppy and Dowe, Section 4).

This conclusion holds significant implications to Turing’s presumed goal of developing machines that could be said to think. Given the enormous temporal and physical difficulties introduced in the theoretical creation of Blockhead, a machine that passes the test is more likely than not to avoid the exhaustive lookup tree conceived by Block. This is the aim that 1975 ACM’s Turing Award winners Allen Newell and Herbert A. Simon argued for. They proposed that “the task of intelligence, then, is to avert the ever-present threat of the exponential explosion of search.” However, as much as a machine moves from total dependence on an unintelligent (unless completely derived) lookup tree towards an intelligence manifested by a creative, pattern-driven, and efficient information processing capabilities there remains the possible gap between intelligence and understanding posed by Searle’s Chinese room.

It is in this move from intelligence to understanding that full-fledged, robust, and independent thinking may be realized. The goal is for a machine embody the wonderment of a child who moves from simply regurgitating the variations of volume and pitch that lie at the base of spoken language, to independently formulating sentences, to exploring the meanings of the words they are using. It is this goal that realizes the curiosity that moved me from intelligent problem solving of programing assignments to a comprehension of the practices I was using. The Turing Test is likely to attribute intelligence to a machine, but in order to reach the fullest nature of thinking Turing foresaw machines must move from this intelligence towards understanding, just as they moved from “exponential explosion” towards intelligence.

The Turing Test survives as a sufficient condition for the attribution of intelligence to a machine in the first two arguments examined. The argument against its foundation in the imitation game show that machines cannot possess human qualia, but it remains possible that they could possess a subjective experience of “machinehood.” Searle’s Chinese Room does not prove that intelligence cannot be attributed to a machine, however, it exposes the possible gap between intelligence and understanding. This gap must be accounted for if Turing’s proposed “thinking machines” are to be taken in their broadest and fullest sense. It is Block’s Blockhead argument that presents a possible unintelligent solution to the Turing Test. Given the unlikely nature of this solution the Turing Test remains a probable condition for the attribution of intelligence to a machine.
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For the last thirty years Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* has been a required text for all freshman students at the University of Michigan. This requirement has solidified its place in the literary canon, and has rendered it a prime text for literary theory and theorists to interpret. As the field of literary theory has developed, each theory in turn has tackled *Heart of Darkness* in order to show how all previous theories were insufficient in their interpretations, and that only the current, newest of theories is absolutely correct.

Even within individual fields of theory, multiple interpretations of this most dense and intriguing text constantly conflict. The overwhelming ambiguity of Conrad’s writing places *Heart of Darkness* in a prime position for multiple interpretations; yet as each new theory and theorist attempt to draw meaning from the text, or to prove that all other proposed meanings were inaccurate or incomplete, their collective disagreement suggests the inadequacy of all theories—save one—to explain this text. When looking at the massive amounts of criticism and theory related to this one text, the logical conclusion is that the text itself supports multiple contradictory meanings, rendering any single meaning impossible. The cumulative theoretical interpretations support the idea that meaning is not inherent in the text, but rather that the ambiguity of language in *Heart of Darkness* is always already undermining itself in an endless deferment of meaning.

As each field of theory develops, it seems that creating an interpretation of *Heart of Darkness* constitutes a test—or right of passage—the completion of which will, in part, lead to the fledgling theory’s acceptance in the literary world. Thus there are a plethora of interpretations, each of which is in constant competition with the others. New Critical, deconstructionist, feminist, and post-colonial critics have all attempted to assert a “true” interpretation for this text, though each interpretation—and the text itself—are always already undermining each other.

The explanation or meaning of this text that is generally taught in the classroom is some variation of the New Critical interpretation. This is one of the earliest fields of literary theory, and the interpretation offered is one of the most basic. In her article “The Ultimate Meaning of *Heart of Darkness*,” Florence H. Ridley examines the binary opposition represented by Marlow and Kurtz. Based on a close reading of the text, Ridley asserts the theory that these characters represent restraint, and the lack thereof, with Marlow’s restraint being the privileged of the two terms in this violent hierarchy.

A second interpretation is offered by John A. McClure in his article “The Rhetoric of Restraint in *Heart of Darkness*.” In this article, McClure uses a technique similar to Ridley’s, in that he uses a close reading to gather textual evidence—however, he is working to prove a deconstructionist point. He begins by setting up a similar case for restraint vs. unrestraint, much like Ridley. The difference is that McClure focuses on the rhetoric used—the discourses—for these two terms. In the end, instead of agreeing with Ridley that the rhetoric of restraint is privileged by the text, he argues that at best there is a stalemate between the two terms, and that the text itself does not make a clear case for either rhetoric as superior. So powerful is the inherent contradiction in language that the specific passages employed by Ridley to argue for the privileging of restraint, are in turn utilized by McClure to argue for a stalemate.

One of these passages comes when Marlow is describing the experience of entering the jungles of Africa. He, like Kurtz, hears the temptations offered by the lawless wild, and reflects: “An appeal to me in this fiendish row—is there? Very well; I hear; I admit, but I have a voice too, and for good or evil
mine is the speech that cannot be silenced” (Conrad 117). Ridley uses this passage to show how Kurtz and Marlow are opposites—the conflicting terms of a binary opposition representing restraint and the lack thereof—and that Marlow’s choice here is key to his triumph over unrestraint (Ridley 46). She writes, “feeling the same temptation, understanding Kurtz’s actions, Marlow deliberately chooses a different course...in this difference...lies the heart of the novel” (Ridley 46). Thus, Marlow chooses restraint and, according to Ridley, it is this choice which allows him to defeat temptation.

McClure, on the other hand, reads this passage and formulates a separate, though related, interpretation. He suggests that Marlow’s attitude toward the African world, and the African natives, is exactly what prevents him from truly experiencing and learning from the native culture. It is his refusal to give in to the appeal of the “wild” that gives Kurtz the edge on cultural understanding. “Marlow, committed to an ethos of self-restraint, wishes neither to dominate the Africans nor to surrender to their ways. He wants instead to preserve distance even in the process of exploration” (McClure 319-20). Thus this single passage is used by these writers to show how Marlow makes the morally superior choice, and how this limits his experience. Based on this perceived limitation, his decision therefore can not be clearly labeled as superior.

A second example of the undecidability of language can be seen in the efforts of theorists to establish the function of the Russian’s book, Towson’s Inquiry, in the text. Ridley and McClure both reference this book, paying special attention to Marlow’s description of the book as “luminous with another than a professional light” (Conrad 120). Ridley uses the book as an example of devotion. She argues that Towson is clearly devoted to ships and writing, and that the Russian was once devoted to this book, as evidenced by the notes filling the margins. “Towson’s book, reflecting as it does a man’s absorption in his trade, can for a moment defend Marlow from the Darkness” (Ridley 48). In other words, because this book is the object of devotion, Ridley asserts, it is able to re-infuse Marlow and reassure him that his path is correct.

Again McClure presents a competing argument. Instead of focusing on how the book functions as an example of restraint, McClure explores the fact that the Russian abandoned the text, choosing to listen to the unrestrained Kurtz instead. He says of Towson’s book, “by reading it so closely, the Russian demonstrates his basic soundness; by abandoning it to follow Kurtz, he attests to the relative weakness of its appeal” (McClure 322). This then, adds to McClure’s argument that Marlow’s “superior” rhetoric of restraint is the less appealing, and may, therefore, not be the stronger of the two represented in the text.

The fact that competing interpretations exist for the meaning of this briefly mentioned book furthers the idea that the text is always already supporting and undermining a plethora of interpretations. This is not, however, the only seemingly straightforward passage of the text that is used by theorists to support contradictory interpretations. Appropriately, the final passage which Ridley and McClure use in common is the final line of the text.

The last line of Heart of Darkness reads: “the tranquil waterway leading to the uttermost ends of the earth flowed sombre under an overcast sky—seemed to lead into the heart of an immense darkness” (Conrad 184). Ridley concludes her article with a reference to this passage. She uses it in conjunction with the idea that the “little light of faith” at the end of the text is victorious, in spite of the fact that it may not appear to be at that point (Ridley 53). While there will always be darkness, the light will never go out so long as there is faith, devotion, and restraint in the world. Thus, in her opinion, the text ends on a positive note.

Unsurprisingly, McClure views this passage in a far less concrete manner. Instead of supporting the argument that the text ends clearly touting Ridley’s theme of universal significance, he suggests that the final statement supports his theory that Marlow makes very few converts; that he has good ideas but lacks the skills to convey them adequately. While he admits that the listeners onboard the Nellie have responded to Marlow’s tale, he suggests that Marlow cannot carry the message to a wider
audience. “There is little suggestion that Marlow can hope to communicate his discoveries to the ‘commonplace individuals’ in the ‘monstrous town,’ which is his civilization’s center” (McClure 232). Once again these are two very different uses of the same portion of text.

These two interpretations are both clearly supported by textual evidence. Yet even while creating a basis for Ridley and McClure’s competing interpretations, the text is always already undermining them by supporting other, equally valid readings. For instance, Nina Pelikan Straus presents a combined feminist and reader-response reading in her article “The Exclusion of the Intended from Secret Sharing in Conrad’s Heart of Darkness.” In this article Straus argues that the feminist reader is alienated from the text and is also therefore equally alienated from a large portion of the related theory due to the fact that the text deals heavily “with a kind of mainstream male experience,” that is difficult for feminist readers to associate with (Straus 123). She continues to argue that the text supports the “psychic penury of women” (Straus 125) in order to maintain the heroic quality of men and that females certainly aren’t the privileged term of the dichotomy of gender revealed in the text. Ultimately, Straus posits, the text is always already supporting the restricted, Victorian roles of women as a means of preserving the heroic male world in which Kurtz and Marlow exist.

As few passages in Heart of Darkness involve or refer to female characters in any way, it is unsurprising that theorists cite the same few in their interpretations. One of these passages describes Kurtz’s “savage” woman in the jungle:

She was savage and superb, wild-eyed and magnificent; there was something ominous and stately in her deliberate progress. And in the hush that had fallen suddenly upon the whole sorrowful land, the immense wilderness, the colossal body of the fecund and mysterious life seemed to look at her, pensive, as though it had been looking at the image of its own tenebrous and passionate soul. (Conrad 157)

Both Ridley and Straus use this passage in their competing interpretations. Ridley uses the binary opposition represented by the “savage” woman and the Intended as another example of how the text privileges restraint. She argues that the Intended is the restrained, faithful character, while the “wild-eyed” savage is unrestrained and therefore has more in common with Kurtz than Marlow.

Straus, however, reads this passage in a completely different fashion. Instead of simply explaining the violent hierarchy that is apparent in the dichotomy of the women in the text, she pushes her interpretation to include how men respond to that dichotomy. She argues that while the roles that the Intended and the African woman represent exist—the former representing socially acceptable love, the other wild, passionate, unrestrained, and socially unacceptable affection—women will be restricted to their passive, protected roles (Straus 127). “Woman is exploited,” she states, “as a signifier, fictively adjusted to conform to the commentator’s need to identify himself with characters who have access to both light and darkness” (Straus 127). Thus, she argues, the text is not revealing women to be simply part of the dichotomy of restraint, but that they are actively revealing the ways in which women were subjugated by men in the Victorian period. They are depicted as tools which are used by the men to verify their self-worth and validate their sense of heroism (Straus 127).

The role of the Intended in this process of validation is no less significant than that of the African woman, according to Straus. “The Intended is reserved for the role of white lady in the tower, just as Marlow, among the other roles he plays, is reserved for the role of heroic deliverer of that lady” (Straus 129). In this interpretation, the Intended functions as the damsel-in-distress. Only by the heroic effort of Marlow’s lie is she saved from the dragon—or the truth of Kurtz’s horror.

Yet the Intended is used as evidence in competing interpretations by both Ridley and McClure. In her interpretation, Ridley uses the Intended as the counter-point to the African woman. She describes the Intended as the “embodiment of light,” and continues, saying the Intended “is faith, glowing, fair, symbol of just such ‘power of devotion’ in Marlow’s words, [which] is necessary when all outer restraints have been removed” (Ridley 50). In this way Ridley uses the text to argue that the Intended is
the Marlow of the female world: she is the restrained and therefore privileged character in yet another example of a binary opposition representing restraint vs. unrestraint in the text.

In a completely different interpretation, McClure uses the Intended in conjunction with the Russian as an example of the type of listener that Marlow should be recruiting to hear his message. As McClure points out throughout his article, Marlow’s language is often bungled and difficult to follow (McClure 321). This not only renders his rhetoric difficult to comprehend by readers, but prevents him from breaking the power that the eloquent Kurtz wields over the “worthy” listeners in the text (McClure 321). The Intended, according to McClure, is one of these few worthy listeners, yet “Marlow chooses not to challenge [Kurtz’s] power both because he is yet unsure whether he himself can live with the disillusionments of his experience, and because he has no faith in women’s ability to live with the truth” (McClure 321). Based on this reading, the Intended is not a privileged term, or a damsel-in-distress, but a figure too weak to handle the truth of the horror that Marlow is grappling with.

Yet even with these multiple interpretations of the two main female characters, the text itself is always already undermining them while simultaneously supporting conflicting theories. By applying a post-colonial lens to analyze Kurtz’s women, yet another interpretation can be formed. It is my contention that the text supports an interpretation of the two women which highlights the use of othering, as the African woman is portrayed as the exotic other, while the Intended Belgian girl is held up as the European ideal.

The othering of the African woman is enacted through the language that is applied to her during her brief appearance in the text. Her appearance at the riverside when Marlow’s ship is departing with Kurtz onboard captures the essence of how the text treats her: she is depicted as merely sharing the “shape” of a human, and as being a figure more like a statue than a person (Conrad 156-7). She is blatantly described as “statuesque” and as “a wild and gorgeous apparition of a woman” (Conrad 157). The language used does not carry connotations of humanity, but of objects. This woman, though portrayed as human-like, is still denied the privilege of being labeled human. She is held at a distance, seen as something ‘other,’ by the text.

Even the passage describing the savage woman that Ridley and Straus use for their readings is ripe with othering language (see page 6). The woman is described as “savage and superb, wild-eyed and magnificent” (Conrad 157). Though the text seems to be celebrating her exotic, non-European nature by the use of the words magnificent and superb, the consistent references to her wild and savage nature undermine any interpretation that seeks to portray her as an equal of the European characters.

Furthermore, the motives of this woman’s actions are not explored in the least by the text. The closest the reader is brought to understanding her feelings—or even to the idea that she possesses the capacity to think and feel like a ‘real’ person at all—is a weak moment of stunted revelation at best. “Her face had a tragic and fierce aspect of wild sorrow and of dumb pain mingled with the fear of some struggling, half-shaped resolve” (Conrad 157). Instead of acknowledging the fact that this woman is experiencing some great emotion, the language used actively undermines her basic humanity by devaluing her feelings with such words as wild, dumb, and half-shaped.

The Intended, on the other hand, is held up as the ideal European woman. Though her involvement in the text is also limited, the reader is able to learn a great deal more about her thoughts, feelings, and character. From the very first moment the Intended appears, the text makes it clear that she possesses a basic humanity that the African woman lacks: “She came forward, all in black...she was in mourning” (Conrad 179). Through Conrad’s application of the term “mourning,” the reader is able to understand and relate to the Intended’s feelings because the concept is a shared part of “civilized” society. Her grief is not wild or dumb, but rational and European.

Not only are this woman’s feelings rendered comprehensible and therefore human to the reader, but her ability to handle her grief is also described in a far more civilized manner. Instead of being savage and unpredictable, the Belgian woman “had a mature capacity for fidelity, for belief, for
suffering” (Conrad 179). By portraying the Intended as having the capacity to maturely handle all of these civilized, European feelings, she is further separated from the exotic other represented by the African woman.

To further emphasize the idea that the Intended is able to possess and handle her grief in a civilized manner, the text permits her to speak of her feelings—a capacity which the African woman is not portrayed as possessing. “Don’t you understand,” she demands of Marlow, “I loved him—I loved him—I loved him!” (Conrad 184). By displaying her ability to use a language that Marlow, and by extension the reader, can comprehend, the feelings of this woman are privileged over those of her African counter-part. The African woman is consistently portrayed as the exotic, mysterious, incomprehensible and therefore demonic other in Heart of Darkness.

But alas, my interpretation is not the one, single, definitive interpretation. Even this post-colonial reading is always already challenged and contradicted by the text. The theories of Ridley, Straus, and McClure each challenge this position, and the text itself provides ample evidence to support an innumerable quantity of competing interpretations. Even as each theorist gathers textual evidence to bolster their blossoming theory, the text is simultaneously undermining that reading due to the vague, mercurial nature of language.

The conclusion, therefore, is that language is not the reliable tool readers generally believe it to be. Meaning is always deferred by an endless chain of signifiers that fail to ever reach a signified. Each word used in a text, such as Heart of Darkness, can only be defined by everything that it is not, which means that each sign leaves a trace of its opposite, and therefore is always already undermining any attempt to create a solid, incontrovertible meaning from a text. Ultimately, despite the efforts of all theorists and theories, the best that can be accomplished in any interpretation is the revelation of the undecidability of the text. Thus, Heart of Darkness can be a tale of restraint vs. unrestraint in which restraint is victorious, or in which the terms are stalemated by their rhetoric; it can also be used to reveal the role of women in the heroic adventures of men, and a book that shows the othering of African natives under Imperialism, etc. All of these interpretations are always already supported, undermined, propelled, and contradicted by the text. The beauty of language is that it allows for the validity of multiple viewpoints while constantly encouraging readers and theorists alike to play with texts as they perpetually disseminate multiple meanings.

Yet this should not discourage readers or theorists from attempting to support and establish interpretations of any text. The fact that the language is always in play and that multiple interpretations are therefore valid should encourage new ideas and theories. Though texts do defer meaning, they are not, consequently, meaningless. They are, on the other hand, open for interpretation by old and new fields alike. Thus, as new fields of literary theory develop, they too will be able to use textual evidence to formulate and support valid readings of such well covered texts as Heart of Darkness. It is therefore unlikely that Conrad’s famous text will be removed from the literary canon—or U of M’s required reading list—any time soon.

WORK CITED


Introduction

Since the publication of Karl Wittfogel’s *Oriental Despotism* in 1957, major social and political scientists have been connecting water management with the power and control that is eminently linked to socio-political organizations. To this end, Vern Scarborough (2003) explains: “By illuminating the social origins and maintenance activities associated with the development of complex water systems, we see how humans have engaged fundamental aspects of their economy, political organization, and power relationships. In fact, throughout time a deeply enduring set of factors have affected water allocation and use,” (Scarborough 2003:2). The link between water management and power has, in more recent years, also been applied to the ancient Maya by researchers such as Scarborough, but only at large, elite site centers such as Tikal. While this application of water management theory to the Maya thus far is certainly useful in terms of understanding how the polities of the Classic period came into power, what we have not seen is how this theory may be applied to the rural, small-scale settlements of the lowlands that represent up to 98% of the lowland population.

Moreover, examining this population becomes especially during the Late Classic period (AD 600 – 900), which is recognized as a time of instability where significant population increase, frequent warfare, and scarcity force a substantial amount of the lowland Maya population to recede into the more undesirable parts of the rainforest in competition for independence and resources. Archaeologists such Beach (2002), Dunning (1994, 2005), Hageman (2003), Kunen (2001), and Lohse (2005) have begun to locate agricultural features and used them in support for models of socio-political organization in the lowlands during the Late Classic. In all cases, the archaeologists note evidence of extensive agricultural intensification at the local level, although management of such systems is still poorly understood. While these archaeologists have managed to shed light on resource management at the local level, few have actually focused on the water management aspect of the larger resource management discourse.

In order to represent this larger and yet marginalized population, this research will take into consideration cross-cultural comparisons, ethno-historical literature of the modern and colonial Maya, and compare it to the archaeological record. From looking at this literature the proposed model for small-scale or local-level water management is based on: (1) the type of water central to the settlement, and (2) the potential pressures of settlement size and organization. From here, based on a case study of the archaeological remains at some small-scale Late Classic sites in the lowlands, the results will attempt to point a new direction for understanding how more ordinary people made resource use decisions during the Late Classic. Finally this study will offer further evidence to support that decisions about water management (and resource management in general) were most likely made by a socio-political entity specifically designed to make such decisions for the benefit of a community, thus supporting the necessity for the existence of corporate groups at this level.

Water Management

Wittfogel’s Theory of Water Management

One cannot read very far into any literature or research on water management without a reference to Karl Wittfogel. Wittfogel’s *Oriental Despotism* (1957) examines the effects of water management on the socio-political organization of societies. The main premise of this work is that in the beginning of any society, basic necessities and resources, primarily water, must be located, procured,
and maintained in order for the society to reproduce and flourish. As part of these processes, hydraulic
features are built and maintained, which, naturally, employs the use of labor. What becomes of
increasing importance, however, is the fact that as more features, and thus more labor is required in
order to fulfill these needs, more management and organization becomes necessary to guide these
processes (Wittfogel 1957). Wittfogel argues that once a governing force is empowered for the sake of
basic necessities and is able to control the population in order to create reservoirs, etc., they are also
able to command the population to do/build other things such as defense systems, temples, etc.
(Wittfogel 1957:39). He goes on to explain that the act of commanding dominion over basic resources,
such as water, serves as proof of rulership, greatness, or even godliness.

In discussing the Maya, Wittfogel notes that they are more marginal in terms of water
management and classifies them as a “loose hydraulic society,” (1957:193). This is due to the fact that
Wittfogel claims that while they can maintain a society in this way, they could also be easily taken over.
For the Maya, there was not one central polity – there were many, nor was there any way to really
assert control over the most of the population. He mostly attributes this fact to the limited available
resources in Central America. Wittfogel notes the significant lack of water resources for irrigation (e.g.
rivers and lakes), as well as natural storage for drinking water, and what irrigation and storage devices
were available, needed to be built and maintained without the use of metal tools. While this seems to
“marginalize” (1957:188) the Maya by Wittfogel’s standards, more recent studies on the relationship
between water and power have praised the ingenuity of the Maya for overcoming such circumstances:
“In addition to managing the distribution of goods produced by his people, a Maya king also
implemented agricultural work programs in the low-lying swamplands and river margins found in many
parts of Maya country. In these regions, individuals and families in a village farming community did not
easily work the land. Excavating the muck at the bottom of the swamps to create a system of raised
fields and canals took organization of time and labor...It was a delicate and difficult system to maintain,
but one with the prospect of enormous productivity” [Schele 1990:92]

Cross-Cultural Comparisons

Geertz’s (1963) and Lansing’s (1991) case studies of agricultural practices in Indonesia serve not
only as comparative entities for agriculture in the Maya area, but they serve as a theoretical model for it
as well. Therefore, a considerable amount of attention to some of the details of these works is
appropriate.

In Agricultural Involution, Geertz (1963) sets out to determine to what degree ecology has
affected the evolution of Indonesian culture, especially in terms of their agricultural practices. Geertz
separates Indonesia into two separate types of “ecosystems,” (1963:13-14) which he refers to as Inner v.
Outer Indonesia. The area termed Inner Indonesia consists of Java (the mainland of Indonesia), while
Outer Indonesia is composed of the outer islands. Geertz’s central interest is why Java’s primary
agricultural practice is irrigation, while the outer croplands practice swidden agriculture (1963:14-15).

According to Geertz, swidden agriculture appealed to the occupants of the outer croplands of
Indonesia for a series of reasons, most of which are mirrored by the agricultural situation for the
common Maya, including the following: (1) Swidden agriculture can be practiced on poor tropical soils;
(2) no tool is necessary except for the axe; (3) it is generally employed in low population density areas;
(4) it involves a low level of consumption; (5) it requires markedly less labor compared to other forms of
agriculture; and (6) it lacks animal involvement, (1963:15). Moreover, Geertz adds that this system of
farming is also less intrusive because it can “maintain the general structure or preexisting natural
ecosystems,” (1963:16). While this analysis offers comparative evidence for why swidden agricultural
was well suited for the common Maya, the outer islands of Indonesia solely practiced swidden, and the
Maya also practiced a great deal of irrigation and water management as well as swidden agriculture.
This is where the comparison to Inner Indonesia (Java) becomes relevant.
In Java, sawahs (flooded paddy fields) were the primary agricultural practice. Sawahs employ the use of terraces to essentially create an ecosystem that makes rice as a staple crop more productive, more manageable, and more sustainable. Geertz (1963) explains that the role of water in this model offers extensive benefits for sustainability due to the fact that it does not exhaust the soil as swidden does. However, the tradeoff for sawah agriculture is an extensive need for the supply and control of water. For the Javanese, this means that extensive investments in labor, engineering, and skill is vital to the successful manipulation and control over water resources, which is necessary to maintain the sawah. The investment in labor and engineering in Java is, therefore, likened to the situation of the common ancient Maya: in both cases, the productivity of their agricultural and water management systems are predicated on intense investments of time, labor, and ingenuity to assert the necessary control over land and water resources.

What Geertz (1963) then offers in terms of a cross-cultural comparison, is a model in which both swidden and irrigation are practiced, much like the Maya, only in Indonesia, the practices were mutually exclusive due to fundamental differences in ecological situations. On the other hand, the common ancient Maya exhibited the need for both. Perhaps this is because while swidden agriculture might have been initially practical for the Maya, agricultural intensification may have become necessary (such as the sawah became necessary in Java). Furthermore, the population increase that is especially notable in the Late Classic would have resulted in a greater need for agricultural intensification, especially when considering the fact that Geertz classifies swidden agriculture as a model for societies with low population pressures (1963:15).

As in the tradition of Wittfogel, Geertz makes the connection between resource management and the power to govern: “A take-off is most likely when the growth of an indigenous entrepreneurial class occurs simultaneously with the appearance of a political elite which has the power and the will to provide a policy framework favorable for the exercise of entrepreneurial talents,” (1963:ix). However, Geertz does not focus much attention on how the management of these resources affects the organization of the society. Lansing (1991) offers more in terms of similar overall societies and their responses to the management of resources.

Lansing’s Priests and Programmers (1991) examines water management practices and the social and political systems designed to deal with the management of water in Bali, Indonesia. Here, the setting is similar to Geertz’s Agricultural Involution (1963), but Bali lies to the east of Java and houses its own cultural systems. In Priests and Programmers, Lansing focuses on the role of subaks and their political role in water management. In Bali, subaks are individual communities that regulate and maintain their own water sources (as well as other sources), and several subaks comprise the collective responsibility of a water temple. A water temple is composed of respected, powerful individuals, and acts as the ruling political entity in a Balinese hierarchy. The role of the water temple is to preside over the subaks and decide who gets to utilize what water sources and to what extent based on the reports of the subaks at regular meetings (Lansing 1991).

Lansing emphasizes “hydrological interdependency” between subaks due to the fragile nature of their highly complex, constructed irrigation systems in the dry season, and notes the fact that many different subaks tapped into the same water sources (mainly rivers). He further stresses the need for the managerial roles of the water temples due to this fact. Reminiscent of Wittfogel, this is a model of a society based around water management; a society dependent on the power relationship between people and water resources. However, just as Wittfogel points out that Maya society is certainly comparative, it also lacked the precise organizational patterns exhibited in Lansing and in other examples in Wittfogel (Wittfogel, 1957:193). Moreover, while this might be similar to the hierarchical organization of power at large Maya site centers, this may not necessarily be the case in the rural, marginal areas occupied by the common Maya in the Late Classic. Nevertheless, Lansing asserts the necessity for these kinds of power relationships in a society with such an intricate and interconnecting
water management model. This suggests that the heterarchical organization and the appearance of corporate groups, as evident in Scarborough et al. (2003), or Hageman and Lohse (2003) might have been a necessary shift during the Late Classic. At this time, population density forced the Maya to the intensified agricultural and water management practices exhibited in the archaeological record in order to sustain a growing population in areas with limited resources.

**Maya Water Management Literature**

While Wittfogel was the first to examine the role of water management in the rise of societies, one of the first to really analyze the structure, location, and function of water management features was Vernon Scarborough. Despite the fact that it is difficult to generalize the functionality of watershed systems throughout the lowlands, Scarborough, for example, has managed to observe similarities between sites with basic features (e.g. terraces, berms, reservoirs, canals etc.) operating in similar ways. The Maya, for the most part, tended to settle and create site centers near natural water sources and atop escarpments or on higher grounds where flooding by the mass amounts of rain in the rainy season would not have been an issue. However, settling close to or on slopes, especially near bajos and other Lowland features, made water accessible and easy to manipulate into receptacles such as aguadas, reservoirs, and cenotes (See Figure 1).

Moreover slopes are inevitable in geographic areas with such rugged topography. Scarborough classifies the Formative (Preclassic) water systems as “concave watersheds,” or “passive water systems requiring expeditiously excavated drainage channels located to shed runoff from the canted pavements of large plaza and courtyard groups into artificially enlarged or otherwise modified depressions,” (Scarborough 2003:111). In this case, canals and other features drain rain runoff into receptacles such as aguadas (See figures 1 and 2).
However, at the onset of the Classic period as sites became more planned and more populated, the Maya switched from concave watersheds to convex watersheds, creating a more planned watershed system in order to deal with the rising resource management complexities. Convex watersheds are similar in basic concept to concave watersheds but rather than a passive means of drainage, large terraces, reservoirs and other features were purposefully planned and constructed to drain runoff from residential platform areas and into agricultural areas.

The most current researchers of Maya water management are Vernon Scarborough and Lisa Lucero. Scarborough’s (2003) *The Flow of Power* is based on ideas introduced by Wittfogel. Scarborough (2003:3-4) examines the connection between water management and political power in several parts of the world through various points in history and prehistory, constantly linking the longevity of a civilization with its level of water management. Scarborough dedicates a substantial amount of effort to discussing and explaining how water management and water sources dictated the locations of many (if not most) Preclassic settlements (Scarborough 1983, 1986, 2003b), as well as the rise of Classic Period Maya society. Haberland (1983:79-80) also makes this point stating not only that water is related to settlement patterns due to the necessity of water for the household, but also notes that at Onetepi Island, there is less than two kilometers distance between settlements and a water source.

Scarborough; (1995, 1998) also stresses exactly how important water was to the ancient Maya. He does this in two very important ways; first, by describing the forms and probable functions of the various water management features in explicit detail in order to convey the complexity of this endeavor, and second, by connecting water management with the importance of water that is inherent in the symbolism, ritual, and cosmology of the Maya (Scarborough 1998). Lisa Lucero’s work (2006a, 2006b) has also focused on the connections between water, rulership, and ritual for the ancient Maya.

Both Scarborough and Lucero explain in several works that the Maya Universe is composed of three parts: the realm of the gods in the sky, the world of the Maya, and the Underworld or *Xibalba*, with great emphasis on a north-south axis (Dunning 1999; Schele 1990). This universe is centered and connected by the World Tree or the *wacah chan* at which point passage between realms is possible, primarily by kings, gods, and ancestors — all of which are understood to have some form of divine lineage. In the Maya universe, water is considered “the substance in which the world floats,” (Schele 1990:417), as well as being synonymous with the word “blood.” More important than anything else in Maya cosmology, water is the portal to *Xibalba*, the Underworld, making caves, *cenotes*, and any watery surface a literal portal into this realm (Lucero 2006a; Dunning 1999, Schele 1990; Laughton 1998; Sharer 2006). These places (such as the reservoirs from La Milpa and caves) were seen as places of permeability between realms (Schele 1990) in which only kings can perform the rituals in order to commune with deities and ancestors and move between realms. Water, then, plays a vital role in these rituals and places of ritual in addition to its necessity otherwise.

While these connections made by both Scarborough and Lucero remain vital to the developing study of water management in ancient Maya society, both, like most of the other research surrounding
the ancient Maya, are based on the understanding of such processes at the level of elite site centers. Both Scarborough and Lucero make an effort to include the marginal, rural areas of Mesoamerica (e.g. Scarborough et al., 2003), but the crux of the information comes from sites like Kaminjaljuyu, Copan, Palenque, (Lucero 2006a), and La Milpa (Scarborough, 1995). Very little of the Classic Period (or more specifically, Late Classic period) research involves the examination and analysis of smaller, rural areas, which essentially represent the majority of the Maya population.

Small-Scale Settlement Studies

In the past few decades, the focus of Maya studies has shifted from royal centers to more rural settings. Researchers such as Vogt, et al. (1983), Scarborough (1986), Scarborough, Valdez, and Dunning (2003), and Lohse and Valdez (2005), have all pushed local level archaeology into more of a mainstream arena. Furthermore, Willey (1983:446) explains, “What the settlement pattern and settlement systems concepts have done is to provide a firmer frame of reference in which to ask questions and search for answers.”

In Vogt and Leventhal’s 1983 collection of articles in tribute to Gordon R. Willey, archaeologists such as Vogt, Tourtellot, Haberland, and R.E.W. Adams contribute essays revolving around the importance of archaeology at the household level. Rathje (1983:24) suggests - though he is not the first to suggest it - that household level archaeology can offer us more information about how the Maya really lived: “I believe that some fundamental answers will come from describing life-styles in terms of the dwellings, material possessions, and health status of ordinary household populations. The basis for comparing societies must be the conditions of life for the majority of their people,” (Rathje 1983:24).

Household archaeology is also connected to archaeology that focuses on settlement patterns and theories. While Sabloff (1983:417) claims that archaeologists are still looking for causes of settlement patterns, Scarborough and Lucero seem to have an understanding that water has a lot to do with it, as mentioned above. Although Sabloff may be right since archaeologists will probably always be looking for settlement patterns as settlements are not exactly a static or homogenic phenomena, that should not suggest that other archaeologists do not have some fairly well-developed ideas as to why the Maya settled in certain places.

In Vogt and Leventhal’s volume, many of the chapters are dedicated to settlement studies. R.E.W. Adams (1983:320-324) used radar imagery to detect water sources in the Quintana Roo and Northwestern Belize area and found bajos, lakes, and other water sources, as well as raised fields, riverine canals, and extensive hillside terracing. He reasoned that this would increase population potential. Ultimately, though, Adams concluded that swamp farming and areas with less available water would require more labor, and thus were somewhat locked into areas that had nearby waterholes for sustenance. This is not dissimilar to the argument made by Haberland (1983) that settlements were necessarily close to water sources. Moreover, Tourtellot (1983:39) notes the economic efficiency of small houses in areas with limited water resources and links the size of the house with economic status, although this theory will be argued against later in this paper.

In Lohse and Valdez’s Ancient Maya Commoners (2005), they further discuss the relevance of studying the common Maya. In the introduction to this collection, Lohse and Valdez explain that studying the ancient Maya commoner is a valuable part of our overall understanding of this ancient civilization. Lohse and Valdez (2005:2) rightfully point out, “Even though individuals of non-elite status constituted anywhere between 80 and 98 percent of the population in pre-Columbian times, our perception and understanding of commoners are frequently based on comparisons with elites, in terms of both material well-being and behaviors undertaken in broader social contexts.” They go on to explain that throughout the history of anthropology, the commoner has been relatively overlooked, or only acknowledged in reference to the power of the elite, or, as in Marx, in terms of material production. What has been significantly lacking throughout research and literature is a face for the commoner.
Rather, commoners are seen as poor, static, powerless, “blobs,” (Lohse and Valdez 2005:2) that lack all complexity, depth, or autonomy.

**Conclusion**

As the importance for studying water management as a form of resource management becomes evident, and as archaeologists continue to suggest the need for more research at the local level, questions begin to emerge: Where is the literature that explains how the Maya dealt with issues of water management at the local level? While some literature embraces the need for further understanding of water management at this level and its relevance in the social and political organization of the common Maya (Beach, et al. 2002; Dunning, et al. 1994; Hughbanks 1998, 2005; Kunen 2001; Lohse et al. 2000; Lohse and Valdez 2005; Scarborough et al. 2003; Vogt, ed. 1983; Weiss-Krejci et al. 2002), many basic questions still remain in light of all of their efforts. Evidence from cross-cultural comparison, ethnographies, historical accounts, and archaeological data suggest several different possibilities for the management of water at the local level: management by the household, management at the level of communities, or management by corporate groups. Nevertheless, none have specifically focused on using local Maya water management as a lens through which to understand the common Ancient Maya. This paper aims to better illustrate the nature of that inquiry, and provide some possible answers based on the available evidence.

**Agriculture and Archaeology**

While the goal of this research is to trace water management practices for the local Maya in the archaeological record, only so much can be inferred from the archaeological record alone. Several hundred years exist between the Late Classic archaeological record and the first colonial historical accounts, not to mention a millennium between the Late Classic and the first ethnographies from the area. Naturally, this leaves quite a large gap to bridge between the ancient Maya, and the colonial period Maya. Even though researchers often understand that there are things about the past and about the world that we simply can never know, it is still possible to find clues and pieces of truths and narratives that can offer a better understanding.

In the case of trying to literally uncover how the common ancient Maya managed their water resources, a professor once told me, “I think that if we cannot talk to the people, what can we do,” (David Goldstein, PhD., personal communication 2008). The issue is that: in order to construct some understanding of the social and political structure evident in water management, that structure would have to some how be visible in the material remains themselves. While this may yet be possible, there is no good method developed thus far, to my knowledge, which would enable this to be done using the archaeological record at present. The best-proposed method for dealing with issues of lack of sufficient data or ways of knowing from material remains is to use cross-cultural and ethno-historical accounts, and compare it to the archaeological record in order to infer possible answers to the questions at hand. Nicholson (1983:411) perhaps best describes the logic behind this concept: “The limitations of purely archaeological data need hardly be belabored...Any legitimate way of fleshing out the archaeological skeleton ought to be warmly welcomed, Ethnohistorical sources can certainly aid significantly in this work and thereby further our common goal, namely, greater understanding of the past and, consequently, greater understanding of ourselves,” (Nicholson 1983:411).

In the model of working from the known to the unknown, as discussed by Willey (1983), Vogt (1983), and Nicholson (1983) this discussion will start from the broadest perspective – cross-cultural comparisons – and move through ethnographies, and historical sources. Finally, it will be compared to the archaeological sources in order to theorize a proposed organizational structure (or structures) for the management of water for the local level Maya.
Generally, the following questions are the main points of interest in relating these sources to the Late Classic, common Maya: (1) What and where are the water sources in the area and what hydraulic features were installed? (2) Who “owned” the water sources or who was allowed access to the water source? (3) How was access and control of the water sources and the hydraulic features managed?

Archaeology and Agriculture

“Excavating the muck at the bottom of the swamps to create a system of raised fields and canals took organization of time and labor...It was a delicate and difficult system to maintain, but one with the prospect of enormous productivity...” (Schele and Freidel, 1990:93).

Water management at the local level still has a long way to go before it reaches the level of detailed understanding that we have of agriculture at the local level. It is important to note that while agriculture and water management are more-or-less two separate things that may require different managerial skills and models, they are often linked. Furthermore, it seems that one cannot understand one in the context of a site system without taking the other into consideration. Often, the way that archaeologists attempt to gain this understanding is to survey the different forms of land and water management features at a particular site or in a particular area. Beach’s (2002) work, for example, surveys and defines several typical soil management features found in the bajos of the Maya Lowlands including dry slope contour terraces, box terraces, check dams, and foot slope terraces. This survey serves as a database as to when and where each feature would be found and how (and how well) these features function as soil conservation mechanisms.

As an agrarian society, water management was one of the Maya’s main concerns. As Dunning and Beach (1994) point out, the Maya were very aware that maintaining soil as a resource was extremely complicated and required constant work. As part of a method for controlling soil and water resources, the Maya employed agricultural terracing. Dunning and Beach identify terracing as a trend found primarily in agricultural regions of the lowlands during the late classic. They believe that agricultural intensification was connected to the population pressures of the Late Classic (Dunning and Beach 1994:81-82), as do many others (e.g. Schele and Freidel 1990 etc.), due to the fact that Maya society became increasingly more complex in response to an increase in the need for management and organization of limited resources. If this is the case in terms of agriculture, which may have been easier to maintain than water management features, then the same attention and detail ought to be paid to water management at the local level since it is thus implied that there is much yet to be learned about the common Maya in this way.

Gene Wilken (1990) examines the resource management practices of farmers in Mexico and Central America in Good Farmers. He not only examines farming techniques as a part of the ecology of Mexico and Central America, but also thoroughly analyzes the multiple and wide-ranging techniques of farmers in this area. The focus of Good Farmers centers on the complex nature of reshaping the land in whatever ways necessary in order to produce as much as possible for a household, or a community. Moreover, Wilken examines the social and managerial aspects that coincide with these practices in order to insure increased productivity.

As is evident by Wilken’s endeavors, constructing and maintaining the tools and features that become necessary for managing resources at the household and community levels in this area requires a vast amount of foresight and organization. Aside from the techniques involved in farming alone, he argues that far more organization is involved in the management of water: “Resource management that require the combine efforts of families, villages, or regions exerts a strong influence on the structure of the practicing societies. This is especially true of water management, which in many traditional societies
is a primary force in social and political organization,” (Wilken 1990:17). Wilken further emphasizes in his study that while water management practices are relatively easy to maintain independently or communally with cenote resources, more administration becomes necessary when rivers or streams are involved (Wilken: 1990:157). Wilken explains that this is because someone needs to appoint who gets to use what resources and to what degree. Rivers and streams interconnect sites and settlements, and while one farmer decides to use water to irrigate his field at one point of the river, consideration for everyone else downstream is necessary (Wilken 1990:157; Hanks 1990; Lansing 1991). As in Lansing (1991), Wilken thus emphasizes the existence of resource interdependency in Mexico and Central America, and argues that this interdependency requires a higher level of management and organization of resources that exceeds the abilities of the household or a community.

Ethno-historical Evidence

Again, as the archaeological record develops, it remains necessary to employ the use of ethnographies to make connections between what researchers the present, observable Maya cultures, and what may have occurred during the Late Classic. Also, once again, the focus of this section and the following sections is answering the questions aforementioned for the common Maya in different time periods and in different but similar contexts. The ethnographies included here, will consist of the following: Collier 1975; Hanks 1990; Redfield and Villa Rojas 1962; Villa Rojas 1945; Vogt 1969; Wagley 1941, 1949; Watanabe 1992; and Wisdom 1941.

Due to the fact that the karst topography of the Yucatan often makes surface water difficult to locate and, moreover, unreliable, identifying water sources for a particular group of people is fundamental in understanding how important water management is for the area. For example, a small settlement of Maya located on or near a lake or a large river may not have the same needs or concerns as a population that thrives off of cenotes alone. In the ethnographic record, populations are supplied with water from three distinct water source systems: (1) Artificial fountains, springs, and streams (Wagley 1941, 1949; Watanabe 1992); (2) Rivers and springs (Wilken 1990; Wisdom 1941); (3) Cenotes or waterholes (Collier 1975; Hanks 1990; Redfield and Villa Rojas 1962; and Vogt 1969).

No distinct correlation seems to exist between water sources and how it was managed except in the case of fountains, springs, and streams. This is because Wagley (1941, 1949) and Watanabe (1992) were essentially studying the same village during two different time periods, with governing municipis already in place at community centers. Since the village was already a charge of the state, public works enabled the installation and upkeep of communal artificial fountains, which provided a basic, everyday water source to the people aside, even though, Wagley notes, these fountains are rarely used by the Maya. Rather, springs and streams that were used more often in the rural hamlet areas that the Maya often occupied (Wagley 1949:8). For the typical Maya family in this area, the women would go fetch water for the household early in the day from the springs or streams, or use the water supply to wash clothes, their hair, etc. (Wagley 1949:11). Aside from this, no evidence of terracing or other water management features were present (Wagley 1949:9-10) – most likely due to the fact that most of the population occupied the areas directly surrounding these community centers with schools, churches, etc. where public works were available.

The role of the state in Wagley and Watanabe makes them less useful for the goal of finding evidence to support water management systems for the local Maya, even though the portrayal of the women going down to the streams and springs is very typical of the Maya as far as the ethnographic record is concerned. For this reason, while it is important to note these instances, they will not be discussed any further. Aside from the examples of Wagley and Watanabe, what remains, as far as kinds of water systems is concerned, are rivers and springs, and cenotes. Although this study classifies rivers and springs as water systems different from those based solely around cenotes, the answers to the questions
of who had the water and how it was managed is strikingly similar. As far as determining who was in charge of the water sources and who had access to them, this seems to be identified in a few ways, though all of them are fairly similar.

The Yucatec Maya of Chan Kom (Redfield 1962) rely solely on cenotes for their water supply, so for almost a century, the Maya built and rebuilt houses and settlements in the same spots in order to utilize those cenotes (Redfield 1962:18). In the initial planning of the settlements at Chan Kom, the Yucatec Maya specifically chose the locations of the milpas to be near to the cenotes for irrigation purposes (1962:65). Moreover, the house lots themselves were placed in clearings around the cenotes (1962:67). Redfield’s (1962:70) description of the role of the cenote in the village is similarly featured in every one of the ethnographies included in this research: “The drawing of water from the cenote is women’s occupation; one may watch the well from dawn to dark and see only women and girls returning, and pausing at the rim to fill their buckets and to exchange remarks.” In Chan Kom, unlike other ethnographies, cenotes are totally communal property and shared with everyone. Specific families may own individual milpas, but there is no notable discussion as to the existence of any kind of governing entity or personal property aside from individual house lots.

Setting up settlements around cenotes certainly seems to be common – in Collier (1975) and Vogt (1969), the whole social and political structures of the villages are centered around cenotes, or what they term “waterhole groups,” or “sñas” in the case of Vogt’s (1969) Zinacantan. While these are not the only ethnographies listed in which settlements depend on cenotes for water, nor are they the only references to primarily communally managed and maintained water sources, these two are the only examples in which social and political organization is built primarily around waterhole groups.

The social and political organizations of the Tzotzil (Collier 1975) and the Tzotzil of Zinacantan (Vogt, 1969) are based on the division of these settlements into groups – each with one or two designated cenotes. Several individual families or domestic groups around one or two waterholes make up a hamlet (Collier 1975) or a sna (Vogt 1969). In turn, a group of sñas makes up a waterhole group (Vogt 1969:140-145; Collier 1975:84).

![Figure 3: Illustration of socio-political and ceremonial hierarchy at Zinacantan (Vogt 1969)](image)

Waterhole groups are dependent on the number of cenotes in total, and the amount of water that is available in the cenotes, which varies between the wet and the dry season (Vogt 1969:145). The purpose of these groups is to regulate and maintain these sñas in two basic ways: (1) Determining who gets access to which cenotes; and (2) Regulating the cleaning and maintenance of the cenotes. Moreover, for the Tzotzil of Zinacantan, ritual is a highly sacred and extremely important aspect of maintaining the cenotes (Vogt 1969:146). While this is not necessarily so in the case of the Tzotzil in Collier’s (Collier 1975; 84) study, the social structure of Zinacantan is based on the ritual and cosmological aspects of the cenotes; and they are managed accordingly.

For many of the people represented in the ethnographies, cenotes and other water sources (if there were any) were primarily shared with a few sources that belonged to specific families or individuals (Hanks 1990; Villa Rojas 1945; Wilken 1990; Wisdom 1941) except for in Hanks’ work. In Referential Practice Hanks (1990:314) says that the land and water sources are shared communally,
though in order to maintain rights to them, they must be used productively. Ownership, however, is not really applicable in this case because everything belongs to the *ejida* (the community). While asymmetrical relationships exist in terms of social organization (i.e. the patriarch of the family is the decision maker, as is common in most, if not all Maya societies), Hanks (1990:126) also notes that these asymmetrical relationships cease to exist when it comes time to manage and maintain shared resources.

Other cases that are similar to this are that of the *Tzotzil* (Collier 1975), the Maya of East Central Quintana Roo (Villa Rojas 1945), and the *Chorti* in Guatemala (Wisdom 1941). Collier describes the *Tzotzil* as being organized into waterhole groups like Zinacantan. However, unlike Zinacantan, there is no singular apparent governing force – most of the resources are generally communally maintained. Similarly, the Maya of East Central Quintana Roo, and the *Chorti*'s lands and resources are communally maintained except for private land owned by families, in which the head of the family directs all labor (Villa Rojas 1945:75; Wisdom 1941:278). Moreover, Wisdom explains (and as is the case in Villa Rojas) that unclaimed land is considered communally owned. These lands and even private lands are communally maintained, and almost all labor is a communal effort including the planting of private milpas (Wisdom 1941:44, 130, 280).

While Wisdom’s (1941) example gives the image of a very utopian society, it is more often the exception than the rule. For the *Chorti*, the main water sources are rivers and streams, and water sources do not seem to be lacking. In fact, Wisdom (1941:79-81) explains that the *Chorti* poison their water sources as a way of fishing in the dry season, which clearly signifies that water is not exactly lacking in this area. That is not to suggest, however, that the irrigation and canal systems that the *Chorti* have built are not extremely complex, but rather that with communal effort and limited competition for plentiful resources, management may not be as much of an issue here as it would be for the Late Classic lowland Maya. This may, perhaps, be because the *Chorti* live in the highlands rather than the lowlands so seasonal flooding, extreme soil erosion and runoff, and six months without rain are not really issues, here. However, such a situation is also observed in Quintana Roo (Villa Rojas 1945:39), which is also in the highlands and in which the primary water source is *cenotes*, although it is near the Rio Hondo, small rivulets, and some lakes. Nevertheless, Villa Rojas (1945:13) claims that in Cochuah town, the Spanish attacked and almost lost because of all of the deaths due to lack of water.

*Historical Accounts*

This research also includes several historical accounts in order to further link the ancient Maya world to the present. These sources span hundreds of years of the earliest Western accounts of the Maya and could either further corroborate the findings from the ethnographies, or show a significant enough disjuncture between the two eras, in which case the relevance of the ethnographic record would be adequately challenged. The historical references include: Jones 1998; Farriss 1984; Restall 1997; Roys 1972; and Tozzer (trans.) 1941 – all of whom study the colonial Yucatec Maya. Though these sources represent a different time frame, this section will still attempt to answer the same aforementioned questions as to what and where water sources are, who has them, and how they are managed.

The water sources and water systems mentioned throughout the literature on historical accounts varies considerably – namely because the sources that comprise each reference varies from time and space. Jones’s (1998) research cites primarily lakes and rivers as the main water sources, Farriss (1984), Restall (1997), and Tozzer (1941) cite *cenotes*, and Roys (1972) cites the presence of shallow ponds and lakes with the primary use of *aguadas*. Almost all of these sources claim that these water sources are owned communally except for Jones (1998) and Farriss (1984) who do not mention specific ownership, but do mention the existence of small hamlet-like communities that are situated around water sources or *cenotes*. Roys (1972) and Tozzer (1941) both claim that land and resources seem to be communally owned.
As far as the management of water and resources is concerned, Jones (1998), Roys (1972), and Landa (Tozzer, trans. 1941) all more or less fail to give it much attention other than to say that it was there and often, that it was scarce. However, Jones (1998:65) does note the existence of seasonally occupied, rural hamlet groups in association with horticultural plots – much like many of the settlements in ethnographic sources. The only mention that Roys (1972:34-35) makes on the subject is that land is communally owned, which is the same thing that Tozzer (1941:63) says in his translation, though Tozzer mentions that it is difficult to distinguish any sort of hierarchy or organization because the Spanish called everyone seemingly important “cacique.”

Farriss (1984) is much like Jones (1998), Roys (1972), and Landa (Tozzer, trans. 1941) in the way that her work does not reflect any importance in water management systems. However, unlike Jones, Roys, and Landa, Farriss (1984:127,201) claims that resources and water are not even an issue for the Maya although she does site the need for water as a limiting factor. Farriss seems to construct a version of the Maya Colonial era in which the Maya flee from the Spanish and retreat into the rainforests. This may have been true, but she (Farriss 1984:73) also implies that the resources of the rainforest provided everything that the Maya could possibly need in order to flee and that they could simply seek out somewhere else and create new settlements. Moreover, she does not pay much attention to the common Maya at large. Overall, much of Farriss’s work seems contrary too much of the other literature on the Maya, but her focus is really not on specific settlements as it is the movement of the Maya during the Colonial era in general.

Restall’s work (1997:20-24, 169-170) conveys colonial era Maya society as a patchwork of agricultural plots that were divided and managed by “cahs.” Restall (1997:24) describes cahs as “gubernatorial lineages,” or as a “geographical entity contained within a specific boundary that enclosed the house plots of the community,” (Restall 1997:20). His description of cahs is comparable to the description of corporate groups described in Scarborough et al. (2003). Like Zinacantan (Vogt 1969) or Priests and Programmers (Lansing 1990), Maya World (Restall 1997) seems to indicate a loosely communally organized resource management system that is governed in part by a larger corporate entity: waterhole groups, subaks, or cahs, respectively.

In summation of this particular set of sources, the fact of the matter is that discussion about water management or even water sources in the historical records of the colonial Yucatan is hardly mentioned. One possible reason for this is that perhaps the Spanish, being from a part of the world where water is not much of a concern, simply did not find it a significant thing to write about. Even in Landa’s Relocacion (Tozzer, trans. 1941), the only real mention of water (aside from the sacrificial cenote) is when Landa explains that it is scarce. This same notion is also expressed in Restall (e.g. Restall 1997:1), and Roys (e.g. Roys 1972:4-6). Jones (1998:37-38) only really discusses water in terms of how the rainy season presented a serious challenge for Cortez in his conquest because it made it nearly impossible to travel, but perhaps this is because the area he discusses is on a lake, so water may not have been an issue. Lastly, Farriss (1984) notes the use of cenotes and terraces in several places, but, again, claims that water is not a problem: it is simply a limiting factor, which just seems like it is not the case for the Maya in general. The final layout of the ethno-historical evidence in terms of resource use and management would look like the following:
Water Sources in the Ethno-historic Record

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Water Sources</th>
<th>Where these Water Sources are Represented in Literature (Language Group, Author)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lakes, Rivers, Springs</td>
<td>* Yucatec Maya (Izas, Kovejo, Kejaches, Mopans) of Peten, Guatemala and Central and Southern Belize (Jones 1998); * Chorti, Guatemala (Wisdom 1941); * Mexico and Central America (Wilken, 1990);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fountains, springs, and streams</td>
<td>* Man, Guatemala (Wagley 1941, 1949); * Man, Guatemala (Watanabe 1992);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shallow ponds and Lakes, but Mostly Aguedas</td>
<td>* Yucatec, Mexico (Rojas 1972);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cenotes</td>
<td>* Yucatec (Farris 1984); * Yucatec (Restall 1997); * (City of) Izamal, Mexico (Tozzer 1941); * Yucatec (Rojas 1972); * Tzotzil, Mexico (Collier 1975); * Yucatec (Hanks 1990); * Yucatec, Mexico (Redfield 1962); Maya of East Central Quintana Roo (Villa Rojas 1945)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4: Examples of water source representation in ethno-historical Maya accounts.

Who Controlled/Managed the Water Sources

Forms of Ownership

- Specific Groups
- Some Shared/Some Private
- Communal

(Not mutually exclusive)

Forms of Management

- Waterhole Groups or "Cahé" (Cahé)
- Cooperative Labor with Some Form of Higher Management
- Communal
- Not Discussed

Examples in the Literature

- Yucatec (Rojas 1962)
- Yucatec (Farris 1984)
- Zinacantan (Vogt 1969)
- Yucatec (Restall 1997)
- E. C. Quintana Roo (Villa Rojas 1945)
- Muna (Wagley 1941, 1949, Watanabe 1952)
- Colonial Yucatec (Tozzer 1941)
- Colonial Yucatec (Rojas 1972)
- Colonial Yucatec (Jones 1993)
- Tzotzil (Collier 1975)
- Yucatec (Hanks 1990)
- Chorti (Wisdom 1941)

Figure 5: Control/Management relationships between socio-political organizations and water resources. (Yellow=specifically named groups per water sources; Blue=communally owned water sources with higher form of management and socio-political control; Green=both specifically named, and cooperative labor with higher management.)
Comparisons to the Archaeological Literature

Firstly, though much of Scarborough’s work (as well as Lucero’s) does center on Maya water management directly, it is namely water management at large site centers. Thus, for the sake of relevance and simplicity, these sources will not be reviewed here as they were more vital in understanding the nature of water management research up to this point, but not, in general, for the goal of understanding it at the local level during the Late Preclassic.

Moreover, archaeological sources, unlike the other sources previously discussed, are not written with the same privilege as ethnohistorical sources that allow the author to witness the complex interactions of the people first hand. Rather, the job of the archaeologist is to piece together the material remains that people leave behind in order to offer some idea of what those people were like. In this case, archaeologists are looking at landscape management features such as terraces, *aguadas*, reservoirs, etc. and attempting to see where they are in relationship to settlements and resources in order to determine something about the way that these people lived their everyday lives. More importantly, this research is designed to try to find patterns and connections between these settlements and these features in order to determine how and by whom they were built and maintained, and what implications, if any, that has on the social and political structure for the people in these areas.

In words and in theory this seems like it has potential; it makes sense. However, on the ground, when one sees the material remains being discussed, it becomes much clearer why it is very seldom that anything can really be ascertained about how the common ancient Maya lived. For example, note the representation of a footslope terrace in Figure 6, and then compare it to the actual picture of a footslope terrace in Picture 1. There is no question that it

![Figure 6: Footslope terrace – excavation and reconstruction. (Dunning 1994:Figure 11)](image_url)

![Picture 1: Footslope Terrace (Dunning 1994:60)](image_url)

takes a trained eye and a substantial understanding of the many varying types and uses of these features in order to be able to reconstruct even simple water systems like those found at Preclassic Maya sites (Scarborough, 2003:111). Moreover, it is not as if there were some uniform way to build these water systems – that is, in fact, what makes them of particular interest: the adaptive qualities of water management necessitated by layers of complex microenvironments.

Indeed, it would be ideal if archaeologists could survey and map designated regions to see the spatial relationships between all of these microenvironments and where the domain of each Maya settlement and all of the connecting features fall therein. However, this would require extreme amounts of time, labor, and funding that make this beyond unrealistic. That being said, it becomes much clearer why studying the Maya at the level of the household and the sustainability of a household becomes of interest.
The articles presented in this portion of this paper will represent archaeological research in support of one of two main levels of Maya society – the household level, and the communal level. That is to say that the articles themselves focus on the landscape modification in association with housemounds or settlements at these levels and attempt to convey the necessary means by which to maintain a population at these particular levels, respectively.

Resource management at the household level in terms of soil conservation methods or agricultural practices has received a substantial amount of attention in more recent years as Lohse and Valdez (2005) point out, for starters. However, whether a household economy is sustainable based on the given water sources is far less clear. The few articles that make an admirable attempt at including this variable into their research, if not focusing on it, are Lohse and Findlay (2000), and Weiss-Krejci and Sabbas (2002).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ecozone</th>
<th>Ground Slope Traits</th>
<th>Water Availability: Type</th>
<th>Soil Traits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upland Bajo</td>
<td>Mostly level</td>
<td>Seasonal: rainfall</td>
<td>Thick vertisols; poorly draining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitional Uplands</td>
<td>Steeply sloping; level grades behind terraces and stair-step bedrock</td>
<td>Seasonal: rainfall, domestic reservoirs</td>
<td>Thin and stony; level areas may have fertile colluvial “pockets” up to 30 cm thick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riverine Floodplain</td>
<td>Mostly level</td>
<td>Perennial: Rio Bravo, spring-fed stream, multiple lagoons</td>
<td>Organic-rich alluvial clays; buried A-horizons present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broken Ridges</td>
<td>Interrupted: steeply sloping ridges drained by broad (50–100 m wide) “troughs”</td>
<td>Seasonal: rainfall</td>
<td>Thin to non-existent on ridges; fertile through shallow colluvium in troughs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escobal Bajo</td>
<td>Mostly level</td>
<td>Seasonal: rainfall</td>
<td>Thick, highly vertisolic clays; poorly drained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aguada Margins</td>
<td>Moderately graded around coastal boundary; nearly level and rocky around aguada</td>
<td>Seasonal: rainfall, aguada holds water through rainy season, domestic reservoirs</td>
<td>Mixed: thin, well-drained clay loams with bedrock outcrops around aguada; poorly drained clay “pockets” in low lying areas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7: Ecozones and correlated soil types (Hageman and Lohse 2003: Table 9.1)

As previously mentioned, Haberland (1983:79-80) illuminates the correlation between water sources and settlements on Onetepi Island and notes that there is typically less than two kilometers in distance between water sources and households. Certainly this is not an infrequent happenstance in what we know of Maya settlement patterns (e.g. Lucero 2006a; Lucero 2006b; Scarborough 1983; Scarborough 1998; etc.), but during the Late Classic in the Maya lowlands, population pressures would have forced people into areas that would have been far less desirable in terms of nearby water sources such as seasonal swamps (bajos) for example.

Initially, it might seem that the labor-intensive practices of agricultural intensification at this level such as those involved in the building of the complex terrace and berm systems (see Figure 8) associated with rural housemounds in the lowlands could only be managed with a group effort, rather than an individual household. On the contrary, Hughbanks (2005:18), Kunen (2001:328), and Wilken (1990:98) point out that one response to this problem is to build these systems incrementally over time, and in fact, Kunen (2001:328) notes the haphazard construction of such terraces in Northwestern Belize.
where it is clear that there are several different building phases in the construction of a single terrace. As was mentioned in several sources previously, however (e.g. Wilken 1990:150), dealing with water systems typically requires a higher level of inter-site communication and organization, especially when water sources are limited.

Nevertheless, just because water management seems to typically require more organization and engineering, should not suggest that it would have been impossible for the Maya to sustain water resources at the household level alone. Lohse and Findlay (2000) and Weiss-Krejci and Sabbas (2002) examine the possibility that households could have been self-sufficient in terms of water.

Lohse and Findlay (2000) examine a Late Classic house lot drainage system in the lowlands to see whether or not advanced agricultural intensification was, in fact, occurring at the household level. The focus of this article was the drainage systems (i.e. terraces, lithic mulching, house lot gardens, etc.) associated with a particular house lot, but they also discuss the water systems in place, as well. In their survey, Lohse and Findlay note a nearby spring-fed stream that this house lot group was utilizing via constructed channels. They also find that the channels were linked to two small depressions, which were modified by the residents to act as a holding basin.

Their argument, then, was that these landscape modifications including the water management features (i.e. the canals and modified depressions) were maintained at the household level. This suggests that household level water management utilizing rivers and streams in the Late Classic was, in fact, possible, contrary to what had been stated in Wilken (1990), for example. However, it has already been established that the drainage and agricultural intensification features could be maintained at this level; what remains to be seen is whether the canal system could have been maintained at this level. Moreover, while the canal system in place may be clearly associated with this particular house lot group, that does not rule out the possibility that other nearby house lot groups were not also utilizing the same water source or, in fact, the very same canal system, and participating in the labor as was seen in Hanks (1990:126).

Figure 8: (Hageman and Lohse 2003:Figure 9.6)
Weiss-Krejci and Sabbas (2002) also examine resource sustainability at the household level, but they focus on the role of small depressions such as *chultuns* as a possible water management feature. Their area of focus for this article was also the lowlands during the Late Classic, but more specifically, they examined the areas in and around *bajos* to determine whether or not *aguadas* were the only probable permanent water source in these more marginal areas. They examine sixteen mapped and classified small depressions in an area in Northwestern Belize, and find that many were, in fact, associated with housemounds or monuments, which, they conclude supports the idea that the Maya in these areas tended to settle around *cenotes* (See Figure 1). Nevertheless, Weiss-Krejci and Sabbas (2002:363) explain that from their sample size, they cannot conclude whether or not small depressions alone could have supported a household – they do say, however, that it is still a possibility especially in combination with other means of collecting and storing water at the household level, and that this possibility should not be disregarded.

Based on the two articles in the field of archaeology that are relevant to water management at the household level, there is some evidence to suggest that, indeed, water management is possible at the household level. However, most of the archaeological research that includes water management at the local level during this time period in the lowlands offers more evidence in support of the fact that most water management features and systems were not sustainable at this level and that suprafamily labor was necessary.

**Heterarchies**

While such a limited, classist view of ancient Maya commoners as criticized by Lohse and Valdez (2005: Introduction), Scarborough, Valdez, and Lohse have also offered evidence to suggest that commoners were not as powerless as the seemed. Hageman and Lohse (2003), for example, use examples of rural settlements with temples associated with localized yet intensive landscape modifications to suggest that corporate groups existed outside of elite site centers. One example cited in support of this is the Barba Group located in the Barba Territory in Northwestern Belize which included one considerably large temple upon a hill along with other house mounds, and which was surrounded by a number of agricultural features such as terraces (Hageman and Lohse 2003:119-121). According to Hageman and Lohse (2003:121), Barba (see Figure 9) represents a corporate group that managed land and water resources in a “‘patchwork’ of intensified, localized landholdings within the broader Dos Hombres political community.” This kind of social and political structure manifested from the need for agricultural intensification in a period where population growth was pushing Maya societies to their limits (Hageman and Lohse 2003). This is a current theory for common Maya society that seems to be quickly gaining popularity as archaeologists flesh out the details of the daily life and micro-politics of the common Maya. The multiple perspectives at work in Maya archaeology at the present are the inspiration to bring the same amount of detail and attention to the water management perspective at the same level.
Ancient Maya Water Management

Geography, Climate, and Topography

The ancient Maya lived across the Yucatán Peninsula in present-day Mexico and Central America. The Maya area is divided into three geographical zones: the Pacific coastal plains, the highlands, and lowlands (north/northeastern Yucatán) (Sharer 2006:30), although this paper will focus specifically on the lowlands (See Figure 10). The climate of the lowlands is very hot and humid, as it is semitropical, with seasonal rainfall separated into the rainy season and the four-month period of annual drought known as the dry season. Vegetation in the area is very dense on the hills and flatlands, and it is especially thick with undergrowth in the lowland seasonal swamp areas known as bajos (Sharer 2006).

Beneath the layers of vegetation and soil is bedrock of limestone with chert deposits, classifying the topography for this area as karst. The limestone bedrock is extremely porous and not at all consistent. While parts of it remain solid, rainwater and groundwater seeping through the permeable limestone are diverted around the harder parts of the bedrock while eroding away softer strata (Sharer 2006). This creates a very rugged, irregular landscape with many patches of different interconnecting ecosystems and terrains (Sharer 2006; Scarborough 1983, 1998, 2003).

The topography of the region often reflects these irregularities. Karst topography in this area is famous for its disappearing, underground rivers, caves, sinkholes (or cenotes), and aguadas (or small depressions in the landscape often in which water collects and ponds). This, again, relates back to the fact that the porous limestone may erode away in some areas but not in others creating depressions and sinkholes on the surface (Sharer 2006). Also, due to the extremely penetrable nature of the limestone and the soils in this area (aside from the heavy clays found in the lowland bajos), surface water resources become few and far between for the people that
lived in this area. Riverine water systems are not uncommon in the Maya lowlands, especially in the Three Rivers region in the eastern margins of the Peten (Dunning 1999). These rivers, as well as the few lakes, streams, and natural springs in the lowlands made the land around them extremely desirable for settlement, and thus Maya settlements appear to be scattered and clustered in or around these areas especially during the Preclassic (Dunning 1999; Scarborough 1986, 2003).

**Brief History of the Maya**

During the time of the Late Preclassic or Formative Maya (400 B.C. – 250 A.D.), settlements were formed primarily around existing systems of surface water (Scarborough, 2003). In this case, water management was far more basic because settlements were scattered around these natural water sources and Maya civilization had not yet reached the population density, or the complexity for groups to necessarily need to out-compete each other for their resources (Scarborough 2003; Sharer 2006). At the end of the Late Preclassic, these settlements gave rise to larger societies and hierarchies of rulers and kings that eventually turned into the city-states or site centers such as Tikal, Palenque, or Copan. During the Classic period (250 – 800 A.D.) (Sharer 2006), the god-king rulers of these large areas were often at war with each other – each trying to conquer the other while preserving their own land. In the mean time, every available resource was exploited to support these growing city-states and the elite that ruled them. As an added pressure, during the Late Classic (600-900 AD), there was an enormous population growth due to the prosperity of the Early Classic rulerships, but with a distinctly receding availability of resources for the same reason (Sharer 2006:495-497).

As Schele and Freidel point out, while the warring polities focused their attention on other things during the Late Classic, they paid little attention to the farmers that were supporting their societies, which led to many farmers abandoning their homes and heading out into more rural, marginal areas to find their own land, (Schele, 1990:380). Moreover, Schele and Freidel explain:

> “Deforestation caused other problems as well. People needed wood for their cooking fires, for the making of lime in the construction of temples, for building houses, and for dozens of other domestic and ritual uses. As more and more people settled in the valley, the forest gradually retreated, exposing more and more of the poor soils on the mountain slopes and causing more erosion. The cutting down of the forest also affected climate and rainfall, making it yet more difficult for people to sustain themselves.” [Schele, 1990:322]

As more and more people retreated to the outlying rural areas, competition for land and resources became nearly unbearable. Soon, farmers and their families with nowhere else to go began inhabiting even the most marginal, least desirable lands (see Picture 1) (Hughbanks 1990, 2005; Schele 1990; Sharer 2006). Searching for, procuring, and managing resources became increasingly more difficult as the rugged lowland terrain became less able to support the growing population in areas that were already nearly considered unsuitable to support farming and families.

At the end of the Late Classic, the large Maya states of the lowlands collapsed. Archaeologists hypothesize that the collapse resulted from the culmination of a series of complex events (many of which are either directly or indirectly linked to the management of water in some way), including: climate shift (partially natural, and partially due to advanced environmental degradation from the Maya occupation); the breakup of Maya polities due to a failing faith in the kingships; overpopulation resulting in high competition for scarce resources; drought, and warfare (Sharer 2006). The result of this collapse seems to have been a mass (though possibly gradual) abandonment of the Classic period lowland sites, and a migration to the Northern Yucatan, where new polities emerged (Sharer 2006). While the new states of the Postclassic (AD 900/1100 – 1500) built upon the systems implicated in the Terminal Classic (AD 800-900/1100), especially those of Chichen Itza, the new polities were never able to assert the same...
power and control over the populations as the Classic rulers (Sharer 2006). Moreover, the “middle class” that first appeared in the Classic became a much larger percentage of the overall population in the Postclassic, further suggesting a growing independence from elite site centers (Sharer 2006).

The Search for Land and Water

The combination of the seasonal rainfall with the highly permeable soil and bedrock played a large role in making land and water resource management so difficult during the Late Classic, and thus set up the states of the Late Classic for decline. The first concern in managing resources, naturally, is finding water at all in the dry season when rainfall is not a dependable water source. Any rain that might fall during the dry season was likely to sink directly into the ground rather than collecting on the surface (Sharer 2006). On the other hand, even the rain season can create serious water-related problems. Aside from the fact that rain in the area is not unlikely to come in the form of a hurricane, in bajo areas or any areas with high clay content, water during the rainy season is likely to create densely vegetated swamp areas and cause flooding (Picture 2). In fact, even in areas that were not particularly high in clay content but perhaps on the side of an escarpment or any kind of slope, water runoff can cause flooding problems at sites. The runoff would drown any agriculture at a specific Maya settlement as well as cause even bigger problems for households and their construction (Dunning 1994; Hageman and Lohse 2003; Hughbanks 1998, 2005; Kunen 2001; Lohse and Findlay 2000; Scarborough 1986, 1998; Scarborough et al. 2003; Weiss-Krejci and Sabbas 2002).

Despite the lush vegetation and extreme and vast variations in biodiversity, the landscape that the Maya had to work with made resources continually hard to maintain. Water management, thus, became vital to the growth and sustainability of Maya settlements. Intensive research has been documented in order to explicate the connections between water management and social and political structure, as well as the connections between resource management, social political structure, and the Maya commoners of the Late Classic. Researchers such as Wittfogel, Scarborough, Valdez, and many others have made great contributions to show why water management has become increasingly important in broadening our perspective of the common Maya, but there is little actual focus on the management of water by the common Maya.

Through use of cross-cultural literature, ethnography, historical accounts, and the archaeological record, this thesis aims to: develop the general understanding of how water was managed at the local level; attempt to define how, specifically, water was managed (e.g. at the local level, communal level, corporate level, hierarchical level, etc.) which will contribute to a better
understanding of the social and political organization of the common Maya; and analyze the findings in the literature cited as to bring to light areas in which future research ought to be considered.

Archaeology and Community Level Water Management

“Suppose that the sociopolitical systems in lowland Maya civilization were heterogeneous. We then view the totality not as a society evolving through stages, but rather as a mosaic of societies of shifting size and composition, constantly adapting to one another...From this perspective, variability occurs in the vertical dimension. It involves not only economic access and political power, but perceived values and social organization as well. It is a variability mediated by porous boundaries through which individuals and whole communities are constantly passing.” (Freidel 1983:376)

As mentioned, the archaeological record supports the idea that most water management systems at the local level were actually communally maintained, at least. In her article, Kunen (2001:342) argues at several different points that based on the types, locations, and implementations of agricultural features such as terraces in the lowland bajo regions of Northwestern Belize, intensive agriculture was not managed centrally as by large site-centers, nor was it managed at the small-scale local level. She asserts that while overall consistency and continuity among and between agricultural features is not present – thus suggesting that centralized management was not likely – there seems to be evidence to indicate that they are not associated with one single household, either, which suggests that there must be management occurring somewhere in between.

While Kunen does not focus specifically on water management, she does note the fact that many agricultural features and systems can be implemented incrementally. Combined with Wilken’s notion that water management necessitates more organization and engineering than most agrarian efforts, this implicates that if there is strong enough evidence to support management of agriculture at the community-level or beyond the community-level, than at least the same ought to be considered for the management of water.

The concept that an intermediate polity was conducting resource management has been a widely discussed one in current Maya archaeology. Although different individuals from one article to the next may describe the idea in different ways, the general term for this sociopolitical organization is “Heterarchy,” as described above. Scarborough et al.’s 2005 publication is dedicated to the notion that the way that resources and goods were dealt with beyond the control of the central polities required a ruling class or a corporate group that would enable such practices to be set in motion.

While this concept is discussed in many of the sources dedicated to resource management at the local level (Chase and Chase 2004; Hageman and Lohse 2003; Hughbanks 1998, 2005; Kunen 2001; Lohse and Valdez ed., 2005; Scarborough et al., 2003) Hageman and Lohse (2003:109) describe the role of corporate groups as such: “Corporate groups can control one or more economic resources, and an intragroup administrative hierarchy exists to manage these resources. Resources are owned or controlled by the group as a whole rather than by any of its specific members,” (refer to Figure 8) Examples of such a sociopolitical organization can be seen in all of the recently mentioned works in terms of agriculture, but the focus, here, is water management at the local level rather than agricultural intensification at the local level. Since there is no reason to assume that the management of one is necessarily tied to the management of the other, thus far, questions persist as to whether the mention or description of water management processes in these sources is relevant enough to connect water management to corporate groups as well. However, with a limited understanding of water management in the archaeological record, this is easier said than done.

Perhaps the only sources directly relevant to the topic of water management at the local level are Hughbanks’ 1998 article, and his 2005 dissertation – both centering on the site of Guijarral in Northwestern Belize. In his 1998 research report, Hughbanks says that, “ethnographic studies
show...that the relationship of a growing water system to coordinated authority is not clear (Hunt 1988).” (1998:109). He sites examples that make arguments both in support of correlation between water management and coordinated labor, and arguments against it, claiming that no management of water is needed in certain situations. Overall, however, Hughbanks (1998:110) makes the argument that water and land management systems at the local level, at sites like Guijarral, deserve the same treatment of detail and articulation that is received by sites like Tikal and La Milpa. At the end of this research report, Hughbanks (1998:117) concludes that the site center of Guijarral was the “administrative center for the Guijarral agricultural system,” and claims that at this site the evident social inequality connects Guijarral to the concept of a heterarchical sociopolitical organization.

Hughbanks explores this site and these intuitions further in his 2005 dissertation on the landscape management at this site. Here, Hughbanks (2005:7,9) conveys Guijarral not only as a heterarchically organized site, but as, perhaps, a site that was involved in producing food for a larger population which may have consisted partially of labor specialists. He argues that such an “interdependence” is the reason that heterarchical societies emerge, that heterarchy: “emphasizes the interdependency of human groups and underscores the direction of information and material exchange in arriving at a set of decisions,” (Hughbanks 2005:23). This interdependence, in this case, is discussed in terms of agriculture, but this same concept of independence is seen in several of the ethnographic sources as well, especially in Lansing (1990).

While Hughbanks certainly offers insight into the question of water management at the local level for a Late Classic, lowland Maya site, little else about the water system itself is notable. Truly, the lack of representation water in the archaeological record as a central force of Maya society is problematic, not to mention arguably a huge limiting factor in the larger general understanding of the common ancient Maya.

**Local Level Water Management in the Late Classic Lowlands**

The sources included in this research were included in order to construct a better overall conceptual picture of local-level water management for the Late Classic lowland Maya. While there is not likely to be any uniformity between one water system and the next, the sociopolitical structure surrounding the management of such systems may have had some commonality. Typically, local-level, rural sites are not necessarily connected with the hierarchical systems in place in larger site centers, so water management systems were not likely managed by the rulers of such site centers which was, long ago, the popular belief. The other proposed levels of management, however, were household, communal, and corporate group. While each type of literature (e.g. cross-cultural, ethnographic, historical, or archaeological) has presented evidence in support of one or more of these remaining theoretical models, whether or not one is more probable than another or whether, in fact, all three are likely, remains to be seen.

**Water Management at the Household Level**

Although Kunen (2001) (and others) point out that terraces and other complex land management features are actually manageable at the household level as mentioned above, it was also noted by Wilken (1990) that water management systems require more engineering and maintenance than do terraces which would require suprahousehold labor, and thus labor management. Lohse and Findlay (2000) and Weiss-Krejci and Sabbas (2002) examine particular house lots in order to defend or refute this notion and while Weiss-Krejci and Sabbas’s research results were inconclusive, Lohse and Findlay do, in fact conclude that their case could have been a self-sufficient house lot, though there is no way to know this for certain. Based on this evidence, and the fact that most of the recent articles about household archaeology support the idea of heterarchy, it does not seem likely that the Maya managed their water at the household level during this time period.
Even if the sole in the archaeological record could be enough to sustain the argument that water management occurred at the level of the household, there is absolutely no further evidence to that effect cross-culturally, the ethnographically, or the historically. Lohse and Findlay (2000), again, admit streams and cenotes as water sources for this particular house lot, but the lack of context of the area in which the particular house lot was situated makes it difficult to understand whether or not it was possible that anyone else was also using those water sources. If others were, in fact, using those water sources or contributing to the labor that was necessary for the construction of the canals (etc.) then it would suggest that the house lot was actually, in fact, part of a community, rather than standing alone. On the other hand, Weiss-Krejci and Sabbas (2002) argue that while their studies of small depressions was inconclusive, their survey seemed to show that people were, in fact, settling around cenotes and other water sources.

However, cases where the Maya settled around cenotes were also seen in: Collier 2002; Hanks 1990; Farriss 1984; Redfield and Villa Rojas 1962; Restall 1997; Tozzer 1941; Villa Rojas 1945; Vogt 1969; Wagley 1941, 1949; and Watanabe 1992. Nevertheless, all of the sources in both historical and ethnographic contexts involved some kind of communal involvement or management, and they were recorded at a time in which population pressures and resource limitations were not as much of an issue. This further suggests that perhaps household resource management, at least in terms of water, may not have been as feasible as Lohse and Findlay (2000) and Weiss-Krejci and Sabbas (2002) would suggest.

Even in the discussion of household level terracing, Lohse (2005:129) argues that: “(1) farming was carried out at a scale somewhat larger than house-lot gardening; and (2) many of these terraces were not associated with a single residence, suggesting that cooperative labor was required to construct and maintain these features.” Kunen, in a similar discussion of terraces, also suggests that cooperative labor was probably necessary to maintain such features (Kunen, 2001:332,338) and that, as mentioned above, there was enough continuity in the construction of the terraces across the Rio Bec region to suggest that single households were not responsible for them.

If water systems were probably not managed at the level of the household or hierarchically, then of the proposed models of management, only the communal and the corporate group levels remain.

**Water Management at the Community Level, or Corporate Groups?**

“Lohse...identifies two distinct type of settlement patterns: (1) hierarchically structured corporate groups, and (2) densely settled, structurally more homogeneous “micro-communities.’ Notably, both types of settlement organization are viewed as specific adaptations to environmental circumstances and the requirements of local agriculture.” (Dunning 2005:100)

It is commonly known throughout scientific disciplines that science does not aim to prove, but to disprove, if anything. Certainly this paper cannot necessarily disprove beyond reasonable doubt that the Maya were able to manage water at the household level, though it seems an unlikely practice – the exception, rather than the rule. In this same regard, it would be very difficult in many cases to pick apart the nuances of something as poorly recorded and understood as possible models for ancient Maya local-level water management. Even with a written record, understanding the “habitus,” - as termed by Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1977) - of the Maya and their relationship to water would be difficult. Therefore, the best that can be done at the moment in terms of deciding whether a particular water management system was maintained communally or by a corporate group, especially given a severely limited archaeological record, is to discern the point at which water management at the level of the community is no longer applicable.

Community based water management is exactly that – a water management system that is maintained by the community with everyone doing their part. While power relationships can still exist in
this scenario, there would not be an implication of any significant social inequalities such as any implication as to the presence of a ruling class. Therefore, while a heterarchical sociopolitical organization may be possible for some of the following sources and communal for others, it is important to first discuss the sources in which corporate groups are definitely not mentioned (even if this does not entirely rule them out as a possibility). These will be considered likely candidates for a communally managed water system.

Kunen (2001:332,342-343) discusses the probability of farming communities as an answer to the issue of the coordination of labor for intensified agriculture at several points in her work. However, she also notes that in many cases there was evidence of some kind of managerial entity that accounted for the fact that there was a certain amount of uniformity between the landscape management features across the region. However, none of the other articles in the archaeological literature really suggests cooperative labor – more of them support the model of heterarchy at the local level.

In other sources, however, community based labor and water management is not at all uncommon. In Roys (1972:36-37), he claims that land was actually communal property, though he mentions little about how it was managed. Jones (1998), Collier (1975), and Hanks (1990) also talk about water sources as a communal resource, though in these cases there is mention of some sort of corporate entity managing the labor of and access to these sources, such as the “highly stratified” site centers discussed in Jones (1998:82), or the waterhole groups in Collier (1975).

Again, the evidence here is not convincing, but that does not suggest that resources, especially water, were not or could not have been managed at the community level. Either there might be some other reason (such as cosmology) that might affect the apparent necessity for rulership in terms of water management, or perhaps archaeologists are selective in the evidence that they use to support the heterarchy model and in turn end up arbitrarily erecting this model in cases where it may not fit. Neither case can necessarily be proven, but neither, likewise, can be denied as a possibility. In fact, the inherent cosmological importance of water, water sources, and even water features and its links to rulership throughout the lifeways of the Maya both present and past offers an intriguing answer to the question as to why communally managed water systems are not frequently described in the archaeological record. This, however, is a topic for another paper at another time.

Water Management and Heterarchies or Corporate Groups

Lack of information in support of the appearance of corporate groups in the archaeological literature is certainly not an issue. Chase and Chase’s (2004) article discusses evidence of a “middle class” or a ruling class in the Caracol area; Hughbanks (1998, 2005) cites Guijarral as an example of heterarchy at length; Kunen (2001), as previously discussed, offers evidence in terraces to suggest corporate management; Hageman and Lohse (2003) also discuss Guijarral and The Barba Group (as well as others) in terms of heterarchical societies; Scarborough et al. (2003) have an entire publication in support of this concept; and Lohse and Valdez (2005) also offer a number of articles that directly correspond to this theory.

Most of these have been noted at least briefly, since most of them support a probable theory for water management at the local level using similar and somewhat connected evidence and arguments. However, these are not directly relevant because they are not focused on the water management aspect as much as they focus on landscape management or resource management in general – most of which revolve around the use and construction of terraces and berms.

In regards to the appearance of heterarchies, Dunning (2005:106) says, “Broadly speaking, in the archaeological record corporate groups are manifestations of localized, hierarchically organized social units (Hayden and Cannon 1982).” As much as this is apparent in the archaeological literature, most of the cross-cultural, ethnographic, and historical literature supports this concept as well.
Lansing (1990) and Geertz (1963) both concentrate on Indonesia and mention the role of a ruling class in deciding the division of labor, and in Lansing’s case, who has access to what water sources. In the case of the water temples in Lansing’s work, this is almost a direct mirror of how and why heterarchies have been suggested for the Maya area in terms of the interdependence in materials and resources (Hughbanks 2005). Moreover, in Tozzer’s translation of Landa’s *Relocacion* (1941), and in Restall (1997) social stratification in terms of access to resources is also noted in terms of “governors” (Tozzer 1941:62) or “gubernatorial lineages” (Restall 1997:24).

While some kind of corporate group, rulership, or decision-making entity seems to be present in Collier (1975), Hanks (1990), and Wilken (1990) as well, the most prevalent and most memorable, classic example of such a system is central to Vogt’s 1969 ethnography: *Zinacantan*. As mentioned in the literature review, this ethnography focuses on a group of Maya whose whole social structure is dependent on the system that is in place to manage their water resources. Another insight that comes from Vogt’s work is the fact that this system for water management as well as the correlated sociopolitical structure is constructed around the cosmological importance of water. This, again, relates back to the inherent connection between water and rulership.

While much examination remains necessary in terms of local level water management, heterarchy seems to be a more likely sociopolitical model for local level water management than by individual households or communities. This is supported not only by the already existing archaeological research, but it is also strongly supported by cross-cultural comparisons, ethnographies, and historical accounts as well. It is certainly possible that several models could have been present in areas or regions at one time, as there is no clear evidence to absolutely refute the possibility of household or community-level water management. However, given the information at hand, the heterarchical approach seems to be either the most common or the most likely. Nevertheless, archaeologists still have a lot of research to do in the area of water management at the local level before this model can be adequately supported in the archaeological record.

**Problems and Conclusions:**

Based on the sources that have been examined over the course of this paper, it seems as though the most prominent evidence is that in support of the heterarchy model for local level water management. Heterarchies and communally based water management models are not mutually exclusive, however. They can co-exist in an area at the same time, but if this is the case, then this suggests that some settlements responded to their environment by empowering a corporate, managerial group, while others were maintained self-sufficiently and cut off from the rest of the people in the region without the resource and material interdependence as discussed by Hughbanks (2005) or Lansing (1990). Given the overpopulation and lack of resources thus resulting in such interdependency, it seems more likely that there would have to be some governing entity helping to make decision about the management of water resources, though obviously this still needs further attention.

The fact of the matter is, further archaeological research designed around the focus of local level water management is necessary in order to make comparisons or draw conclusions. While this seems an obvious move based on the works of Wittfogel, Scarborough, and Lucero especially, quite a few reasons exist as to why this might be more easily said than done. The limitation of the archaeological record is only one of many problems in terms of answering the question of how water was managed at the local level.

First of all, a pragmatic problem with the research methods is regrettable: most of the ethnographies were done at highland Maya locations while the archaeological information comes from the lowlands. While it initially seemed to be a problem since natural and constructed watershed systems will be different based on the landscape, this did not statistically or in any other way seem to impact the results. Recorded highland villages using *cenotes* as a main water source seemed to have similar
responses to the management of these water sources as any other village with any other water source. There did not seem to be a direct connection between the kinds of watershed systems and the kind of implemented water management systems. Really, then, this was not as much of an issue as it had seemed, but it still needed to be addressed.

Another issue with the evidence is that aside from not having enough research focusing on water management at the local level, there is simply not enough survey in general. If these sites were really as interconnected and interdependent as has been suggested, then there would need to be some evidence of this on the ground. In order to get this sort of regional survey, it would take an immense amount of effort and labor, a significant amount of money, and/or an considerable amount of time. A better method for discerning the overall picture in a way that makes sense for the interdependency of water management needs to be proposed and executed (which may be, perhaps the next step in terms of this research).

Moreover, once sites, settlements, and features can be identified, there are issues with associations and dating. Just because a number of terraces surround what seems like a probable site center does not mean that all of them are necessarily associated with it (Hughbanks 2005). This is the perhaps one of the more difficult parts of this research. What can be surveyed and identified on the ground is one thing, but being able to associate an array of features and complex systems with particular house lots or a settlement is far more difficult to imagine, practically. There are at least methods in place that would allow this to happen, but again, as one tries to map a concept like inter-site connectivity, this becomes far more difficult, if it can be managed at all. This is especially true since, as Kunen (2001) and others point out – these features are “notoriously” difficult to date because they are often constructed incrementally, and they are constructed from rubble. This makes the placement of feature to site even more convoluted.

Moreover, while it is necessary for this study to make connections between the ancient Maya and the ethno-historical Maya, the Spanish conquest has inevitably changed the lifeways of the Maya since. Less obviously, due to the fact that it is difficult (if not impossible) to write without some bias, the way that authors choose to write about their experiences and encounters with the Maya ought also to be subjected to a certain degree of skepticism. However, although these facts indeed make it difficult to draw the lines from the ancient Maya to the colonial and modern Maya, using ethno-historical cases offers a point of reference and insight for examining the archaeological data. Furthermore, while any such inferences may be taken with a grain of salt, there is reason to believe that while the ancient v. the modern Maya may not be exactly the same, they might still be similar enough to be able to use the ethnographic information to supplement what we cannot take from archaeology alone at this point.

While all of these problems certainly complicate the issue of trying to determine models for water management at the local level, it is only that: a complication. Again, it might be easier said than done to suggest that more survey, dating, and research needs to be done to more clearly identify water management features “in articulation” with local level sites, as Hughbanks argues (1998, 2005). Nevertheless, this has been done in several of the cited archaeological sources in terms of agricultural features and farming systems, so why not the water?

This seems to be the case with most of the archaeological sources used in this research – archaeologists pay attention to landscape modification features as a whole, but very few (if any, in fact) truly attempt to understand how water sources and water systems connect to the sociopolitical organization at this level. This is true, even though there is clearly more than enough evidence in what we know about the present, historical, and pre-Hispanic Maya to suggest that the procurement and management of water played a central role to their cosmology, the structure of their settlements, and the structure of their sociopolitical societies.

In the efforts to compare the archaeological information on water management at the local level to ethno-historical literature from Indonesia, twentieth-century Maya ethnographies, and colonial
era historical literature, the results seem to suggest that while household-level management was unlikely, and community-level management was possible, the most likely and widely supported model for local level water management was at the level of corporate groups. While this not any kind of assertion for a general pattern in water management at the local level, since one may not exist, it will hopefully draw the attention and interests of other archaeologists to, if nothing else, prove it wrong. Thus far, any kind of credible attempt at addressing this issue has turned up almost nothing in terms of answers.

This research is an initial attempt at patching a hole in the archaeological record. If this can eventually be accomplished, it might offer a better understanding not simply of how the common Maya managed water systems, but how it influenced or was influenced by the social and political organizations of the Maya at this level; it can help to understand how interdependent local level sites were at a time of overpopulation and limited resources, which has implications on trade and other resources as well; and it can essentially help in the combined effort to understand more about the nature of the common ancient Maya. In the Popol Vuh and throughout Maya cosmology both past and present, water is not only a vital resource – it is the blood of the gods. Water is a holy, respected, and powerful resource that is highly revered with its own set of associated gods. These connections have already been made by archaeologists such as Scarborough and Lucero in terms of rulers at large site centers like Tikal because it is easy (and nonetheless important) to bear witness to the magnitude of god-rulers, even if it is only in the whispers of ghosts and the rubble of human-made mountains. However, the ruling elite was not the beating heart of the Maya – they were not providing the resources necessary to sustain a civilization even though they did provide the divination necessary for the resources. Most of the Maya were not elite, they were “common,” but that is not to say that they were powerless – they were autonomous, they were capable, they were brilliant in terms of understanding and manipulating their environment, and many of them did it without association with the elite. It makes sense, therefore, that we should give them at least the same respect and attention that we have already given to the elite.
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In the Victorian age, each child brought into the world had the potential to cause injury or death to the mother, and most children did not live to see the age of five. Imagine for me, if you will, a woman. She is middle class. Not a Lady, but still respectable. She is educated, smart, fair, young, and married. The year is 1877.

Now imagine her less fortunate counterpart. This woman is lower class; not educated, not necessarily married, not fair anymore. She is surrounded by children, and she looks defeated and hopeless. The middle class woman has a doctor whom she trusts. She has asked for aid in managing the size of her family. The poor woman cannot afford a doctor. She washes after each time her husband takes her, but it does no good. She still births child after child, and although the women are the same age, the lower class woman looks much older. Here I use The Fruits of Philosophy, a pamphlet on birth control written by Charles Knowlton in 1832, and documents which include opinion columns from the London Times and collections of population data, to look at how Annie Besant and Charles Bradlaugh helped poor women in the late Victorian age.

Into the life of the lower class woman, step Annie Besant and Charles Bradlaugh. Besant and Bradlaugh began their own printing press, Freethought Publishing Company, and with it reprinted the pamphlet The Fruits of Philosophy. Mrs. Besant’s aim in the printing of this pamphlet was twofold. She first and foremost wanted to test the court system. Her secondary reason was to disseminate information about population control to women who would not have ordinarily had access to such information. The pamphlet was priced quite reasonably at 6d, and was sold on the street instead of at any bookseller, thus any one of any station in life could walk up and buy one.

In order to understand Annie Besant’s motives, one must understand the population problem. Most advocates of population control in Victorian England, including Besant and Bradlaugh, were Neo-Malthusians. They loosely followed the philosophy of the Reverend Thomas Robert Malthus who, in 1798, put forth a population projection which was high enough to make people pay attention to the population problem. Malthus had calculated that while the amount of food grows arithmetically, the population grows exponentially and so, if nothing happens to check the growth of population, in only a few decades people would starve and conditions would be miserable, squalid, and disease filled. Malthus argues only for coitus interruptus as a way to experience sexual pleasure without increasing the population; however, Neo-Malthusians were much more advanced in their methods for preventing conception. In the reprinted pamphlet, The Fruits of Philosophy, there is discussion of how both the female and male reproductive systems work, of how one can excite the passions and stimulate conception for those who are barren through no physical defect, how to prevent conception, and a discussion on how and when the sexual desires should and should not be satisfied.

While many moralists of the time believed that contraception would lead to promiscuity and an increase in prostitution and venereal disease, there is little to suggest that the available information did anything more than give wives the ability to control the size of their families. Although the easiest way to prevent the birth of children was strict abstinence this often caused alienation of affections between spouses. Also, with the economic depression of the 1870’s the biblical commandment to “be fruitful and multiply” no longer seemed as important as being able to feed ones children. The poor of Victorian London were ready to turn to other methods. Among those methods advocated by Knowlton were withdrawal; the baudruche, a primitive condom; a sea sponge soaked in water; and “...syringe
the vagina immediately after connection, with a solution of sulphate of zinc, of alum, pearl-ash, or any salt that acts chemically on the semen.  While abortion was also used as a form of contraception, neither Malthus nor Knowlton advocated its use.  No mention of religion or morality or the sin of pleasure occurs in The Fruits of Philosophy. The Neo-Malthusians were organized around the premise of radical social reform and centered on the thought that, “‘Prophylactic intercourse alone and unaided is fully sufficient to eliminate poverty,’” as stated by the historian Richard Lewinsohn. The pamphlet was meant to be informative and direct, a doctor talking to his patient, not lewd or obscene, which is why when Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant began selling it, they sent a note to the police daring the police to arrest them. The police obliged.

Their trial began on 19 April 1877. Retaining no solicitor, Bradlaugh and Besant chose to defend themselves against the charge of publishing and distributing an obscene book. While the trial lasted for five days and drew a crowd of thousands, no women except Besant remained in the courtroom. With one exception, feminists of the era shied away from the trial believing it would hurt, rather than help, their cause. The exception to this was a witness for the defendants, “Miss Alice Vickery (who later became Mrs. Charles Robert Drysdale and President of the Malthusian League).” Fortunately for Bradlaugh and Besant, the prosecution did not have much evidence for the pamphlet being obscene. The prosecution, led by London’s Solicitor General, attempted to find fault with The Fruits of Philosophy by stating that it would be used to promote promiscuity by advocating protected sexual behavior. As there was no evidence for this in the text, the Lord Chief Justice denied his premise. The next objection of the prosecution was that the pamphlet was easy to read and understand, and cheap. He tried to define the law by “(...)declaring that it was illegal to issue a work(...)’in plain English, in a facile form, and sold...at sixpence.” In the verdict the jury returned that the book itself was improper, however, the defendants had no improper motives for publishing it. However, they may have been lenient, for Bradlaugh was the editor of The National Reformer, and in publishing the pamphlet was picking up the challenge thrown out by the country by asking for proof about the question, was it legal to disseminate birth control literature? Unfortunately for Bradlaugh and Besant, this was officially a verdict of guilty and they were released on their own recognizance, but told to stop all publication. They refused to suspend publication and were subsequently fined and sentenced to six months in prison. The sentence was suspended when notice was given of appeal. The appeal succeeded and the sentence was overturned in 1878.

There were two main results of the trial. The first was an actual reduction in population growth. Birth rates from 1871-1875 averaged 35.5/thousand in England and Wales. After 1886 it declined 4.2 births per thousand. While one historical perspective, held by Colin Matthew, lays the population reduction mostly at the feet of the economic downturn, I believe that the breaking of the taboo surrounding birth control literature, coupled with the depressed economy rendering children more of a burden than a blessing, led to married couples making more of an effort to limit the size of their families. The Factory and Education Acts, of 1874 and 1870-1880 respectively, contributed to place an economic burden on families that bore more children than they could reasonably afford. The Factory Act made it illegal for children under a certain age to work, leading to reduced income and increased expense for large families. The Education Acts required children to be in school for more years, requiring additional resources be spent on clothing, shoes, and school supplies, and increasing the time before which the child could contribute to the family income. Given that under harsh economic circumstances many children would necessarily have been a burden, information about how to limit conception would have come as a boon to all women, especially those of the middle and lower classes.

The second result of the trial was the renewal of the Malthusian League. Charles Bradlaugh was a Malthusian for the entirety of his adult life and had published The National Reformer for the Neo-Malthusians beginning in 1860. The League, incited by Bradlaugh and Besant during their trial, existed to spread Neo-Malthusian sentiment in the form of lobbies for striking from the books laws dealing with
distribution of literature on the population concern and dissemination of the literature in question. Having on its board a doctor, the league opened a medical practice in 1881 where it proceeded to give medical instruction and opinions on contraception. Annie Besant was recording secretary for the League until 1891.

To understand the vehemence with which Annie Besant defended and then abandoned her stance on contraception, it is necessary to digress for just a moment into her history. The daughter of a doctor who died when she was five, Besant was given to a teacher, Miss Ellen Marryat, as a companion. As Miss Marryat’s companion, Besant received an education comparable to the education a boy would receive, with tutelage in three foreign languages as well as history, theology, and geography. Her education concluded with travel abroad. During that time, those who knew Besant described her as having a Martyr complex and being deeply religious. Married in 1867 to the Rev. Frank Besant, she bore him two children. Their marriage quickly fell apart when they differed on the issue of contraception and they legally separated in 1873. The dissolution of her marriage, (and possibly post-partum depression) led Besant to renounce her Christianity and become a staunch Atheist and advocate of Neo-Malthusian birth control. During the rest of her public career Besant championed many downtrodden groups including militant suffragettes, and Indian separatists. She was the founder of the Fabian movement, which was the movement to bring about social reform gradually instead of by revolution. She never stopped advancing her education, even when her outspokenness barred her from officially receiving her degree. However, Besant abandoned the cause of birth control in 1891 when, having moved to India and begun population reform there, she embraced the teachings of Madam Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and became a Theosophist. The reincarnative teachings of Theosophistry preclude any method of controlling birth, as to control birth is to thwart reincarnation. It is evident that whatever cause Besant focused on, she gave it her entire attention and resources until the next cause caught her attention.

It seems, historically speaking, that after every swell there is a receding, and that there are historical reasons for each receding. In the case of the Bradlaugh/Besant trial, the fact that the laws concerning birth control were taken off the books shortly thereafter, influenced the receding population problem, according to Chandrasekhar. However, a theory quite popular in its inception may soon be abandoned for changing ideological reasons or as too much effort. Although by the latter third of her life Besant had abandoned contraception, she still championed woman’s rights, and I believe would have been vastly surprised by the lapse in revolutionary action and contraceptive knowledge between 1930 and 1970. While in England population growth leveled off at 15.1/thousand in 1935, and in America growth declined due to the Great Depression, in both populations growth jumped in the years following World War II and preceding the introduction of the oral contraception. It seems that once the information became readily available women used it for a while, and then abandoned it. The American birth control revolution, in the 1960s to 1970s, provides a parallel with England’s earlier revolution as certain trials of the day, for example Roe v Wade, created a precedent for enforcing women’s rights. Nicole Hollander, who writes the comic Sylvia, recalls the time before the sexual revolution:

I think the non-availability of birth control was the most effective anti-birth control information – my girlfriends and I would have paid no attention to anti-propaganda. And later we associated it with fundamentalism and anti-feminism and we thought they were pathetic.

However, with oral contraception came the sexual revolution and the lapse in standard Christian morality that the church and law of Victoria’s day worried about. Hemlines raced higher without the benefit of Bloomers barring the eyes from an illicit glance of limb. Women could be sexually free and free from conception at the same time, within marriage or without it. Because of the ease by which one could avoid conception, disease skyrocketed. The spread of disease could have been partially checked...
by the use of methods in *The Fruits of Philosophy*, however these methods were messy, time consuming, disgusting, and despite the author using certain “checks” to make sure his methods worked, they were not as accurate as Knowlton thought. According to Hollander, condoms, which would check the spread of disease where the pill would not, posed a problem as “men complained, whined about using them and they were unreliable.” Also, with the pressure on women being social instead of economic, there was a tendency to forget or to ignore the risks. Sometimes women were not careful they were, “just lucky.”

My findings indicate that although Besant was not particularly devoted to the cause of birth control, her activities on behalf of women’s rights and Bradlaugh’s activism and access to a printing press helped revolutionize the British outlook on prevention of pregnancy and care for the underprivileged. Thus by looking at census data from the United States and Britain, one can see how the availability of contraceptive information changed the population growth patterns of each. Despite her change of mind, Annie Besant effected a great change in the reproductive rights of women, even though as a result of the trial, Besant lost custody of her two children. Bradlaugh and Besant were instrumental in providing lower class women recourse to information concerning the internal workings of male and female reproductive organs which was accurate for the time. Bradlaugh’s influence on the League of Neo-Malthusians got doctors involved and provided care for underprivileged women. Besant succeeded in changing the laws of her time which opened up meaningful discourse on a woman’s control over her own body.
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ENDNOTES

i (Chandrasekhar, 89). This begins a reprinting of The Fruits of Philosophy in its entirety. In future footnotes I will simply refer to either Besant with the proper page number if the note refers to an editors note, or to Knowlton and the appropriate page number if the note refers to the text of the pamphlet.

ii (Chandrasekhar, 89).

iii (Chandrasekhar, 38).

iv (Matthew, 165).

v (Matthew, 166).

vi (Knowlton, 89-153).

vii (Banks, 98-100), (Soloway, 98-111). Also note that many women of the time were prostitutes for a short period, for financial reasons, before going on to make semi-respectable marriages.

viii (Stone, 261)

ix (Knowlton, 137-138). The baudruche would have been a skin or membrane of some sort formed to the shape of the penis and sewed up the side, contributing to its' lack of efficacy. The syringing of the vagina, if done quickly enough, would have been much more effective as the agents mentioned all worked by constriction of the tissues, which in the case of the cervix would not allow passage of the sperm.

x Both chemical and physical abortions were performed at the time, and both had the potential to be deadly to the mother as well as the child. Physical abortions would be the equivalent of the modern “coat-hanger” abortion, and chemical abortions were performed using any abortifacient, a chemical which, when taken internally, would cause the uterus to contract violently.

xi (Lewinsohn and Trans. Mayce, 320).

xii (Chandrasekhar, 37).

xiii (Anonymous 1877).

xiv (Chandrasekhar, 38).

xv (Chandrasekhar, 39-40). The ellipses' in parentheses are added by me. The ellipsis without parenthesis is quoted from the text.

xvi (Lewinsohn and Trans. Mayce, 317).

xvii (Chandrasekhar, 40-41).

xviii (Chandrasekhar, 47).

xix (Matthew, 165).

xx (Soloway, 53), (Ittmann, 204-205), (Census 2000). A distinct correlation can be seen in the United States birth rate when comparing census data from 1957 to 1969. The percentage annual change in population is 1.81 in 1957 and is halved, (.98), in 1969. Between 1969 and 1999, (the last year for which statistics are available), the population change fluctuates between 1.26 and .90, never going as high as before the advent of the birth control pill.

xxi (Chandrasekhar, 28).

xxii (Chandrasekhar, 50)

xxiii This is merely speculation on my part.

xxiv (Besant, A Plea For The Militant Policy: letter to the editor 1912).

xxv (Chandrasekhar, 29-63).

xxvi (Chandrasekhar, 45-46).

xxvii (Besant, A Plea For The Militant Policy: letter to the editor 1912).

xxviii (Hollander, Interview with Nicole Hollander 2008).

xxix (Knowlton, 89-147).

xxx (Hollander, Interview with Nicole Hollander 2008)

xxxi (Hollander, Interview with Nicole Hollander 2008)
Abstract

Attention deficit hyperactivity disorder has been a prominent neurobiological disorder affecting children of all ages. The current prevalence of ADHD amongst children is unknown due to whether individuals are seeking treatment for this condition. Epidemiological studies suggest that there is a sex difference regarding a higher occurrence of ADHD amongst boys than for girls. Although this is a prominent thought new research shows that boys have a higher rate of comorbid conditions; once these conditions are controlled the prevalence is the same for both boys and girls. Medication use for ADHD is on the rise. In previous decades the only available medication for ADHD was a stimulant methylphenidate known as Ritalin. Today there are numerous additions of FDA approved and non FDA approved medications for the symptoms of ADHD. Upgraded versions of methylphenidate, amphetamines, and non stimulants are all FDA approved for use in ADHD. Under methylphenidate typical medications prescribed are Concerta, Metadate CD, Ritalin LA, Focalin XR, Daytrana, and Methylin ER. Under amphetamines medications prescribed are Adderall, Adderall XR, and Decedrine. Under non stimulant medication used is Atomoxetine (Strattera). Non FDA approved medications used are Tricyclic anti depressants, Fluoxetine (Prozac), Buspirone (Buspar), Bupropion SR, Clonidine. These medications have helped symptoms of ADHD but are not approved for the purpose of ADHD. Deciphering which medication to prescribe has always had considerable controversy. Each type of medication comes with side effects that are common and considered less severe and some with the possibility of more critical side effects such as hallucinations and cardiovascular conditions. With an outstanding amount of concern for doctors who misdiagnose it is difficult to say whether each clinician is capable of diagnosing ADHD properly. Determining if this is a factor there were two interviews conducted with both a nurse practitioner and psychologist to understand their thoughts and insight on ADHD medication.

It is not unusual for children to be energetic, impulsive, and active as they explore the world around them. Some children display higher levels of activity that are not in range with their age group. For the purpose of this research the term children pertains to 7-12 age range. These children cannot hold interest or attention to activities or goals as well as their peers. Children that function in this manner will have a lifetime of hardships in relation to their cognitive, social, academic, and familial life.

Throughout history many individuals including Shakespeare and Heinrich Hoffman, a German poet, have noted children that display these characteristics. William James was first in further discussing the behavior of these children in Principles of Psychology. George Still took a more serious look at Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) in three lectures he gave before the Royal Academy of Physicians. Interest in these children arose in North America after the great encephalitis epidemics of 1917-1918 (Mash & Barkley, 2003). After surviving encephalitis many children had behavioral problems resembling those seen in what is now termed ADHD. It was thought that the behavioral problems arose due to head trauma or injury. This concept evolved into that of “minimal brain damage” and eventually “minimal brain dysfunction” as challenges were raised to the label in view of the dearth of evidence of obvious brain injury in most cases (Mash & Barkley, 2003). By the late 1950s, focus shifted away from etiology and toward the more specific behavior of hyperactivity and poor impulse control characterizing these children, reflected in labels such as “hyperkinetic impulse
disorder” or “hyperactive child syndrome” (Mash & Barkley, 2003). The influence of psychoanalytic thought prevailed over the belief from researchers and clinicians that the behavior may have been neurologically based. When the second edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders appeared, all childhood disorders were described as “reactions”, and the hyperactive child syndrome became “hyperkinetic reaction of childhood” (American Psychiatric Association, 1968). Research began emphasizing problems with attention and impulse control in addition to hyperactivity in the 1970s. This led to the renaming of the disorder when the DSM-III came out in 1980. The disorder was renamed “attention deficit disorder”. The DSM-III split ADD into two groups, one with hyperactivity, and one without. Concern arose within a few years of the creation of the label ADD that the important features of hyperactivity and impulse control were being deemphasized, when in fact they were critically important to differentiating the disorder from other conditions and to predicting later developmental risks. (Mash & Barkley, 2003). When the DSM-III-R was published “attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder” was separated from ADD.

Estimating the number of children who have had ADHD diagnosed and are currently taking medication for the disorder is an important step toward understanding the overall burden of ADHD in the United States (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2005). Population-based data on the prevalence of medication treatment for attention-deficit-hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) are limited (Rowland et al. 2002). Szatmari (1992) reviewed the findings of six large epidemiological studies that identified cases of ADHD within these samples (Mash & Barkley, 2003). The prevalence found in these studies ranged from a low 2% to a high of 6.3%, with most falling within the range of 4.3% to 6.3% (Mash & Barkley, 2003). Differences in age and sex also affect prevalence. On average, male children are between 2.5 and 5.6 times more likely than female children to be diagnosed as having ADHD within epidemiological samples, with the average being 3:1 (Mash & Barkley, 2003). Some researchers theorize that this might be because boys are likely to have a comorbid disorder such as ODD or CD. Szatmari’s (1992) finding that sex differences were no longer associated with the occurrence of ADHD, once other comorbid conditions were controlled for in statistical analyses, implies that this may be the case (Mash & Barkley, 2003). According to the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences, school and public health officials may be greatly underestimating the public health impact of childhood ADHD (The Brown University Child and Adolescent Behavior Letter, 2002). Researchers at the NIEHS in North Carolina reported that when they surveyed parents in a typical county of rural and suburban communities- Johnston County, N.C. - the parents reported that more than 15 percent of boys in grades 1 through 5 had a diagnosis of ADHD (The Brown University Child and Adolescent Behavior Letter, 2002). The author of the study cited a report from the primary care network that suggests that 62 percent of primary care physicians do not use DSM criteria to diagnose ADHD (The Brown University Child and Adolescent Behavior Letter, 2002).

Advances in new treatment options for attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) provide clinicians with more choices for treatment (The Brown University Child and Adolescent Psychopharmacology, 2003). Children have trouble paying attention in their scholastic endeavors when afflicted with ADHD. This makes choosing an effective treatment an important clinical decision that has become increasingly complicated due to the rapid development of new ADHD therapies (The Brown University Child and Adolescent Psychopharmacology, 2003).

There are many different types of medicine involved in managing ADHD. Deciding which medicine should be used to treat a child with ADHD can be difficult. Previous decades have only had the option of Ritalin or a generic version of Ritalin. Now there are numerous choices that can be taken through pills, mists, and capsules that can be sprinkled on food and in liquids. There are many things to consider when picking the method of treatment for a child. Besides whether or not they can swallow pills there are many other factors that come into play. Some children only need a dosage in the morning; others might need a constant dose of medicine throughout the day. These medicines were
created in both time release which can be effective throughout the day and immediate release that can
be taken as a once daily dose in the mornings. Many of the newer medicines only need to be taken once
a day. This can also help children with the social stigma of taking medication at school. Stimulants
include different forms of methylphenidate and amphetamine and they are available in short,
intermediate and long acting forms. Most of the time stimulants will work to control ADHD. Since some
of these drugs work on some individuals and not others, children are usually started on a low dosage of
stimulant. The dosage is then raised about every week until the doctor receives the wanted affect. In
cases where the first stimulant does not help, the child will be taken off the stimulant and switched to
another formulation of stimulant. In the event that stimulants do not work, there is the option of
amphetamines or non stimulants.

As stated previously before, initial medicinal treatment should be conducted as a trial with an
agent that is first approved by the FDA (Pliszka, 2007). Medications approved by the FDA include
methylphenidates (MPH), amphetamines, and non stimulant medications. “Randomized, controlled
trials have consistently demonstrated the efficacy of stimulants for reducing the core symptoms of
hyperactivity, impulsivity, and inattention” (Lopez, 2006). The stimulant that accounts for the majority
of prescribed medications for ADHD is methylphenidates. Methylphenidate is medication that
stimulates the Central Nervous System much like amphetamines but its action is not as strong.
Methylphenidate increases dopamine levels in the brain in order to boost concentration and reduce
hyperactivity and impulsive behavior. Under the category of methylphenidates there is an extensive list
of medications which include Concerta, Metadate CD, Ritalin LA, Focalin XR, Daytrana, and Methylin ER
(Julien, 2005). Most of these medications have undergone changes that result in more options of short
and long acting formulas. One such medicine known as Concerta is effective for 8 to 12 hours.
Medication Ritalin has improved to newer versions such as Ritalin LA that has an increased effect of
reducing ADHD symptoms than previously before. Under the category of amphetamines there are
medications such as Adderall, Adderall XR, and Decedrine. There are also long acting and short acting
formulas (Julien, 2005). This medication is a psychostimulant which affects levels of norepinephrine,
serotonin, and dopamine. In recent studies the effects of Adderall showed to last longer and were
preferred over methylphenidates. Under the category of Non stimulant medications there is
Atomoxetine (Strattera) (Julien, 2005). It is unknown how Atomoxetine helps reduce ADHD symptoms
but scientists believe it affects neurotransmitters in the brain referred to as norepinephrine and
epinephrine. These neurotransmitters regulate attention, impulsivity and activity levels. Due to
Atomoxetine decreasing these levels it is a good agent for decreasing symptoms of ADHD. This non
stimulant is a twenty-four hour medication, making its effects last longer than stimulants.

In the event that FDA approved stimulants are not effective for the patient the choice of non
FDA approved medications are an option. These medications are used to treat ADHD but are not
approved by FDA for the purpose of ADHD. These medications include anti-depressants known as
Tricyclic anti depressants, Fluoxetine (Prozac), Buspirone (Buspar), Bupropion SR, and high blood
pressure medication known as Clonidine (Julien, 2005). Trials have tested the effectiveness of non FDA
approved medications and results implicate that these medications are not as strong as FDA approved
medications. Due to this clinicians are recommended to provide behavior therapy either before
prescribing non FDA approved medications or along with these medications. For parents who are
concerned with giving stimulant medication to their child this may be a better option for them as well.

Medication use amongst children has always created a controversy. A major issue regarding
medication distribution is due to possible side effects. In order for the best possible outcome clinicians
need to prescribe the lowest effective dose possible when first giving medication and maintain a close
observation. Inevitably, side effects will occur regardless of approval by the FDA. Stimulant medications
such as methylphenidate have been the most researched and longest used. Its most common side
effects are “appetite suppression, weight loss” (Myers, 2003). Other symptoms are insomnia, abdominal
There are also numerous reports of expected tics, cardiovascular issues, and height and weight deficits (Pliszka, 2007). Studies have concluded that there is a small but significant deficit in the growth of children while taking methylphenidate based medication. “Effects on all parameters of growth were most apparent during the first year of treatment and attenuated over time” (Faraone, 2007). Cardiovascular issues such as heart attack, stroke, and sudden death have been a cause for concern (Lynn, 2007). Even with the patient taking the recommended dosage this can be an effect. This has been seen in children with or without diagnosed cardiovascular issues. There are other issues concerning ADHD medication that have been documented which include unwarranted suspicion, auditory hallucinations, and suicidal thoughts (Pliszka, 2007). These are effects seen in patients that have not been diagnosed with prior psychiatric issues. Proper information on previous cardiovascular or psychiatric conditions must be taken into consideration before prescribing such medications. The chances of these issues are higher if a child has already been diagnosed. The chances of these severe effects are minimal compared to the primary effects shown with ADHD medication. Side effects of amphetamines include excessive stimulation of the nervous system leading to restlessness, nervousness, dizziness, excitability, headache, fear, tremors, anxiety, and even hallucinations and convulsions (Pliszka, 2007).

Atomoxetine primary side effects included gastrointestinal distress, sedation, and decreased appetite (Pliszka, 2007). Non FDA approved medications side effects are dry mouth, sedation, constipation, changes in vision, mild insomnia, appetite suppression, dizziness, and hypotension upset stomach, decreased appetite, nausea and vomiting, tiredness, and mood swings (Pliszka, 2007).

The immediate need for medication to solve mental health issues provides the opportunity for a misdiagnosis. Unfortunately there are many doctors whether they are child psychologists, family practitioners, or nurse practitioners that provide malpractice. Many may believe doctors can be trusted and provide proper health care for each individual. In some instances this is not the case. There are a growing number of children who are diagnosed with ADHD whom do not have this disorder. Family practitioners and psychologists use different tools when assessing children. Family practitioners use scales such as the Conner Scale which is not a sufficient tool. Psychologist use the DSM which provides criteria that needs to be met for an extended period of time in order for ADHD to be diagnosed. With different clinicians using different tools to assess, this causes controversy regarding which is right. Research conducted in two cities within southeastern Virginia wanted too see how drug therapy was used amongst children in grades 2 through 5. It states that “these findings suggest that criteria for diagnosis of ADHD vary substantially across US populations, with potential over diagnosis and overtreatment of ADHD in some groups of children” (LeFever, 1999).

Interviews conducted with both a nurse practitioner and psychologist has put valuable insight to medication use amongst children with ADHD. In the interview conducted with the nurse practitioner she has done extensive work with children affected with ADHD. The clinic where she practices does not prescribe medication without the proper diagnosis of ADHD. A question of what this center considers to be a proper diagnosis is an important aspect. What was stated as a proper diagnosis was the collection of extensive research on the child’s behavioral history from both the home and school. The use of the Conner scale is considered to be a good diagnostic tool and incorporates a limited amount of criteria within the DSM. There are both parent and teacher versions, while the parent version enlists 80 questions and the teacher version enlist 59 questions. Once the child is diagnosed with ADHD it is a practice that the child who is old enough to understand be involved in the conference that will go over the findings. Medication distribution is then based on what they believe may work for that individual child. At this clinic there has been no particular medication that has shown to be more effective. It is based solely on the individual and their particular issues. There may be the decision to use medication alone, or with the addition of talk therapy and counseling. At the beginning of medication distribution a low dosage is prescribed and with careful observation thereafter. This particular nurse practitioner has
seen the regular side effects with each of these medications. If a serious issue continues to occur, the dosage intake will be lowered and eventually if there is a continuance there will be a switch in medications. This nurse practitioner has not been involved in any cases pertaining to hallucinations or suicidal thoughts. There have been instances where children have displayed tics; although there is no assurance that it was due to ADHD medication the prominence of this occurrence was said to be most likely due to the child having tics already. Other side effects seen in personal cases include depression, anger, and irritability. Overall this nurse practitioner firmly believes in medication to help the symptoms of ADHD. Some cases have proven to be of immediate help and enormous gratitude from the child’s parents. While other cases seen have displayed enough help to maintain an adequate life for the child. The nurse practitioner believes that either doctors or psychologists are capable of properly assessing and diagnosing children with ADHD. The claim is that there is enough “clean cut criteria and reliable instruments, therefore the diagnosis should be fine”.

In the interview with the psychologist she has done extensive work with children with ADHD as well. Assessing and diagnosing children with ADHD involves DSM criteria and careful observation of the child in its natural state more than a few times. For this psychologist there is a belief that the prevalence has and will continue to increase due to a shortage of professional knowledge on ADHD through the work of family practitioners. Scales used by some family practitioners are not sufficient enough tools and there needs to be extensive observation of the child more than once. In fact it is considered that a good clinician would refer the family to a psychologist. Other circumstances for the increase of children with ADHD include families that have no idea how to control their child and believe that ADHD medication will be a “quick fix” for these problems. This psychologist displays great concern for the number of children who are diagnosed with ADHD and hopes it will not increase due to misdiagnosis. As stated “If it were my child I would get two or three opinions before I decide to give them medication”. With side effects there was actually a greater concern for regular side effects than there were for potentially harmful side effects such as hallucinations or suicidal thoughts due to its rarity. “There needs to be a cause for concern with the regular side effects. ADHD is not good for the heart; it raises blood pressure, and does have an effect on the growth and weight of a child”. In order to help relieve side effects some psychologists believe in what is called drug free vacations. This is where the child will take medication throughout the week when in school but during the weekend take a lower dose or no dose. Another option is taking medication throughout the school year and lowering or eliminating the dosage during the summer. During the summer especially is a perfect time to allow the child to work out their extra energy to where they can function and focus the same as a child without ADHD. It will also allow time to see if the child no longer needs medication. In accumulation to working among children with ADHD, this psychologist has additional neurological knowledge. With this being a factor another issue of concern is the damage medication has on the brain. “Medication for ADHD is the same as given a low dose of cocaine within a pill.” Asking whether it was known what areas of the brain are affected by ADHD, she stated “there are not many studies of which areas of the brain are affected by ADHD, but there is knowledge of potential brain stem damage and the reticular activating system.” This psychologist overall believes in the relief that medication provides, but feels that it is too easily prescribed. When asked if any clinician could prescribe ADHD medication her views were the same in that it is a tough statement to say that any clinician could prescribe medications. Family practitioners are the most likely to make this mistake and that child psychologists may be the best option. This does not go to say that all family practitioners or other psychologists are not capable of making a proper diagnosis; they just need sufficient enough information and knowledge to make that decision.

**Discussion**

ADHD amongst children has had a broad examination conducted throughout history. Until recent years researchers have not had an in depth understanding of what ADHD is, how medication can
be used, and how both affect the body. There is still a need for a comprehensive exploration to be done in certain areas of this disorder for a better understanding. This includes the areas affected in the brain by ADHD, so that it is certain this can be considered a neurobiological disorder. Another issue for concern is the medications effects on the brain, and long term effects from each medication. Although there are numerous tools to help assess and diagnosis there is still a main apprehension for misdiagnosing. These concerns need to be met by providing strict guidelines for all clinicians to abide by. Allowing clinicians to choose which diagnostic tool they prefer leaves room for error. Clinicians will debate which tool is better in proving the child in question has ADHD. Public opinions belief on ADHD is that of a cultural condition. For them, it is not real and thus places a considerable controversy on these issues. Information provided by The Center for Disease Control states “because of increasing concern and awareness among health professionals and the public alike, CDC’s National Center on Birth Defects and Developmental Disabilities (NCBDDD) is funding a joint collaboration research project with the University of South Carolina and the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center to conduct population based research on ADHD among school-aged children. This research will be able to respond to these questions that still exist.

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With the publication of *A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, “Indian captivity narratives” became an American phenomenon and, arguably, the first purely American literary genre. A best-seller in its day, Mary Rowlandson’s narrative paved the way for hundreds of subsequent Indian captivity narratives, some written by men, but most of which document a woman’s experience. Prominent male members of the ex-captives’ communities saw the narratives as an excellent medium to convey a meaningful message to a wide audience. The most common messages exemplified in the narratives were the glorification of God, the brutality of the savage, and the goodness of white society. However, while the male editors of women’s captivity narratives attempted to mold the captives’ experiences into the epitome of the social and moral ideas of the age, the voices of the women heard through the text often contradicts that agenda. Though the captive often professes her unerring belief in the messages told by her editor, those professions often come strongest in the introduction, beginning and conclusion; deeper within the text, there is evidence that she feels contrary to those statements. To fully understand the messages the male editors were trying to convey, the social and racial molds—and the reasons for those molds—must be examined.

In most cultures, women have been considered the passive sex, and Christian Anglo-Saxon societies are certainly no exception. Early Americans were characteristically pious and most were Protestant. Therefore, they relied heavily upon the word of God. Genesis provides an excellent study to trace the rudiments of Christian ideas of women. Eve is essentially the author of “original sin” and is the reason she and Adam were ejected from the Garden of Eden. Since Eve’s destructive display of weakness, it was deemed proper that Christian women be silent, obedient and passive lest they cause any more damage through their frailty of mind. This idea was still strong in the Christian mentality during the discovery of America. In fact, the colonization of America drew mythical comparisons to Genesis, with men and women colonists charged with the task of forging this new “Garden of Eden” into a livable paradise. It was the woman’s opportunity to redeem herself.

In addition to the “weaker vessel” reasoning, the Bible explicitly states the necessity of female subordination to males: “But I would have you know that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man, and the head of Christ is God.” Man was made in the image of God, and woman was made in the image of man, thus she must remain forever beneath man. Also, the punishments inflicted by God after Eve’s betrayal had a great deal to do with the perception of women’s proper place: her pain in childbirth was increased. This secured her role as a matron, and that is where she would stay until the twentieth century. And that is where male editors of captivity narratives worked hard to keep her, even in light of some very un-feminine actions the captives performed.

The racism practiced by European colonists against Indians is by no means unusual. Indians were naturally physically different, and while there was nothing stronger than nature, there also was nothing better than culture (that is, Anglo-Saxon culture), and any being who did not physically resemble Anglo-Saxons could not be a part of that culture. So, Indians were incapable of participating in the “blessings” of white society because nature had dictated that it should be so. The fundamental differences between whites and natives could never be overcome. This reasoning may also be tied to the “man made in God’s image” argument that affected women. According to scholars Elizabeth and Stuart Ewen, a mainspring in early racism was the belief that peoples who had lost their belief in God after the creation of universe had also lost their likeness to God. Caucasians were the pinnacle of creation, and any non-
Caucasian race had fallen from the grace of whiteness. So Asians, Africans and Indians and race that looked different from the Anglo-Saxon ideal had been forsaken by God for their disbelief; they were specifically punished by Him. This vindicated any injustices against non-whites. From this evidence, it is difficult to imagine Europeans ever considering themselves anything near equal with those of different races.

While there were certain groups of people in the Americas who coexisted peacefully with the Indians, the majority of colonists warred with Indian tribes, especially during the westward expansion, when the majority of captivity narratives take place. An inevitable conflict would take place when white colonists attempted to settle on land that Indians believed rightfully belonged to them, and raids and skirmishes became fairly common. Stories of the atrocities committed by Indians upon raiding a homestead were widely circulated, and the fear of such a raid would send families into nervous hysterics at the sound of a strange noise at night. Because of the danger Indians presented to their families, and simply their supposed degenerate characteristics, many colonists who had settled in the west believed that Indians were a threat to the social order and general goodness of white society. As a result, many western colonists were advocates of Indian extermination.

As previously noted, the males who served as editors to and writers of women’s Indian captivity narratives saw the captive’s stories as a perfect opportunity to convey and reinforce social and moral messages. Almost invariably, the narratives were written within the context of what scholar Christopher Castiglia calls an “interpretive frame.” The narratives start with the attack and abduction, described in stark detail (most likely to elicit sympathy from the reader, and to give the text authenticity), then the miserable hike to the Indian camp during which the woman mourns her familial losses; after that, it documents the woman’s experiences within the Indian camp, and finally, her recovery and reentry into the “blessings of white society.” This predictable and easily comprehensible “frame” provided the perfect formula for editors to clearly convey the messages they wished to.

One of the contradictions in the narratives is most evident in the narratives written in early colonial America: the greatness of God. The earliest captivity narratives were essentially religious documents, as can be seen in the titles: Mary Rowlandson’s narrative was originally published in 1682 as The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, Hannah Dustan’s story was first published in 1702 in Cotton Mather’s Magnalia Christi Americana: Or, the Ecclesiastical History of New England, and Elizabeth’s Hanson’s story is titled God’s Mercy Surmounting Man’s Cruelty, Exemplified in the Captivity and Redemption of Elizabeth Hanson, published in 1728. Rowlandson, the wife of a Lancaster minister, was obviously deeply pious. She includes her late husband’s last sermon in her text, and attributes nearly everything good that happens to her to the grace of God in the beginning of her narrative. It is most interesting to note that, when in the Indian camp, Rowlandson begins by necessity to break the white social molds, she attributes much fewer of the favors she receives to God. Rowlandson learns that she can survive by trading her sewing skills for food and money; when she enters into this enterprise system, she is, of course, not behaving in a “proper” manner, as it was indecent for a woman to make her own earnings. She is unapologetic in this, even noting bitterly when an Indian failed to pay her for her services. More importantly, she mentions nothing of God’s grace in her preservation once she learns how to survive using her own skills.

Hannah Dustan’s narrative caused her editor, the distinguished puritan minister Cotton Mather, some trouble. If Mary Rowlandson broke rules by practicing her form of capitalism, Hannah Dustan could hardly be considered decent after she killed her captors in their sleep, then proceeded to scalp them. However, Mather works hard to mold Dustan’s experience into a story of a triumph of Puritan ideals over savage heathenness, and throughout the brief text God’s grace is the basis for nearly everything. So by transferring the actions from the conscious brutality of Dustan to the guiding hand of God, Mather was able to not only render Dustan innocent of accusations of indecency, but also to construct a Puritan victory. Dustan was taken captive and her story was written in the same year, 1697.
However, she did not become a church member until 1724—the last twelve years of her life. That is a curiosity, considering the extremely pious language of the narrative; one must wonder if Dustan herself felt the guidance of God in her actions, and if the language would have been so religious had Dustan penned it herself, rather than Cotton Mather.

*God’s Mercy Surmounting Man’s Cruelty, Exemplified in the Captivity and Redemption of Elizabeth Hanson* is an entirely different situation. While the message of the narrative is the omnipotence of God, the editor seems to be trying to prove that women were not fit to actively convey this message. Elizabeth Hanson was a Quaker. Quaker women were well known for their highly active religious practices; some even preached in public. At the time of her abduction, the Quaker community was making a conscious effort to restrain the public religious activities of its women. In the narrative, Hanson often speaks of providence, but not in the excessive style of Dustan’s or (the beginning of) Rowlandson’s text. In fact, Hanson seems religiously detached, but sympathizes with the Indians, and displays miraculous understanding even when her Indian master is exceptionally cruel to her and her children. It is highly likely that Hanson’s extraordinarily passive position was an attempt by the Quaker leaders who edited her narrative to give Quaker women an example of how they should behave, considering the group of editors were highly influential Quakers who controlled British and American Quaker publications. There are few other convincing reasons for a group of that caliber of importance to show such a strong interest in Dustan’s story.

Another contradiction in captivity narratives that suggests female struggle against male editorial control deals with the supposed brutality of American Indians. In nearly all captivity narratives, captives explicitly state that Indians are savage, brutish, cruel and disgusting—even in the few cases where captives opted to remain with their Indian captors. The captives, in expressing their disgust at the Indians’ “savage” practices seem to be contradicting themselves, because later in the texts they document in detail the generosity paid them by the Indians and minimize the few demonstrated brutalities. The captives often mention their changing views of Indian society during the course of their captivity, while still periodically inserting almost generic descriptions of their miseries. Mary Rowlandson, for example, documents that the Indians buried her infant when it had died and showed her the grave, and states that no Indian had ever attempted to abuse her chastity. Elizabeth Hanson, as previously noted, was very accepting of Indian brutality and quick to notice any Indian kindness. However, as in the Rowlandson narrative, when recovered, captives often revert back to their stereotypical view of Indians, aware that whites would never accept the new respect they had gained for Indians. The gratitude women express at their conclusions bespeaks Christian forgiveness, not of cultural acceptance. Moreover, the gratitude and understanding expressed is aloof and almost condescending, expressing in no uncertain terms that, while the Indians may have demonstrated kindness, they were still beneath them in the social ladder. This attitude, displayed at the end of the narrative after the women had been returned to their families, is a sudden departure from the appreciation and, in some case, affection they seemed to have for their captors while the women were captive.

In striking contrast, Sarah Wakefield’s narrative, *Six Weeks in the Sioux Tepees: A Narrative of Indian Captivity*, written during the six-week Sioux Uprising (or Dakota War) of 1862, is probably the only genuine Indian captivity narrative to be completely free of male editor influence. The difference between Wakefield’s voice and those of other captives is remarkable. After she was “rescued” from the Sioux Indians, many of her captors were arrested and tried in quick, often inefficient military trials, and some were sentenced to death. However Wakefield, while captive, remained under the protection of Chaska, a Sioux warrior who showed her considerable kindness. Chaska was among those Indians arrested, and Wakefield voluntarily stood trial to protect his innocence. Chaska was supposed to be let go after Wakefield stood trial, but he was put to death anyway. The Americans claimed it was a mistake because of the similarity of his name to another Sioux who truly had committed atrocious crimes.
Wakefield doesn’t believe that Chaska’s death was a mistake and is enraged. The result is that Wakefield is accused of being and “Indian-lover,” (specifically Chaska’s lover) and is all but ostracized from the white society she returns to.¹³

Wakefield’s narrative is most interesting because, even when she does note wrongs committed by Indians, she blames white men. During the conflict in which many whites were killed and she was captured, she notes, “...all they cared for was food...and if all these Indians had been properly fed and otherwise treated like human beings, how many, very many innocent lives might have been spared.”¹⁴ Treated like human beings, that is, by the whites upon whom the Indians were rendered dependent upon due to land distributions. Essentially, Wakefield turns the social molds against white society: according to her, whites are the brutish savages subjecting the innocent Indians to atrocities.

This contrast is closely tied with the third, and possibly the most striking deviation of the agendas of male editors: white society vs. Indian culture. It can be argued that the most important point the majority of captivity narratives attempt to make is the superiority of white civilization over all other societies. While Wakefield notes in her preface that she did not intend her narrative to be read by the public eye, the text is obviously designed to refute the accusations brought against her by the public, and to defend the Indians with whom she resided for six weeks. Wakefield repeatedly insists that she prefers white society over Indian civilization, but there are points in her text where that claim seems unsubstantiated, as in the following quote about her stay in the soldier’s camp after her recovery from the Sioux:

We suffered much for want of bedding, for there was no provision made for us...and I wished many times I had a tepee to sleep in. Now I wish to be distinctly understood in this remark: I did not wish myself back in a tepee, I only wanted the comforts of one, for I was vast deal more comfortable with the Indians in every respect, than I was during my stay in that soldier’s camp and was treated more respectfully by those savages than I was by those in that camp...¹⁵

This is hardly the first or last instance in which Wakefield expresses her preference to interacting with Indians over dealing with whites, but the above quote effectively demonstrates her tone throughout her entire narrative: she is frustrated with whites, but constantly defends her affection and respect for the Indians.

Christopher Castiglia notes that the experiences of an Indian captive woman gave her the unusual opportunity to criticize the society from whence she came. She was seeing her own society through completely new eyes during the course of her captivity. The captive could, he further argues, relate to Indians. Both groups were subject to white male authority, so in taking the position of describing Indian society, a white woman was free to criticize the restrictions placed upon her in her own society.¹⁶ Furthermore, in a many of the captivity narratives, most of the atrocities committed described in greatest detail were committed not by Indians, but by white males. Jemima Howe, for example, describes with dismay how the Frenchmen and his son who delivered her from the hands of the Indians attempted to force themselves upon her.¹⁷ Sarah Horn writes about being bought from her captors by an American by the name of Benjamin Hill, and how he forces her to work for him and sells her damaged provisions.¹⁸ Emeline Fuller is most contemptuous when describing how the Myers family, with whom she had escaped with, had exploited and endangered Fuller and her siblings by forcing them to gather food while the Myers’ prayed.¹⁹

Mary Jemison’s story is an interesting case, and a classic example of the “dueling voices” of captive and editor. Jemison was kidnapped by the Seneca tribe at the age of 15—and never returned to white society. Instead, she was adopted by the Indians, married Seneca a man, and remarried another
Seneca when her first husband died. She bore them children, and lived a long life as a Seneca woman. Even when given the opportunity to return to her home culture, she chose not to. As a result, Jemison offers no criticism of Indians, while her editor, James Seaver tries to convey messages of white American patriotism. The result is that the separate messages of both narrator and writer are lost beneath the abundance of contradictions.

Other than the murder of her family, the only cruelties Jemison describes is at the hands of white men. As a Seneca woman, she owned a parcel of land and was reasonably affluent. After the death of her second husband, an impoverished man claiming to be her cousin requested financial assistance, and eventually attempted to swindle her out of all of her land. In addition, a seemingly unrelated chapter is included in Jemison’s narrative. The chapter tells the story of Ebenezer Allen, a deceitful white man who exploited Jemison’s kindness and proved to be a cruel thief and murderer, and an abusive husband to multiple wives. According to scholar Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola, the detail Jemison gives about Allen suggests a form of allegorical storytelling commonly employed by the Seneca. Seaver may have intended the chapter to be pure entertainment, but Jemison was most likely criticizing white society.

Finally, the issue of the subjectivity of women must be examined. As previously noted, white society’s perception of women’s proper place was as a mother and a wife. The editors—and in some cases, the captive women—concentrate on the traditional ideal of women as frail and weak, while the stories the women relate show them demonstrating almost unbelievable strength and endurance. A great deal of captives, (Mary Rowlandson, Elizabeth Hanson, Mary Kinnan, and Jemima Howe to name a few) are forced to travel despite not having eaten for days, Sarah Wakefield marches with sores and blisters on her feet, and almost every captive must endure the pain of the loss of multiple members of their families, in most cases having witnessed the deaths of their children, husbands, brothers and sisters.

The editors, however, manage to come up with a reasonable solution (almost an apology) for the behavior of women during captives: their unbelievable strength stems from their roles as mothers. They are driven by the need to protect their children, and only are they allowed such strength in the absence of suitable male defense. Even Hannah Dustan, the woman who had scalped her captors in their sleep, was cast in a matronly light. In addition to the justification of puritan vs. savage ideals that Cotton Mather presented, it was also widely noted that the Indians had murdered Dustan’s infant. While revenge was wrong it was certainly understandable in Dustan’s case, considering she was fighting against savages.

In the face of the numerous contradictions and discrepancies outlined in the previous pages, it is a curiosity that many editors chose to write the narratives in the first-person voice of the ex-captive, if the captive didn’t write the text herself. All of the narratives examined here, with the exception of Hannah Dustan were written so. What would the editors have to gain by recording the texts in the voices of women, when they could simply take full control of the story and convey their messages even more strongly? According to scholar Lorrayne Carroll, the voice of women rendered the text more believable, historically accurate, and personal. This personal voice was desired in order to elicit sympathy on the part of the reader. If the editor’s goal was to convey messages, then a first person account, from the sentimental view of a woman, seemed better than an impersonal, male (thus authoritative) instructional text. In a further attempt to “control” the voice of their female author or narrator, editors employed the use of introductions, prefaces, and footnotes to clarify that the texts, while entertaining, were to be considered moral stories and as a guide to ideal behavior. It has also been argued that prefatory material was a way for the editors to acknowledge the gap in the message and anecdotes, as some noted the fallibility of women’s memory.

It is surprising that these contradictions in women’s captivity narratives have only been fairly recently studied with much scholarly vigor. The gap in the professed message that the captivity
purports to convey and what the stories within the actual texts display is astounding, and, as I've attempted to demonstrate, often quite contradictory. The idea that nearly every woman who wrote or dictated a captivity narrative would purposely profess one thing and then demonstrate something entirely different is nonsensical. The only logical explanation is the intervention of male editors who used these women’s experiences to glorify God, reinforce stereotypes of American Indians as savage and cruel (especially to justify westward expansion), to display the supremacy of white society, and to reinforce gendered social roles. However, ex-captives found a way to force their voice through the control of their male editors, and convey a message of their own. Women realized that Indians are not as barbaric as they originally believed, white society was not completely perfect, and women could find a way to survive solely on their own strength. While captivity narratives were subject to strong male influence, they also gave women a chance to experience life outside of the societal molds of their day, and to get their voice, however small it was, out to a wider audience.

ENDNOTES

1 Christopher Castiglia, Bound and Determined: Captivity, Culture-Crossing, and White Womanhood from Mary Rowlandson to Patty Hearst (Chicago, IL.: The University of Chicago Press), ix
2 I Corinthians 11:3-12 King James Bible
3 Ibid, 5
4 Elizabeth Ewen and Stuart Ewen, Typecasting: On the Arts and Sciences of Human Inequality (New York, NY. Seven Stories Press), 59-68
5 Kerry A. Trask, Black Hawk: The Battle for the Heart of America (New York, NY. Holt Paperbacks, 2007) 172-173
6 Castiglia, Bound and Determined, 8
7 Ibid, 46-48
9 Elizabeth Hanson, “Gods Mercy Surmounting Man’s Cruelty, Exemplified in the Captivity and Redemption of Elizabeth Hanson,” in Women’s Indian Captivity Narratives ed. Derounian-Stodola, 66-79
10 Derounian-Stodola, introduction to “God’s Mercy” in Captivity Narratives, 63-65
12 Castiglia, Bound and Determined, 60
15 Ibid, 299
16 Castiglia, Bound and Determined, 64
18 Castiglia, Bound and Determined, 38
19 Derounian-Stodola, Captivity Narratives, xxv
21 Derounian-Stodola, introduction to “Life of Mary Jemison” in Captivity Narratives, 120-121
22 Castiglia, Bound and Determined, 26
23 Derounian-Stodola, Captivity Narratives
24 Castiglia, Bound and Determined, 33
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27 Derounian-Stodola, Captivity Narratives, xxvii
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Ratzinger’s essays and encyclical letters point to a foundational thesis concerning the relationship between the Church and politics: the telos for both the Church and the State is freedom. This state of freedom dignifies the human person in the appropriate manner as a member of the Church and as a member of the State. The Church and the State, as separate but related establishments within the world, achieve this proper human dignity through a service of love and justice.

This paper is not a comprehensive account of Joseph Ratzinger’s thoughts on the Church and the State; it will, however, proffer and examine five major emphases found in his writings. These emphases are: freedom-towards-truth as the foundation of the symbiotic relationship between the Church and the State; the proper objects of the Church and State as charity and justice in political structures, respectively; political ethics as a product of theology that utilizes the conscience; faith and reason as instruments of truth that have a unique and mutually necessary claim to participation in the public sphere; and finally the relationship between eschatology and utopia that espouses an ecclesiological perspective concerning the Church and State dialectic.

Freedom, Truth, Church and State

Freedom, the noblest state for the human, originates necessarily in relation to institutions. The basis for this nobility-in-freedom is a realization of our most “essential nature and...potentialities.” As human freedom becomes realized, this freedom enables an essential view of the human as “the bearer of rights.” Ratzinger’s understanding of man as a bearer of rights introduces the idea of law or the State. “[Rights] can only exist where law exists...hence freedom is bound to the existence of law.”

In a more basic sense, freedom is rooted in membership in a group. The most common biblical terms for these group gatherings are ekklesia and in qahal. The usage of the Hebrew word qahal in the Old Testament refers to a large and usually civil group gathered for the purpose of deliberating. For our purposes it is necessary to note that this gathering was primarily “cultic, and on that basis...a juridical and political entity” where the gathered, “listen to what God proclaims and...assent to it.” In the very least, free people are those who participate in these gatherings.

With such communal emphasis on freedom, Ratzinger explains the Greek understanding of freedom, eleutheria. This understanding of freedom has little to do with the popular use of freedom as the ability to do anything that one wishes, to have no constraints or relational duties. This contemporary use of freedom is flighty and mostly useless for both the person and society. The biblical eleutheria, or liberty as it is commonly translated, is found in the presence of the Spirit of Christ Jesus, and in that Spirit we are brought from bondage. In light of this freedom-in-liberty, Christians are bound relationally “to serve one another” and God, in love, rather than use freedom as a “cloak of maliciousness” to legitimize whimsical or egotistical action.

Ratzinger illustrates how the freedom of eleutheria is related to parrmasia, which is outspokness or frankness. In the Gospels, this term is used to modify the manner in which Jesus spoke. Then used in the Acts of the Apostles, parrmasia describes the way in which the apostles carried the gospel message. This confidence in expression is characteristic of the freedom in which Jesus and the apostles announced the gospel.

In these understandings, freedom is a state of being that is diametrically opposite from the state of slavery. As a slave, a person cannot say what they wish; they are owned and subsequently do not have the right of an opinion. In a different respect, however, freedom is not the ability to do anything
one wishes, but rather is an orientation to that which is of true value. Accordingly, freedom is a state where man has “full rights to share in determining how the community’s fate is to be shaped.”

So fundamentally, this freedom is the ability to participate in “being-itself”, the freedom to be a dignified image of God. Freedom, then, involves more than the self; it necessarily involves all others which one’s words or actions affect. Here freedom takes the form of freedom-to-participate in a group, and this understanding of freedom points toward the understanding of freedom-towards-truth.

The fundamental position of the Church’s political praxis is to recognize, nurture and maintain a symbiotic balance of a dual system as the foundation of freedom. Ratzinger writes about the intricacies of this “dual relationship”:

Where the Church itself becomes the State freedom is lost. But also when the Church is done away with as a public and publicly relevant authority then too, freedom is extinguished, because there again the State once again claims complete justification of morality...not sacral authority, but ideological authority.

If the Church were to completely enter into the realm of political structuring, the freedom of man would be severely limited by the Church’s illegitimate extension of its ‘sacral authority.’ Conversely, if the State were to illegitimately subsume the duties of the Church, then man’s freedom to respond to God would also be severely limited by a similar illegitimate extension of its ‘ideological authority.’ In short, the State should remain the State with its respective duties, and the Church should remain the Church with its respective, but related, obligations.

The reality of humanity’s essential rights shows that humanity is also called to act in a responsible fashion. With rights come responsibilities. If freedom enables us to say what we feel should be said, then this freedom also dares us to use our own reason. This fact implies that both the Church and the State should be formed and operated by truth, the proper goal of both faith and reason.

Our relationship to this truth, recognizable by “our own reason,” can produce somewhat contrary evolutions of political understanding. The first contrary evolution is that of the monarch as the arbiter of truth. Ironically during the Enlightenment, a time of rational vigor, the organization of the State acted as if the monarch was the sole holder of truth, the singular “tool of rationality”. In this development, the responsibility of reason to recognize truth is entrusted to a single person, rather than to each free person who has the rational capacity to recognize truth.

In a somewhat opposite evolution of political organization, namely that of the democratic state, the basis of power is found in popular opinion rather than the use of reason. Democracy depends on a separation of powers that forms both constraints and obligations to the participant. The constraint is in the form of a power-restriction, where no person has power over the actions of the whole. The obligation is in the form of participation. To this form of political organization Ratzinger asks, “Can the majority do anything they want, or does reason stand above the majority so that something that is directed against reason cannot become law?” Does majority opinion override the essential human rights? Ratzinger’s stance according to his understanding of freedom and dignity of the human person says, no. A state operated by popular opinion must also have a rational principle that can, in fact, override the popular opinion when it questions essential human rights.

Depending on the values of an institutional structure, freedom can be exalted or diminished. When both the Church and the State are oriented to the person’s freedom toward truth, rather than a monarch or popular opinion, the respective institution encourages authentic freedom as a product of its environment.

Responsibilities of the Church and the State
The Church and the State should be separate institutions in the sense that one does not attempt to subsume the other, and this proper relationship is available when each acts with respect to its proper modus operandi. The modus of the Church is love, charity; and the State, justice through political structures. The objects of each, however, are not mutually exclusive; that is to say that charity can be (and should be) an attributive aspect to the attainment of justice, and likewise justice can concern charity. Reiterating Ratzinger's most fundamental concern, “the just ordering of the State is a responsibility of politics...[the Church] cannot and must not replace the State.” In the same respect, the State cannot and must not replace the Church because it cannot make claims on all aspects of human life. In this respect, “Christophobia’ is a social pathology, contemptible and harmful to individuals and to society, and [an] obstacle in the path of any beneficial social evolution.” The wish of some to rid society of religion states implicitly that society and the State, by its own action, can attain perfect happiness for its people. This hope of a divine state “masks a materialist conception of man” that only hopes to say that man can live by bread alone. Because this last notion is proven to be inadequate (i.e., communism and the secularization of Europe), we know that justice needs love, and that reason needs faith.

Ratzinger’s critique of Marxism pointedly relates the necessity of the State to bring about just social structures, while also showing the necessity of the Church’s charity. Ratzinger writes:

It is true that the pursuit of justice must be a fundamental norm of the State, and that the aim of a just social order is to guarantee each person, according to the principle of subsidiarity, his share of the community's goods.

Rightfully so, the poor and disenfranchised need justice in the sense that enables their dignity as people, but this justice cannot solve all of the problems of humanity. Further, as materialism is an inadequate understanding of the world, love and charity are necessary.

In a correlative sense, the understanding of love without justice and faith without reason has negative effects on a Church/State relationship. The Church can negatively affect governmental participation in numerous ways by causing an inability to accept the imperfection of human affairs, mistakenly expecting faith alone to create a perfect world; and by rejecting a rational morality. The fundamental problem from which these threats emerge is messianic dynamism. This “temptation to leap-frog the limited and imperfect sphere of the nature of the earthly state and...ignore and fight the state” causes another temptation, namely anarchy. In short, the Church must find value in the State, in the importance of justice, to reject a false notion of progress from faith alone.

While enabling the freedom of the individual, the Church and the State are mutually necessary in their respective objects of charity and justice. Where charity is, justice should follow, and where justice is, charity is necessary.

Political Ethics and Conscience

Though it is not the work of the Church to build up just social structures, the teaching of the Church encourages acting agents of the Church in society by animating just political activity with the Spirit of love. Many theologians form political theologies hoping to show theology's usefulness in creating the just state, but according to Ratzinger (and as previously shown) this is not the job of the Church. Rather, the Church can only show how to act within the State as a Christian; it offers a political ethic, not a political theology.

As shown earlier, the State has the ability to subsume its participant’s use of reason (absolute monarchy) or to nullify the primacy of reason by exalting popular opinion (democracy), with respect to both cases, the conscience is the power that is suppressed for the greater power, whether it is singular rule or common rule. Concerning a totalitarian state, where conscience is respected, the despotic whim
is defeated. Concerning a democratic state, where conscience is considered, the truth of essential rights is seen.

Ratzinger purports that conscience’s supreme manifestation is found in the Cross; in this type of conscience injustice is “rooted out of the human heart...by the cathartic perception of the voluntary suffering of those who are faithful to conscience.” This suffering conscience, seen in lives of numerous saints and martyrs, is a manifestation of both the love and justice found in the Cross. Under the sign of the Cross, Christian’s political actions should be modeled after the God who lowered himself to feel our pain. Ratzinger states, “[The] capacity to suffer for the sake of the truth is the measure of humanity”, highlighting the radical insistence on the conscience’s responsibility to truth over any form of comfort.

Faith and Reason as Tools for the Public Sphere

As the Enlightenment began to push religion to the private sphere, reason and politics began to dominate the public sphere. Though reason and politics both have a rightful share in this environment, they are not the sole means by which truth is attained. One contemporary secular scholar who noticed the importance of religion and faith in the conversations of the public sphere is Jürgen Habermas. Concerning the public sphere, Habermas sees both a rationalistic movement that causes an alienation of religious groups from the activity of politics, in the case of the rise of radical terrorism, and a disintegration of what it means to be human, in the case of bioengineering. Habermas’s remarks concerning the shortcomings of a rationalist politic engaged the discussion of religion and the public sphere, thus attracting the dialogue partner, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger.

In their dialogue, Ratzinger and Habermas complement one another. Habermas sees the value of faith in the public sphere and “condemns all those who keep trying to sentence the religious discourse”. Ratzinger’s concern is twofold:

The formation of a global community in which the individual, political, economic and cultural powers become increasingly dependent on one another in their various existential spheres...The development of human possibilities, of the power to make and to destroy, that poses the question of legal and ethical controls on power in a way that goes far beyond anything to which we have yet been accustomed.

A third, and related, apprehension stems from the two. As the power of man increases and is shared in this interdependent global community, there must be a “right relationship and a common structure that tames power and imposes a legally responsible order on the exercise of power.” Ratzinger’s answer, that which holds the world together, is a relationship between faith and reason wherein both have a claim to truth and both purify each other. As faith seeks reason, religion must be purified and structured by reason, but also reason must heed the purified call of faith, in which man can discern his greatest dignity. Ratzinger concludes, “This relationship of purification will hold the world together by a renewal of values and norms.” In other words because of the radical moral neutrality of reason and the “development of human possibilities”, reason needs faith to provide a sense of moral direction and “differentiation between good and evil” amid such ambiguity.

Noting the relatedness of faith and reason in a fashion similar to John Paul II, Ratzinger cements his concern for the public sphere as a vehicle of truth, wherein the essential rights and freedom of man can be realized.

Ecclesiology, Utopia and Eschatology

Utopia and eschatology both act as looking glasses through which we can see both our present situation and how we approach the future. Utopia rests on platonic ontology, and because of this it has
two uses: the “rational construction of the optimal institutions of a community that make a happy life possible,” and it is “held up as a critical mirror before existing abuses.” Utopia should not concern actual future reality; rather utopia should be seen in the same relationship as mathematical models are to our understanding of reality. Action incited by utopia is action of the State, via practical reason. Eschatology, on the other hand is “directed towards receptive patience of faith,” and this patience is characterized by the anticipation of God’s Kingdom, wherein God’s promises are fulfilled. Utopian awareness as construction and eschatological hope as reception are related tools through which the political Christian can understand political action healthily.

Accordingly utopia and eschatology are related, and the relationship between the two exhibits the correct action of the Church and the State by acknowledging their appropriate objects, charity and justice. Utopia, as an action of practical reason, acts to create just social structures wholly from within the context of the polis. As utopia is a reaching for justice by reason and from the polis, eschatology is the patience of the populous that are waiting to receive the fulfillment of justice and love promised by God. When this is unbalanced, unhealthy concepts of the Church and the State form.

Ratzinger notes the improper use of utopian construction in the example of Francis Bacon’s transformation of hope in salvation from without to a salvation from within, a salvation received to a salvation created through human progress. This salvation through man’s material progress over nature again ends in a distorted image of man; the image purports that man is solely material and that material justice is the fulfillment of man. Further in ignoring the sinfulness of man, this type of progress ambiguously “opens possibilities for both good and evil” and can imitate the image noted by Theodor W. Adorno, “progress, seen accurately, is progress from the sling to the atom bomb.

The Church, Ratzinger writes, should be a model based on both utopia and eschatology. The structure and action of the Church should be a beacon of light in which the structures and actions of various states can see their errors and shortcomings. Also, necessarily, the Church remains an entity that cannot be fulfilled from within, and so it waits in expectation while acknowledging the coming external fulfillment. As a utopian and eschatological symbol, the Church advocates a certain political ethic while waiting for God’s promise to be fulfilled for all.

Conclusion

As the Catholic Church is a universal church, its particular churches are spread across political, geographical and cultural boundaries; the Church speaks innumerable languages, and is found in countries that are democratic, socialist, republican and other governments. From its inception, the Catholic Church has conversed with politics, beginning with pagan Rome and, most recently, theologies of liberation. The Church has survived because it does not adhere to any single political entity; from the pluralism of the global age, the Church touches all lives by emboldening them to be free.

Also as a formed Church, Catholics have a responsibility to act as ethical participants in the political structure, whether that action builds up the State by criticism or encouragement. This distinctly Christian political ethic is based on a delicate balance of numerous concepts: love and justice, faith and reason; the Church and the State; action and patience; and finally utopia and eschatology. When balanced and accurately understood, four conclusions for politics today appear.

(1) Since cultural and religious pluralism alter the relationship between political and religious bodies, freedom in each should never be compromised. Political structures should foster an environment of action bounded by reason and compassion, and these structures should be informed by both practical reason and the universal conscience of their subjects. Just as political and religious bodies should be free, reason and faith should inform each other in the process of developing the stances and objectives of both bodies.

(2) When the Church and State recognize the value of the public sphere in which ideas, communication and debate enter the lives of the public at large, the public sphere needs to be
transformed to accommodate the gift of truth that is offered by both faith and reason. As the Enlightenment project dissipates, the illusion of the ‘private sphere’ will give way to a certain public value of religion. With religion contributing to the public sphere, the veil covering the pre-political foundations for ethics and freedom will be pulled away.

(3) Spurned by a cathartic awareness of suffering within a newly formed global community that is intimately connected by a cohesive communication, Christians troubled by injustice seek new avenues to contribute to justice through charity. Christians must accept this political ethic, wherein each man is seen in his dignity as an image of God endowed with freedom. With their tools of faith and reason, Christians must participate in the public sphere to claim these rights for all. This political ethic promoted by faith and verified by reason, needs to be a non-negotiable element of the Catholic identity.

(4) Lastly, in light of the ethic of compassion and dignity, the Church and its parts should adopt an eastward posture that patiently awaits the eschatological fulfillment of justice, while continuing the necessary service of love through charity. Modeled after Augustine’s City of God the Church should be at home in the world, but at the same time, the Church should see its true home in the fulfilled heavenly banquet, in which full justice and true compassion are given to all.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


ENDNOTES


2 Ibid., 192.

3 Ibid., 192.


5 Ibid., 30-31.


7 Gal 5:13, 1 Pet 2:16.

8 1 Pet 2:16.


14 Ibid., 162.

15 It is necessary to delineate Ratzinger’s understating of Church/State duality from a contemporary understanding of “separation of Church and State”. The latter finds it basis in a ill-conceived Enlightenment notion of private and public spheres of life. In this notion, the State is given power in the public sphere, while the Church is forced into the private sphere. Ratzinger’s use of this duality is not divisional in nature. Rather, as will be expressed throughout, this dual relationship is a complementary relation, with the object of each institution balancing the object of the other.


17 Ibid., 196.

18 Ibid., 201.


20 Ibid., 162.


24 God is Love (Deus Caritas Est). Benedict XVI. 37.

25 Ibid., 32-33.


27 Ibid., 208.

28 Ibid., 209.

29 Ibid., 212.

30 Ibid., 213.


36 Ibid., 55.

37 Ibid., 55.
On one side of the unhealthy evolutions is Marxism/Chiliasm, wherein expectation of a state of salvation within history that transcends the possibilities of political action is expected to be established by political means. On the other side are numerous theologies of liberation, wherein justified by an acknowledgement of man’s essential rights and freedom, a state of salvation is fought for.

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xi Ibid., 77.

xii Ibid., 79.

xiii Saved in Hope (Spe Salvi). Benedict XVI. §23.

xiii Fides et Ratio. John Paul II.


xv Ibid., 238.

xvi Ibid., 239.

xvii On one side of the unhealthy evolutions is Marxism/Chiliasm, wherein expectation of a state of salvation within history that transcends the possibilities of political action is expected to be established by political means. On the other side are numerous theologies of liberation, wherein justified by an acknowledgement of man’s essential rights and freedom, a state of salvation is fought for.

xviii Saved in Hope (Spe Salvi). Benedict XVI §17.

xix Ibid., §22.


ii Ibid., 247.
The events of September 11th created massive amounts of death anxiety within the American people. The Bush Administration has systematically gained support for the "war on terror" through constantly reminding the American people of their vulnerability and death anxiety resulting from the tragic events of September 11, 2001. This paper will discuss the Bush Administration's manipulation of the "war on terror" through their rhetoric and the promise of security as a means of gaining support. This is a pressing and important issue in today's society. My goal in writing this paper is to provide an alternative view of what the Bush Administration has constructed regarding the "war on terror". I will use key ideas from both Robert Lifton and Ernest Becker about death anxiety and heroism. I will also analyze the language in President Bush's speeches, as well as one from Vice President Dick Cheney. I will also use information from the 2006 National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, as well as information from the National Security Council.

Before discussing the manipulation of the "war on terror" it is important to define and explain the key concepts supporting this paper. Robert Lifton presents the important concepts of death anxiety, ideological totalism and victimization in his book, Living and Dying. According to Lifton, death anxiety occurs when we are confronted with experiences that remind us of our own unavoidable mortality. These experiences may be threats to our own lives, but we also experience death anxiety through occurrences of separation, dissolution, and stasis. Essentially, these are all characteristics of death. When we die, we are separated from our loved ones, the role we played in society begins to dissolve and our bodies begin to break down, and finally we can no longer move and adapt.

According to Lifton, uncertain times, in which societal values and morals become weakened and compromised, cause death anxiety and unmanageability to become even more severe. Under these circumstances, there is little to no resources in place to help deal with the overwhelming sense of death anxiety, which causes our inevitable death to become unmanageable. However, in order to deal with the unmanageability, it is important to develop a sense of symbolic immortality. Through a sense of symbolic immortality, we believe that our lives and our impact will symbolically continue on even after we die. This helps in making death more manageable, because it gives us a sense that we can symbolically "live" on, despite the finitude of our mortal lives. One can find this sense of continuance in a variety of experiences, most commonly through family, creative endeavors, nature, and religion. For example, through our creative endeavors such as painting or architecture, our work will remain vibrant and acknowledged, even after we have died.

However, an alternative and more destructive option for achieving a sense of immortality can be characterized by ideological totalism. According to Lifton, ideological totalism is an all or none set of absolute convictions, despite whatever the reality of the situation may be. Ideological totalism occurs when other, more conventional avenues to immortality become impaired. As result of totalistic thinking, a separation is created between the totalistic group that believes they have a right to exist and the "outsiders" without that right, who will then become dispensable. Inevitably, the "righteous" group will develop a sense of power, entitlement, and eventually symbolic immortality.

The "outsiders" are not only viewed as dispensable, but are viewed as the "other". This is when victimization occurs. According to Lifton, the "other" becomes a major threat to our way of thinking because they distinctly oppose everything that we believe and hold to be morally true. We are more apt to oppress and even kill those that are in disagreement with our beliefs and values, so that our group sense of symbolic immortality may continue. This is when victimization occurs—we would rather...
oppress and hurt those that are in "opposition" to us, than risk the possible outcome of doing nothing. Therefore, under these totalistic conditions it is very possible that a breeding ground is created for war and destruction.

Next, Becker presents us with the idea of heroism, as well as its inherent dangers, in his book, Escape from Evil. In regards to heroism Becker states, "man's natural and inevitable urge to deny mortality and achieve a heroic self image are the root causes of human evil," (xvii). According to Becker, the achievement of heroism, overcoming and conquering all opposition, leads to the acquisition of power, which results in a sense of immortality. However, it is not possible for everyone within a society to attain heroism and its consequential power. Through the process of mystification and transference, the "average" person will often defer to those that have achieved power, in hopes that a portion will transfer onto them. This is why millions of people yearn to kiss the feet of the Pope, or even to touch the hands of a renowned movie star. Unfortunately, our deference has the potential to lead to ideological totalism. In deferring, we are only giving those with the envied "hero status" more and more power. Because of our yearning for such power, we are more apt to follow them and believe what they instruct us to believe.

Foremost, because this paper will focus primarily on the "war on terror", it is important to draw attention to the meaning and circumstances surrounding it. The former Bush Administration has titled the war resulting from the events of 9/11, the "war on terror," but has failed to provide a clear and measurable definition. Therefore, it is important to draw attention to the lack of definitions and boundaries regarding the "war on terror". This war began as a means of responding to the attacks of September 11, 2001 and has since become a continuing effort to rid the world of so called "terrorists".

First of all, terrorism is a very broad term in and of itself. According to the Unabridged Random House dictionary, terrorism can be: "the use of violence and threats to coerce, especially for political purposes; it is the state of fear and submission produced by terrorism; it is both a method of governing and a method of resisting government," (2006). As seen in the above definitions, terrorism can mean many things. And so the use of the vague term "terrorism" allows the government to "create" many enemies on many fronts. For example, according to the definitions of terrorism, anyone that openly disagrees with the government could potentially be seen as a threat, and as a result be labeled a terrorist.

Unfortunately, there are many implications surrounding the ambiguity of the word "terrorism". According to an article titled, Issues of Definition in the War on Terror, "As multiple sources have indicated, 'terror' is not the enemy. In the war on terror, neither terror nor terrorism can be defeated since terror is a method and terrorism is a tactic. From this perspective, neither terror nor terrorism takes on characteristics of entities," (2007). Essentially, there is no clear and definitive enemy in the "war against terror". Terror and terrorism are a means of coercing or resisting, and therefore cannot be tangible enemies.

Aside from the ambiguity surrounding the word "terrorism", there is also no clear and definitive goal one can identify in a "war on terror". According to the National Security Council's publication of the 2006 National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, the long term solution for winning this war can be measured by the advancement of freedom and human dignity through effective democracy. However, nowhere in the report does it specify the methods through which the United States will achieve such goals, nor how success can be measured. Therefore, this allows the government the opportunity to use whatever methods they see fit in obtaining the ideal amount of "human dignity" and "effective democracy". Because of the vague goals of the war on terror, there can be no clear or definable end. Unfortunately, this has given the "war on terror" the potential to be limitless and unending.

Unfortunately, there are dangerous implications of the "war on terror". In Lifton's article, American Apocalypse, he describes some of those dangers. The article states, "The war on terrorism is apocalyptic, then, exactly because it is militarized and yet amorphous, without limits of time or place,
It is common knowledge that the haunting events of September 11th significantly affected the super power known as the United States of America. Following these events, Americans across the country felt a variety of emotions including loss, anger, sadness, and outrage. Death anxiety increased dramatically, both in response to the clear threat of death, but also to the experience of separation (the events disconnected the United States from many other countries), dissolution (pictures and video clips of the events were displayed on television for weeks), and stasis (the country was powerless against the attacks). As a result, there was a great desire for revenge and immediate retaliation due to the overwhelming sense of insecurity and vulnerability. The Bush Administration recognized this, and quickly responded with the promise of security against further attacks.

However, whatever the intentions of the Bush Administration, they did not bring the American people security, and instead only made them feel insecure in order to further their plans for the "war on terror". The article, American Apocalypse states, "Despite the constant invocation by the Bush Administration of the theme ‘security’, the war on terrorism has created the very opposite—a sense of fear and insecurity which is then mobilized in support for further aggressive plans in the extension of the larger ‘war,’” (Lifton, 2003). The death anxiety following 9/11 has only increased due to the constant reminder of the possibility of more, and possibly even more devastating terrorist attacks. However, despite the "constant threat" that we could experience an attack anytime, there have not been any terrorist attacks against the United States since September 11, 2001.

Despite this fact, each time we hear that there is upcoming "threat", feelings of vulnerability and anxiety increase, which in turn makes us more willing to believe the government’s promise of security. Because we are so desperate to grab hold of their promise, we are willing to compromise basic civil liberties and allow an endless war. For example, following September 11th, the United States Patriot Act was passed. Although the act provided security against foreign entities, it also authorized indefinite detentions of immigrants, searches without permission from the occupant, and the FBI to have access to telephone, email, and financial records without a court order (U.S. H.R. 3162, Public Law 107-56). Despite all of the USA Patriot Act's downfalls and attacks against civil liberties, it was quickly and widely passed by both houses.

The subject of terrorism and homeland security dominated the 2004 election, which led many of the American people's fear and insecurities to guide their votes, (which would be greatly influenced by death anxiety and vulnerability) rather than their intellect. According to Phillip A. Klinkner, associate professor of government, and associate Dean of Students at Hamilton College, "Not only did the issue of terrorism dominate the election, but President Bush dominated on the issue of terrorism. Among those who cited terrorism as the most important issue, 70 percent voted for Bush," (285). Terrorism took precedence in the 2004 election and played a major role in George Bush's reelection.

In order to ensure ongoing support for the war on terror, the former Bush Administration encouraged the American people to adopt a sort of “attack or be attacked” mentality in their insecurity. The government has labeled the “war on terror” a preemptive war and a war of self-defense against terrorists everywhere. If we eliminate all of the people we believe to be terrorists, then they will not be able to attack us and will no longer pose a threat to our beliefs. This terminology is found in various government speeches, and alludes to the constant threat of terrorism. According to Canadian economist Michel Chossudovsky, because of the terminology constantly used we are led to believe that our way of life is under a constant threat of attack (2003). President Bush stated in his address to Congress before going to war with Iraq, “the terrorists could fulfill their stated ambitions and kill thousands or hundreds of thousands of innocent people in our country, or any other,” (2003). He quite
bluntly explained to the American people that “they” are constantly plotting and waiting to attack. He continued his speech, stating the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it and destroy it wherever it grows. This leads the American public to think that terrorists could be around every corner, waiting to attack. Therefore, death anxiety increases and we, once again, support further “counter-terrorist” attacks, which will prevent them from attacking us.

In the same way, former President Bush, in many of his speeches he has given since September 11th, also used this extreme rhetoric to convince the American public that every group labeled terrorist, or essentially every group in opposition to the political policies of the United States government, embody the same evil qualities of the 9/11 hijackers. For example, in his speech given on September 11, 2001, the President discusses the attacks, stating “our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature, and we responded with the best of America, with the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors who came to give blood and help in any way they could,” (2001). The former president has led the American people to believe that terrorism is around every corner. Combining that belief with the extreme language used in his speeches has indirectly told the American people that every “terrorist” is secretly hoping and plotting for our demise, and could set their destructive plan into action any day, despite any concrete evidence or the lack there of.

In addition, the former Bush Administration’s National Security Strategy repeatedly states that the greater the threat is, the greater the risk of inaction becomes. As a result, a vicious cycle fueled by fear is created. In this vicious cycle, a repaired sense of security was promised so that the American public would give their unending support to the Bush Administration and its “war on terrorism”. However, because of the claim that we were under constant attack, we were never able to fully experience true security, causing the destructive cycle to continue.

Aside from the vicious cycle explained above, ideological totalism has been a main factor in the support of the “war on terror”. Aside from using our anxiety, creation and demonization of the “other” was another strategy used by the former Bush Administration to gain support for the “war on terror”. It was stated in the former President’s address to the nation on October 7, 2001 that, “Every nation has a choice to make. In this conflict, there is no neutral ground. If any government sponsors the outlaws and killers of innocents, they have become outlaws and murderers themselves. And they will take that lonely path at their own peril,” (paragraph 12). This is absolute—either you will support the United States in her endeavors to eliminate terrorism, or you will be her enemy. There is no middle ground. The line has been drawn between the "righteous", the United States, and the "unrighteous", all other nations that do not support the "war on terror".

This absolute dichotomy has only reinforced that the "American" way of life is the best way of life. Lifton describes this point further in using the term superpower syndrome which is defined as, “a national mindset—put forward strongly by a tight knit leadership group—that takes on a sense of omnipotence, of unique standing in the world that grants it the right to hold sway over all other nations,” (2003). The pursuit for omnipotence and unwavering singular power can be seen in our former Vice President’s statement in the National Security Strategy of 2002, stating, "The Plan is for the United States to rule the world. The overt theme is unilateralism, but it is ultimately a story of domination. It calls for the United States to maintain its overwhelming military superiority and prevent new rivals from rising up to challenge it on the world stage. It calls for domination over friends and enemies alike. It says not that the United States must be more powerful, or most powerful, but that it must be absolutely powerful," (Cheney). This idea of omnipotence and singular standing has the potential to lead to ideological totalism, because of the implied sense that our political system and belief system are the only right ones.

Unfortunately, this mentality allows for victimization—pushing our belief and value systems onto others using whatever force necessary. Lifton’s term victimization has taken on the form of the Iraqi war, and has resulted in the grave loss of American and Iraqi lives. The Iraq Body Count
organization states that between 91,337 and 99,721 civilians have been killed from violence associated with the "war on terror" (Iraqbodycount.org). As of March, 2009 there have been 4,912 American soldiers killed and 31,135 American soldiers wounded from the "war on terrorism". Unfortunately, due to the lack of boundaries and indiscernible end, these numbers are only going to continue to grow.

In conclusion, the "war on terror" has led to massive destruction. In an article written by political analyst Edward Said titled, "Islam and the West are Inadequate Boundaries", he discusses the perils of the "war on terror". He states, "Demonization of the Other is not a sufficient basis for any kind of decent politics, certainly not now when the roots of terror in injustice can be addressed, and the terrorists isolated, deterred or put out of business. It takes patience and education, but is more worth the investment than still greater levels of large-scale violence and suffering," (2001). Because of the grave implications of such an infinite war, it is even more important to that we educate ourselves and demand more truthful information from our government. It is too costly to view each and every person that differs from our belief system as an evil terrorist. We need to push, not only for an end to this war, but simply for tighter boundaries and a clear, tangible enemy.

WORK CITED

U.S. H.R. 3162, Public Law 107-56
The philosophical investigation into akrasia\(^1\), or incontinence, has intrigued philosophers since the time of Plato. I would endeavor to say that it has intrigued so many because of the aspect of self-deception that lies at the heart of akratic behavior. Self-deception is a hotly debated issue because many thinkers deny that it is even possible. To deceive someone, one party must be privy to information that the other party is not aware of, yet how can the self-deceived be privy to information that she is not aware of in order that she may deceive herself? Or put more plainly, how can someone know something while at the same time not know it?

In the *Protagoras*, Socrates formulates the notion of akrasia into one of his famous Socratic Paradoxes.\(^2\) He argues that this phenomenon cannot happen because it is an illogical moral concept. According to Socrates, the appearance of akrasia arises through a misconception made by the individual through ignorance, not incontinence.\(^3\) Thus Socrates is of the opinion that the incontinent person is fictitious. Aristotle, on the other hand, claims in Book VII of the *Nicomachean Ethics* that Socrates’ argument is mistaken because it “contradicts the observed facts”.\(^4\) Therefore Aristotle believes that the existence of the incontinent individual is fact. Upon further investigation of these two arguments, I contend that the problem of akrasia has not been satisfactorily resolved between these two philosophers. In this paper, I will first provide a brief outline of both Socrates’ and Aristotle’s arguments. I will then illustrate how Socrates’ refutation of akrasia was hasty and unsound. Next I will show that Aristotle disproves Socrates’ conclusion by his explanation of how akratic behavior can occur in an individual. After that, I will endeavor to bring this topic into the realm of modern Psychology in order to ascertain if our contemporary understanding of the human mind can provide any additional insights into akratic behavior. Next, I will address my thesis and prove that the problem of akrasia has not been satisfactorily settled between Socrates and Aristotle. I will then briefly consider any objections to the conclusion that I have reached and try to show how these objections fail to refute my conclusion. But first, we must address Socrates’ and Aristotle’s arguments.

Socrates believes that since our senses can deceive us, one should not take as fact anything observed from nature. Because of this, he thought the best way to reach the truth in any situation was to investigate the problem using one’s intellect. Therefore he tackles the problem of akrasia from an a priori, or prior to sense experience, standpoint. In the *Protagoras*, he postulates that: “no one goes willingly toward the bad or what he believes to be the bad; neither is it in human nature, so it seems, to want to go toward what one believes to be bad instead of to the good”.\(^5\)

Since Socrates is of the opinion that human beings intuitively choose the good over the bad in any situation, he interprets the phenomenon of akrasia as being an event that is misinterpreted by the parties involved. The only logical explanation left for Socrates then is that the appearance of akrasia in an individual is not really akrasia, but ignorance of the good on the part of the individual. Thus, according to Socrates, akrasia is not an instance of an individual choosing the bad over the good because the individual does not know the good. Consequently, Socrates’ statement that akrasia is an illogical moral concept would be self-evident to him because he believes, upon his interpretation of incontinence, that this term is contradictory in itself. He concludes therefore that akrasia in any form cannot occur.

In Book VII of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle addresses Socrates’ claim that akrasia is an impossibility by flatly stating that Socrates’ argument is unsound. Aristotle argues that akrasia is a possible outcome in a given situation because it is a phenomenon that is evident in the world. We can
see here that Aristotle does not discount observable data like Socrates does. Thus he approaches the problem from an *a posteriori*, or from sense experience, perspective. Aristotle thought that it was foolish to deny the existence of observable phenomena on the basis that it conflicts with one’s theory on a given subject. Case in point, he rebuked Parmenides for denying that change exists in the world just because it conflicted with his metaphysical monism. Similarly, he believes that Socrates is guilty of this type of offense in regards to *akrasia*.

Additionally, in an effort to better refute Socrates’ universal claim that *akrasia* cannot occur in the world under any circumstance, Aristotle’s task is simply to show just one example of how it can take place. To do this, Aristotle gives us the example of the *akratic*, or incontinent, person. The incontinent person is someone who possesses the rational capacity to reason to right ends but chooses to do otherwise. This person knows the right thing but feels compelled to do the wrong thing. As a result of these competing drives internal conflict arises and the experience of guilt on behalf of the incontinent person results from choosing the wrong thing.

Aristotle employs a thought experiment in Book VII of the *Nicomachean Ethics* that can help one better understand the struggle that goes on inside the incontinent person. This internal struggle is important for our purposes because it explains the circumstances in which *akrasia* can occur in the real world and thus refute Socrates’ claim. Suppose that the incontinent person is confronted with the following trial:

a) Everything sweet must not be tasted  
b) Everything sweet is pleasant  
c) This particular thing is sweet  

Therefore  
d) This particular sweet thing must not be tasted  

Now, in order to better illustrate Aristotle’s point, let us introduce his idea of the *enkratic*, or continent, individual into the practical dilemma which the incontinent person finds herself. The continent and the incontinent individuals are alike in almost every respect, except that the continent person acts in the manner her reason tells her to in every situation, whereas the incontinent person acts according to her appetitive drives. Both the continent and incontinent individuals desire to taste the sweet but they differ in their actions because they have different active premises, which arise due to the habituation of proper or improper psychological states. The active premise for the continent person is (a) while the active premise for the incontinent person is (b). Keep in mind that the incontinent person can formulate all of the premises above, which are, for the purposes of the practical dilemma above, each tantamount to a universal moral truth, so she is able to deduce that this particular sweet thing must not be tasted, but she will nonetheless taste the sweet thing whereas the continent person will not.

It is important at this point to clarify the idea of habituation (or *heksis*) because it is in this activity we find the crux of Aristotle’s explanation of how the incontinent person is formed. Aristotle believed that the psychological states that make up a person’s character are acquired through habituation and that they are learned early in life. These states determine how one will act when one matures because they are permanent aspects of one’s character and will therefore always play a role in one’s decision-making processes.

Armed with Aristotle’s concept of habituation, we are now capable to identify *akratic* behavior. Since this person knows how to reason to right ends, she must have at some point given into her desires, even though she knows this is not the right thing to do. Aristotle argues that the fact that a person has competing drives explains how someone could choose a base action over the right action. Aristotle contends that our appetitive drives can sometimes win out over reason, a point with which Socrates would not have agreed. Socrates felt that in the face of a universal truth discovered through reason, an appetitive drive could not appeal to anyone. Aristotle disagrees with Socrates on this crucial
point, and thus he can explain how a person could otherwise have knowledge of the right end but choose to perform, contrarily, another action.

I would now like to take the *akrasia* debate into the modern era, if I may, and put the question of incontinence to the discipline of Psychology, in order to discover if our contemporary understanding of the workings of the mind afford us any insight into the mysteries of incontinent behavior. Because of the depth of this debate, I will limit the scope of my investigation to just one modern Psychological theory. That being said, there are many other psychological theories that are very relevant to the *akrasia* debate, e.g., dissociative identity disorder (i.e. multiple personalities), that would take this enquiry to very interesting places, yet because of certain constraints I have chosen to focus on the theory of cognitive dissonance because it seems to address most directly the philosophical issue at hand.

I must mention here that although cognitive dissonance has its roots in empirically obtained data, this theory is still controversial and not agreed upon by a consensus of all psychologists. It should also be noted here that this theory presupposes that human beings are by nature logical creatures, but it attempts to explain the interior motivations that encourage these logical beings to act illogically, or incontinently.

First put forth by Leon Festinger, cognitive dissonance theory begins with the notion of cognitions. Cognitions are bits of information that can pertain to any kind of knowledge. For example, the statement that I am a college student is a cognition. The previous statement constitutes just one cognition and if cognitive theory is correct, then people must have innumerous cognitions within their brains. Cognitive dissonance theory assumes that humans strive for consistency between their cognitions, or for a state of cognitive consonance, which because of the fact that most cognitions have nothing to do with each other, is not something that is hard to achieve. The interesting aspect of the theory emerges when a person has two cognitions that are contradictory, or dissonant. Since adherents to cognitive dissonance theory believe that people strive to not have dissonant cognitions, the theory attempts to explain how one can do away with the uncomfortable feelings that cognitive dissonance creates. Now it might seem obvious that the easiest way to end dissonance would be to do away with one of the contradictory cognitions, but this is not always the easiest course of action for an individual to perform. For whatever the reason may be, it is hard for human beings to dismiss a previously held belief and because of this, people can come up with creative ways, most often unconsciously, to hold on to their original belief, even if that belief contradicts another of their beliefs.

People use a number of strategies to achieve consonance between dissonant beliefs. Four of the most common coping strategies are: ignoring dissonant cognitions, modifying their importance, creating new cognitions, and avoiding certain types of information. Perhaps the easiest way to explain how these strategies work is to illustrate them in an example. Suppose that I am a smoker and that I continue to smoke even though I am fully aware that smoking can lead to serious illness. If I were unwilling to quit smoking, which would be analogous to disposing of one of the dissonant cognitions, then I would have to deceive myself in some manner in order to retain these dissonant cognitions, or to put it another way, in order to continue to act *akratically*.

The first method mentioned above is that of ignoring the dissonance. I could convince myself that smoking is not actually bad for me by believing that the tests that prove that it is are mistaken. The second route is to modify the importance of the cognitions. I could just rationalize my smoking behavior by thinking that since everyone has to die some day for some reason or another, what difference would it make that I die because of lung cancer? The third strategy is that of creating new cognitions, which is especially interesting because one would think that doing away with old cognitions would be easier than creating new ones in order to lessen dissonance, yet this strategy proves that this is not always the case. The new cognition may be that since I am a healthy person in every other aspect of my life, then smoking will not have a real detrimental effect on my health. The last coping strategy is that of
avoidance. An avoidance strategy in regards to my smoking would be to avoid information regarding
the health risks of smoking in general so that these cognitions would not be a concern in my everyday
life. An example of an avoidance strategy in the case of the smoker would be for that person to abruptly
leave a room whenever the topic of the detrimental effects smoking has on one’s health arises. These
strategies are by no means thought to be employed by the individual on a conscious level, which makes
this theory seem to be more akin to Aristotle’s take on *akrasia* than Socrates’ because these modern
explanations of incontinent behavior give an even more elaborate account of how and why this type of
behavior can occur.

At this point in the discussion, one can reasonably assume that Aristotle has disproven Socrates’
claim that the *akratic* individual cannot exist because he has shown how this type of individual can exist
and modern psychological theories also seem to reinforce Aristotle’s take on this phenomenon. But I
would like to address my thesis at this time because even though Aristotle’s attack of Socrates’ claim
seems plausible, I would like to address some problems that may undermine his position.

It appears to me that Aristotle has gotten sidetracked in his attack of Socrates’ idea of the
incontinent person. In response to the singular claim that ‘no individual could know the right end yet
choose to do a different action’, Aristotle claims that Socrates makes a hasty generalization. A good
interpretation of Socrates’ argument is the one put forth by Stanley Benn, who summarizes it as
follows:13

1. If we suppose that all intentional or voluntary action is undertaken with some aim, it must be
   supposed that what is aimed at must be desired.
2. If someone desires some aim, he must see the aim as a good to bring about.
3. Whoever aims at evil does so in ignorance of its true nature under the misapprehension of it as good.
   Therefore,
4. No one intentionally chooses evil knowing it to be so.

Aristotle’s argument adds important qualifications:
1. All things being equal, no one chooses to do the wrong when they know the right.
2. Our appetitive drives sometimes override our ability to reason well.
3. Since our appetitive drives can hinder one from reasoning well, there may arise a situation where one
   may choose to do wrong.
   Therefore,
4. The incontinent person can exist, which experience continues to illustrate and exemplify.

Aristotle has shown that there is an instance where the person with knowledge of the good
could choose to do otherwise, yet I contend that when the “all things being equal” clause is removed
from the first premise of Aristotle’s argument, then both philosophers would agree that *akrasia* is an
impossibility. Philosopher Jonathan Lear asserts this point as well: “It was intolerable to Socrates that
knowledge should be ‘dragged about like a slave.’ In a qualified fashion, Aristotle agrees: if one’s
knowledge is active, it is impossible to act incontinently with respect to it.”14

A possible objection to my conclusion could be that it seems to be inconsistent. One might
argue that I try to maintain that Socrates and Aristotle both agree that *akrasia* cannot occur in an
individual while at the same time stating that Aristotle has proven Socrates wrong in his conclusion that
*akrasia* can never occur. Yet the point that I endeavor to prove is that these two philosophers only
agree from a theoretical standpoint where all things are held equal in an individual, meaning that the
individual’s ability to reason to the right end is not hindered and that she is free from any constraint on
her ability to act according to the end Reason has directed her to pursue, and in this instance
incontinent behavior cannot arise. In the real world, all things are not held equal in an individual and
Aristotle’s theory addresses this problem.

Socrates and Aristotle arrived at their conclusions regarding *akrasia* because both of these men
approached the matter with the preconception that human beings are logical creatures. For Socrates, it
was easy to dismiss the occurrence of *akrasia* because he held that humans are logical creatures and must therefore always choose the best course of action and that it would be impossible for them to hold two contradictory beliefs simultaneously. According to Socrates, when an individual errs, or seems to be acting incontinently, she really is not. She is, in reality, acting from a position in which she did not know all of the relevant facts, and therefore erred and appeared to be behaving incontinently to outside observers. While his proposition might make perfect sense to a logician, in reality the inner workings of the human mind are vastly more intricate than Socrates supposes. This is what Aristotle’s theory attempts to address when he tackles the problem of incontinence. Aristotle’s version of the phenomenon of *akrasia* is far more detailed than Socrates’ and it also gives an insight, albeit a rudimentary one, into the intricacies of the human psyche. Therefore I conclude that although Aristotle’s account is not based in scientific experimentation, but is founded upon simple observation and introspection, it still provides the reader a more robust account of this occurrence and comes closer to the truth of the matter.

Aristotle knew that *akratic* behavior was evident, so to explain this phenomenon he developed a theoretical framework in which a psychological state could exist in an individual that would make the lesser drives appear more important than true knowledge in a given situation. But in doing this, it seems that Aristotle does not address *akrasia* in the same way Socrates tries to do, i.e., contra Aristotle, Socrates does not believe there are any exceptions to his view that no one knowingly does the wrong thing. Some contemporary philosophers, e.g. Lear, think that Socrates and Aristotle would agree that when one’s knowledge is active, it is impossible to ignore what it dictates us to do. So it would seem as if Aristotle and Socrates agree that *akrasia* in the purest sense, i.e., without qualifications, cannot occur.

Aristotle developed the idea of the incontinent person to explain how an individual could choose to perform a base action over the right action, but in the examples of *akratic* behavior he provides for the reader, it seems that he only shows how, at the moment of choice, this person can be deceived by his/her passions. In the end, does Aristotle present us with an example of a competent person rationally choosing to act wrongly in full awareness of the consequences of her action? If he does, then the incontinent person would never feel guilt as a result of her actions, but Aristotle admits that she does.

Aristotle has proven that lesser forms of *akrasia* can arise in individuals who have base *hekses* operating within them, but just because he has proven that lower forms of *akrasia* can occur logically in the world, does this also prove that *akrasia* per se can exist as well? I’m not sure that it does or that it doesn’t, the paradoxical nature of this inquiry has flummoxed me in the same way that it has the great philosophers of the past. Yet I can be certain that this philosophical debate will continue to intrigue and annoy any philosopher who tries to unravel its mysteries. Perhaps this issue, which was first broached by two of the greatest philosophical minds of the ancient world, will ultimately be resolved by a psychologist!
ENDNOTES

1 Literally translated from the Greek by Liddell and Scott as “lack of mastery”. In the context of the philosophical issue Socrates and Aristotle attempt to settle, it means lack of mastery over oneself, or incontinence. See Liddell and Scott’s Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 27-28.


6 I would define metaphysical monism as the belief that ‘all is one’, which would entail that there is no such thing as change.


8 The root word enkrateia is translated by Liddell and Scott as “mastery”. In the context of this philosophical debate, the enkratic individual is one who has mastery over oneself, or is continent. Ibid., 191.

9 An active premise is simply the premise that compels one to perform a certain action.

10 Translated from the original Greek by Liddell and Scott as “a being in a certain state, a permanent condition or habit, of body or mind”. See Liddell and Scott’s Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 237.


12 Ibid., 208. Refer to Table 6.5, “Ways to Reduce Dissonance”, for more information about these strategies.


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The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy, 2nd ed. s.v. “Socratic paradoxes”.


Liddell and Scott’s Greek-English Lexicon, s.v. “akrasia” and “enkrateia”.

This article is a condensed version of my honors thesis that was completed in October of 2008 and is entitled “The Application of Grice’s Cooperative Principle to Political Discourse: An Analysis of 2007 Pre-Primary Presidential Debates.”

A democracy is founded on the people’s free election of leaders, and public debates are a traditional method of facilitating the discussion necessary for the voters to make educated voting decisions. It is the voter’s expectation that a presidential debate will provide a meaningful exchange of views understandable to the viewing public. The candidates’ responses to the questions of a moderator should ensure that the public receives relevant information. If the candidates avoid the intent of the moderators’ questions, how reliable are the debates as sources of useful information? The seriousness of this issue is clear: the lack of conversational cooperation with the moderators during presidential debates has the potential to significantly decrease the ability of American citizens to make informed voting decisions.

This study sought to investigate a perceived lack of cooperation between presidential candidates and moderators during televised debates. The core of this study is an analysis of selected portions of debate transcripts from televised U. S. pre-primary presidential debates that took place in 2007. This analysis consisted of using a modified version of H. P. Grice’s conversational maxims (derived from his cooperative principle) to identify violations of the maxims in candidate responses to moderator questions.

**GRICE’S FRAMEWORK**

The first step in completing this study was to carry out an in-depth literature search covering the fields of communication, linguistics, political discourse, and discourse analysis. Although it was not possible to include the findings from the literature search in this article, it is necessary to discuss the discourse framework I used in my study. This framework is based on the theory of conversational implicature, first presented by philosopher Herbert Paul Grice in 1975. Out of this theory, Grice developed the concept of the cooperative principle and a series of maxims known as Grice’s maxims. Grice states that, for a meaningful conversation to occur, the speaker and listener must cooperate—that is, the speaker can only convey meaning if the listener cooperates with the speaker’s intention, and vice versa. This principle seems to suggest that cooperation is indeed required for successful conversational interaction. To explain the cooperative principle, Grice devised the conversational maxims, defined as rules that are generally observed by participants during a conversation.

Grice built his theory of conversational implicature on the accepted notion that “what people literally say and what they actually mean are often very different matters” (Chapman, 2003). Grice thought that this discrepancy could be systematically explained. He created the term *implicature* to denote “non-literal meaning” that a speaker conveys indirectly by implying something (Chapman, 2003). To illustrate this concept, Grice gives the following example (qtd. in Renkema, 1993). Person A is standing beside an obviously immobilized vehicle and is approached by Person B. Person A says, “I am out of petrol [gasoline].” Person B replies “There is a garage around the corner.” If A assumes that B’s comment is relevant to the conversation, then A can deduce that the garage around the corner is open and sells gasoline, even though B did not state these implicatures directly. The backbone of Grice’s theory of implicature is what he calls the cooperative principle, which he states thusly: “Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or directions of the speech exchange in which you are engaged” (Grice, 1975, p. 41). In order to carry
out a conversation, interlocutors must cooperate with each other. As Renkema (1993) points out, “A speaker can only get meaning across if the listener cooperates” (Renkema, 1993, p. 9).

To explain how the cooperative principle operates, Grice created a series of conversational maxims (Renkema, 1993). These maxims are rules that participants in a conversation generally observe so that the conversation is understandable. Grice divided the maxims into four categories. He lists the maxims as follows:

I. Quantity:
   1.) Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
   2.) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

II. Quality:
   Supermaxim: Try to make your contribution one that is true.
   1.) Do not say what you believe to be false.
   2.) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

III. Relevance:
   1.) Be relevant.

IV. Manner:
   Supermaxim: Be perspicuous.
   1.) Avoid obscurity of expression.
   2.) Avoid ambiguity.
   3.) Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
   4.) Be orderly. (Renkema, 1991, p. 10)

Grice emphasized that interlocutors do not always adhere to these maxims in conversation, but when a speaker does not follow one or more maxims, they are inviting their listener to figure out why (Grice, 1975; Johnstone, 2008). Grice introduced two terms related to the breaking of maxims—flouting and violating. “Flouting” a maxim occurs when a speaker strategically ignores a maxim in order to send an indirect message. Johnstone (2008) provides the following example of a parent flouting the maxim of quantity:

A: Let’s get the kids something.
B: Okay, but I veto I-C-E C-R-E-A-M-S. (p. 235)

By spelling out “ice creams,” Parent B is saying more than is necessary and thereby violating the maxim of quantity. If Parent A assumes that Parent B is being cooperative and meaningful, then Parent A will understand that Parent B does not want the children to understand the topic of conversation (Johnstone, 2008). When a speaker flouts a maxim, the listener still understands the meaning of the message. “Violating” a maxim occurs when a speaker intentionally or unintentionally breaks a maxim in a way that causes the listener to misunderstand the speaker’s intended meaning, or simply impedes the flow of the conversation.

Although much research exists about conversational analysis and the cooperative principle, I found no studies analyzing political debates based on Grice’s theory of conversational implicature. One study (Braga & Marques, 2004) looked at prosody in political debates, but it did not use Grice’s maxims. Therefore, I chose to use Grice’s maxims as a tool for analyzing the degree of cooperation in the political debate setting. Specifically, I wanted to determine the extent to which candidate responses during debates were germane to the questions asked. I formulated two hypotheses. The first hypothesis stated that the candidates’ actual responses during debates, when analyzed, would call into question the supposed cooperative nature of the current question-answer format found in presidential debates. The second hypothesis stated that Grice’s maxims would provide relevant data leading to a more precise description of the perceived lack of cooperation during debates. These hypotheses formed the basis of the study which is reported in this article.
APPROACHES AND METHODOLOGY

While Grice’s maxims provided the basic framework of analysis for this study, I modified them based on the work of A. P. Martinich (1980), who replaced some of Grice’s maxims with revised maxims of his own that often combined concepts or restated them more clearly. Instead of replacing Grice’s maxims with Martinich’s new ones, I chose to incorporate Martinich’s new maxims into Grice’s list, creating a unique, comprehensive list that I named Grice’s Maxims Modified (GMM). I then used this new framework to analyze candidate responses to moderator questions in 2007 pre-primary presidential debate transcripts for violations of maxims. More violations constituted a lesser degree of cooperation.

The first of Martinich’s new maxims that I added to Grice’s list was Martinich’s supermaxim A of quantity. This supermaxim, which combines Grice’s two maxims A1 and A2, reads, “Contribute as much as, but not more than, is required (for the current purposes of the exchange)” (Martinich, 1980, p. 218). The second maxim I added to Grice’s list was what Martinich calls maxim B’ (B prime) in the category of quality. This maxim reads, “Be authentic: that is, do not knowingly participate in a speech act for which the conditions of successful and non-defective performance are not satisfied” (Martinich, 1980, p. 220). The third addition was to add Martinich’s two proposed submaxims, C1 and C2, to the category of relation. Maxim C1 reads, “Make your contribution one that moves the discourse towards its goal,” and maxim C2 reads, “Express yourself in terms that will allow your hearer to tie your contribution into the conversational context” (Martinich, 1980, pp. 220-221). Reflecting the changes mentioned above, the GMM framework used in my study includes the following components:

Quantity:

A. Contribute as much as, but not more than, is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
   A1: Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
   A2: Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Quality:

B. Try to make your contribution one that is true.
   B1: Do not say what you believe to be false.
   B2: Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
   B’ Be authentic: that is, do not knowingly participate in a speech act for which the conditions of successful and non-defective performance are not satisfied.

Relation:

C. Be relevant.
   C1: Make your contribution one that moves the discourse towards its goal.
   C2: Express yourself in terms that will allow your hearer to tie your contribution into the conversational context.

Manner:

D. Be perspicuous.
   D1: Avoid obscurity of expression.
   D2: Avoid ambiguity.
   D3: Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
   D4: Be orderly.

The sources of political discourse which I analyzed using GMM were transcripts from televised debates of the 2008 U.S. presidential campaign. Although there are many different types of political discourse that could be analyzed using Grice’s maxims or a similar framework, debates were chosen for this study because they allow for a sustained conversation, they are concerned with logic and reasoning, and they are recognized as a fundamental source of voter information about candidates (Sachoff, 2008).
A presidential election was chosen as opposed to a Congressional election because of the relevance the Presidency holds for all American citizens. The 2008 presidential election was the obvious choice; it was the most current. Televised debates were chosen for this study because they are viewed by a large number of citizens.

After consulting many different sources and only counting televised debates that had moderators and that occurred before the beginning of the U.S. primaries in January, 2008, I determined that there were 31 pre-primary debates in 2007. Out of these 31 debates, six debates were selected for inclusion in this study: three Democratic debates and three Republican debates. These six were chosen because all of them were aired on major national news networks and were moderated by noted news anchors and newspaper editors. At least six candidates participated in each of the six debates. Barack Obama (the Democratic Party nominee for the 2008 presidential election) participated in all three of the Democratic debates chosen for this study. John McCain (the Republican Party nominee) participated in all three of the Republican debates chosen for this study. The six debates were chosen in three sets of two “corresponding” debates; the pairs corresponded by network and date aired. The transcripts were labeled DEM #1 and REP #1, DEM #2 and REP #2, and DEM #3 and REP #3. The pair of #1 debates aired on MSNBC in spring of 2007, with DEM #1 airing April 26th and REP #1 airing May 3rd (South Carolina, 2007; California, 2007). The pair of #2 debates aired on ABC News in summer of 2007: DEM #2 on August 19th and REP #2 on August 5th (Transcript, 2007; Republicans, 2007). The pair of #3 debates aired on CNN in winter of 2007: DEM #3 on December 13th and REP #3 on December 12th (Des Moines, 2007; Republican presidential, 2007).

Since a single presidential debate can run for an hour and a half and result in a transcript over fifty pages long, it was necessary to narrow the focus of this study to include only certain topics, rather than every topic discussed during the debate. The decision was made to choose the topics of greatest interest to Americans; moreover, such topics would have the greatest likelihood of being discussed across several debates. The three most important topics for Americans in 2007, according to a Gallop poll at the time, were the war in Iraq (36%), the economy (16%), and health care (15%) (Carroll, 2007). The issue of the economy presented a special challenge for this study; namely, that it was difficult to distinguish between questions about the economy and questions concerning government finances in general. Therefore, the two topics of Iraq and health care were selected for this study. This means that, during this study, when analyzing candidate responses according to Grice’s Maxims Modified, only responses to questions asked by the moderator about the topics of the war in Iraq and health care were considered; all other questions and responses were ignored (such as questions about the economy or immigration).

For the sake of consistency, the following list of eight basic rules were established to determine which question-response pairs would be included in the study and which would not:

1.) Do not include uncooperative questions. These were defined as questions to which there could be no cooperative answer.
2.) Do not include questions which are so ambiguous or open-ended as not to require cooperation. (For example, the following question was not included: “You have 30 seconds to give the audience your thoughts.”)
3.) Include questions in which the topic of Iraq or health care is contextually implied (such as “Do you agree with this issue” when “this issue” clearly refers to the removal of troops from Iraq).
4.) Include questions in the form “Do you agree with Person X about an issue pertaining to Iraq or health care?”
5.) Do not include questions about terrorism in general or about war in other areas of the world outside Iraq.
6.) Count the same question addressed to a different candidate as a separate question.
Do not include responses to questions asked by candidates (only include responses to questions asked by moderators).

Do not include responses in which candidates digress into the topics of Iraq and health care (only include responses to questions asked about Iraq and health care).

In order to maintain consistency of analysis, it also became necessary to define what constitutes a violation of a maxim, as well as how to determine which maxim was violated. The following criteria were used:

1.) A candidate answering the question asked but not answering it sufficiently was considered a violation of maxim A1.

2.) A candidate giving too much information that is still relevant to the question was considered a violation of maxim A2.

3.) A candidate contradicting himself/herself was considered a violation of maxim B1.

4.) A candidate making an assertion that everyone believes the same thing was considered a violation of maxim B1.

5.) A candidate making a statement that is factually flawed was considered a violation of maxim B2. (This was almost impossible to identify.)

6.) A candidate not answering the question asked was considered a violation of maxim C1.

7.) A candidate answering a question that was not asked (agenda switching) was considered a violation of maxim C2.

8.) A candidate using unnecessary jargon or doublespeak (Lutz, 1987) was considered a violation of maxim D1.

9.) A candidate taking too long to make a point was considered a violation of D3.

10.) A single candidate response could contain more than one violation.

Narrowing down the debates by question topic and then further by the rules stated above, the candidates’ responses were then analyzed for violations of Grice’s Maxims Modified, using the above qualifications as guidelines. Violations were highlighted and recorded. The following is an example of a violation of the maxim of relevance that I identified in the debate I have named REP #1. Senator John McCain was asked the following question by the moderator: “Senator McCain, most of the public pessimism today has to do with Iraq. What would you need, as commander in chief, to win the war in Iraq?” Senator McCain gave the following response:

“I would need the support of the American people. I would need to be able to show them some success in Iraq, both on the battlefield as well as with the Maliki government. We have a new general; we have a new strategy. That strategy can succeed. The young men and women who are serving are the best of America. I believe that if we bring about stability in the neighborhoods in Iraq and have the Maliki government govern, you are going to succeed. My friends, when the majority leader of the United States Senate says we’ve lost the war, the men and women that are serving in Iraq reject that notion. And, if we lost, then who win? Did Al Qaida win? When on the floor of the House of Representatives they cheer -- they cheer -- when they pass a withdrawal motion that is a certain date for surrender, what were they cheering? Surrender? Defeat? We must win in Iraq. If we withdraw, there will be chaos; there will be genocide; and they will follow us home.” (California, 2007)

I have underlined the portion of his response which I identified as violating maxim C2 of Grice’s Maxims Modified. This maxim states that speakers should tie their contributions into the conversational context. The underlined portion of Senator McCain’s response does not relate to the context of answering the moderator’s question about needs in office; it goes off topic to the Senate majority leader.

The following is an example of a violation of the maxim of quantity that I identified in the debate I named DEM #2. Senator Hilary Clinton was asked the following question by the moderator: “Is
Governor Richardson wrong when he says that all troops except for the protection of the embassy can be out by the end of the year?” Senator Clinton gave the following response:

“Well, I think that based on the conversations I’ve had with military planners and outside experts, Joe is right, that this is going to take a while. People say you can move maybe a brigade to two brigades a month. It is so important that we not oversell this. We’ve got to move them as quickly as possible, but you also have to move out the equipment. There has been no indication that the Turks are willing to let us move out. They wouldn't let us move in. That means we go back down through the south. And if you remember, when we were supposedly on the road to liberation, we were attacked by Shiites back in March and April of 2003. So this is not going to be easy or safe. And we've got to be very careful about how we do it.” (Transcript, 2007)

I have underlined the portion of her response that I identified as a violation of maxim A2 of Grice’s Maxims Modified. This maxim states that speakers should not make their contributions more informative than necessary. Senator Clinton answers the moderator’s questions sufficiently in the first two sentences of her response. The remaining underlined portion is more information than is needed to understand her position.

After all qualifying question-answer pairs from the six debates were analyzed, the results were compiled. Since the third set of debates (DEM #3 and REP #3) did not yield any usable questions based on the rules stated above, they were not included in the final results. Only the data from the first four debates—DEM #1, REP #1, DEM #2, and REP #2—were included in the final results.

RESULTS OF STUDY

The results from my analysis of the four debates are given below, in the order the debates were analyzed: DEM #1, then REP #1, then DEM #2, then REP #2, ending with a discussion of the totaled results of all four debates. (See Table 1).

The Democratic debate that I have designated DEM #1, which took place in South Carolina and aired on MSNBC on April 26th, 2007, yielded the following results. During this debate, 77 questions were asked of the eight candidates participating. The moderators asked 12 questions about the war in Iraq (15.6% of 77), two of which were deemed uncooperative, leaving ten questions about Iraq that were used in this study. In this context, an uncooperative question refers to a question to which there can be no cooperative answer, or a question that is so vague.
Table 1: Results of study analyzing violations of Grice’s Maxims Modified in four debate transcripts.

1 Questions that were cooperative allowed for the possibility of a cooperative answer and were about the war in Iraq or health care.

2 Responses to these qualifying questions that contained at least one violation of Grice’s Maxims Modified.

3 The number of questions “used” refers to the number of questions about the topic minus the uncooperative questions.

that any answer would be cooperative, according to Grice’s maxims. The moderators asked five questions about health care (6.5% of 77), all of which were deemed cooperative and used in this study. Altogether, 15 (19.5%) of the 77 questions were found to be both cooperative and about the topics of the war in Iraq or health care in America. All 15 candidate responses to these 15 questions contained at least one maxim violation of Grice’s Maxims Modified (GMM). There were 25 maxim violations found in the designated 15 responses: 17 violations in responses to questions about the war in Iraq (68.0%), and eight violations in responses to questions about health care (32.0%). Of the 25 maxim violations, 5 of them (20.0%) violated maxims of quantity, 1 of them (4.0%) violated a maxim of quality, 12 of them (48.0%) violated maxims of relation, and 7 of them (28.0%) violated maxims of manner.

The Republican debate which I have designated REP #1, which took place in California and aired on MSNBC on May 3rd, 2007, yielded the following results. One hundred fifty-eight questions were
addressed to the ten candidates participating in this debate. Nine of these questions (5.7%) were about the war in Iraq. All nine were considered cooperative and the corresponding responses were included in this study. Only one question about health care was asked (0.6% of 158); it was deemed cooperative and the candidate response was included in the study. In total, ten (6.3%) of the 158 questions asked in this debate were found to be both cooperative and about the topics of the Iraq war and health care.

Of the ten responses to the ten questions that qualified, nine responses contained at least one maxim violation: eight responses about Iraq, and one response about health care. In total, there were 11 violations of GMM found in the designated ten responses: 10 violations (90.9%) in responses to questions about the war in Iraq, and 1 violation (9.1%) in response to the questions about health care. Of these 11 maxim violations, 4 of them (36.4%) violated maxims of quantity, 3 of them (27.2%) violated maxims of relation, and 4 of them (36.4%) violated maxims of manner.

The Democratic debate that I have designated DEM #2, which took place in Iowa and aired on ABC on August 19, 2007, yielded the following results. The moderators asked 74 questions of the eight candidates participating. The war in Iraq was the topic of ten (13.5%) of these questions, while no questions on the topic of health care were asked. Seven out of the ten questions on Iraq were deemed cooperative, yielding a total of seven candidate responses analyzed from this debate. Seven GMM violations were found in these seven responses: 1 of them (14.3%) violating a maxim of quantity, 1 of them (14.3%) violating a maxim of quality, 2 of them (28.6%) violating maxims of relation, and 3 of them (42.8%) violating maxims of manner.

The Republican debate that I have designated REP #2 which took place in Iowa and aired on ABC on August 5, 2007, yielded the following results. Twelve questions were asked on the topic of the war in Iraq, but three of these 12 were deemed uncooperative questions, leaving nine candidate responses about Iraq included in the study from this debate. Nine questions (10.0% of 90) were asked about the topic of health care, and all were used. Altogether, 18 (20.0%) of the 90 questions asked were found to be both cooperative and relevant to the topics of the study.

Of the responses the candidates gave to these 18 questions, 15 of them contained at least one GMM violation. In total, there were 18 maxim violations in these responses: 11 violations (61.1%) in responses to questions about Iraq, and 7 violations (38.9%) in responses to questions about health care. Of these 18 violations, 6 (33.3%) violated maxims of quantity, 5 (27.8%) violated maxims of relation, and 7 (38.9%) violated maxims of manner.

The cumulative data from all four debates is as follows. In all, the moderators in the four debates asked the candidates a total of 399 questions. Of these 399, 50 questions (12.5%) from the four debates were deemed both cooperative and about the topics of Iraq and health care. Of the 50 candidate responses given to these 50 questions, 44 responses contained at least one violation of Grice’s Maxims Modified—this is 88.0%. Overall, the moderators asked 43 questions about Iraq (10.8% of 399), and 15 questions about health care (3.8% of 399). Sixty-one maxim violations were identified in the four debates, with 45 of them (73.8%) in candidate responses to questions about Iraq and 16 of them (26.2%) in candidate responses to questions about health care. On average, there were 1.29 maxim violations per qualifying response about Iraq, and 1.07 maxim violations per qualifying response about health care. On average, there were 1.22 maxim violations per qualifying response. Some responses contained no violations and others contained several. Finally, 16 of the 61 violations (26.2%) were violations of maxims of quantity, 2 out of 61 (3.3%) violated maxims of quality, 22 out of 61 (36.1%) violated maxims of relation, and 21 out of 61 (34.4%) violated maxims of manner.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

This study set out to investigate whether presidential candidates give cooperative responses to questions asked during televised debates. In terms of the cooperative principle, this study found a significant lack of cooperation in the debates reviewed. There were many more uncooperative
responses from candidates than there were cooperative ones; out of 50 candidate responses considered in this study, 44 (88.0%) contained at least one violation of Grice’s Maxims Modified. The two maxim categories of relation and manner were most often violated, with 70.5% of the total violations found in this study falling into these categories. The most common violation in the category of quantity was giving too much information, which violates maxim A2. The most common violation in the category of relation was using language that does not fit the context of the conversation, which violates maxim C2. The most common violation in the category of manner was the use of ambiguous language, which violates maxim D2.

The results strongly suggest serious violations of the cooperative principle. These results are consistent with the two initial hypotheses stated earlier in this article. The first hypothesis postulated that Grice’s maxims would provide relevant data leading to a more precise description of the perceived lack of cooperation during debates. The results have indeed produced relevant data on the subject (see Table 1). The second hypothesis stated that the candidates’ actual responses during debates, when analyzed, would call into question the apparent cooperative nature of the current question-answer format of presidential debates. The results seem to indicate that presidential candidates are not basically cooperative during debates. Violation appears to be the rule in this context, not cooperation.

There are many important implications that arise from these results. As mentioned above, substantial violations of Grice’s maxims were found. Therefore, Grice’s cooperative principle appears not to be the operating principle of communication in debate discourse. Considering that relation was the category of maxims most violated, it appears that candidates tend to respond to moderator questions using language not relevant to the context of the question asked. In other words, candidates frequently do not stay on topic. In the category of manner, the most common violation was the use of ambiguous language, which suggests that candidates are using language that might be difficult for the voter to understand. The maxim of quality was particularly difficult to analyze because it involves the intent and beliefs of the speaker, which are impossible for the researcher to discern from a written transcript. Therefore, this maxim may need to be rethought.

A connection was found between maxim A1 (make your contribution informative enough) and maxim C1 (make your contribution one that moves the conversation towards its goal) of GMM. In a debate context, the goal of the conversation is to have the candidates answer the moderator’s questions. If a candidate fails to give enough information, then they are likely failing to answer the question and, therefore, failing to move the conversation toward its goal. Likewise, a connection was also found between maxim A2 (do not make your contribution more informative than necessary) and maxim C2 (make your contribution relevant to the context of the conversation) of GMM; a candidate who is providing too much information in a response, thereby violating maxim A2, is likely to be violating maxim C2 as well by answering a question that was not asked, i.e., providing irrelevant information.

The current moderator-controlled question-and-answer debate format may not be an effective way to inform voters about presidential candidates, since candidates gave many uncooperative responses in the debates that were analyzed. The results of my study seem to support the contentions of information manipulation theory (IMT), which postulates that people with devious motives intentionally violate Grice’s maxims to gain power or to manipulate the outcome of a conversational exchange (McCornack, 1992). Candidates are violating maxims in their responses during debates, and these violations can potentially cause confusion or distortion of meaning. Therefore, it is likely that candidates are intentionally violating Grice’s maxims in order to control the outcome of a debate exchange.

My study is limited by my choice to analyze debate transcripts instead of debate videos (which include audio and visual components), by the inclusion of questions about only two topic areas, and by the relatively small sample size of transcripts used. Even though I developed criteria for identifying
violations, a certain amount of subjectivity was present in the analysis, as I decided which responses contained violations.

Grice’s cooperative principle and conversational maxims have constituted a useful framework for the investigation in this study. However, based on my findings, the maxims may need to be reevaluated to allow for the influence of conversational context on communication. Political discourse in America may require its own unique framework of analysis apart from the cooperative principle.

CONCLUSION

The live televised broadcast of presidential debates emphasizes the importance of a candidate’s ability to give reasoned responses in a spontaneous fashion. Accountability and accuracy are stressed, since the voters receive the information directly from the candidates themselves. Most importantly, televised debates provide immediacy—the opportunity for every American voter to see and hear the candidates speaking at the same event at the same moment. Therefore, debates allow voters the best opportunity to have a shared base of knowledge about the candidates. Given the critical aspect of debates in voters’ decision-making process, the lack of cooperation between moderator and candidate, as revealed through my study, calls into question the relevance of the current debate format.

National elections are the cornerstone of our democracy, for they provide citizens the opportunity to choose national leaders, who are expected to act on behalf of the common good. The process of electing national leaders in a democracy requires voters to make informed choices regarding the future of the entire country, with debates being one of the most accessible opportunities for understanding each candidate’s positions on issues crucial to the voter. If candidates respond in a way that inhibits voters from learning about the candidates’ positions, then the voters are less equipped to make educated decisions. If the voters cannot make educated decisions, then elections no longer represent democracy. The founding fathers intended the vote to be a reasoned choice, not a random guess. They saw the principle of being educated as foundational to the preservation of liberty, as is evident in the following statement by Thomas Jefferson in 1816: “If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be” (Coates, 1999).
REFERENCES


ABSTRACT
Linguistically and culturally Latin American in the United States share values and traditions that make them a homogeneous community. However, we can also observe cultural complexities that contribute to important differences between Mexican Culture and Puerto Rican culture in the United States.

In this paper we are going to examine the meaning of being Mexican or Puerto Rican in the U.S. as depicted in the novel ‘When I was a Puerto Rican’, by Esmeralda Santiago and ‘Mi familia’ (‘My family’), a motion picture by director Gregorio Nava. We will focus on similarities and differences in ethnic heritage, language, traditions, values and circumstances in which they have immigrated to the United States. This paper will also focus on the tensions encountered between these two groups.

Mexicans and Puerto Ricans: Two Ingredients of the Melting Pot
Linguistically and culturally, Latin American cultures share values and traditions that make them a homogeneous community. However, some complexities can be found that contribute to important differences between these cultures. Two of the predominant Latin American cultures in the United States are the Mexican culture and the Puerto Rican culture. Although these two groups share many similarities, they also have differences in the aspects of language, religion, and politics. As a result of these differences, tensions are created within them.

The first aspect in which Mexicans and Puerto Ricans can differ is language. Language is a broad word that each individual interprets differently. For some, it is a sense of identity, for others a sense of pride, and for the others, it is simply what defines them and where they come from. Language is the expression of human communication through which knowledge, beliefs, and behaviors can be experienced, explained, and shared. Language has evolved in different ways and with different meanings throughout time. Thus, language is internationally diverse. One of the broadest languages today is Spanish. Today, approximately 400 million people speak Spanish as a native language, making it the world’s fourth most spoken language.

Spanish is spoken in different regions around the world: Central America, South America, the Caribbean islands, Spain, and Mexico. Spanish has its roots from Latin. When the Spaniards came to the new world, the different indigenous tribes amazed them. Human evolution was very different and new languages were spoken. Thus, the Spaniards took advantage to modernize their own language taking new words from the newly discovered world. Although Spanish is spoken in different countries, it differs in the way it is spoken from country to country. For example, Mexico’s Spanish is different from Puerto Rico’s Spanish. The Spanish dialect spoken in Mexico, mainly in the central area, has an indigenous substratum of mainly Nahuatl, which the Castilian language was placed on top of. However, its influence is hardly felt in the area of grammar. In Mexico, words such as such as jicara (gourd/small cup), petaca (suitcase/trunk/luggage/hump), petate (grass/palm mat), aguacate (avocado pear/idiot/fool/balls), tomate, hule (rubber/rubber tree/condom), chocolate etc., Mexican words from the Nahuatl can be found in the vocabulary. Sometimes the Nahuatl voice co-exists with the Spanish voice, as in the cases of cuate and amigo (friend), guajolote and pavo (turkey), chamaco and niño (boy),
mecate and reata (rope), etc. In other cases, indigenous words differ slightly from Mexican words as in the cases of huarache, which is a type of sandal; tiapalería, a type of hardware store, molcajete, a stone mortar, etc. The Tainos, Native American tribes from Puerto Rico, who were conquered by the Spaniards, survived by the vocabulary. This was the first mix between Spanish and an indigenous language that influenced the English language. For example, words like huracán (hurricane), barbacoa (barbecue), hamaca (hammock), canoa (canoe) are from the Taino’s language, Arawakan, which has left Puerto Rico with a lot of words and has also given Puerto Ricans the tone in which they talk. The Puerto Rican Spanish dialect can be distinguished by the change in pronunciation of s’s to h’s. For example, the words adios to adioh or horas to horah reflect that change in pronunciation. Also, the elision of the teeth in the suffixes -ado, -edo and -ido and the corresponding feminine forms to -ao, -eo and –ío as it is in the word transformado to transformao. Finally, the change in pronunciation of r’s to l’s as it is in the word señor to señor. Differences in the Spanish language can be seen throughout countries but even more amazing, in different parts of a country, such as towns, cities and even sectors. For example, in the movie, My Family directed by Gregory Nava (1995), is a great example of how Spanish changes from a native within a little poor town in Mexico to a Mexican immigrant who immigrates to the United States. Also, in the novel When I was Puerto Rican by Esmeralda Santiago (2006) gives examples of the new language that had to be learned in order to be accepted in the new country. Many words differ in both countries. For instance, in the movie My Family, the word ruca means girlfriend or wife in Mexico, but it means old in Puerto Rico. The word for father and mother is often used as jefe or jefa in Mexico, while in Puerto Rico it has the meaning as in other parts of Spanish speaking countries, mami or papi. The word fogón, means kitchen in Puerto Rico and cocina in Mexico. Aguinaldo in Mexico means money that is given for your consisting work near Christmas time and in Puerto Rico, it means songs about the birth of Jesus during. In Mexico, to refer to jail is la pinta and in Puerto Rico is called carcel, as well as in Mexico. Although it is written grammatically the same in many countries, it can differ from region to region in the way it is pronounced. Spanish has been influenced by the impact of the Spanish conquest and the different indigenous people that occupied the place before the arrival of the Spaniards. This impact has facilitated the identification of both Puerto Ricans and Mexicans by the way they speak.

The differences and similarities between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans go beyond the linguistic aspect. Culturally and politically, there are differences and similarities that can unite or separate these two ethnic groups. From the cultural aspect, religion is, without doubt, a fundamental part. Both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are devoted to the catholic religion. However, the magnitude of devotion between the two is different. Mexicans are considered the second largest community in the world after Brazil. It is estimated that 88% of Mexico’s population is considered catholic. In Puerto Rico, which is considerably smaller than Mexico, approximately 80% is considered catholic. One major difference between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans is the type of Catholicism that they practice. On one hand, Mexicans are devoted to the virgin, and the Lady of Guadalupe is considered an icon of the Catholicism in Mexico. The devotion of Mexicans to the virgin can be seen everywhere including movies. For example, in the film, My Family by the director Gregory Nava, the virgin is mention several times and images of her are seen. Puerto Ricans consider it more important to have a spiritual relationship direct to the image of God. For example, in the biographical novel by Esmeralda Santiago, When I was Puerto Rican, there is one scene in which the people pray directly to God in church, as opposed to many Mexicans who would pray directly to the virgin. Other forms of religions known as Protestants are present in Mexico and Puerto Rico. In Mexico, 6% of the population is considered Protestant. These forms of Protestantism in Mexico are linked to indigenous religions, but not far from Christianity. In Puerto Rico, Protestantism takes place in the 20th century with the idea of promoting the English language on the Island. However, other religions linked to the Native Indians and African slaves can be seen there. For example, Santeria and Brujeria are two forms of religion that can be tied to either
Christianity or paganism. However, only a few people today practice these religions. Even though there are noticeable differences between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, some religious traditions can be seen in both groups. For example, a woman must remain virgin until marriage and is restricted to her parents’ home until she marries the man that she will live with for the duration of her life. The main differences among both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans can be seen in the political aspect. Puerto Rico has been a territory of the United States of America since 1898, after it was taken away from the Spanish crown during the Spanish American War. Since then, political bonds between Puerto Rico and the United States have formed. The most significant political bond was created in 1917 when the congress of the United States passed the Jones Act, which gave Puerto Ricans American citizenship. Years later, in 1952, Puerto Rico officially became a commonwealth of the United States, which gave them the right to have their own constitution without losing their citizenship status. Mexicans do not have the same opportunity of United States citizenship. This situation marks the differences between the two groups. As a result, tensions are created, which can sometimes be taken very personally. Some Mexicans do not see Puerto Ricans as immigrants and can show some degree of contempt. However, some Puerto Ricans look at Mexicans with inferiority. Some Mexicans consider the political status of Puerto Rico an advantage. Thus, it is very common to see arrange marriages between both groups. On some occasions, Mexicans marry Puerto Ricans to obtain United States citizenship. Puerto Ricans who agree to arrange marriages also benefit as they receive some monetary reward. Without doubt, the political aspect makes a huge impact in the difference between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.

In summary, even though Mexicans and Puerto Ricans have differences, their similarities create unity. Both cultures spice up the Latin American culture. Furthermore, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are two ingredients of the melting pot that have contributed and formed part of this great nation, the United States of America.
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Testing the Psychological Egoism Hypothesis on the Nazi Experiment

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It is estimated that over six million Jews perished during the Nazi Holocaust. This statistic is not new, nor is the historical interest in the events that inspired, perpetuated, and terminated the Nazi movement in Germany. In his book *Humanity: A Moral History of the Twentieth Century*, author Jonathon Glover presents a moral account of the historical events of the Holocaust, laying out the circumstances that led up to and sustained the Holocaust and examining them under a moral lens. Many have attempted to understand why the Holocaust and events like it have happened, and such queries necessarily dive into the realm of human psychological motivation. One controversial theory of human behavior is ‘psychological egoism.’ In his article titled ‘Psychological Egoism,’ philosopher Joel Feinberg defines the theory as one that asserts ‘not merely that all men do as a contingent matter of fact ‘put their own interests first,’ but also that they are capable of nothing else...universal selfishness is not just an accident or coincidence on this view; rather, it is an unavoidable consequence of psychological laws” (477). In essence, according to psychological egoism, human beings *can only* act out of a constant psychological imperative that puts the interests of the self before all else. [This is not to be confused with ‘ethical egoism’ which states that all people *ought* to act in a way that puts their interests before all else. These concepts are commonly mistaken for the other, so an easy way to remember the distinction is that *ethical egoism* is an *ethical* theory describing what *ought* to be done while *psychological egoism* is a *psychological* theory describing what *is* done based on human nature.]

By no stretch of the imagination can one discern the controversial nature of this theory. Opponents can cite countless examples of altruism and total selflessness that occur on a daily basis. However, supporters maintain that apparent acts of altruism and selflessness only occur because of the positive reward stimulus the actor receives as compensation for the ‘noble’ act. It is pertinent to point out that, logically speaking, there is no way to entirely prove or disprove the veracity of psychological egoism (in order for a theory to accurately explain human behavior, it must hold consistently upon an examination of every possible human behavior, which by itself is an impossible task). Therefore, the purpose here is not to prove psychological egoism, but merely to present a legitimating case that asserts the theory’s plausibility as a reasonable hypothesis for why humans have committed such evil atrocities as the Holocaust. This thesis will henceforth be shortened into ‘the psychological egoism hypothesis.’

The primary support for this thesis draws from the work of anthropologist Ernest Becker, specifically his book *Escape From Evil*. Becker provides historical, ethnological, and psychological evidence explaining how humans come to commit evil in the first place. He writes that humans hunger for the psychological satisfaction of having a meaningful place in the universe, which is powered by our uniquely human fears of death and life. In order to achieve this, he says, human’s established a cultural society in which a.) prosperity for the community translated into prosperity for the individual, and b.) understanding and achievement of ritual brought about this prosperity. Those who are seen as heroic are those who function as a catalyst for the acquisition of prosperity and stability. Everyone seeks a way to attain heroism, but at the same time feels guilt for even existing in the first place, let alone being in the position of ‘sticking out’ too far socially. This guilt encourages a psychological drive to make sacrifices that directly benefit the group. He goes on to explain that as primitives evolved, those members of society who possessed great skill in hunting, warfare, leadership, or channeling into the spirit world were seen as mysterious, and because of their seemingly superhuman qualities, people came to make offerings to these people instead of the gods to whom they used to make ritual offerings. Kings became gods, ‘shamen,’ and ritual became modified by the king’s will and mutated into social
‘custom.’ Those who diverge from ‘sacred custom’ are scape-goated, labeled as outsiders, outcasts, even a representative symbol of that which inhibits communal prosperity. This rough overview of Becker’s theory provides a foundation onto which an analysis of human behavior before and during the Holocaust can be built: it will be based primarily on Becker’s theories interwoven with Glover’s moral history, which will work to show the plausibility of the psychological egoism hypothesis.

The most reasonable starting point is the examination of the appeal of the Nazi movement to personal and national self-interest. Glover writes that much of Nazism was founded largely on an overwhelming sense of nationalism. He writes, “This was the deepest appeal of the movement. Many of Hitler’s followers shared his sense of resentment at Germany’s defeat in the First World War” (318). Establishing this common ground among frustrated, struggling German citizens was the first step in the process of establishing an official political movement. The next logical step of the movement, he continues, was to seek out and identify an enemy. He writes:

A common response to the defeat was to look for scapegoats. Hitler blamed the Jews for causing the war: ‘That race of criminals has on its conscience the two million dead of the First World War, and now already thousands more.’ Hitler claimed that Jews took safe jobs as clerks instead of fighting and that they ruined the German economy: ‘The spider was slowly beginning to suck the blood out of people’s pores. Through the war corporations, they had found an instrument with which, little by little, to finish off the national free economy. (318)

At this point, the Nazi message inspired a following united by national and racial pride. The cause of Germany’s deficits and set backs was identified (the Jews) and now the divide between Jews and non-Jews was so clearly drawn that scape-goating eventually evolved into outright violence. Becker’s ideas help explain the success of what I refer to as the ‘Nazi persuasion’: the process of the Nazi movement’s control and perpetuation over the citizenry. Becker writes that “what man really fears is not so much extinction, but extinction with insignificance” (4). The Nazi message played on natural human fears of living and dying without significance by instilling in the German citizenry a common sense of purpose. By eliminating the Jews, it was believed, prosperity would be returned to the community - this notion sparked the motivations of countless Germans frustrated with the present state of affairs and hungry for a sense of meaning and purpose to their lives so lacking in significance. The Nazis also played on the natural human drive for prosperity. Becker writes of prosperity that it is, ‘the universal ambition of human society...[it means that] a high level of organismic functioning will be maintained, and so anything that works against this has to be avoided” (2). To the Nazis, the Jews were that which worked against German prosperity, so in order to avoid this obstruction the Nazis felt it logical to simply eliminate it. With prosperity at significance and prosperity on the line, the Nazi message appealed to the German citizenry on a national level that gradually became more and more personal.

That is to say that the Nazi movement targeted the self-interests of scared, frustrated German citizens and appealed to them to gain political support. And it worked. It is evident, then that the early Nazi followers acted out of pure personal self-interest in their decision to join the Nazi movement. We see Becker’s ideas at work in Glover’s retelling of the Nazi story: promises of regaining significance and prosperity were enough to convince these ordinary German citizens that scape-going the Jews and eventually murdering them by the millions was morally acceptable. The Nazis amassed their army of followers by targeting and exploiting natural human fears and desires which directly contributes to the plausibility of the psychological egoism hypothesis: the self-interests of the German public were manipulated by the Nazis, thus effectively giving the Nazis control over the Germans.

Following the examination of the initial appeal of the Nazi message, it is necessary to provide an examination of how the submissive attitude of the Nazi masses inspired a kind of eagerness to support
the leader of the Nazis: Hitler. Glover writes, “In Nazi Germany obedience was linked to acceptance of the Führer’s authority. Acceptance was linked to Hitler’s deliberately religious-style charisma, which was apparent in his speeches” (329). Hitler’s unusual charisma made him recognized by followers not just as a leader, but practically godlike. It was this charisma which made the Nazi message so believable in the first place: making the idea of Nazism sound attractive required the skill of someone who could no only inspire a nation to unite against a common enemy but to actually command the nation to eliminate the enemy totally and unquestioningly. Aside from the ‘vertical’ authority the Nazi leaders exuded, Glover writes that, “there were also ‘horizontal’ pressures to conform with members of the group” (333). The strength of conformity’s pull is always powerful, and it was especially so in Nazi Germany. Not only was it important not to appear soft or weak in front of officers and commanders, what would be equally unbearable would be appear disloyal to the Führer and his ultimate aim, as everyone else submits to him and believes that his way is the best way out of Germany’s crisis.

Becker would say that Hitler was the hero of the Nazis. That sounds like an odd title for the mastermind behind the death of more than six million Jews, but anthropologically speaking, Hitler was the hero of that society. Becker writes that, “The origin of human drivenness is religious because man experiences creatureliness: the amassing of surplus, then, goes to the very heart of human motivation, the urge to stand out as a hero, to transcend the limitations of the human condition and achieve victory over impotence and finitude” (31). Becker recognizes that humans feel trapped by their status as finite animals, so the notion of heroism is representative of that which surpasses the ordinary and delivers the most prosperity to the group. Hitler promised the restoration of significance and prosperity to Germany through the elimination of the Jews, which attracted to him a following that can only adequately be called ‘religious.’ Hitler’s godlike image, afforded him by his charisma and enthusiasm about bringing stability back to the nation, set him apart and above his fellow Germans as a kind of primitive heroic king to whom the masses submitted (Becker refers to this loyal submission to a hero or community as ‘immersion’). Through mystification and transference (Becker’s terms for idolizing someone in society for having a heroic skill like a priest or warrior and then transferring religious or holy power or ‘mana’ to the man or woman as a direct physical representative of divine presence on earth), Hitler became the godlike hero desperate Germany needed and the masses willingly immersed themselves among each other in submission to the Führer all for the sakes of a.) restoring peace and prosperity to Europe, and b.) saving one’s own face or honor – in either case, we’re obsessed with and act to secure our needs, whatever they may be.

Whether he knew it or not, Hitler played on people’s natural senses of guilt and sacrifice. Becker writes that at times “Our own uniqueness becomes a burden to us; we ‘stick out’ more than we can safely manage” (34). This is guilt at work: we paradoxically strive for heroism and anonymity at the same time, and when we ‘stick out’ we become anxious about becoming the new center attention. Of course, we don’t mind our heroes sticking out, because after all, Becker writes, “subordinacy comes naturally from man’s basic experiences of being nourished and cared for” (33). Hitler became that caregiver to desperate German society, and in his heroic stance, he subdued the chatty masses into quiet, obedient workers in his massive plot. He played on their natural feelings of guilt to stir up natural feelings of obligation when it came to making sacrifices for the betterment of the nation. These sacrifices, of course, were human in nature. By controlling this hierarchy frighteningly well, Hitler’s will became the will of the Nazis, which became the wills of the German people. Hitler was effectively controlling the actions of his followers by manipulating their interests, and he did this by promising them ultimate ends that included restoring significance and prosperity back to Germany, and ultimately back to the German individual.

Ergo, in this stage of the Nazi persuasion, we see Becker’s theories effectively put into practice by the Nazi followers of the time in order to attain satisfaction of one’s psychological interests. Although they were manipulated into killing millions of people, they acted on their selfish impulses engrained
deep in their universal psychology, as explained by Becker, revealed by Glover, and manipulated by Hitler. They put their own interests before all else when deciding to follow the Führer and execute his will, because they understood that doing those two things ultimately led to inevitable achievement of their own personal interests, which sets up the enhancement of the plausibility of the psychological egoism hypothesis.

The final step of the Nazi persuasion is the rationalization and justification of the genocide itself. Glover writes that the Nazis used specific techniques to erode the moral identity of their soldiers, which not only enabled the mass killings of the Jews to take place but they were performed with nightmarish efficiency. He writes that evasion and denial are the two modes of eroding someone’s moral identity. Of evasion, he writes, “Division of labour made evasion of personal responsibility easier. Those who rounded up Polish Jews from their homes, and were also made to shoot them, were acutely aware of participating in the atrocity. But those who rounded up people had far less sense of this when the killing was done elsewhere by other people” (350). This is to say that the Nazis made the genocide more efficient by dividing labor in such a way that certain roles weren’t directly involved in the actual killing, making them feel less responsible, and ultimately more capable of speeding the killing process along. Of denial, Glover writes it is “a defense against recognizing the reality of what is happening…it minimizes or obscures the horror of what is being done” (351). This is to say that the Nazis developed techniques that allowed those who participated in the actual killings to numb themselves from ‘the horror of what is being done.” Such a technique involves what Glover refers to as the ‘cold joke’: a joke that attempts to make humor out of an otherwise horrific and unlaughable situation in order to make the killing process more effective. Through these techniques, the Nazis rationalized and justified their actions, whether or not they were immediately aware of committing genocide.

The Nazi erosion of moral identity is the method through which Nazi followers and soldiers rationalized and justified the beliefs and tasks before them. Becker’s elements of guilt, sacrifice, and scape-goating are present throughout the entire process of the Nazi persuasion, but underlying them all is the element of ritual. Becker explains ritual as “a technique for giving life,” which means that in a ritualized communal setting, every member of the community has a specific and important role to play in the understanding and realization of the ritual (6). Rituals were performed by primitives in order to manipulate the universe (whether or not they actually manipulated the universe is unimportant: what matters is that the society believed that the universe was organized and able to be manipulated through the arrangement, understanding, and proper execution of societal ritual. The Nazi episode is in many ways no different. In Nazism, every soldier has a specific job to do, and as mentioned earlier, not all Nazis were directly aware of the impact of the consequences of their actions under Hitler’s rule. Hitler is the cosmic Nazi hero, the chief, the shaman, the ruler to whom all followers immerse and submit themselves. What gave the Nazis a sense of meaning and significance was the importance the hierarchy put on total participation and conformity by everyone involved in the Nazi ritual (the ritual, of course, being the execution of European Jews). The core of the Nazi doctrine was that if the Jews (the scape-goats, the ones perceived to be the source of Germany’s suffering) were eliminated, prosperity would return to the motherland. Hitler played on the Germans’ engrained feelings of guilt and controlled their interests, effectively guiding their movements and decisions and ultimately producing a sacrifice to be made for the benefit of all Nazi society: millions of dead Jews. This final picture of the Nazi persuasion shows just how exactly alike Nazi movement was to a primitive ritual described by Becker.

The point of this final picture, of course, is not just to draw a comparison between the ritual dealings of modern evil men and innocent primitive men. We see in this final analysis of Becker’s ritualized society and Glover’s picture of Nazi Germany more than just an interesting set of comparisons: we see a plausible explanation for why human beings do what they do. Along every step of the way in either a primitive ritual or a Nazi killing, the agents of these respective societies are motivated by their duty to themselves. Regardless of who controls their interests, these people still set out to work toward
achieving their interests. Following the Führer’s orders helps restore prosperity to Germany as a nation, which eventually trickles down to improve the lot of the individual is an example of the logic used by Nazi killers to explain their actions psychologically. The psychological egoism hypothesis may not be proven, but it certainly seems like a plausible explanation for why people participate in institutions that bring about mass killings and even genocide.

As mentioned earlier, it is logically impossible to completely prove or disprove the veracity of the psychological egoism hypothesis. However, research in the field of social psychology has led to incredible breakthroughs in learning about the motives and triggers of certain human behaviors. For example, the well known case of the Milgram study is documented carefully by Glover (332-333). In the study, subjects were asked by a researcher in a white lab coat to administer increasingly painful electric shocks to a ‘learner’ hooked up to electrodes in another room whenever he failed to answer a study question correctly (of course, there was no real shocking going on – just acting out the model scream in the next room). This model represents the authority model employed during the Nazi movement: the authority figure commands the agent to bring harm to a fellow human being. In the Milgram study, 26 out of the 40 participants continued ‘shocking’ learners from the initial 15 volt marker to the deadly 450 volt marker. While this doesn’t explain why the minority dropped out of the study, it established the majority as having the tendency to follow orders from any authority figure even under circumstances in which said authority figure would have the agent bring harm to another human being.

The Milgram study took place over 40 years ago. Even modern research continues to show us much about the general tendencies of human behavior. In their article “Knocking on Heaven’s Door: The Social Psychological Dynamics of Charismatic Leadership,” psychologists Sheldon Solomon, Florette Cohen, Jeff Greenberg, and Tom Pyszczynski expand on their ‘terror management theory (TMT),’ which is also based largely on the work of Ernest Becker. This research consistently shows that when subjects are given death reminders or mortality salience stimuli (stimuli that remind the subject to of his or her own mortality) they tend to turn to charismatic leaders over task-oriented or relationship-oriented leaders, and furthermore, that people tend to show more hostility toward those who are different from themselves or groups they identify with. This is relevant to this discussion in that it shows the human tendency to turn to charismatic leaders during times of mortality anxiety is visible in humanity’s historical selection of leaders during difficult times (ie, Hitler during the post-WWI Germany). Also too, it shows the legitimacy behind historical accounts of scape-goating (ie, the Jews in Nazi Germany). Again, while none of this research proves the psychological egoism hypothesis, it serves to develop consistent trends and tendencies of certain human behavior.

Upon a detailed examination of the Nazi episode with the help of Ernest Becker’s invaluable work in cultural anthropology, the legitimacy of the psychological egoism hypothesis is plausible. While this hypothesis cannot be proven or disproven, it remains a controversial explanation of human behavior. Research has consistently shows that researchers like Becker, Sheldon, and Milgram are correct about the overall tendencies of human behavior. Even though the truth behind psychological egoism will never be learned, current research on the topics of human motivation and social drive are essential not just for learning more about how humans work in society, but more importantly for how they work under conditions of high anxiety and social instability.

SOURCES

Cohen, F., Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., & Solomon, S. “Knocking on Heaven’s Door: The Social Dynamics of Charismatic Leadership.”
The death of a child is an event that all parents fear. To experience the loss of a person whom you have raised before your own death is suffering almost at its worse. For the Chilean author Isabel Allende, this fear became a reality. At the end of 1991, Paula, the daughter of Allende, fell ill because a metabolic disease called porphyria. Exactly one year later, after a long coma, Paula died in Allende’s house in San Francisco. The book *Paula*, published in 1994, was written during the time of Paula’s illness and shortly after her death. The experience of the sickness and death of Paula influenced Allende in many ways and this influence can be seen in *Paula*. At the same time, though, one can observe that the events of Allende’s life and the history of her native country Chile play important roles in the development of her ideology and the book. With this in mind, it is difficult to categorize *Paula* in one single literary genre. It demonstrates aspects of autobiography, of testimony, and of novel. Even so, *Paula*, as a memoir, provides a purpose for the other genres and underlines the Allende’s ideas about the power of memory and what authentic feminism is.

Isabel Allende was born in 1942 in Lima, Peru, but had Chilean nationality because during this time her parents were living in Lima as diplomats at the Chilean embassy in Peru. Thus, Allende began her life in a location different from her native country. When Allende’s mother divorced her father, she returned with her children to live in Chile with Allende’s maternal grandparents. In the home of her grandparents, Allende gained inspiration for many of the characters of her novels. Some years later, her mother married a diplomat who was called Tío Ramón and the whole family moved to Lebanon when took a position at the embassy there. This time in Lebanon was crucial for Allende in the development of her love for books and for words. In 1962, Allende married Michael Frías whom she had her two children, Paula and Nicolás. During much of this time, she worked as both as domestic mother and career woman, as a journalist.

After the coup in 1973, which overthrew President Salvador Allende, a relative of Isabel Allende, the new government, headed by Augusto Pinochet, implemented new laws and started a campaign to find and attack individuals associated with the former Allende government. Isabel Allende, as a relative of President Allende, escaped to Caracas, Venezuela with her family, where she lived for thirteen years. It was during this time in Chile that Allende wrote her first novels. In 1988, after a divorce from her husband Michael, Allende married San Francisco lawyer Willie Gordon, with whom she lives in California today.

More than anything, *Paula* is a memoir of what Allende experienced during the illness of her daughter. It takes place in two places: Madrid and California. These two places divide the work in two important sections. The first section in Madrid tells about the time when Allende had hope that Paula would wake up. The second section signifies an important change because it occurs in California, where Allende took Paula to rest in peace, and, eventually to die. *Paula*, as a memoir of Paula’s illness is the most important genre classification because it provides place for the history and testimonial genres as well as gives structure to the work. For Allende, writing was a way of surviving the tragedy and the period of waiting. Her mother said that if Allende did not write, she would die (Rodden 6). In the same way that she started to write when she found out that her grandfather, Tata, would die soon, she also started to write during Paula’s tragedy. In the first case, she finished her first novel, *The House of the Spirits*, and, in this case, she wrote *Paula*. Also, during her time in Caracas, a difficult period in her life, Allende lived a double life; she worked during the day and wrote at night. When she wrote, it was a way
of compensating for the lack of control she felt during Paula’s illness (Gould-Levine 32). Also, during the illness, time did not pass; the present and the future were the same thing to Allende (Dulfano 500). When it seemed like time stood still, writing was a way of permitting the time to pass (Perricone 45). The events that Allende describes of the past have a function in reality, in the context of the time of Paula’s illness.

Even so, Allende utilizes the genre of the memoir to help more than just herself. In the first sentence of the book, Allende says, “Listen, Paula, I am going to tell you a story, so that when you wake up you will not feel so lost” (Allende 3) and declares that the “meticulous exercise of writing can be our salvation” (Allende 9). Writing is a method of giving strength to Paula so that she recovers. Some critics suggest that there is a connection between Allende and Scheherazade of One Thousand and One Nights. Just as Scheherazade continued telling stories to postpone death, Allende tells stories of her family also to distract and postpone Paula’s death (Jolley 339). Allende wants to strengthen her daughter. Here one sees, for the first time, a sense of Allende’s feminism. Via the memoir, Allende invokes her ancestors, especially those of the maternal line, to encourage Paula. She says that they come from a family of “enigmatic women.” The narration of the history of the family comes through the mothers. This says much of the influence of Allende’s grandmother, Clara, and the power that she had over her husband, the life of Allende’s mother, and finally, Allende’s own life as a mother. Also, the majority of the individuals who play an important role in Paula’s life are women, and it is of these women Allende speaks. Allende appeals to them to give strength to Paula.

Further, Allende uses the connection between mother and daughter to encourage Paula; and the emphasis that she places on this connection demonstrates how Allende defines the purposes of feminism. What Allende wants to communicate about feminism is that the authority of women comes from her connection with her feminine nature and the recreation of the link between mother and daughter (Jolley 347). In Paula, one can see how Allende believes that this maternal relation can give life to her daughter. At the end of the work, Allende asks Paula “Can I live in your stead? Carry you in my body so you can recover the fifty or sixty years stolen from you?” (Allende 323). She has such strong faith in the connection between herself and Paula that she believes that the strength of maternal love could save her daughter.

However, this strength does not come only form the relationship between Allende and Paula, but rather from the relationship between Allende and her own mother as well. Allende’s mother is “portrayed as a source of pride, strength, and inspiration for Allende throughout Paula, most notably when the author needs a mother’s strength” (Jolley 347). Of her own mother, Allende says “I have loved her longer than anyone in my lifetime. Our relationship began the day of my conception and has already lasted a half-century; it is, furthermore, the only truly unconditional love – neither one’s children nor one’s most fervent lovers love in that way” (Allende 49). Her mother is the person that stays the most time in Madrid and in the hospital with Allende. Her mother is the first person to read all her books before they are published. When Allende and her mother are in the hospital in Madrid and it seems as though Paula is about to die, they put their hands over Paula and, according to Allende, they offered all their strength of their ancestors to keep Paula from slipping into death. Ernesto, the husband of Paula, in contrast, was not able to do anything but feel the power that Allende and her mother offer to save Paula. Through this example in Paula, one can see how Allende demonstrates a little of her “feminism” through the strength of the maternal link.

Even though the memoir of Paula’s illness is important for the creation of a structure of the book and to provide a reason for writing, it is not the only genre of the book. Paula is full of the familial and personal history of Isabel Allende. In reality, only twenty percent of the book covers the illness of Paula and how Allende responds; the other seventy-five percent of the book pertains to history (Carvalho 75). Allende uses history to keep Paula alive. She says, “Until now, I have never shared my past; it is my innermost garden, a place not even my most intimate lover has glimpsed. Take it, Paula,
perhaps it will be of some use to you, because I fear that yours no longer exists, lost somewhere during your long sleep— and no one can live without memories” (Allende 23). Allende believes that her memories will function to revive her daughter. The description of the characters, especially the differences between men and women, illustrates, again, how Allende invokes the strong image of the woman in order to help Paula. Also in her history, Allende creates of herself this same strong image. She wants to serve as an example for Paula, as a woman who has overcome the norms and restrictions that society and situations have placed over her. For Allende, this was not easy. Although many claim that Chile was a matriarchy, Allende says that women reign within the walls of their homes, but the men control all the political, economic, and cultural power (Allende 157). Allende spends much time in the book speaking of her career as a journalist and television personality. She became a person who had an influence over what others thought, especially over women. She crossed over the line of what was considered permissible according to patriarchal norms. Paula, like her mother, could overcome what is limiting her, her illness. Also, Allende, during her life, did what was best for her and her family, not just what was best for her husband. This contributed to the failure of her first marriage; Allende felt as though she was living a double life, as the perfect wife and as a woman with a career and independence. In contrast, Allende’s marriage to Willie Gordon permitted equality in domestic responsibility. Allende, in Paula, paints a picture of herself as a “non-conformist who rejects cultural norms of silence and compliance ordained for her gender” (Gould-Levine 31). Paula, like her, could reject what impedes her, and for Paula, this impediment is the coma caused by her illness.

At the same time, the characterization of men in Paula, underlines the importance of the link between mother and daughter. The men of Paula do not have primary roles in the book. They are constantly present, but the reality is that they always function as secondary characters in the stories that Allende tells. Of men, Allende comments on her web site, “I couldn’t conceal my contempt for most boys, because it was so obvious to me that I was smarter. It took me years to learn to act silly to that men would feel superior” (Allende). It is possible that the absence of men as protagonists in Allende’s story may be a response to the repression of the relationship between mother and daughter that characterizes patriarchal ideology (Jolley 441). The majority of men, according to Allende have functioned to restrain women more so than liberate them.

Even though Allende in her book criticizes many of the effects of patriarchy, she also provides a testimony of what was changing in Chilean society. This change Allende wants to see as part of her own ideas about feminism. She says that feminism “is not a question of changing male chauvinism for militant feminism, but of giving both men and women a chance to become better people and to share the heavy burdens of this planet” (Edwards 80). In Paula, it can be seen how men experience their own process of liberation and that this change occurs more and more throughout subsequent generations. Tata, Allende’s grandfather, was the man most entrenched in patriarchal ideology. Michael, the first husband of Allende, is more open to the liberty of women. He tolerated what Allende’s career as a journalist and television personality, but still maintained the idea that she should be the perfect mother and wife in the house. Finally, with Ernesto, the husband of Paula, one sees a very emotional man with characteristics attributed generally to women (Edwards 67). Likewise, Willie manifests characteristics historically “feminine” with his actions of caring for his children and the house. Therefore, one can observe that the testimony that Allende gives about the changes of the society with the preponderance of patriarchal ideology also illustrates her ideas about feminism that don’t change only the mentalities of women, but also the lives of men as well.

Isabel Allende’s testimony serves also to give account of the historic events that occurred in Chile and that influenced Allende as a Chilean who experienced the fear that comes from a repressive government and from exile. As mentioned before, Salvador Allende, relative of Isabel Allende, was elected as the first socialist president in 1970, but, because of his policies of nationalization and workers’ rights as well as the failing economy, he was overthrown by the military in 1973. Allende never
believed that such an event would occur in Chile. Salvador Allende died and Augusto Pinochet, leader of the military forces, took his place. It is obvious that the repression and fear that this change in government provoked affected Allende greatly. In *Paula*, ninety percent of the last two chapters of the first half are devoted to the overthrow of the government, and, in the second section, the results of the coup overarch much of the narration (Carvalho 75). The narration changes from emotional and fantastic nature that is typical of Allende (Carvalho 75). She says, “by midyear of 1975 repression had been refined to perfection, and I fell victim to my own terror” (Allende 225). As a result, Allende exiled herself with her family in Caracas, Venezuela, but this move marked her forever. When she arrived for the first time “the impact of the arrival was that of having fallen onto a different planet” (Allende 238). Allende’s voice is the voice of a survivor. For her, the memory of this period in *Paula* does not function only to lend validity to what happened but also to create a portrait of a strong woman; if her sick daughter has this image of her mother as a woman who survived exile and the destruction of her world, Paula could survive as well. However, the point in the book in which Allende includes the majority of her memory in exile, in the second part, Allende has already accepted that it is likely that Paula will never wake up. Then, she must have impetus beyond encouraging Paula to include this section of her past.

Here one can see how Allende changes to whom she narrates the book. In the first half, Allende writes directly to Paula as if she were her only audience. Yet, in the second half something changes. Allende brings her daughter to California because it seems as though her condition is does not change. She starts to contemplate the idea that her daughter may never awaken from her coma, that Paula may never read the words that her mother wrote to her. In the second half, Allende speaks of Paula, not to Paula. Her audience changes to those who eventually read what becomes the book *Paula*. Consequently, the purpose of the book and the motivation of the author changes also. “By replacing its specific, private addressee with a non-specific, public narratee, Allende ensures that the theoretical implications of its mother-daughter relationships are passed on more directly to its real readers” (Jolley 339). The ideas that Allende expressed in the first part to encourage Paula, now, in the second part, function to illustrate her ideas about feminism to a wider audience. Now, her writing, her experience of suffering, not only in the Paula’s illness but also in exile, can encourage the readers that may suffer in a similar way (Starkman 6). Allende uses voyeurism to give readers a glimpse at her private pain (Gough 117). She is a voyeur into Paula’s illness and, at the same time, she is observed by the readers to whom Allende gives the opportunity to know the most intimate details of herself: the truth of her life and the intense pain of losing a child.

Finally, although technically *Paula* is considered a memoir, in many ways it is akin to a novel, similar to the novels that Allende has written before. When the work was published in Germany, it was catalogued as a novel (Gould-Levine 37). It is the nature of Allende to create and adorn a story in order to make it more interesting. When she was in an interview with Chilean poet Pablo Neruda, he told her, “You must be the worst journalist in the country. You are incapable of being objective, you place yourself at the center of everything you do, I suspect you’re not beyond fibbing, and when you don’t have news, you invent it. Why don’t you write novels instead? In literature, those defects are virtues” (Allende 182). Allende has a passion for the elaborated, that which is full of intrigue, and the fantastic. Even Allende admits this when she says that we only remember what we want to preserve, the brightest and the darkest. The gray is lost. Memory, like fiction, moves from revelation to revelation (Zapata, 131). Inversely, she said that all fiction is autobiographical. Allende thinks that the unreliability of the author is something that one cannot escape (Gould-Levine 30). In Paula she admits,

“*My memory is like a Mexican mural in which all times are simultaneous: the ships of the Conquistadors in one corner and an Inquisitor torturing Indians in another, galloping Liberators with blood-soaked flags and the Aztecs’ Plumed Serpent facing a crucified Christ, all encircled by the billowing smokestacks of the industrial age. So it is with my*
life, a multilayered and ever-changing fresco that only I can decipher, whose secret is mine alone” (Allende 23).

Allende believes that if one asks for facts, errors will inevitably come out. In one way, this admission gives verisimilitude to her memory. She does not have the intention to persuade, rather, to tell and encourage. Other critics say that Allende had to have written Paula with intention because the narration is too structured. However, the reality is that Allende is a natural writer. When she wants to express her feelings, it comes out in a structured form. “We are not reading the unedited diary of a mother, but the crafted narration of a writer who is undergoing a personal tragedy, and struggling for a way to make it make sense, through words and contextualization with the other significant events of her own life” (Carvalho 233-234). Inevitably, her memory takes on characteristics of a novel; in all literature there is an imaginative process and this process can be seen in Paula. One should not deny the verisimilitude of her experiences and feelings because they come from memory. Better said, one should appreciate the willingness of Allende to share her most private feelings and how those feelings have influenced the development of her person and her ideology.

Overall, one can see how Isabel Allende utilizes the genre of the memoir to create a base for the other genres of autobiography, testimony, and novel. Through these means, Allende is able to invoke her ancestors and her past as a strong woman to encourage her sick daughter. Her way of reviving Paula and, eventually, of encouraging a wider audience of readers, underscores her ideas about feminism and the power of women that comes from the intergenerational relationship between them.
Queen Cleopatra VII was a figure of great importance to her contemporaries. She inherited Egypt when it was severely in debt to Rome, and shaped it into the richest nation of the Mediterranean, one that was able to threaten the most powerful empire in history. Nevertheless, most popular representations of this extraordinary political figure continue to be shaped by negative Roman-authored propaganda. Her political and personal ties to the leaders of the Roman Empire (most notably Julius Caesar and Marc Antony), produced a great amount of hostility from the politicians of Rome, where non-Romans were perceived as being degenerate. Cleopatra’s greatest enemy, Octavian, declared war against her and depicted her as a power-hungry and irresponsible ruler. He later became Rome’s first emperor, which ensured that his version of events was passed down into the history books. In order to understand Cleopatra’s true historical significance, it is necessary to examine her accomplishments rather than take the accounts of her detractors at face value. This paper strives to provide a brief, but historically accurate, overview of Cleopatra’s life, one that can be used as a comparison to her portrayals in literature, on television and in movies.

Cleopatra was a member of the Ptolemaic dynasty, which began in 305 BCE when Ptolemy I, the provincial governor of Egypt, proclaimed himself King. Ptolemy was a loyal friend and speculated half-brother\(^1\) of Alexander the Great, whom he served as an army general. He helped Alexander conquer most of the Mediterranean world during his time in the military, creating one of the largest empires in history. Upon the sudden death of Alexander, the empire was split up among his generals and Ptolemy seized control over Egypt, proclaiming the city of Alexandria as Egypt’s new capital. Alexander founded the city several years earlier at a coastal site described by Homer in the *Odyssey*.\(^2\) In one of his first political moves, Ptolemy secured the body of Alexander and had it moved to Egypt,\(^3\) providing him with monarchical legitimacy. He continued the construction of Alexandria, eventually proclaiming himself as King of Egypt and adopting the title “Soter” (Savior).

The city of Alexandria grew to be one of the most important sites in the ancient world. It was also regarded as one of the most pleasant places to live with regards to air quality and climate.\(^4\) The city itself was located on the northern border of Egypt, a few miles from the westernmost branch of the Nile River. The majority of its inhabitants were from the Hellenistic world; they spoke Greek and practiced a mixture of Greek and Egyptian religions. To its north lay the island of Pharos, which was connected to the mainland by a 4,200 foot long causeway during the reign of Ptolemy I.\(^5\) The causeway, known as the heptastadion, separated the water into two large harbors. At the eastern tip of the island, and entrance into the Great Harbor, stood the Pharos Lighthouse, the first lighthouse in the world. Standing over 400 feet high, its light was seen as far as 30 miles out to sea.\(^6\) The opposite side of the harbor was formed by the Lochias peninsula, upon which stood many of the Ptolemaic palaces. Approximately one quarter of the city was made up of “beautiful public parks and palaces,” and the city streets were very broad, with the two main avenues being “more than a hundred feet wide.”\(^7\) Alexandria was also the home of the largest contemporary library and museum, which attracted scholars from all over the known world. The Ptolemies continued ruling from Alexandria, which became regarded as the center for learning in the ancient world.

While the capital thrived, the Ptolemaic Kings gradually began neglecting Egypt over the course of their centuries of rule. The ancient geographer, Strabo, wrote that “all the Ptolemies after the third, led astray by luxury, ruled rather poorly.”\(^8\) However, Strabo was referring only to the
Ptolemaic Kings, not to Cleopatra. Cleopatra’s father, Ptolemy XII, was particularly disliked. He had 6 children: Cleopatra VI, Berenice IV, Cleopatra VII (the subject of this paper), Arsinoe IV, Ptolemy XIII and Ptolemy XIV. At the height of his disfavor, Ptolemy XII was exiled and his two oldest daughters were proclaimed Queens. The elder sister died shortly after ascending to the throne, leaving Berenice IV and her new husband in control of Egypt until her father’s restoration to power in 55 BCE, at which time he had them both executed. Cleopatra VII became the oldest surviving heir to the throne.

Cleopatra was proclaimed Ptolemy XII’s co-regent and acted as such until his death from a disease in 51 BCE, 4 years after his restoration. In his will, Ptolemy XII proclaimed the 18 year old Cleopatra and her oldest brother, who was 10 years old at the time, as the rulers of Egypt. Cleopatra portrayed her strong political ambitions through one of her first actions as Queen, when she visited the city of Hermomithis for the celebration of the Apis Bull. Her participation in the centuries-old ceremony won the new Queen great respect with the priests of Egypt, the noble class of the native population. Cleopatra was also the first member of her family to learn the Egyptian language. This show of respect toward the Egyptians was unprecedented in Ptolemaic rule.

Cleopatra asserted political dominance over her brother within a few months of her coronation, although Ptolemy’s prime-minister, Pothinus, was vying for power behind her back. Cleopatra was deposed from the throne by her brother’s ministers toward the beginning of 48 BCE. She fled to Syria, where she attempted to raise an army against her brother. Pompey the Great, a prominent Roman politician, came to Egypt during Cleopatra’s absence, seeking aid in his war against Julius Caesar, a political rival. Pompey helped reinstate Ptolemy XII to the throne years earlier and was expecting to receive help in the war. Instead, Ptolemy and his ministers killed and decapitated Pompey, hoping to gain favor with Julius Caesar.

Caesar came to Egypt both in pursuit of Pompey and to settle the dispute between Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Their father had left the Roman People in charge of executing his will. When he was presented with Pompey’s head and ring, Caesar became angry and denounced his murderers. Ptolemy’s ministers’ plan had backfired. Cleopatra was informed of these events and believed that Julius Caesar could help restore her to the throne. However, there was great risk in entering Egypt, for the army would kill her on sight. Taking a small boat to Alexandria with an assistant named Apollodorus, Cleopatra ingeniously had herself rolled up in a carpet, which was presented to Caesar as a gift. In this manner, Cleopatra gained an audience with Caesar while remaining undetected by the palace guards.

Cleopatra is believed to have been intelligent and quite beautiful. Although the vast majority of ancient sources regarding Cleopatra were written by Romans attempting to portray her in a negative light, almost all of the documents mention that her beauty and personality were something to be admired. Cassius Dio describes her as “a particularly beautiful woman and, at the time, being in her prime, she was conspicuously lovely. She also had an elegant voice and she knew how to use her charms to be attractive to everyone.” Plutarch also wrote of her verbal skills, describing her tongue as “a many-stringed instrument: she could turn it easily to whichever language she wished.” Caesar immediately became impressed with Cleopatra, most notably for her boldness in attempting to meet with him. His high regard for the Queen, and his aversion of Ptolemy and his ministers, caused him to side with Cleopatra in the ongoing Civil War. It was at this time that Caesar and Cleopatra began their legendary love affair.

Ptolemy became upset upon the revelation that Cleopatra was in the palace. He immediately ran to the Alexandrian people, shouting about betrayal in the hopes of causing an uproar against Caesar. In an attempt to pacify the Alexandrians, Caesar reunited King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra as rulers of Egypt according to their father’s wishes. He also restored Cyprus to the Ptolemaic Empire as a gift to their younger siblings, Arsinoe IV and Ptolemy XIV. Although these
actions temporarily restored peace to the palace, Pothinus continued his attempts to gain power, and plotted the death of Julius Caesar. His plan was uncovered and he was executed shortly thereafter. Upon the death of the minister, Ptolemy, age 12, and his sister Arsinoe, who was approximately 18 years old at the time, waged war against Caesar and Cleopatra. Despite being outnumbered, Caesar’s forces prevailed. Ptolemy drowned in the Nile River while attempting to escape and Arsinoe was taken captive by the Roman army. This left Cleopatra with only one surviving free sibling: her youngest brother, also named Ptolemy.

Julius Caesar reaffirmed Cleopatra as the Queen of Egypt after the war, and her younger brother was instated as co-ruler. Because he was just 12 years old, his position was most likely ceremonial, with Cleopatra regulating all of the palace politics. While Caesar had the force necessary to overthrow the monarchy and convert Egypt into a Roman province, the country’s wealth would have provided any future governors with enough power to cause a political insurrection. Many TV and movie portrayals of Cleopatra overlook this fact. The romanticized version of the affair depicts Cleopatra’s coronation as a personal decision made by Caesar based solely upon his affection towards the Queen.

In celebration of their victory, Caesar and Cleopatra took a brief cruise down the Nile with a fleet of 400 ships. Despite the recreational aspect of the trip, Cleopatra wanted to make her union with Julius Caesar public, so that no one challenged her authority. Since order had been restored to the royal household, Caesar left Egypt to continue fighting wars in Syria and Pontus. Cleopatra gave birth a few months after his departure, in the summer of 47 BCE, to a baby boy. His official name was Ptolemy Caesar, but the Alexandrian people nicknamed him Caesarion, “Little Caesar,” the name by which he is most commonly referred to today.

Caesar victoriously returned to Rome one year after departing Egypt, at which time he was granted four triumphs by the Roman Senate. Cleopatra and Caesarion traveled to Rome, where they lived in one of Caesar’s villas, to partake in the celebrations. Cleopatra’s younger sister, Arsinoe, was displayed in chains during the second Triumph, which commemorated Caesar’s defeat over Arsinoe and Ptolemy XIII’s faction of ministers during the Alexandrian War. Breaking with the traditional execution of foreign prisoners, she was afterward exiled to the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus.

Despite her absence from Egypt, Cleopatra’s skillful reign before and after the Alexandrian War proved to satisfy both the Egyptian and Alexandrian populations. Cleopatra had made many valuable allies during her trip to Hermonthis shortly after ascending to the throne. She and Caesarion were completely accepted by the priests of Egypt, who worshipped the Queen as a legitimate Pharaoh. Likewise, her political allies, most notably the governor of Thebes, wholly supported her reign until the time of her death. In spite of difficulty, mostly due to drought, during Cleopatra’s first years in power, the Alexandrian population did not rebel or attempt to dethrone the Queen, an act which they carried out against several previous monarchs. Cleopatra had established her supremacy in Egypt, which would not be effectively challenged until the time of her death.

Cleopatra’s visit to Rome did great harm to Julius Caesar’s reputation. Cassius Dio states that “Caesar received the most blame from everyone because of his love for Cleopatra, not his relationship with her in Egypt... but for that which happened in Rome.” The relationship was political for both Caesar and Cleopatra: Cleopatra wanted Caesar’s forces to continue supporting her claim to the throne, while Caesar needed a loyal leader in Egypt to continue repaying the nation’s debt to Rome. However, there had to be more to their liaison than pure political ambition. Caesar was frequently the target of criticism during Cleopatra’s stay in his villa, usually as a result of his own actions. Such a position would be of no advantage to a strict politician. Even before his return to Rome, Caesar had supposedly asked a tribune named Helvius Cinna to pass a law which permitted Roman men to have more than one wife “for the purpose of producing children.” Such a law would
have permitted Caesar to marry Cleopatra and proclaim Caesarion as his heir, since he was already married to a Roman matron and his only child, a daughter, had died years earlier.

In one of his most criticized actions, Caesar ordered a statue of Cleopatra to be sculpted and placed in the Temple of Venus Genetrix, the goddess from which the Julian family claimed its ancestry. This show of respect and gratification towards a foreigner and a monarch, two things discriminated against in Rome, was unprecedented. It led to rumors that Caesar, at the persuasion of Cleopatra, intended to proclaim himself King of Rome. Despite Caesar’s denial of these claims, a faction of Senators considered him a threat to the ideals of Roman government. On the Ides of March, 44 BCE, Julius Caesar attended a meeting of the Senate during which several politicians repeatedly stabbed him to death “in the name of law and justice.” March 15 was later declared Parricide Day, and the Senate no longer met on that date.

Cleopatra believed to be in immediate danger after the death of Julius Caesar. She hastily made arrangements to return to Alexandria, “and the Romans were not sorry to see her go.” Despite being Caesar’s son, Caesarion could not legally inherit any of his father’s possessions under Roman law. Caesar’s will, therefore, adopted his great-nephew, Octavian, as a son and proclaimed him the sole heir. Being only 19 years old at the time, Octavian needed to reinforce his political legitimacy. Julius Caesar was deified by the Roman people, and Octavian soon adopted the title Divi Filiius, “son of a god.” He also sponsored a series of games in honor of the deification, during which a comet was visible for seven continuous days. The comet was interpreted to be the spirit of Caesar taking its place among the gods, and a star was added to the forehead of Caesar’s statue.

Cleopatra faced many challenges shortly after her return to Egypt. The Nile River did not rise high enough to provide the entire country with food, a challenge most Egyptians were not prepared for. One of the sources of Egypt’s wealth was the abundance of crops which the country grew, the excess of which were exported. The two years after Caesar’s death proved to be some of the most difficult for Egypt in terms of food production. Cleopatra, aided by her political supporters outside of Alexandria, initiated several relief and rationing procedures to save the populace from starvation.

Her brother and co-ruler, Ptolemy XIV, died during this time. The cause remains unknown. Since the sole rule of a Queen was unprecedented in the Ptolemaic Empire, Cleopatra proclaimed her young son Caesarion as her co-regent.

Although most literature concerning Cleopatra portrays her in a positive light, authors generally take one of two approaches to the death of her brother. Some novels, such as Colin Falconer’s *When We Were Gods* depict Cleopatra poisoning Ptolemy so that Caesarion can be proclaimed King. Other books, such as Margaret George’s *The Memoirs of Cleopatra*, state that Ptolemy died of a disease as a result of his stay in Rome during the winter. Because the death of her brother remains a mystery, these differences reflect the author’s personal beliefs rather than historical facts. While such interpretation is necessary for the purposes of writing literature, the reader must remain aware of the fact that historical novels draw on a variety of sources, some of which could be categorized as propaganda. While these hostile documents should not be refuted, they also should not be taken at face value. The differing approaches to Ptolemy’s death reflect the divided approaches to Cleopatra’s character.

A war had ensued in Rome shortly after Cleopatra’s departure, during which the forces of Marc Antony and Octavian pursued and executed Caesar’s assassins. The power vacuum of Roman politics was replaced by a Triumvirate, which established Octavian, Marc Antony and a fellow general, Lepidus, as the leaders of the Republic. Cleopatra aided the Triumvirs by sending four Roman legions, which Caesar had left in Alexandria years earlier, to Rome. The Triumvirate expressed its gratitude by legally acknowledging Caesarion as the King of Egypt. However, Cassius, one of Caesar’s assassins, intercepted the fleet before it reached its destination and assimilated the army into his own forces. Upon receiving the news, Cleopatra personally escorted the Egyptian
navy towards the Ionian Sea. In spite of her efforts, the fleet was caught in a storm which damaged the ships. To further deter the Queen, her Cypriot governor defected to Cassius, providing him with additional forces. Despite the supplementary aid supplied to the assassins, the Triumvirs prevailed at the Battle of Philippi in 42 BCE.

Mark Antony was given control over the eastern portion of the Roman Empire and he proceeded to the city of Tarsus, in Asia Minor, at the conclusion of the war. He summoned Cleopatra to join him and “to answer the charge that she had given many resources to Cassius’s supporters.” Cleopatra, insulted at the demand, refused to go. Nevertheless, Egypt was weakened as a result of the famine and Cleopatra could not afford to lose Roman support of her position. After several additional demands, Cleopatra decided to answer the summons.

Not wishing to appear as a client ruler, Cleopatra entered Tarsus in a state of luxury which captivated the imaginations of artists and writers throughout the millennia. She “mocked [Antony] by sailing... in a ship with its stern covered in gold, with purple sails fluttering, with rowers pulling with silver oars as flutes played, accompanied by pipes and lyres.” Cleopatra’s crew was replaced by young men and women dressed up as figures from Greek mythology, while Cleopatra herself reclined under a canopy dressed as the goddess Aphrodite. In addition to answering the summons, Cleopatra’s trip was a symbolic gesture of friendship to Antony, who associated himself with the god Dionysus. Aphrodite was the Greek form of the goddess Isis, while Dionysus was a manifestation of her husband, Osiris. Antony was very impressed by the gesture.

Cleopatra invited Antony and his men to a luxurious dinner the night of her arrival, which amazed the Romans as much as her entrance into Tarsus, and captivated Antony in particular. Plutarch described Cleopatra as being “at the age at which women are at the height of their attractiveness and at the peak of their intellectual powers,” at the time of her arrival. She and Antony began a relationship during her stay. Upon hearing Cleopatra’s version of events, Antony cleared her of the accusations against her. The traitorous Cypriot governor and Cleopatra’s last surviving sibling, her sister Arsinoe, were executed.

The death of Arsinoe parallels the death of Ptolemy XIV in that, once again, there is a split between its portrayal in books and movies. The authors that favored Ptolemy’s death by poison also believed that Cleopatra killed Arsinoe to remove the last possible threat to her throne. In the 1999 movie, Cleopatra, the Queen killed Arsinoe shortly after the Alexandrian War, worried that Caesar may begin to favor her. This approach completely broke with historical facts. Likewise, the authors that believed Ptolemy’s death was a result of disease considered that Arsinoe aided Caesar’s assassins in the war and tried to overthrow Cleopatra. Surprisingly, the 1999 movie was based on The Memoirs of Cleopatra, which took the latter approach to Arsinoe’s death.

Just as Cleopatra’s liaison with Julius Caesar was founded on political advantage, her partnership with Antony was equally beneficial to both parties. Antony was preparing to invade Parthia, a powerful enemy kingdom to the east of the Roman Empire, and he needed the support of a wealthy nation such as Egypt. In return, Cleopatra received the support of another powerful Roman, which ensured the continuation of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Marc Antony decided to accompany Cleopatra back to Egypt for the winter, an action for which he was exceedingly criticized by his fellow Romans. Upon their arrival in Alexandria, the pair became notorious for their lavish banquets, excessive spending and impetuousness, although some of the accounts describing their deeds were undoubtedly exaggerated. Appian wrote that the “interest Antony had once shown in all things suddenly dulled; whatever Cleopatra dictated was done.” Despite the criticism against him, Antony’s trip was productive for his Parthian campaign. He used his time in Egypt to gain support from the Alexandrian people and to plan the oncoming attack.

Antony’s Roman wife, Fulvia, waged war against Octavian during Antony’s stay in Alexandria. Although she became sick and died before Octavian was defeated, her actions weakened the bonds
of the Triumvirate. Antony was, therefore, obligated to meet with Octavian to renew the terms of their political alliance. To complete the signing of the treaty, Octavian offered his sister Octavia's hand in marriage to Antony. Octavia was a respected woman, and her brother hoped she would lure Antony away from Cleopatra. Antony agreed to the alliance for the preservation of peace and, instead of returning to Egypt, sailed to Rome to celebrate the marriage. Cleopatra gave birth to a pair of twins during this time. The boy was named Alexander Helios “the Sun,” and the girl was called Cleopatra Selene “the Moon.”

Meanwhile, Octavian’s power in the west continued to grow, increasing Antony’s determination to invade Parthia. Political power in Rome was mainly achieved through military success, and Antony needed a military victory to rival Octavian’s dominion. Because of a series of setbacks, he spent the following three years preparing for the campaign. Cleopatra’s administration of Egypt greatly increased her Eastern supremacy during this time, after the nation’s recovery from famine. Cleopatra initiated various building projects throughout the country, securing her hold over Egypt in the “traditional pharaonic manner.” Antony requested that she join him in the city of Antioch during the fall of 37 BCE. Cleopatra accepted.

Antony and Cleopatra resumed their relationship in Antioch, where Cleopatra remained until the following spring. The trip was politically productive for both rulers. Antony received Cleopatra’s monetary support for the coming campaign, while Cleopatra acquired the territories of Phoenicia, Cilicia and Syria, territories that the Ptolemaic Empire lost centuries earlier. Upon the completion of his battle plans, Antony attacked Parthia while Cleopatra returned to Egypt. She gave birth to a boy, Ptolemy Philadelphus, later that year.

To the detriment of both rulers, Antony’s campaign proved to be disastrous. Antony lost a third of his army with almost nothing to show for it. Octavian used this opportunity to strip Lepidus, his fellow Triumvir, of power and add Lepidus’ land to his own. He also sent his sister, along with aid for Antony’s soldiers, to the east, hoping once again that Octavia would separate Antony from Cleopatra. Upon receiving the news, Antony ordered Octavia to return to Rome. Although Octavian wished to exploit and publicize his sister’s mistreatment, Octavia was against it, claiming that she could not bear to be the cause for war between the two most important men in Rome.

After recovering from his failed campaign, Antony achieved success in conquering Armenia, another eastern territory, 2 years later. Cleopatra hosted a mock Roman triumph upon its conquest, during which Antony effectively ended his partnership with Octavian in what came to be known as the “Donations of Alexandria.” The Donations took place in the fall of 34 BCE. At the end of a procession throughout the city, Antony, dressed as Dionysus, stopped before Cleopatra, their children and Caesarion, who were all seated on gold thrones. Antony proceeded to publicly proclaim Cleopatra as the Queen of “Egypt, Cyprus, Libya and Central Syria and appointed Caesarion to rule with her.” To his children by Cleopatra, he gave the territories of Armenia, Media, Parthia (upon its conquest), Phoenicia, Syria and Cilicia. He also proclaimed Caesarion as the legitimate son of Julius Caesar, a statement which directly threatened Octavian, who was Caesar’s son by adoption. In response, Octavian legally declared war against Cleopatra, although, in practice, it was declared against Antony as well.

Antony, Cleopatra and Octavian fought a propaganda war before any physical fighting occurred. Each side tried to lessen the other’s authority through a series of vicious rumors and accusations. Cleopatra was primarily targeted for her power and her gender. Cassius Dio recreated a speech in which Octavian detailed his argument for declaring war on Cleopatra. The document described the Queen as a “ruinous woman” “who would consider herself equal to a man,” and anyone who supported her as “slaves” and “eunuchs.” Rome is also said to have been unfairly “disparaged and downtrodden” by Cleopatra. Likewise, the document criticized Antony, who “left behind his ancestral customs” and “imitated foreign and barbaric ones.” His love for Cleopatra was
mocked when he was described as an “irrational or insane” man who “bows before that woman like Isis.”

These hostile representations of Cleopatra form the main body of classical sources describing her, which artists and authors kept alive by taking them at face value. Octavian’s eventual victory over Antony and Cleopatra ensured that this version of events was passed down into the history books.

Although few primary sources survive describing Antony and Cleopatra’s propaganda documents against Octavian, Suetonius preserved some of the unflattering rumors that were circulated throughout Rome. Antony claimed that Octavian prostituted himself to Caesar (who was known to have sexual relations with men), in order to get adopted as Caesar’s son. In addition to sleeping with Caesar, Octavian was rumored to sleep with “Aulus Hirtius in Spain for three thousand gold coins,” and that he singed off his leg hairs to become more effeminate. Octavian was also known to have many adulterous relations, which Antony addressed in a letter to him. In it, Antony wrote “What changed you? That I’m sleeping with the queen?... Good for you if, when you read this, you haven’t been sleeping with Tertulla or Terentilla or Rufilla or Salvia Titisenia or all of them.”

The propaganda war continued in this way until the fall of Egypt in 30 BCE.

Antony and Cleopatra traveled to Ephesus, where they prepared for the coming war against Octavian. They put together a navy of five hundred festively adorned warships, one hundred thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry. On the opposing side, Octavian had fewer ships (by half) and infantry, but a similar amount of cavalry. The forces met at Actium, in Greece, where the decisive battle of the war was fought later that year. Despite their larger fleet, Antony and Cleopatra lost many men to disease and did not have enough sailors to man the ships, which were much larger than those of Octavian’s fleet. Octavian also managed to blockade Antony and Cleopatra’s forces within a gulf, preventing any supplies from reaching them. In a strategic move before the battle, Antony had all but 60 of his ships burned, so that Octavian could not add them to his armada. Antony and Cleopatra engaged Octavian’s forces on September 2, 31 BCE, in what came to be known as the “Battle of Actium.” Despite some fighting, the “ships were seen raising their sails... fleeing through the middle of the battle line.” Historically, this strategy was represented as a desertion by Antony and Cleopatra of the ships that could not break out of the gulf. In reality, the ships were most likely instructed to regroup in Egypt after breaking through the blockade since there was little chance of defeating Octavian. The latter interpretation likewise explains why all the ships raised their sails at the same time.

Upon returning to Egypt, Antony and Cleopatra attempted to negotiate with Octavian. An ambassador was sent asking him to allow Cleopatra’s children to rule Egypt. While Octavian immediately dismissed all of Antony’s requests, he responded that Cleopatra would not be denied anything reasonable if she killed or exiled her husband. Cleopatra, not willing to fulfill the act, celebrated with Antony in the most lavish of their banquets. She gave her guests many prized possessions so that Octavian could not capture them if/when he conquered Egypt. This final celebration immediately preceded Octavian’s entrance into the country.

Despite their apparent sense of defeat, Antony and Cleopatra did not give up without one last fight. Although most of Antony’s forces had deserted to Octavian, Antony still managed to attack brilliantly, driving Octavian’s cavalry back to their camp. Meanwhile, Cleopatra collected most of the royal treasure, which she intended to destroy should Octavian prevail. In spite of Antony’s initial success, the majority of his remaining forces deserted to Octavian, and Antony returned to Alexandria. Upon hearing false news that Cleopatra was dead, he attempted suicide by stabbing himself with his sword. The wound, however, was not fatal and Antony remained conscious long enough to be brought to Cleopatra’s mausoleum, where she locked herself with her two handmaidens.
Antony died, probably from loss of blood, shortly after meeting with Cleopatra one last time. Cleopatra remained inside the mausoleum with the hopes that fear of losing her treasury would persuade Octavian to allow her children to rule over Egypt.\textsuperscript{82} However, one of Octavian’s soldiers snuck through an unfinished window of the tomb and captured Cleopatra before any negotiations took place. She was held captive in the palace, during which time she stopped eating, wishing to die instead of living as Octavian’s prisoner. In response to her fast, Octavian threatened Cleopatra with the death of her children. Believing his claim, Cleopatra began eating and allowed physicians to care for her body.\textsuperscript{83}

Octavian met with Cleopatra a few days after his entrance into Alexandria. Cleopatra prostrated herself before him, making a show of her supplication. She willingly offered her treasury to him, but asked that she be allowed to keep several tokens as gifts for his wife and sister.\textsuperscript{84} This show was meant to convince Octavian that she was still plotting, hoping to use the gifts to gain support with Octavian’s family. It worked. Octavian allowed Cleopatra to return to her own room, “not depriving her of the attendants or servants to whom she was accustomed, in order to give her hope that she would accomplish her plans and prevent her from harming herself.”\textsuperscript{85} Octavian believed that he had deceived Cleopatra, but he was actually being deceived by her.

With the pretense of seeing Antony, Cleopatra was allowed to enter the mausoleum with her two handmaidens. They were left alone, since Octavian was still under the impression that Cleopatra had no intention of dying. While there, Cleopatra put on her most luxurious outfit and covered her sarcophagus with perfume.\textsuperscript{86} She had arranged ahead of time for poisonous snakes to be hidden in a basket of figs and brought to the mausoleum. Just before her death, she wrote a letter to Octavian, asking him to be buried with Antony. She then allowed herself to be bitten by a snake, grasped the crook and flail (the royal symbols of Egypt), and died while lying atop her sarcophagus.\textsuperscript{87}

Cleopatra was immortalized through her death, and despite being an enemy of the Roman Empire, Octavian granted her wish and buried her with a lavish funeral. Her life has been extensively written about in hundreds of books and poems throughout the centuries since her death. Each culture and time period has represented Cleopatra in a way which reflected its own ideals, changing her image to fit the norms (or deviances) of its beliefs. Cleopatra was represented as a temptress through Dido in Vergil’s \textit{Aeneid}\textsuperscript{88}. She was an accomplished, hard-working Queen in John, the Bishop of Nikiu’s \textit{The Chronicle}.\textsuperscript{89} She was even a misinterpreted figure of the afrocentric movement in the mid 20\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{90}

However, this paper focuses primarily on refuting aspects of Cleopatra’s modern image. The depictions of Cleopatra today center around the portrait of a femme fatale, who primarily uses sexual means to achieve her goals. The 2005-2007 TV series, \textit{Rome},\textsuperscript{91} was an especially biased and historically inaccurate portrayal of Cleopatra, which went beyond negative ancient Roman sources to depict her as a naïve, irresponsible, drug addicted and over-sexed woman. An examination of her character in recent movies likewise reveals surviving aspects of Octavian’s propaganda. This paper strives to provide a brief, but accurate, historical portrayal of Cleopatra, one that can be used as a comparison to her modern depictions. The political aspects of her relationships are particularly stressed to counteract the purely sexual nature of her liaisons on screen. Cleopatra has remained a celebrated historical figure, and popular media will, undoubtedly, continue her portrayal. But with an understanding of her factual achievements, one will be able to recognize historical inaccuracies while gaining a deeper insight into the nature and reasoning behind our own cultural biases.
ENDNOTES

1 Pausanias, Description of Greece (c. 150 CE), 1.6.2-4.
2 Plutarch, Life of Alexander (115 CE), 26.3-6.
3 Pausanias, 1.6.2-4.
4 Strabo, Geography (23 CE), 17.1.7.
6 Ibid., 90.
7 Strabo, 17.1.8.
8 Ibid., 17.1.11.
9 Strabo later states that the last Ptolemy in his reference was Ptolemy XII, Cleopatra’s father.
12 Plutarch, Life of Antony (115 CE), 27.2-4.
13 Julius Caesar, Civil Wars (48 BCE), 3.103.
14 Appian, Civil War (2nd Century CE), 2.84-86.
15 Cassius Dio, Roman History (202 CE), 42.34.35.
16 Plutarch, Life of Caesar (115 CE), 49.
17 Cassius Dio, 42.34.35.
18 Plutarch, Life of Antony, 27.2-4.
19 Suetonius, The Divine Julius Caesar (121 CE), 52.
20 Cassius Dio, 42.34.35.
21 Plutarch, Life of Caesar, 49.
22 Julius Caesar (or Aulus Hirtius in Caesar’s name), The Alexandrian War (44 BCE), 33.
23 Ibid.
24 Suetonius, 35.
25 Appian, 2.90.
26 Plutarch, Life of Caesar, 49.
27 A triumph was granted to the leader of a successful army campaign. Lasting a day, each triumph featured parades, free food and various forms of entertainment throughout the city of Rome.
28 Appian, 2.102.
29 Jean Bingen, Hellenistic Egypt (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 54.
31 Cleopatra’s father had been dethroned by the Alexandrians several years earlier. In addition to deposition, the Alexandrians killed a former King, Ptolemy XI, when they became displeased with his actions.
32 Cassius Dio, 43.27.3.
33 Cleopatra’s father was restored to the throne at a high price. Unable to repay the debt to Rome, he initiated a debasing of the coinage, though it still was not enough to repay the debt in full.
34 Suetonius, 52.
35 Appian, 2.102.
36 Plutarch, Life of Antony, 13.
37 Suetonius, 88.
39 Octavius became known as Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus after the adoption. He is historically best known by the name Augustus.
40 Suetonius, 88.
41 Burstein, 22.
44 Appian, 5.8.
45 Burstein, 22.
46 Appian, 5.8.
47 Plutarch, Life of Antony, 25.
48 Ibid., 26.
49 Burstein, 23.
50 Plutarch, Life of Antony, 25.
51 Frank Roddam (Director), Cleopatra (Babelsberg International Film Produktion, 1999).
52 George.
Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* (77 CE), 9.119. Pliny wrote that, to win a bet, Cleopatra dissolved a large and very expensive pearl in a cup of vinegar, making it the most expensive drink in the world. However, pearls require a longer amount of time to dissolve than what was stated in the account. Margaret George, in her *Memoirs of Cleopatra*, provided an alternative to these events, in which Cleopatra knew the pearl wasn’t dissolved. She swallowed it to be retrieved later, managing to win the bet with the Romans and not lose her pearl.

Margaret George, *Memoirs of Cleopatra*. 


Burstein, 25.

Ibid., 30.

Ibid., 31.


Burstein, 25.

Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* (c. 94 CE), 15.4.1.

Burstein, 27.


Josephus, 15.4.3.

Jones, 115.


Cassius Dio, 49.41.4.

Ibid., 50.4.4.

Cassius Dio, 50.24-28.

Ibid.

Suetonius, 68.

Ibid, 69.


Ibid., 61.

Ibid., 64.

Jones, 154.


Jones, 154.

Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, 72, 73.

Ibid., 74

Ibid., 76, 77.

Cassius Dio, 51.11.

Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, 82.

Ibid., 83.

Cassius Dio, 51.11.

Florus, *Abridgement of all the Wars over 1,200 Years* (2nd Century CE), 2.21.9-11.

Cassius Dio, 51.13.


Several authors tried to promote the idea that Cleopatra was African, despite her documented Greek ancestry.

Michael Apted et al. (Director), *Rome* (HD Vision Studios, 2005).
Fitting in is always hard, especially trying to fit in a place where nobody speaks your language. I remember specifically my first day of kindergarten and how overwhelmed I felt having everyone around me speak in a language that I did not understand. I cried time and time again, begging my parents to take me back. I found it unbearable to be away from for my grandparents, from the climate that I loved, from my home. It took years for me to adjust to my new home. It is now seventeen years later and I still feel out of place. It seems like a person never gets fully adjusted to the new world, or either world for that matter. You get stuck in the middle of two cultures trying to juggle two languages.

It is important to look at the way bilingualism creates an environment of anxiety and apprehension as students struggle to meet the classroom expectations, especially during the writing process. Bilingualism does not simply constitute being able to speak two languages, it also involves being able to comprehend it and know how to use it in writing. The following accumulated data indicates that there is a strong correlation between acquiring a second language and having difficulty writing in that second language. There is evidence that suggests interference occurs between the two languages in writing that cause grammatically incorrect sentences in ESL students’ writing. Bilingualism is simply not a new language learned; it is a cognitive process that produces linguistic and writing effects that go unnoticed in the regular classroom. Unfortunately, there isn’t much research that identifies the problem of fluent and functional bilinguals, but in this paper I reference some research that takes a step in identifying the grammatical, syntactic, and semantical issues that are involved in ESL student’s writing that have long been unaddressed.

One major issue with ESL programs is that there has been a strong distinction made between bilingualism and biliteracy. This means that most of the programs work with ESL students in acquiring oral skills and focus on the spoken language as opposed to biliteracy, where they take in consideration writing skills and grammatical rules in the second language. Biliteracy has also been of little interest to psycholinguistics. “These researchers are typically interested in how bilingual individuals process information using two language systems rather than in the modality (written and spoken) of the information” (Valdes p.5). In fact, a real interest in biliteracy has recently emerged as there is a higher concern for literacy and writing levels in bilingual students. Awareness in writing has recently occurred as schools are held accountable in the No Child Left Behind act. Schools have become more concerned with writing because their progress is measured through test scores. Unfortunately, the systems in place today are not properly designed to help them with writing difficulties.

One of the difficulties that ESL students face is that the time spent in the program is not clearly defined. “The question of how long an individual can be considered a “language learner” and placed in the ESL compartments as an incipient bilingual is a complex one” (Valdes p.13). The amount of time that it takes an early elementary student to acquire writing in the second language is very ambiguous because everyone learns at different rates and acquires different levels of writing, reading, and speaking proficiency. It is also important to mention that there is little evidence that indicates that ESL students will learn the second language perfectly. In fact, “a second language is generally not acquired perfectly, scholars have not yet developed criteria when a given individual can be considered to have passed from the incipient or learning stage of bilingualism to the fully developed one” (Valdes p.13). Not only can we not properly assess ESL students when preceding them into mainstream classrooms, but they are also constrained to a teacher that isn’t properly trained how to deal with ESL student writers. As Valdes states, “the mainstream professions are not structured to address the needs of “diverse” learners...
outside the compartments designated for them (Valdes p. 13). Most teachers have little knowledge of what “differences are associated with bilingualism” and are not conscious of what type of writing issues a student brings as he or she enters a mainstream classroom (Valdes p.13). Most of these teachers “have not been trained to evaluate the writing of non-English background students to determine what kinds of instructions they need” (Valdes p.13). Classroom teachers evidently are not familiar with how to assess and evaluate this type of writing, hindering the student as a lack of confidence begins to develop.

Most ESL learning programs focus on the oral skills when acquiring English as a second language. Yule argues that these programs should be revised to put emphasis on the written content as well. Yule argues that ESL educators should emphasize the grammar-transition method; which is a “language teaching method with vocabulary lists and sets of grammar rules” (Yule p. 243) which can help improve writing skills in ESL students. Here, students are instructed using vocabulary lists to expand vocabulary and develop word choice for a bilingual student. However, genuine learning for an ESL student doesn’t stop there.

“Research has shown that not all second language learners continue to learn or acquire the various different kinds of competences until they reach native-like abilities” (Valdes p.14). Even though ESL students may acquire English at functional levels, “they will continue to use learner-like features of the language in certain written expressions” (Valdes p.14). Yule agrees with this as he describes the period of fossilization that takes place in ESL students where “expressions produced in the second language contain many forms that do not match that target language” (Yule p.167). Students learn the second language initially by applying what they know about their first language. “Not only will the sophisticated learner apply what he already knows about the grammatical structure of the second language, but he will also try to match the meaning of the first language as closely as possible to the second” (Whitcher p 17). In fossilization, non-native features are still present despite the extensive exposure that an ESL student might have in the second language. This possess a problem in the classroom as students write drawing on their general linguistic knowledge of the first language and try to apply what they already know to the second language they are trying to acquire. Classroom teachers can’t make the distinction whether written problems in a paper are a “result of fossilization or incipient bilingualism, the result of functional bilingualism containing fossilized elements, or characteristics of a contact variety of English” (Valdes p.14). Valdes even classifies bilinguals as incipient or functional. Incipient bilinguals use non-native like speech, whereas a functional bilingual can appear fluent yet still possess non-native like signs. These signs are the ones that make student’s writing improper with non-native like features.

Fossilization is only one process that takes place in ESL students. There is also positive transfer and negative transfer. Yule states that “positive transfer is where the learner benefits from the first language when learning the second language and negative transfer is where grammar errors may be produced as the first language rules interferes with the second language (Yule p. 167). These types of transfers put an accent into writing that produces a distinction between language skill ability and linguistic competence within the bilingual student. If close attention is put on ESL student writing there can be certain distinctions noticed. Whitcher references a study of Latino students in Detroit (1993) where a student wrote: *I am not agree with passage A because I don’t think that nobody is forced to go to school.* This sentence in Spanish would translate to “no estoy de acuerdo con,” the verb “estoy” translates to “am” not “do”. The speaker is failing to make the proper negative construction in English and is also using a double negative “don’t and “nobody” in the same clause. “I don’t think that nobody” translates to “no pienso que nadie,” this indicates that the speaker is using the direct translation process to construct her sentence showing how she still relies on her first language grammar rules (Whitcher 20-21). In the same study another student wrote: *I want help to people.* In Spanish this sentence would translate to “Queiro ayudar a la gente” the problem is that the Spanish word “a” does not directly translate into what would be the preposition of “to” or “at” in English (Whitcher 21). Another students
composition started off like this: Studies have been proved...no...cases have been proved...no thats not the word I am looking for...it has been proven. This student can't find the right verb tense to apply the sentence she is trying to formulate. We can see that these writers are applying the grammatical rules that they earned in the first language to the second language. “Even though these writers are proficient speakers, they have not fully internalized many of the semantic nuances such as: connotations, denotations, synonyms, and antonyms of the English language” (Whitcher p 29”). The “right” words don’t come naturally to these students because they struggle with what they know from the first language to try and find an equivalent of what they are trying to say in the second language.

Trying to find the right words for what I am trying to say is something that I have had difficulty with also. At first, I had a strong passion for reading and writing in English, enough to go for a degree in English Secondary Education. It wasn’t until I went through some English courses that my essay papers kept being penalized by syntax numerous times. I was not only in shock but also confused at what the teacher meant by “syntax.” I later found out that my writing contained “awkward word choice” that affected my writing as well as my grade. It wasn’t until I took grammar where I examined my writing and was told that even though my writing is slightly different then a native speaker’s writing, it constitutes as my style of writing. My teacher explained to me that the way I write is not wrong, it is just different. Although that gave me some relief, I wasn’t content and after doing all of this research for this paper I have actually found some concrete information about what is going on with my writing. I guess you can say that my writing has an accent where my first language interferes with my English writing to a certain extent.

As I reflected back on all of the “C’s” that I got on my essay papers, I was surprised when Valdes indicates that students who do not master the first language and don’t have much education in the first language and make writing “errors” are produced not to “discourse transfer, but simply the product of beginning writing development’ (Valdes p.20). This means that ESL students who enter ESL programs in elementary schools and have had not education in the first language not only have to learn how to speak the second language, but also need to master the grammar rules of a language they are new to. To this day there is nothing to ensure that bilingual students effectively acquire English writing structure rules beyond elementary school.

Researchers argue that even though the first language hinders bilingual students’ writing, there are some benefits. Some students have high levels of education, just in a different language and could be used as an advantage in acquiring the second language. Others come from low income families who don’t put too much value on education. With that in perspective, we have to consider that these students are challenged with not only having to know how to communicate in the second language, but they also have to be able to use it in lexical context language. It is clearly evident that there is interference between the native language and the language being learned. I think that this will continue to occur if educators don’t persuade classroom teachers to become involved in bilingual student writing. There is a faulty ESL program system currently in place and there is little research being made to improve learning methods which is not only affecting the educational field, but also is greatly affecting these bilingual students that have knowledge of why their English writing is penalized with out proper explanation. Also, learning and training are necessary for linguistic development because ESL student need to know how to comprehend what they are saying as well as what they are reading. It is the quality of exposure that ESL students have of English which is important, not the quantity; “imitation alone cannot explain children’s acquisition of language” (Johansson p. 237). This is what makes a difference in the level of success within bilingual education programs. I would have to strongly agree with Valdes when she stresses the fact that “words are not cheap for writers who are writing in a second language” (Valdes p. 21).
REFERENCES


Everything Is Not As Real As It Seems: An Analysis of the Messages Sent to Target Young Girls through Disney Channel’s Advertisement over the Past Six Years.

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Subject of the Paper

The subject of our research is the change in messages sent to target young girls through Disney Channel advertisements over the past six years. The messages sent to target young girls are implying the accepted definition of a girl and how they should look, act and handle themselves in situations. The messages are found in the shows that the six selected Disney stars act in, the merchandise the girls sell and the ads they are in throughout various magazines. The six young stars that we chose are as follows: Raven Symone, That’s So Raven, 2003; Alyson Michalka, Phil of the Future, 2004; Ashley Tinsdale, The Suite Life of Zack and Cody, 2005; Miley Cyrus, Hannah Montana, 2006; Brenda Song, Suite Life on Deck, 2007; Selena Gomez, The Wizards of Waverly Place, 2008. The messages deal with the body language in their photos and merchandise, their depictions on their apparel, their personal and social lives, as well as their fictitious lives.

The adolescent years are fragile in a person’s overall development. Disney Channel targets an audience within that fragile age, as well as the surrounding ages. The messages sent out in these shows give the girls a premise to lay their lives in comparison to.

A Review of the Literature

In regards to finding literature to support our study, the challenge was finding any studies that were similar. To begin with our literature search we started really broad. We began with a search in regards to Disney and marketing. Through our literature reviews our goals were to find selections that would discuss the roles of women seen through society and how those roles are reflected in the media. We also wanted to look at the marketing side of advertisements and if any of their strategies have been proven to be significantly effective.

Our research brought us in contact with these helpful books: Women in America (1), Social Marketing(2), Exploring Contemporary Male/Female Roles: A Facilitator’s Guide (3), Born to Buy: the commercialized child and the new consumer culture (4), Gender Advertisements(5) and The Lenses of Gender: Transforming the Debate on Sexual Inequality (6).

The books we found tell us that messages sent to these young girls are strong, whether or not changed. Advertisers have indeed found a way for the characters to be more inclusive in their everyday lives. The pull from advertisements starts when one is really young. These texts have also shown that advertisements deal with a lot as far as gender specifics. Considering that Disney is all advertising, the messages that they send out are amplified.

What We Sought Out to Find

While walking through stores the amount of merchandise for some of the newer stars appears to be overwhelming at times. The objects on the shelves today are for ANYTHING. You can buy a wig to appear to look like a Disney star, you can buy utensils, bed sheets, pillow, brushes, shoes and the list continues. The popularity of the girls suggests that they play a strong role in the viewers’ lives; enough to where they want the stuff to look like them.

The TV shows that we are examining start with a strong whole-some family life, to widowed parent, to rich parents that do not play an active role in their lives, to ending with a strong whole-some
family life. We want to look at the importance of these household structures and if there is any correlation between their character’s role on the show and the message that the show is trying to give.

**Method**

We followed certain criteria for our research to ensure that we kept a narrowed focus. The criteria that we followed throughout our research covered a wide range considering that Disney is all advertisements. We were not going to be able to touch on as many points as possible in regards to their advertisements so we put together a list to organize our search.

The first criterion that we followed when doing our research was to make sure that the ads are either present on screen, in magazines, or on merchandise for children to young teens. We thought it was important to cover those three important mediums.

The next criterion that we followed was that it must be of only 6 selected Disney characters. The six Disney characters were chosen from a six year timeframe on the Disney Channel. There is one girl from each year whose character, merchandise, and show we looked at.

The criterion that followed that was focusing on the family structure and their character roles. We wanted to look at the roles that are filled in their families (whether or not they have both parents and siblings), as well as whether or not the girls with both parents and siblings have magical powers or not.

We then followed the criterion of diversity. When we first chose the girls from the Disney Channel shows we took into consideration a wide array of characters. The main objective was to not choose girls of all the same weight, race, etc. It was important to gather a group of girls that appeared diverse in more than one aspect, such as their audiences. This recognized the diverse choices of characters portrayed on the Disney Channel.

The final criterion that we focused on dealt more along the lines of marketing. It is important when looking at the messages sent to young girls, what stores they are mainly placed in. We feel that the majority of fans that view these shows are in the middle class. We feel this way not because of where we found the merchandise, but because of where we did not find the merchandise. Therefore the stores that we can look in for product placement, as well as product diversity and advertisements, are going to be in stores that are targeted towards the middle class, i.e. Walmart, Target, Walgreen and Disney Stores in local malls.

**Initial Findings**

One interesting factor that we saw while viewing the shows was that those characters who had a full family, meaning that the parents were still married and they had siblings, were those Disney characters that had supernatural powers; i.e. Raven Symone and Selena Gomez. Those characteristics often make the girls harder to relate with because they upset the realism in the show. The girls respond to situations with their powers as the main influence. Their powers give fantasy to their shows, but even-so we found that in the end they have to handle everything like average kids.

On the other side, with families that are not full, meaning they only have one parent in their family or no active parental-figures, things are slightly different. Alyson Michalka does not have mention of a full family set-up. Ashley Tinsdale does not have a parent on the show. Brenda Song has a father who is too busy to take care of her, who gives her everything he can to spoil her and take the place of him. Miley Cyrus has a father who is very active in her life, but also has a son in his life who often feels neglected. None of these characters have any sort of supernatural powers like those character’s mentioned with the full families, they have more realistic factors to relate with at times, but then again are given some character trait that seems to pacify what the real issue that is used in the shows; such as not feeling like a complete family.
The issues that these girls face throughout their shows seem to reflect what would be the stereotypical, young girl’s main focuses. The television shows put the girls in situations where they must deal with sibling arguments, crushes, trying to fit in, and growing up. The messages can draw strong parallels from both the types of families, the ways that the problems are presented are often different, but they must all solve the problems like average children. These allow for them to relate to the audiences more, therefore strengthening their popularity.

The market plays a large role in sending the messages out to the selected audiences. Like we found in the literature review, these messages can be chosen at random, but they seemed to be pushed as a theme for Disney. Disney has grown a strong fan base. Disney keeps some attributes of their shows the same, but they choose different details to switch out enough to change the messages sent to the young girls. In every show there is always a problem, but everything inevitably goes back to normal in the end.

Conclusions

Each show aired on the Disney Channel that we chose have very different lead characters. Some of the characters have gained more popularity than others as one would see when viewing the displays in the various stores. Right now, Hannah Montana is the face of Disney. This however does not mean that That’s So Raven or Wizard’s of Waverly Place are not popular as well, it just shows that some shows are easier to promote through merchandise. Some of the shows just have different ways of marketing. In the Social Marketing book one of the marketing tactics used is desire. They confuse the child on whether or not they want it or need it. This is done through their exposure. Parents are even attracted to the products just because of the pleasant emotions associated with the name Disney.

Another tactic that marketers use to push these products is product placement. Local stores such as Target or Walmart place their products at the back of the store, but they generally place them near products such as food, cosmetics or housing products. This appeared to us to be a effective marketing choice because parents with children are likely to walk by those areas together and children are relentless when it comes to looking through the toy sections.

Although many of the shows on the Disney Channel are not pushed through the market like Hannah Montana, does not make the other shows less watched. Some shows simply do not have the prop ability to push through the market. Hannah Montana has products from wigs, to tooth brushes, to clothing, to even seasonal products. That’s So Raven is still airing relatively new episodes, even though it started in 2003. Raven, a teenager with psychic powers, is known for her sense of style, but her clothing articles are not on the racks. Even though Disney does not take credit for her label in real life, her sense of style is still mocked by the public.

Disney puts a lot of efforts into its advertising. They have also widened their target audiences by including various ethnicities and cultures. They also explore change through different character traits. As societal issues have changed, so has Disney. We noticed a correlation between the Disney characters who have supernatural powers and their family lives; being that those with supernatural powers are those who have both parents and siblings, and those who do not are missing a parent or have no siblings at all.

The paper ads of Disney stars are usually critiques of their performances or their outfits. They have been seen in “Got Milk?” ads, and they have been used falsely in ads that have made them appear in a negative light. While these stars are associated strongly with their shows, those types of ads use the personal name of the star. The popularity gained through Disney from these stars puts them in the ads, and in turn, both their on-screen and off-screen personalities are affected. Not all ads are negative, but for these ads, Miley Cyrus poses in a less innocent manner than her age would suggest, and Brenda Song was wrongfully placed in an escort service ad. Disney advertises through its station and generally through their products, some ads are out of their control. Disney has undoubtedly matured over the
years, and as some behavior of the stars have suggested, so have the young stars. The outsides lives of these girls are important because they send their own messages; they, however, may not be the messages that Disney wants to be associated with.

So yes, we believe that over these past six years Disney messages have changed. Our support comes from viewing the shows, looking at the stars through the products in stores, and seeing the minimal ads in magazines. The change in messages does not reflect the changes in the on-screen characters. The way the girls respond to the situations or how they are first impacted is what changes. Those aspects are modernized so they can suggest realistically how their audiences should respond as well. Through the texts we have learned that the messages sent through the Disney medium are executed as they are brought up in society or in fact, when Disney feels like bringing them up.

From our research, we found that there are some messages that are consistent through Disney. Optimism has always been a strong theme, as well as believing in yourself. Disney always empowers the person deep-down inside, and motivates its viewers to have a support system; whether it is family or friends. Regardless of the change in some messages and in the talents associated with the show, Disney will always be a magical place, finding the youth in everyone. That will never change.

ENDNOTES

Among those studies that focused on Ads targeting Young Girls are:
It is with great diligence and difficulty that I write first to be understood and then to bring about understanding to the audience of humanity. I hope to assist Mary Wollstonecraft in erasing gender roles and in releasing humanity from slavery. I noticed several authors of the 1700 and 1800s making use of letters to the reader. I feel this is done in an effort to appeal to the reader establishing a personal connection. [As they are human]

Wollstonecraft’s attempt at addressing multiple audiences is complex and requires monumental effort to make one’s point. It is this aspect of multiple audiences that causes Wollstonecraft’s literary work to be of great importance to any literary course. Wollstonecraft delivers literary variety to most upper level college courses; her use of a political tract, the prose of her novel, and her ability to switch tone and voice are all important aspects of her writings. Wollstonecraft is different from her male counterparts and distances herself from other female writers of her era. She accomplishes this with her use of integrity, honesty, and grace. Wollstonecraft’s ability to draw from her historical and life circumstances makes her an author worth collegiate study.

Critics of Wollstonecraft’s works include Elissa S. Guralnick, Elizabeth Smith, and William Goodwin [Mary Wollstonecraft’s husband]. Guralnick states “…the work’s rambling, uneven nature results from being aimed at an audience unused and unresponsive to rational discourse-an audience of middle-class women.” I disagree with Guralnick in that Wollstonecraft’s audience was and is all of society and she is working to combat social and political injustice. Elizabeth Smith states, “In a political text a characterization of the implied audience is central to understanding the goals of the work” I agree with Smith that Wollstonecraft’s audience is not just political. Instead it is a call for change for the rights of humanity. William Godwin admittedly may be somewhat biased because he is Wollstonecraft’s husband. Godwin wrote the preface for Wollstonecraft’s “Vindication of The Rights of Woman” in which he states:

The purpose and structure of the following work had long formed a favourite subject of meditation with its author, and she judged them [these thoughts] capable of producing an important effect. The composition had been in progress for a period of twelve months. She was anxious to do justice to her conception, and recommenced and revised the manuscript several different times (245).

Wollstonecraft is a meticulous and detailed writer. She goes to great lengths to guide her audience, and gives them a new perspective not only on what she wishes to change but a glimpse of what those changes would look like. She invites the reader to be an active voice and create change for themselves.

The value of Mary Wollstonecraft’s political tract, the non-fiction “A Vindication of The Rights of Woman,” and her fictitious novel, “The Wrongs of Woman, or Maria,” hold value for a college literary course for the following reasons: historical importance, education and rights of women, their appeal to audience. The issue of the relationship of self to society, and nonfiction gives us a broader spectrum of literature.

Wollstonecraft’s work holds historical importance because she is laying the ground work for future feminists. She is also calling on contemporary political figures to see injustice and address it. In changing political agendas, we reshape societal perspectives. According to Melissa Benn, Wollstonecraft’s “Vindication” “predates the great reforming movements of the 19th and 20th centuries that led to many of the legal and social changes Wollstonecraft advocated.” When individuals have the
courage to put pen to paper addressing the government and society, expect their voices to be heard as a call for change.

In “A Vindication of The Rights of Woman” and “The Wrongs of Woman, Maria” Wollstonecraft writes of injustices of her time period which have subsequently carried on over hundreds of years since her death. Wollstonecraft redefines slavery and how marriage in the 1700s is a form of slavery by showing that women are considered property, just as the slaves in the slave trading industry. In the 1700s when women entered into holy matrimony they entered into slavery. They became the property of their husbands and so do any children conceived.

Marry Wollstonecraft, born 1759, April 27th, was reared in a time of slavery not just of women but of men, too. She first writes “A Vindication of Men” in 1790 which discusses how men in the military are like slaves in that they are to follow orders without question. In 1792 she writes “A Vindication of the Rights of Woman,” a non-fiction political tract where she pleads her case that women need proper education and equal rights instead of being men’s property. The value of Wollstonecraft’s works is in her intelligence to perceive injustices and her fortitude in changing society. In the beginning of “Vindication” Wollstonecraft writes a letter to M. Talleyrand-Perigord Bishop of Autun, France. The tone of her letter is complementing to his ego and the competency of his colleagues. Wollstonecraft states her case for education, independence, and virtue for men, women, and blacks by using Talleyrand-Perigord’s own words against him. In “Rapport Sur L’instruction Publique” he states “that to see one half of the human race excluded by the other from all participation of government was a political phenomenon that, according to abstract principles, it was impossible to explain” (M. Talleyrand-Perigord 17). He implies everyone should be included, but he means only his peers should be included. She also asks if women are not educated in political matters, how can they be good companions? Men who want good companions should support educating women. It is advantageous to educate women in all areas because when beauty fades, intelligence remains.

Wollstonecraft, who is well-read, quotes several great male writers of her era such as Milton, Dryden, and Johnson to reinforce her perspective. By citing other male authors of her time Wollstonecraft is effectively holding the male audience’s attention. She criticizes Rousseau and Dryden for a lack of equality among gender. She begins with Rousseau “Sophia, says Rousseau, should be as perfect a woman as Emilius is a man, and to render her so, it is necessary to examine the character which nature has given to the sex.” Wollstonecraft believes Rousseau is implying, that woman ought to be weak and passive, because she has less bodily strength than man; and hence infers, that she was formed to please and to be subject to him; and that it is her duty to render herself agreeable to her master—this being the grand end of her existence” (102). She is showing the reader how absurd Rousseau’s perception of women is. He has stated that women are to be slaves to men because they are weaker. Wollstonecraft’s questions, “Why was Rousseau’s life divided between ecstasy and misery?” (117). Her reply “Can any other answer be given than this, that the effervescence of his imagination produced both;...if the purpose of life be to educate the intellectual part of man...it is probable that he would have enjoyed more equal happiness on earth, and have felt the calm sensations of the man of nature instead of being prepared for another stage of existence by nourishing the passions which agitate the civilized man” (117).

Dryden’s view of women is more sexual in nature. In his works he degrades woman by viewing them as sexual conquests. He chooses young naive woman to conquer due to their lack of experience, his intentions are self-serving. Wollstonecraft quotes Dryden

“---Cursed vassalage, First idoliz’d till love’s hot fire be o’er
Then slaves to those who courted us before” (Dryden 117).

Wollstonecraft believes that educating women would assist in calming male’s lustfulness and create equality between physical and intellectual unions.
Wollstonecraft’s word choices are of interest because she writes to a dual audience. She uses sexually explicit language to incite the male’s ego and create curiosity in the female audience. Wollstonecraft uses other sexually charged words such as “social intercourse... sensuality... sentimental lust” (16). This holds her reader’s interest in reading her political argument “Vindication.”

It is Wollstonecraft who writes of being enslaved and oppressed. In her writings about sex and intellect Wollstonecraft shows how women are oppressed with her words. She does so with intelligence that is uncommon in her era. Mary Wollstonecraft attempts to give the oppressed a voice in “Vindication” she reveals the oppressors with their blatant injustices and she dispels their logic.

My own sex, I hope, will excuse me, if I treat them like rational creatures, instead of flattering their fascinating graces,...of perpetual childhood, unable to stand alone. I earnestly wish to point out in what true dignity and human happiness consists--I wish to persuade women to endeavor to acquire strength, both of mind and body, and to convince them that the soft phrases,... [are to woo and conquer women]those pretty feminine phrases, which the men condescendingly use to soften our slavish dependence (25).

She is shifting her audience from speaking to men, to calling women’s attention to their standard of living at that time, in order to empower them. Wollstonecraft wants both male and female readers to grasp the relevance of her works; she is painting a picture with words so both genders can see the truth and the injustices taking place. Men and women are adhering to society’s status quo in regard to one another’s intelligence, bodies, and spirit. Both genders are insulting themselves by following society’s standards which is a farce. In doing so, both genders are endangering their minds, bodies, and souls; their minds, by not using their intellect, their bodies by having affairs, their souls by not expressing their true selves. Wollstonecraft is attempting to recreate the society she lives in.

She commands society to recreate itself and she does so with logic and reason of argument and not flowery words.

I shall disdain to cull my phrases or polish my style;--I aim at being useful, and sincerity will render me unaffected; for, wishing rather to persuade by the force of my arguments, than dazzle by the elegance of my language...I shall be employed about things, not words!—and, anxious to render my sex more respectable members of society (26).

She points out that men who do explain things to women use flowery language. Wollstonecraft makes no apologies for her style and continues pursuing her arguments; she is instead direct and quick to make her point.

Consequently the perfection of our [women’s] nature and capability of happiness, must be estimated by the degree of reason, virtue, and knowledge, that distinguish the individual, and direct the laws which bind society: and that from the exercise of reason, knowledge and virtue naturally flow, is equally undeniable, if mankind be viewed collectively (28).

Wollstonecraft states that women need be educated and an equal part of society and not be enslaved by marriage. She makes the same points in her fiction work “Maria” presenting the ugly truth.

The above quote moves us to Wollstonecraft’s fiction “Maria” conveniently wrapped in a lie because the truth may be too harsh for some. (“Maria” is written in four volumes only two will be reviewed.) Volume One “Maria” is a first person story of how women are sold into marriage with a dowry, and when that money runs out, women are sold by their husbands into prostitution. When Maria displeases her husband, her infant child is taken from her and she is locked up in a madhouse as punishment. While there, Maria has an affair, becomes pregnant, and is deserted by her lover. It is a story of how Maria has enough of her enslavement and attempts to run away, but is found and returned to her [master] husband. It is the horrific truth of a woman’s desperation to change her circumstances, yet society insists that she continue to tolerate injustice, abuse, and oppression.

Volume Two of “Maria” is a flashback to the establishment of her marriage. Maria first requests that her sisters move with them to London, when her husband denies her request. She then asks her
husband to give her sisters some money (from her dowry) to help with their circumstances and travel expenses. “He asked me, giving me a kiss, ‘If I had lost my senses?’ I started back, as if I had found a wasp in a rosebush. I expostulated. He sneered; and the demon of discord entered our paradise, to poison with his pestiferous breath every opening joy” (307). Maria’s husband is asking if she has lost her senses because her money is now his money solely. (why would he spend it on family when he can gamble it?) This is the beginning and the ending of their love story. Maria, being a new bride, makes exceptions for her husband’s character; after all, he did kiss her first. “I perceived the narrowness of his understanding, fancy enlarged the boundary of his heart. Fatal error!” (307). Wollstonecraft is illustrating the naiveté of a new bride and how quickly her naiveté is replaced with realization of her new circumstance. “I could not sometimes help regretting my early marriage; and expand my newly fledged wings, in an unknown sky, I had been caught in a trap, and caged for life” (308). This is not only Maria’s cage for life but all women’s life sentences after marriage during this time period.

In “Maria” Wollstonecraft explores how marriage in the 1700s goes from bad to worse. The derogation, isolation, and indifference continue to enslave women of this era.”...in fact, did his cold, reserved manner affect me, that, after spending some days with him alone, I have imagined myself the most stupid creature in the world...” (309). Wollstonecraft is demonstrating that women do have intelligence because if they did not, Maria would not be able to see the error she’s made. One would have to have intelligence to know they have made a “stupid” mistake (309). This relates back to “Vindication” which requests that women be educated, yet it is obvious why men would not want women educated. These men enjoy acquiring property and if women are to become equal, intelligent parts of society, men would have to share their status. These are political and societal issues that Wollstonecraft is exposing and demanding change for.

Wollstonecraft’s ability to explain the plight of women and seek changes in her political tract “A Vindication of the Rights of Woman” and her illustration of the harsh realities of women in “The Wrongs of Woman, or Maria” proves her to be one of, if not the first feminist. Wollstonecraft’s use of audience where she appears to be addressing first males then females is her attempt at focusing on humanity and removing gender roles. Yes, politics and society have made tremendous strides, in women’s rights, yet we are still evolving.
Whenever we talk about any aspect of humanity, it is necessary to be clear about a method of examination and analysis. The focus of this paper is dating, one of the most intimate interactions between humans, and the paper is properly classified as a work of philosophy. Some may wonder why philosophy is an appropriate method for such a topic. Generally, the method of philosophical inquiry asks questions—a sometimes seemingly endless series of questions. Despite the beliefs of some to the contrary, the purpose of this questioning is not to annoy or irritate but rather to ultimately arrive at precision. Looseness in interpretation commonly leads to contradiction and inconsistency, which will detract from discovering the truth being sought.

Therefore, by examining just what dating is (and is not), misconceptions can be ruled out, ethical conduct can be established, and general advice on what is permissible and advisable can be discussed.

As with any philosophical exploration, a paper on dating should begin with a brief (albeit operational) definition of just what “dating” means. As I use the term in this paper, dating is a period of time initiated by two parties having an attraction to and an interest in each other. While dating, the couple is exploring: 1) their level of comfort with the other person (whether with and without sexual intimacy); 2) the continued level of interest in future interactions with each other; and 3) deciphering whether they are on or near the same page in terms of a goal for the outcome of the dating period. Once these conditions have been met, regardless of the type of scenario, the couple will be at the point when it is time to consider transitioning to the next phase. Consistent with the scientific usage of “phrase transitions,” there are different levels, or “phases,” in dating which each have a markedly different “form” than the levels that precede and ensue. Additionally, there is a process that couples must undergo to move from one phase to the other, just like a drop of water must complete a certain process in becoming a piece of ice. Conversely, as scientific phase transitions can move through the phases in either direction, so too can couples. Just imagine water having moved from cooling to heating and never being able to go back the other direction. We would have a serious lack of resources. The same would end up being true for couples. This would mean that there would be no such thing as breaking-up. Though this may solve the problem of an increasing amount of divorces, it would seem to cause people to be either overly cautious about getting involved with anyone or allowing themselves to become doormats to their partners, as there is no way out once in it. Thus, in line with the scientific reality that water, for instance, can take on different forms through phase transitions of either heating or cooling, dating relationships can “heat” or “cool” and take on very different forms.¹

There are several different scenarios that can pan out for two “available” people to indicate an interest in and attraction to each other. I will now describe four of the basic scenarios.

In the first scenario, there is an immediate physical attraction to someone else. Some people have looks that are so captivating (consistent with our personal preferences of the attracted person) that we have that feeling of “love at first sight.” I reject that this is ever literally the case,² but I think a fair interpretation is that the instant chemistry felt for the person’s appearance (both in terms of how that person looks and the manner in which the person carries himself/herself) is so strong as to perhaps cause some lapse in thought. The phrase “takes my breath away” can be incorporated here and interpreted similarly: the moment our senses connect with someone so closely matching our ideal
notion “attractive,” a feeling of intoxication ensues. We sometimes see this reaction, often exaggerated, in movies. A man is sitting in the driver’s seat of his car, waiting for the light to turn red, and he notices a tall, brunette beauty walking along the sidewalk. His eyes lock focus, his jaw drops a bit, and he may even blush if she happens to reciprocate in the form of a glance. If this were a cartoon, one would see little hearts and cupids drawn floating around the man’s head, only to poof at the sound of a car horn, the driver behind him forcing the man back to reality as the man was in a near-trance (“entranced by your beauty”). When this is the type of encounter (minus the dramatic Hollywood sequence), the person who is attracted may do what he can to strike up a conversation with the person in order to get to know the person behind the beauty. This can happen nearly anywhere, but the chance of achieving that “Hey, I would like to get to know you better” conversation is most conducive in an atmosphere that is already structured to facilitate conversation (e.g., a bar, grocery store, gym, bookstore, coffee shop).

The second scenario is a bit riskier. This is the realm of the colleagues, in which the parties have something connecting them before any personal conversation occurs. Accordingly, there is often the lack of awkwardness found in the first scenario when it comes to the ice-breaking conversation. People often feel much more at ease putting themselves “out there” and getting to know someone else when the feeling of familiarity is present. The risk lies at the heart of what brought the two together: if the attraction is mutual, acknowledged and acted on, but then goes awry (a break-up of some sort), there is a good chance they will remain colleagues long after the “dating” period ends. This can obviously make for a potentially chaotic and distracting setting around which both parties would need to set personal problems aside and let the common goal prevail.\(^3\)

The third scenario, friendship, is also risky. There are sets of friends who would consider each other datable. These are the people who know us best and often know both what we are looking for and what we are trying to avoid. I would call this situation the evolutionary relationship. Here is where the risk comes in: once the friends decide that there is both a mutual attraction and a willingness to begin the transition from friends to dating, the phase has changed. The pillars of friendship are there, but the new focus is anywhere but the foundation. If the dating “cools” after having “heated” and the evolutionary direction of the pair accordingly reverses and devolves, they have likely lost not only a partner but a friend. Good friends are hard to come by, but so is someone with high relationship potential.

In light of the modern changes that affect interpersonal relations, there is a fourth scenario that needs to be included in this paper. This would be the couple that comes together through the internet.\(^4\) I will be limiting my definition of this kind of couple to those having a specific intention to search for a partner by means of the internet. An example of the kind of interaction that would not be included would be the people who *incidentally* find someone worth getting to know offline; an incidental, or chance, encounter implies a lack of intent. The kind of person who will be specifically seeking a partner to date seriously likely falls into at least one of the following generalizations. Someone who has spent much of her youth trying to better herself (in terms of education and career focus) may find that she lacks the comfortable access to the common forums that are most conducive to interacting with “available” people who are of appropriate age and demeanor to best suit her dating needs. Someone who has become frustrated with the common problem of having been “duped” by the people she meets in these common forums may decide to get to know someone’s personality first. This “duping” is the revealing of the character that is more consistent with who the person actually is once the “I’m trying to impress you” phase has ended, but the character that remains is one that is not at all compatible with what the person is looking for. Some may also find necessary the directness of what someone is looking for (and not looking for) via the “personal profile” on these dating sites. In addition to filtering personality and character traits, people are also able to filter out others on the basis of the goals of the relationship. This will reduce the chance that you could spend much time and effort working through
the phases with someone only to find that there isn’t a mutual goal for what comes next. Another group of people prone to using the internet to date are those who generally have a high level of awkwardness and anxiety in social settings, particularly where there is something both personal and potentially vulnerable on the line.

III

With each different scenario, the ways in which the dating begins and occurs will necessarily vary. If we were to draw a scale that goes from earliest phase to final phase, we would notice that each couple would not have the same starting point despite the fact that each different starting point indicates the initiation of dating. The main contributor to this difference in starting point has to do with the communicative abilities of the people as a couple and how those abilities factor into the establishment of achieving comfort when in an intimate setting with another person. Communication is the primary mover here, as it not only determines where you start out but also plays a role in how quickly you can advance to each phase. Further, a lack of good communication is also the primary mover for reverting backwards in the transitioning from phase to phase.

In the first scenario, the uniting of the two was based primarily on a high appeal to physical attraction. In these instances, it is common for both to continue to place much effort into impressing the other person. There are chances for conversation, but the forums in which the conversations are held are those in which there is an implicit level of self-censorship (meaning the level that would be consistent with the etiquette of being a guest at certain establishments). This leaves each person with many questions about the each other, which often helps open the door for the next date, and the next, and so on. It often seems to be the case that the couples from this scenario inevitably start to show their “true” colors as the duration of the relationship continues, meaning the attempts to impress incrementally diminish as the time together goes on. This is a crucial point for the couple as they are entering the first consideration of whether to transition to the next phase. The importance of this point is that the couple has to learn how to integrate their true identity into the relationship without scaring the person away or causing the other to think that there was intent to deceive for malicious reasons. This is why this type of couple starts lowest on the phase scale. The type of communication used when you are trying to impress someone does not allow for the comfort needed to achieve a level of real intimacy with another person. There is always a higher chance for regressing when this kind of couple decides to get “more real.” However, transitioning up the scale necessitates a higher level of acting consistent with your truer self.

In the colleague scenario, having already indicated interest in getting to know what else they may have in common, these two will have to take their interactions outside of the familiar setting. This can make for the awkwardness in this type of scenario, as some situations will involve a demeanor that is markedly different from the one displayed in a more intimate setting. This could come across to the male as a form of deception, and he may be deterred from pursuing any further personal interactions with this female as desire to initiate dating had a great deal of interest in the demeanor he had come to know already. If this does happen, it would mean that the transitioning for the male began cooling after this difference in character had been revealed but stayed at the same initial level of heating for the female. When two parties are at two different levels, it would still be possible to catch the other up and continue moving forward together; yet, when the parties are moving in opposite directions, especially this early on, it is likely that the situation will fizzle out before dating is initiated.

However, let’s assume that the demeanor outside of the shared project is one that is consistent with each party’s expectations, or that the difference in character was a welcomed change. The goal at this point is to determine whether there is something in the other person on a more personal level that is as captivating as their display of personality in their involvement with the project. The way that most dating colleagues go about this is to be open to doing just about any activity together (so long as any
harsh limits are respected) in order to gauge another aspect of the other's personality, and hopefully this will uncover more areas of appeal. There is often less of a tendency to try as hard to impress the other person in the dating colleagues’ situation, as they were not strangers before dating. For this reason, this couple will start slightly higher up on the phase scale than the prior couple. There is already an awareness of things about the other person which are conducive to allowing for more open communication. There is, however, an emphasis on the good and a de-emphasis on the bad. This probably results from a two-part motivation. On one hand, if you like the person, you want him to want to continue getting to know you. On the other hand, you want the situation to keep its cool (or in the language of the phases, “warmth”) for the sake of the shared project. This could make for both parties being a bit more forgiving about things they may otherwise have had peeves with. After enough time has passed to enable the couple to feel more comfortable about remaining in their dating endeavor, they too are now ready to consider transitioning to the next phase. No matter how minor the peeves are, if not dealt with they could become problematic inhibitors to any further transitioning. This too boils down to a communication issue: both parties find certain things irritating in some way yet don’t tell their partner what the issue is nor why it is an issue.

In the friends scenario, there can be a great deal of awkwardness involved. These friends already have a rather high level of intimacy, one that the other two scenarios are still working towards. For this reason, this couple will start highest on the phase scale. By now, it should be evident that intimacy increases as advancement through the phases occurs, and communication is the primary factor that is central to establishing intimacy with someone else. However, this intimacy had always been platonic (or nearly platonic) for the friends. By nearly platonic, I mean that there may have been instances of physical affection between the two but the manner of said affection was neither sexual nor romantically sensual. This transition can be that which causes the awkwardness, perhaps so much that both parties are “weirded out” at the addition of formally absent acts of intimacy and regress to remaining friends or breaking things off altogether. If this awkwardness is not present and the transitioning occurs rather naturally, there is still an uneasy road ahead once the dating begins. In the past, these two have had other partners concurrently with their friendship. Some may have classified their friendship as an “open-relationship” (one that is not monogamous). Though this was not entirely the case, sharing each other with other people had been commonplace. This transitioning implies that both parties are ready to close off their relationship from others, but it has to be mutually sealed: so long as one person wants to leave the door open, the two will try the improbable scenario of dating while one stands in the hallway and the other has moved into the room. Assuming both parties have sealed the door and are embracing within the room, this is the most distinctively different form of initial phase of dating. There is no need for the get-to-know-you conversations. There is no need to impress upon the other one. Little will appear to change in their everyday lives, but the atmosphere will become a bit more romantic. So long as the awkwardness is not present (whether it never was or is no longer) and the couple is enjoying their increased romance and physical intimacy without the need for extra companions, this couple is ready to consider transitioning, though they are already phases ahead of the other two scenarios.

For our internet couple, bridging the gap in comfort from cyberspace to real world will be the hardest obstacle to conquer. There is an immediate comfort in putting yourself out there and being embraced without, well, actually putting yourself out there. Had the comfort not been established already in cyberspace, there would be no real world meeting to prepare for. However, these couples are not looking for cyber-only romance. Some people have been tempted to exaggerate some of their qualities and understate their excessive ones. Once an in-person meeting and conversation occurs, these “versions of the truth” will reveal themselves. As with the other scenarios, starting off with an air of deception will prevent further transitioning. Assuming a level of honesty in reporting that is consistent with the openness needed to start the phase, the difficulties for this couple are not over.
They are in the unique position of having to establish a desire with the same person two times. Although there is an affinity for the way the person has carried herself online (and perhaps on the phone), she may carry herself in a way that prevents you from being comfortable enough to be open in your communication. It would seem that, prior to the first meeting, the couple initiates the dating period at one level but drops down to a level only slightly higher than strangers once the meeting has occurred. The first phase of dating for this couple will be largely dedicated to achieving the same level of comfort, desire, and intimacy that was established over the internet.

IV

One odd thing about transitioning is that in most cases, there are few instances where this desire to transition is indicated verbally. In fact, the only situations where there would be a need for verbal (or just clear) communication is when the dating period is one that is “open.” Because there is no strong commitment to each other in the first phase of dating, it is permissible to date more than one person at a time. Some people get a better feel for what they are looking for in another potential partner when they can “try out” multiple people simultaneously. A disclaimer: while in some contexts it is indeed permissible to date several people at the same time, it would not bode well to do so and have some or all of the “candidates” in the dark about the openness of the situation. One reason for this advisory is the mere fact that at least one of the “candidates” will likely be considered for transitioning from this phase into the next one. Starting the next phase on grounds that are less than honest can make for a very tumultuous situation that will likely neither last nor end well. Outside of that unique situation (which is also encountered with our friends couple), nonverbal communication is the common and preferred means of indicating a desire to transition to the next phase. Because of the greater deal of comfort involved at this point, there seems to be an implied increase of perceptiveness in the other’s nonverbal cues. I will concede that a reliance on the translation of some person’s cues can lead to misunderstandings. However, this is something that can clear itself up once the relationship has transitioned, as it should be evident to each person whether the actions are consistent with the new phase.

A higher frequency of communication is often expected after transitioning into the second phase of dating. This is true for all the couples in this discussion, but the desired level of substantive communication will be determined by where on the scale the couple climbs to. The medium used for said communication needs to be chosen carefully, however. There seems to be this concern at this phase of dating for couples in this scenario as to whether it’s appropriate to admit a desire for increased contact. Rather than putting themselves out there and letting their partners know exactly what they want and why they want it, they initiate a vague conversation that leaves the partner confused as to the intent behind the initiation. This makes it so that the initiating person can gauge the reaction of her partner without ever having to admit that she just wants to spend time together. There is good reason to avoid this, as it creates an atmosphere of deception; it opens the door to concealing things that will later reveal themselves as larger issues which could have been dealt with at the time. If your partner is never made aware of your desire for more time and the relationship continues as it has, you may become upset that your needs are intentionally being neglected. All along, however, this unhappiness or discontent has never been communicated (either directly or indirectly). Sometimes, the unhappy partner is assuming that she is dropping subtle hints that are just obvious enough for the partner to notice and act upon. Again, however, this is based on an assumption that the other person is aware and that the other person shares the frustration and will necessarily make it better. The subtle hints are something that may be picked up on in the more “final” phases of transition (meaning, closer to long-term commitment), but one would also expect that there would not be a need to hint at something if the couple had advanced to that stage.
When the phase transitioning occurs while acting on assumptions, it is the same as if there has been a decrease in the trust. There are inherent limits to the ability of two people to share the very same thought. Care must therefore be taken. To help compensate for these limitations, we are equipped with certain abilities. These abilities (e.g., compassion, empathy, sympathy) are only realized in practiced interaction with others—or, as many philosophers would say, with other minds. Though we can achieve some sort of conceptual awareness of what these sorts of abilities might be and how helpful they are when used, there is a difference between learning what something is and understanding how to use it. It is there that these abilities become actual capabilities, and the capabilities are increased with more practice (where “practice” means increasing the amount and weight of interactions with other people).

I have placed a great deal of importance on the need for clear communication styles. One reason for this is that the couple is growing closer emotionally, which happens because of the increased time spent together, the more intimate sharing of each other’s personal lives (through both conversations and interactions), and the openness to involving each other in a more substantive role in their lives. There are certainly risks involved in growing emotionally more intimate with another person. It seems to be an inherently necessary aspect of emotion to imply a greater sense of worry other whether there will be pain should the situation not pan out well. If the couples have made it through more than one successful phase transition (in the “heating” direction), the ideal situation would be one where the parties acknowledge the possibility for pain, admit their worries to each other, and together remark upon the why it’s best to stick the situation out, as they would both either have their hopes towards an even more committed status or are enjoying what is enough to keep it for the sake of the immediate status. I am tempted to say that the more mature couple (meaning, both people are of a high level of maturity individually) will not look as much to what tomorrow brings and will therefore carry with them a higher level of content and lower level of concern. However, this could just mean that they are of the disposition that they value their own autonomy so much that they aren’t willing to allow themselves to become vulnerable to someone else, as that would seem to carry with a sense of obligation (even if only carried out at times). This is the point at which enough emotion is on the line to cause the consideration of making the person more of a factor in our lives and where the least amount has been invested to cause as little pain as can be had in breaking up (assuming the people breaking up consider it unfortunate).

V

Ethical considerations must be taken into account in a discussion of dating. This is, after all, an activity involving people; thus there will be a discussion about the proper conduct regarding the people involved. In this situation, both parties are stakeholders of likely the same thing: their personal well-being, maintaining a structure of support, their personal time, and so forth. This is why people who bring with them entirely selfish motives (e.g., the person who settles for being friends with someone she can’t date, the partner who dates only to have sex) are not being considered legitimate parties in “dating” properly understood. When the motives for initiating the relationship are centered on using the person as a means of some sort, the relationship will never be the type to involve transitioning, as there would be no need to transition once the want has been met. Aside from the exploitation of having the partner as a complete means to your selfish end, there would have to be a great deal of deception involved in achieving your end with someone whose end is the desire to transition. There are, of course, situations in which both parties mutually agree to use each other (i.e. “friends with benefits”), though this is outside the scope of “dating” and will not be addressed.

Another ethical consideration involves a later phase in the relationship. There is perhaps a more “terminal” level of relationships, in which there is a particular societal expectation for the couple that is not always the goal of people dating: marriage. When the couple reaches the phase where they have
decided to make the highest level of commitment that can be made from person to person, the reasons for actually going through with “making the commitment” are not always mutual. One of the persons may be after financial security, a good parent for present or future children, a higher social status, or an enhanced reputation. To come right out and admit these things would again imply that the persons were not actually dating in the first place, as these aims are not based on simply wanting to transition for the sake of transitioning within the levels of love. There may be those who have “duped” their partners into thinking that those were the true intent until they’ve reached the “terminal” phase to achieve their desired status. This would also be treating the person as a means to your end and therefore could not even have been counted as transitioning through the phases. The deception, however, enables the partner to have the illusion that there is true transitioning.

Another important ethical conversation pertains to the disclosure that inherently occurs anytime anyone becomes more intimate (emotionally and physically) with another person. Though honesty certainly contributes to the atmosphere that is preferable to overall good relations and communication, this does not mean that the only way to go about achieving this mutual comfort from one person to another is through becoming transparent to your partner. In the day and age of mobile communication, people can be anywhere and remain connected to someone else more often than ever before. In fact, the excuse for not answering a call or returning a text message has to get creative. It is increasingly difficult for people in relationships to maintain the autonomy they may have had prior to this techno revolution. For example, users of Facebook will note that every single person that you choose as a “friend” has the ability to view everything you’ve done within the site and with whom. There would likely be an interrogation of sorts if you don’t add your significant other as your friend, but there will be a whole lot more explaining to do about the other people in your “life” (as indicated through the list of “friends”). People nowadays (particularly the dating crowd under 35 years of age) seem to have an expectation of increased transparency in the aspects that formerly would not have been accessible about their partner. Unless your partner will be affected by the omission of something that would otherwise be personal to you and you alone, there is nothing ethically necessary about making yourself as transparent as possible. As long as there is sufficient openness to allow the people to connect emotionally and thus establish intimacy, this is the ideal level of vulnerability.

There seems to be a somewhat instinctive sting when we see our significant other spending time with a member of the opposite sex. Even when the situation is as harmless as the two working together at a job, there is a feeling of wanting to know what the situation is all about. Hopefully this concern should highlight the necessity of spending more time developing something more substantive – transitioning to a higher phase, in other words – than mere attraction as the basis for dating. Doing so will likely mean that problems will arise less frequently and not be based on misunderstandings, and when problems do arise, each person will likely have a better idea of just how to talk about it with the other person. Though there seems to be something somewhat inherent about jealousy in a dating context, it will not kill the relationship, so long as it is responded to proportionately. Trying to make demands about your partner’s associations and controlling the manner in which he does so is not respecting your partner as a person. Further, it indicates a lack of trust. Though there is always reason to be mindful of the level of security you have in your partner, a respect for the autonomy of the person must always be have priority.

V

Just as our scientific phase transitions entail specific steps towards advancing from phase to phase, people must go through steps to transition from phase to phase. Moreover, the people involved need to move together. This is what makes dating both appealing and difficult. Moving up through the transitions means that the level of intimacy is increasing. In order for the level of intimacy to increase, the couple must achieve the comfort necessary to be in a vulnerable position as sharing intimate
interactions and feelings with another person. Ultimately, the establishment of comfort rests upon the communicative abilities of the couple. The atmosphere to must be clear of intentional deception, actions based on assumptions, demands for complete (or near complete) transparency, disproportionate jealous reactions, etc. All of these communication hindrances are far too common. Though they may happen somewhat frequently, they are not inevitable.

ENDNOTES

1 I have come across no philosophical works that address this notion of “levels” within the dating process. The closest example I discovered was a brief mention of the step-by-step process in the development of most affairs or purely sexual relationships. See Anne Dufourmantelle, *Blind Date: Sex and Philosophy* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

2 Instead, I side here with Simon Blackburn, who argues that what we commonly refer to as “love” at first sight is something else, often lust or something along those lines. Simon Blackburn, *Lust* (New York: Oxford, 2004).

3 These potentially problematic consequences of “office dating” has led some companies to ban the practice—a move that is ethically very questionable. See John Rowan, “The Moral Foundation of Employee Rights,” *Journal of Business Ethics* (2000).

4 Although there is some debate in the literature about the value of technology in the quest for successful dating partners, most commentators have accepted the viability (and some even the superiority) of this mode. Broader philosophical discussions involve connections of technology and human happiness generally. See, for example, Jan Narveson, “Communication and the Human Good: The Twentieth Century’s Main Achievement” in Cheryl Hughes (ed.), *Communication, Conflict, and Reconciliation* (Charlottesville, VA: Philosophy Documentation Center, 2003).


6 Indeed, “intimacy” in the sense used in this paragraph is, according to most scholars on the subject, the essence of friendship. This idea seems to be as accepted now as it was in ancient times. See Earl Conee, “Friendship and Consequentialism,” *Australasian Journal of Philosophy* (2001); Lawrence Thomas, “Friendship,” *Synthese* (1987); Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book VIII, Chapter 4.

7 I should indicate explicitly that this entire discussion assumes a contemporary American (or at least Western) social backdrop. Other cultures may utilize very different modes of communication and do so at very different times. See Nancy Potter, “Is There a Role for Humor in the Midst of Conflict?” in *Communication, Conflict and Reconciliation*.


9 Sometimes, this apparently “negative” emotion that usually coincides with a breakup is, ultimately, a positive contribution to happiness. Emotions are obviously complex, and oversimplification should be avoided. See Robert Nozick, *The Examined Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989).

10 The wording here represents a clear gesture toward Kantian ethics, in particular his third formulation of the categorical imperative.

11 In our society, decisions of females to marry may be more involuntary, even coerced, in subtle ways. When growing up, for instance, boys are not exposed to Disney-type fantasies about their wedding day. See Lisa H. Schwartzman, “Can Liberalism Account For Women’s Adaptive Preferences?” in John Rowan (ed.), *International Law and Justice* (Charlottesville, VA: Philosophy Documentation Center, 2008).
Looking at classic mediaeval literature, women were seen as symbols to illustrate various ideas and trends, not as real human beings. This conclusion comes from medieval literature’s four categories of women that Marian MacCurdy described as the four women of the apocalypse. In her article, “The Four Women of the Apocalypse” Marian MacCurdy asserts that many contemporary advertisers still use the same symbolic images of women to sell products. These models of categorized femininity are: The Courty Lady, the Virgin Mary, the Temptresses and the Sex Object. The Courtly Lady is an object of desire, the Virgin Mary is a matronly figure who leads men to salvation, the Temptress is a woman who corrupts and controls the hearts of men, and the Sex Object is nothing more than a body.

These models can be further categorized into secular and non-secular images—each category contains both negative and positive connotations. Secularly the sex object is the negative while the Courtly Lady is the positive. Religiously the temptress is the negative while the Virgin Mary is the positive.

It may also do well to point out here that there are several perversions of these models that must be taken into account. The most blatant, and noteworthy, being the perversion of the Virgin Mary and the Sex Object.

To fit the portrayal of women in Skyy Vodka advertisements into the category of the Virgin Mary we will be looking for women that may have attributes of divinity and power as well as respect. Marian MacCurdy’s Virgin Mary is a beloved motherly figure who can do no evil and is a respected symbol of love and beauty. We will be looking for women who appear like goddesses in the advertisements and are portrayed in a light that makes them appear Godly, such as being in the sky or having a glow, or possibly wearing all white, which implicates a sort of purity that is parallel to the Virgin Mary.

The Sex Object has also been perverted. There is no look of what happens after the fact, but only that of the moment when she is the object of a man’s desire. Any man seducing a woman is really an indication that she is a sex object. If she is being pursued and is in a position that does not make her appear to be seducing the man, we must assume that she is a Sex Object. Since we cannot see the aftermath of the pursuit in an advertisement, we must assume that advances must be sexual, and the category the woman falls into is only based on her position, whether dominant of subordinate. The Sex Object’s most important attribute thus is her subordination.

Although the images of the Sex Object and the Temptress have negative connotations, they are all strong images for advertisers. Our study will focus on the use of these models of femininity by the Skyy Spirits Company in their advertising for Skyy Vodka because females like those appearing in medieval literature are seen in provocative advertisements for Skyy Vodka today.

The Skyy Spirits Company was created in 1992. In 1998 the company changed its advertising campaign to make it appear that Skyy Vodka is for the elite class and that it is trendy and popular. They show very sexually appealing women who, at many times, are half naked holding the Skyy Vodka product.

The basis for our research—in fact what prompted us to embark on this study was Marian MacCurdy’s article, “The Four Women of the Apocalypse: Polarized Feminine Images in Magazines.” We have used this text to enhance our understandings of who the four women of the apocalypse are, what their characteristics are, and what they each represent to a contemporary audience.
Through reading this text we now understand that the Courtly Lady appeals to women who want to be successful and adored. For men, the image is seen as a woman who can help him reach high society. In Skyy Vodka the use of the Courtly Lady and her appeal to men creates the idea in a man’s mind that “perhaps if I drink this I can meet that kind of woman.”

The appeal of the Virgin Mary for women can be twofold. One is the attraction of a woman feeling that she can take on the world, but she is also too beautiful and too precious to be part of the earthly world. For a man, the appeal is to have a woman who is perfect as the Virgin Mary is loving and nurturing, yet sophisticated and beautiful.

The appeal of the Sex Object for women is the idea of being loved, adored and wanted, while the appeal for the male is the want of a woman who he can use and then simply dismiss.

Finally, the appeal of the Temptress for women is the idea of power over the male, while for men the appeal is to entice a dominant, sexually active woman.

We will also be using Erving Goffman’s book, “Gender Advertisements,” to help us discover what an image is really saying to us. Many of the differences between MacCurdy’s models of femininity depend on how much power a woman holds and what kind of power it is. The guidelines for evaluating a photo that Goffman has laid out in his book will help us to discover exactly what use of body language means to a viewer. Some of the positioning attributes that Goffman discusses include who is more elevated in a particular picture, for example, the putting of hands on something shows that the object or person is special or precious. Goffman’s book is full of tips that show what meaning and symbols can be hidden in advertisements. This will be a very important tool for our research, since much of each category’ persona rests on how much power she is wielding, how precious she is, and the subtleties of her personality.

Gillian Keese’s book, “Visual Methodologies,” will also be used to assist our research. Its first help to us was the pinpointing of what theory we could be using to view our ads. We will be using the Auteur theory. This means that we will not be taking the intent of the advertiser into consideration when we view the ads.

Keese’s book also goes into psychological symbols in advertising—specifically she discusses the use of the phallic image. This is a common visual in many Skyy Vodka advertisements.

A scholarly work by Tim Dorflinger a professor at Viadrina European University will also be used. “The Power of Words and Images—A Discourse Analysis of Vodka in Advertisement” discusses the power of vodka advertisements and what they are trying to interpret to the viewer. We will use his research on Skyy Vodka and compare it to our findings as well as consider his analogies for the advertisements.

Dorflinger did an in depth research paper concerning Skyy Vodka and its advertisements as well as Absolut Vodka advertisements comparing how the two companies differ in the portrayal of their vodka. For our research, we will disregard Dorflinger’s research on Absolut Vodka and focus on his findings in Skyy Vodka Advertisements. Among looking at the Skyy Vodka consumers Dorflinger thoroughly analyzed four Skyy Vodka advertisements on the textual and social level.

Dorflinger found that the company advertisers want to portray the vodka as godly through symbols of purity and he analyzed how the company tries to live up to this kind of image. Doing this Dorflinger also looked at the actual content of the advertisements and analyzed the suggestive meanings behind the pictures. Dorflinger believes that women in Skyy Vodka advertisements “create a feeling of desire and lust,” and in some ads, even power over the male who seems to be enjoying the situation.

Finally, we spent some time looking over W.E. Vine’s book, “The Four Women of the Apocalypse” While this book does not help us with our interpretation of the ads, it will supplement our understanding of the historical and biblical background of MacCurdy’s theory.
The guiding question for our research is: Do women in the advertisements for Skyy Vodka fall into MacCurdy’s models of the four women of the Apocalypse? We want to find out if MacCurdy’s ideas of women as symbols are justifiable.

We have chosen Skyy Vodka advertisements because of their extreme tones and vibrant models. Through our current research we have found that MacCurdy’s hypothesis is so far correct. Most if not all of Skyy Vodka’s provocative advertisements with women or depicting an emotion can be placed into one of MacCurdy’s four categories. Whether Skyy Vodka’s intentions in the advertisements were different is not the issue. The underlying question is can the company’s advertisements fall into the four models of femininity whether it is or is not the company’s intention. We also would like to find out which models of femininity are more popular than others. We will do this by categorizing how many Virgin Maries, Temptresses, Sex Objects and Courtly Ladies we find in magazines. In the end of our research we will count to see which category is the most popular.

We predict, just as MacCrudy believes, that we will be able to categorize most of Skyy Vodka’s advertisements into one of the four categories. We believe that the most prominent woman we will find in the advertisements is the Sex Object, while we believe there will be little to no images that could possibly fit into the category of the Virgin Mary. We believe that the Sex Object will be the most prominent because all of the advertisements for Skyy Vodka contain beautiful women with who are scantily clad.

To find our advertisements will look at random issues of our chosen publications between the years 1998 and 2008. Our research will be strictly dealing with Skyy Vodka’s depiction of women. For this reason our criteria is as follows:

1. The advertisement must be for Skyy Vodka. Although there are other vodka advertisements that at times show provocative women we will use Skyy Vodka advertisements only because it appears that their main type of advertising involves the feeling that attractive women give to men and the envy these models give to women. We will focus on Skyy Vodka only because they are the most provocative in their advertisements and have a very large number of advertisements to look through.
2. The advertisement must be photographic, either in color or black and white.
3. Advertisements must be a full page.
4. The advertisement must contain a woman or symbolic imagery, such as a tie around a Skyy Vodka bottle, or a snake inside a martini glass. Advertisements with males and no females will not be included no matter how much symbolic imagery they contain because the focus of our study is to find how Skyy advertisements fall into MacCurdy’s categories, which males are not a part of. Symbolic imagery will be included in our study because many Skyy Vodka advertisements without men or women have a suggestive tone of temptation or sexuality.

To insure continuity on how we define a Courtly Lady, a Temptress, a Virgin Mary, and a Sex Object we realize that we need exact criteria for each of the models.

The Virgin Mary:
1. Must not be in an overtly sexual pose
2. Must not be in a subordinate position
3. Must have a purity, or strength

The Courtly Lady:
1. Must not be in an overtly sexual pose
2. May be either dominate, submissive, or equal
3. Must be part of “high society”

The Temptress:
1. Must be in an overtly sexual pose
2. Must be in a dominant position
3. Must have a man, alluded to or in the picture, who is subordinate

The Sex Object:
1. Must be in an overtly sexual pose
2. Must be in an submissive position
3. Must have a man, alluded to or in the picture, who is dominant

These criteria will stop us from letting our own thoughts and opinions guide our research too far off topic. We have generated these criteria for judging where each advertisement will be placed in MacCurdy’s models by using her descriptions of mediaeval women and relating it to the images we saw in the Skyy Vodka advertisements. We realize that strict guidelines for determining which category an advertisement belongs to, which MacCurdy does not give in her article, would be necessary to avoid any bias in our research.

Furthermore, we will not only be looking at the blatant advertisements where a woman falls obviously into one category or another. We will also be looking to see if models, though dominant in one category, have characteristics of another. It is very probable, for example, that a Temptress may have some characteristics of a Courtly Lady; or a Courtly Lady may have some characteristics of a Virgin Mary.

For the magazines we chose to research we are using Skyy’s most common mediums, but we are also looking at magazines that reach various audiences. These magazines are Maxim, Cosmopolitan, Rolling Stone and People Magazine. We will review ten issues of each magazine and pull out and evaluate any advertisements that meet the criteria set forth.

As a supplement to our research that will help us solve the question of the correctness of MacCurdy’s assumption will use archived advertisements provided by Skyy Vodka on their Web site skyyvodka.com

After carefully studying the advertisements for Skyy Vodka, we were able to fit most of them into one of MacCurdy’s categories. However, (like we predicted might happen) there were some advertisements that did not prominently fit into one category, but seemed to have qualities that can be placed in a few categories at once. We decided to create a separate branch of our findings and label this category “hybrids” as the women in these advertisements could not fit into one category well without also being able to also fit into another.

Out of the four categories of femininity that MacCurdy provided, we could identify the Temptress more than any other depiction of women in advertisements for Skyy Vodka as 24 percent of our advertisements fit into this category. The advertisements that we categorized into the Temptress all had very similar qualities such as the female being in control of the situation by luring the male to her and making him infatuated with her beauty and sexuality.

Among some of the most prominent advertisements that fit into the category of the Temptress was the Skyy Vodka Cinema campaign advertisement, “In the Shade,” which features a woman with a beautiful body grasping onto the tie of a servant who is holding a tray with Skyy Vodka. The woman is positioned higher than the male servant and appears to be of a sexual and extravagant nature with her
uniquely and suggestively shaped bathing suit and a large hat covering her face. The woman is in control in this scenario as she is the one holding the martini glass, and the male is catering to her wants. The woman’s grip on the man’s tie is also a suggestive sign that the female is in control and the male is at her service any way she wants him to be. The man appears to give in to the woman as he tilts his head up to her and is extremely close to her figure, suggesting that he is at her disposal.

In another advertisement that we categorized into the Temptress we see a woman lying in bed with pictures all around her with some even on her bare legs and exposed upper chest. The woman is holding a camera in one hand and a martini glass in the other as the Skyy Vodka bottle is lying on the bed sheets along her thigh. The camera is placed directly over her so her entire body, which is covered only with a black bra and underwear, is exposed and anyone looking at the advertisement will be looking over the bed with the woman pointing her camera directly toward this person. The bed itself, in this advertisement, is suggestive of sex as it is very big and inviting. The pictures that are lying all around the bed have naked men and women in them suggesting that all these people are sexual and nearby. Since the woman is holding the camera it suggests that she has taken all these pictures and now she will take a picture of the person looking at the advertisement. The advertisement suggests that the woman is inviting the person looking at her to come and join her in the fun. The woman fits into the category of the Temptress because her sexuality, as well as her camera, are luring the viewer and have a strong suggestion of an invitation to join her in her sexually explicit activity.

By MacCurdy’s definition the Courtly Lady is a positive image in a man’s life. She helps him to reach his more noble virtues. However to meet the description of a Courtly Lady, it was not necessary to have a man in the picture. Since the Courtly Lady is described as an object of man’s longing, but not his sexual need, it was only necessary that she posses a feeling of wealth, dignity and sophistication. These are the Courtly Lady’s main attributes. She is a strong, dignified, upper-class woman who seems untouchable to men. For this reason, not having a man in the picture was usually a benefit for the Courtly Lady. The Courtly Lady is a strong advertising personality because she is a figure that women want to be, and men long to be with. The Courtly Lady made up 15 percent of our sample.

To understand exactly what we were looking for in Courtly Ladies, and to illustrate their use by the Skyy Spirits Corporation in their advertising of Skyy Vodka, we will now turn to the advertisements themselves. The first, and most obvious, Courtly Lady is found in an advertisement called, “Bubbles.” This advertisement shows a woman alone at a bar with a martini glass and a bottle of Skyy. She is surrounded by bubbles and she holds a needle in her hand. This woman in attractive, but is not overtly sexual in appearance. We can see that she is wealthy by her make-up, her large diamond earrings, and her perfect hair. The aspect that truly makes her a Courtly Lady, however, is that she is sitting alone—she does not need a man, she does not need anyone. She exists in her own world which no one else can penetrate.

Another example of the Courtly Lady can be seen in another advertisement for Skyy Vodka titled, “#4 Black Widow.” In this advertisement, two women dressed in all black are standing under an umbrella in the rain. The advertisement, as its title suggests, gives the feeling of a funeral. These women are wearing heavy lipstick, fur coats and excessive jewelry, but appear classy while they sip Skyy under their umbrella. These women are attractive but is not overtly sexual in appearance. We can see that she is wealthy by her make-up, her large diamond earrings, and her perfect hair. The aspect that truly makes her a Courtly Lady, however, is that she is sitting alone—she does not need a man, she does not need anyone. She exists in her own world which no one else can penetrate.

The last Courtly Lady that will be discussed in this paper is “#60 Sushi.” This advertisement is notable because it shows a change in the Skyy Spirit Corporations depictions of the Courtly Lady to meet contemporary standards. The woman in the picture is dressed simply, but still beautifully. Her lipstick is a more natural color. She still wears nice earrings and has manicured nails, but she is less assuming than the previous Courtly Ladies mentioned. Her presence in a Skyy advertisement is not surprising. She is
just an obvious example of what we noticed as a trend in Skyy’s advertising to stray away from abstractions of women, and start to focus on “real” women.

While the Courtly Lady is the good secular woman, the sex object is the negative secular woman. MacCurdy describes her as being without class, dignity or anyone to protect her. For these reasons the Sex Object is available for men to use and discard. In fact, this is her soul purpose. The Skyy Spirits Corporation’s depiction of the Sex Object it perfectly on point. The Sex Object is a strong advertising personality because women believe that it will make them more attractive to men, and men believe that they will get women like her. The Sex Object made up 22.5 percent of our sample.

In the advertisement that will hence-to-forth be referred to as “Sex Object #1” we see a woman in a green bikini being fed melon balls by a man, but all we see in his arm. Melon juice drips seductively down her chin as her mouth is open wide towards the ball that the man is feeding her, in a manner that parallels fellatio. Her skin color is akin to the color of the meat of the melon, while her revealing bikini is the same color as the melon’s shell. This woman is in an overtly sexual position, is submissive to the man in the picture and seems to only exist for sex.

The next example of the Sex Object will be referred to as “Sex Object #2.” In this advertisement we see a punk-rock man yelling at a bartender to give him more Skyy Vodka. An inebriated woman clings to the man. Her pose is sexual, but what really makes her a Sex Object is her submissiveness. She cannot take care of herself, she is so drunk. Instead, she clings to the man for protection. However, he does not even seem aware of her existence. He is focused on the drink. The lack of acknowledgement that he gives her allows the reader to assume that she is not a real human being, but instead just another accessory to be worn, until she is not in style any longer.

MacCurdy’s Virgin Mary appeared at first to us as the most difficult category to fit Skyy Vodka advertisements into. A vodka company would not want to advertise a religious icon, such as the Virgin Mary, directly because most religions do not approve of drinking and promiscuity. Furthermore, the Virgin Mary is seen as innocent and holy, and a depiction of her in advertisements for vodka may be seen as blasphemous by the general public. When we were looking for advertisements that would fit into the Virgin Mary category we looked for ads that had women portrayed in larger than life images, or women who seem to have a pure or innocent quality, or even look like a goddess or figure of great power. In other words, we looked for women that have some aspects or qualities that can be associated with the Virgin Mary, aspects such as a purity, innocence, or strength. Even with these aspects, we did not think we would find many advertisements that would fit into this category. To our surprise twelve percent of our findings could easily fit into the category of the Virgin Mary.

One of the advertisements that most prominently fit into this category was an advertisement containing a beautiful woman sitting on a shiny disco ball that is hanging on a chain coming from the sky. The disco ball is hanging among clouds and an eccentric blue sky that can resemble an image of what heaven might look like. The woman is extremely beautiful and is positioned upright holding a martini glass and looking at the glass with her chin up. Her entire body is glowing, especially her big curly blond hair that seems five times more full of volume than an average woman’s hair. This woman is also wearing a simple dark dress that is flowing behind her and appears very airy and thin. The woman is unattainable as she is flowing in the sky. She appears like a goddess with her body positioning, and her glow makes her seem as if she is holy, or godly in the way the she is unattainable and beautiful. The globe can be looked at as the world and the woman is larger than life itself as she can easily sit on top of this globe. Her hair also has an aspect of the quality of a god as no one can naturally have hair that is so extremely thick and full of volume. This woman has many qualities of a Virgin Mary because of the power she seems to have in the advertisement as well as her immortal quality of splendor and positioning on top of the globe.

Another advertisement that we categorized under the Virgin Mary was an advertisement where we see a woman coming out of what seems to be an ocean that is as blue as the sky that is filled with
clouds in the advertisement’s background. Right away we can see that the background may be suggestive of something holly as we can visibly see the stunning sky behind the woman. The woman is wearing a white bikini and is looking up away from the camera, away from the two men sitting on each side of the advertisement, which is set on a boat. The men seem to be in awe of the woman as they look up to her and hand her a bottle of Skyy Vodka. The woman is positioned much higher than the men and is not looking in their direction. The woman does not appear to be a sexual object as we do not see the men admiring her exposed body. Instead, the men appear to be more like her followers and seem to serve her out of want and not temptation as the men do not seem to be directly focused on her body. These men, in fact, are not even very close to the woman, they seem to be at a small distance from the woman in a way that makes her look unattainable and only something to be admired from a distance. The white color of her bikini is also suggestive of a cleanliness and innocence, while her positioning being much higher than the men shows power and stature over the men. The fact that the woman isn’t even looking at the men is also interesting as she is not tempting them and seems to be too important to even look down at the men. The woman looks like a goddess coming out of the ocean and the similarities between and the Virgin Mary are unmistakable.

We did not expect to find many images of women that did not fit perfectly into one of McCurdy’s models, but hybrids made up 20 percent of our findings. These were not women who lacked the characteristics of MacCurdy’s models, but instead, these were women who had characteristics of several models at once. For example, we would find women who seemed to be Virgin Mary Models, but were being tickled seductively by a feather, thus making them submissive, which is a trait of the Sex Object and against the characteristics of the Virgin Mary. In our sample of hybrids we found that most had elements of the Virgin Mary, but were put into situations that would not be fitting for the Virgin Mary, or even the perversion of the Virgin Mary. For this reason they had to be classified solely as hybrids, their own class.

Not all hybrids have aspects of the Virgin Mary, however. In “#55 Dirty Martini,” a well-dressed woman is lying down while a unseen man pours vodka into a martini glass on her back. The woman has the submissive characteristics of a sex object, but she is not in an overtly sexual pose. She has the dress of a Courtly Lady, but she lacks elegance. For these reasons she is classified as a hybrid—she does not fit into any one category, but is instead a mixture of two.

Looking over the advertisements for Skyy Vodka we found that many advertisements without people, or people who were not at all the focus in the advertisements, had strong suggestive overtones that fit very well into one of MacCurdy’s categories. These advertisements were sexually suggestive or tempting, or even both. Out of the advertisements that we viewed, twelve percent contained symbolic imagery. While some advertisements featured a martini glass with lipstick smears and a tie under the glass, others focused on food being controlled by certain body parts. For example, one advertisement featured a lemon being crushed by the very high heel of a yellow pump. Another advertisement featured a snake in a martini glass with a Skyy Vodka bottle positioned right next to the martini. The background in the advertisement was very dark and the light was focused on the small snake curled up in the martini glass. This was a symbol that we believed could fit into the category of the Temptress as the temptress, in medieval times, was associated with the serpent that tempted Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, according to MacCurdy.

As for our hypothesis, we did not think so many advertisements would fit into the category of the Virgin Mary, nor did we think that the Temptress would be the most prominent category that we could fit many of the advertisements into. We believed, wrongly, that the Sex Object would be the type of woman that we would find the most, but this was not the fact. The Temptress was the most seen woman possibly because advertisers want to tempt the potential buyer and have the female lure the buyer to the vodka, making it seem as tempting as the woman herself. We were able to categorize so
many of our advertisements into the category of the Virgin Mary possibly because the Virgin Mary is associated with a divinity and status of purity and strength that some may want to associate the vodka with. Perhaps the advertisers want consumers to associate Skyy Vodka with a larger than life image or social class.

In conclusion to our research, we found that MacCurdy’s basic assumptions on the comprehensive use of the Four Women of the Apocalypse in contemporary advertisements still holds true today—at least where Skyy Vodka advertisements are concerned.
“The proper treatment of the original occupants of this land, the Indians, is one deserving of careful study. I will favor any course toward them which tends to their civilization and ultimate citizenship.” Grant spoke these thirty-three words during his first inaugural address on March 4, 1869. In his speech, these were the only words devoted to the Native Americans and his desired policy for them. The words Grant used were furthermore, so vague that his “course” could have meant just about anything. Four years later, Grant was again elected president. This time his Inaugural address devoted over a hundred and forty-three words to his desired Native American policy. In addition, his words were much more explicit. He declared, “My efforts in the future will be directed . . . by a humane course, to bring the aborigines of the country under the benign influences of education and civilization. It is either this or war of extermination.” This message provides a larger window into his own thinking concerning Indian policy. Logically the message also raises several questions. What happened during these four years to shape Grant’s emerging Indian policy? How and why did the President’s early vague idea of Indian policy become more explicit by the end of his first term? And finally, what were his views of Indians and what was his desired policy for them?

Academic historians have given little attention to Grant’s views regarding Native Americans. Despite the extensive amount of research on him, the majority of work has addressed his service in the military and the Civil War, rather than his presidency. Even the research that covers his presidency lacks analysis of Grant’s Indian views and policies. This paper seeks to demonstrate the President’s own intentions and policies concerning Native Americans. The foundation of these policies began long before he first took the oath of office, but his presidency in 1869 gave him the opportunity to implement these ideas into a distinct policy. Although this policy was saturated with a desire for peace, his methods often undermined that very goal. In short, President Grant’s approach to Native American affairs arose out of prior beliefs that resulted in a problematic Indian policy.

Pre-Civil War Experience and Attitudes

Early in his military life, Grant exhibited patterns of thinking regarding Native Americans that shaped important aspects of his own presidential Indian policy. Writing to his future wife, Julia Dent, in 1853 while serving in the Oregon Territory, Grant stated, “It is really my opinion that the whole [Indian] race would be harmless and peaceable if they were not put upon by whites.” He also believed that regardless of their faults, whites carried the means by which peace and civilization could be established. Describing his time in the Oregon Territory, Grant later asserted that the Indians and whites he saw had peace and harmony. He stated that the settler “treatment of the Indians had brought out the better qualities of the savages,” particularly when they educated the Native Americans in farming and labor.

These views may have resulted from the fact that Grant’s pre-Civil War military experience with Indians was often peaceful, despite the fact that he often served in the west to protect the settlers and missionaries from the Native Americans. This military role took place mainly while he was on the Pacific Coast in both California and the Oregon Territory from the spring of 1852 until the summer of 1854. During this time, he stated, he was “free from Indian wars” and emphasized that interactions in Oregon went so well that his regiment even employed local Native Americans. In speaking of them, he told his wife, who was concerned for his safety, that she did not need to worry because “those [Indians] about here are the most harmless people you ever saw.” These peaceful interactions between the whites and Native Americans no doubt gave him a more tolerant view towards the possibility of peace. Indeed,
when looking back over his own history, Grant told William Sherman that he “never had any experience among hostile Indians.”

General of the Army and Indian Affairs

Although Grant did not deal specifically with Indians during his service in the Civil War, his military position as General of the U.S. Army increasingly brought him in contact with them. Grant entered the Civil War as colonel of the 21st Illinois Infantry. His superb commanding influences were soon recognized and he rose in rank to the Commander of the Army of the Tennessee in 1862. Because of Grant’s high rank, he was able to hire a Seneca Indian friend, Ely Parker, as secretary of his staff in 1863. This was done after a considerable struggle by Grant to cut through the red tape concerning Indians in the military. Later, when Grant became President, he gave Parker the position of commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Not only did Grant’s position allow him to hire an Indian, but he also increasingly dealt with Native American issues as he rose in rank. Not one of his letters during his first eighteen months of service even mentioned the word “Indian,” and during his next eighteen months he dealt with Indian issues in only four letters (two had to do with the hiring of Parker). In the last twenty months of the war, however, Grant dealt with Indian issues in over nineteen of his letters. The reason for this dramatic increase was no doubt due to the fact that for the last eighteen months of the Civil War, he served as Lieutenant General of the U.S. Army. This position gave him more responsibility, especially concerning the increasing Indian hostilities in the west.

Even during the years between the Civil War and his presidency, Grant’s position as the General of the Army gave him an increasing role in Indian Affairs. One of the main policies he sought during this time was to have the military control Native Americans. Prior to 1849, the Indian Bureau had been under the strict control of the military. After the Department of the Interior was established that same year, however, the Indian Bureau came under its authority. Since that transfer there had been a continual campaign, especially by military officers, to bring Indian affairs back under the control of the War Department. Grant was no exception. Less than five months after the Civil War, he forwarded a letter to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, which recommended Indian affairs be solely a military function. Attached to this letter, Grant wrote that he “entirely concurred.” Grant continued to demonstrate an almost routine commitment to this desire every year preceding his presidency after the Civil War. For example, he wrote to Secretary of War John M. Schofield in 1868, “I would earnestly renew my recommendation of last year that the control of the Indians be transferred to the War Department.” He then stated that “the necessity of the transfer becomes stronger and more evident every day.” Grant’s efforts to transfer Indian affairs to the military made up a significant portion of his pre-Presidential years.

There are several reasons why Grant wanted the military to control Indian Affairs. First, Grant had faith in the military since he had been a soldier most of his life. Second, he argued for the transfer on economic grounds. After the Civil War, the U.S. government cut back on military funding. This reduction caused a considerable decrease in supplies and manpower that ultimately reduced the military’s effectiveness as a fighting unit. In November 1866, Grant wrote to Stanton that if the military controlled Indian affairs “it would result in greater economy of expenditure,” for it would eliminate the need for Indian agents and facilitate better communication, since the military already played a large role in Indian Affairs. Third, Grant also stated that this shift would diminish “conflicts between Indian and white Races.” As he told Sheridan about two months before becoming president, if the soldiers were able to control Indians, they would strive more strongly for peace because they “would have to do the fighting” if it was not established. And finally, since the military was increasingly loosing funds, Grant could help to assure that more money would flow into his department if it controlled Indian Affairs. Thus, Grant desired the transfer of Indian affairs to the military because he was
a military man, it would assist in saving money, it would help facilitate peace, and it would bring needed funds to the military.

Along with the transfer of Indian affairs, Grant also desired that Indian agents be military personnel. Since the colonial period, agent positions had been salaried and consisted mainly of civilians.\textsuperscript{20} In February 1867, Grant wrote to Stanton challenging this practice. He not only suggested the transfer of Indian affairs to the military, but also argued that Indian agents should be chosen from the military. He went so far as to suggest the complete “abolition of Civil Indian Agents.”\textsuperscript{21} As shown before, several of Grant’s reasons were that this approach would save money, aide in communication, and reduce possible conflict between Indians and whites. Giving these jobs to the military would help reinforce Grant’s departmental desires for more capital and increased troop numbers. It would also give positions to the large majority of officers that had lost jobs after the Civil War.

Another aspect apparent in Grant’s pre-presidential years was his annoyance with white settlers and their breach of military and bureaucratic Indian policy. Less then a month after Lee’s surrender, Grant responded to a telegram form General John Pope, who was in charge of the Indians in Minnesota. Pope had written Grant stating that he was worried another Indian war would break out in Minnesota.\textsuperscript{22} After encouraging Pope to prepare with the appropriate number of troops, Grant ended his letter by writing, “It may be [that] the Indians require as much protection from [t]he whites as the whites do from the Indians.” Referring to his earlier service on the Pacific Coast, he added that “[m]y own experience has been that but little trouble would have ever been had from them [Indians] but for the encroachments and influence of bad whites.”\textsuperscript{23} During Grant’s years as the head of the Army, he complained of white settler behavior to his subordinate officers, the Secretary of War, and even members of Congress.\textsuperscript{24}

While General of the Army, Grant helped to carry out a basic military policy that had been established much earlier. Historian Francis Paul Prucha has written that the Indian policy of the United States government in the early nineteenth century was to move Indians away from white civilization. During President Andrew Jackson’s administration this approach included transferring eastern Indians to the westward side of the Mississippi. However, white settlers also moved west of the Mississippi, causing the policy to become problematic. Therefore, Native American policy after 1851 became the process of moving Indians onto reservations. After Indian Affairs were transferred to the Interior in 1846, the military acted mainly as a police force in the west.\textsuperscript{25} In the middle of January 1867, Grant sent a letter to Stanton in which he quoted Sherman as recommending that the Army “restrict” the Sioux Tribe to its basic reservation boundary in the north and that the southern Indians (Arapahos, Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and Navaho) be restricted to their reservation areas set up in the south. According to Sherman, “This would leave for our people [whites] exclusively the use of the wide belt, east and west, between the Platte and the Arkansas [Rivers],” which was the route of the Union Pacific Railroad and the majority of westward travelers. Grant approved wholeheartedly, “provided it does not conflict with our treaty obligations”.\textsuperscript{26} Grant’s recommendation as head of the military became the basic Indian policy that he carried forward throughout his presidency from 1869 until 1877.

Grant had already formulated a basic view of Indian policy before he entered the White House, which included a recurring belief that white settlers were often the cause for Indian hostility. Despite the settler problems, he continued to have faith that white civilization held the means by which peace could be established with the Indians. Grant believed that the main instrument for this peace would come through the military, which he increasingly attempted to give more authority in Indian affairs. His rise in military rank increasingly gave him the authority to carry out these desires and voice his opinions concerning Native Americans and policy. Grant’s presidency would allow him the opportunity to further his Indian policy desires for peace, assimilation and military control.
Presidency and Indian Affairs

President Grant’s main goal concerning Indian policy was peace. In fact, “let us have peace” virtually became his overall campaign slogan throughout his presidency. In speaking to a correspondent of the New York Herald, Grant stated, “My policy is peace. When I said, ‘Let us have peace,’ I meant it. I want peace on the Plains as everywhere else.” He then declared, “The policy of peace, sir, is much preferable to the policy of war. You can’t thrash people so that they will love you, even though they are Indians. You however, make enemies friends by kindness. Isn’t that right?” In referring to all of his Indian policies, Grant himself called them the “peace policy.”

Grant’s major method to bring about peace was through the reservation system. Grant declared in his first State of the Union address that there were two options in dealing with the Native Americans. The first included the “extinction” of all Indians as a “race,” which he completely opposed. Grant believed, however, that there was “no substitute for such a system, except in placing all the Indians on large reservations, as rapidly as it can be done.” He elaborated a year later when he stated that the goal of the reservations was to “Christianize,” teach “the arts of peace,” and “civilize the Indians.” Although the words speak more or less for themselves, it should be noted that Grant used the term “civilize” to refer to the adoption of agriculture and education, which would occur on the reservations. In a speech to a group of Native Americans at Washington D.C., Grant declared that he wanted “to see the Indians get upon land where they can look forward to permanent homes.” He further stated that he desired that they learn agricultural processes rather then their hunting and gathering ways. Finally, he said that schools should be established “so that your children would learn to read and to write, and to speak the English language, the same as the white people.” Regardless of Grant’s overall goals for peace, his Indian policies ultimately were dictated by a white man’s conception of life. No matter what policies may have been enacted, unless they would have allowed for the Indians to live completely as they had before, it would have continued to undermine a way of life that had existed for decades. Grant saw the reservations as the ideal place for Indians and the place where they could adopt peace, Christianity, education and agriculture.

Besides civilizing the Indians, Grant declared that the reservations would help to achieve other objectives as well. He believed that difficulties occurred partly because peaceful and hostile Indians were often mixed together. When hostile Indians caused problems, Grant stated, the settlers and the army would often unwillingly retaliate against the peaceful factions. Since most of the Indians the whites came in contact with were non-reservation Indians, Grant believed a logical procedure was to move the peaceful Indians onto reservations where they could be protected. This action would not only protect the Native Americans, but would also assist the military in differentiating between the hostile and peaceful groups.

Possibly the strongest reason for the reservations, however, was to protect white settlers. As Grant wrote in March 1872 to General J. M. Schofield, commander of the Military Division of the Pacific, “Indians who will not put themselves under the restraints required [reservations] will have to be forced, even to the extent of making war upon them, to submit to measures that will insure security to the white settlers.” This view reflected an earlier order by General Sheridan that the reservation Indians be placed under the strict control of the agents and the Indian Bureau. However, “Outside the well defined limits of their reservations, they [Indians] are under the original and exclusive jurisdiction of military authority.” The order continued, stating that “all Indians . . . who do not immediately remove to their reservations, will be . . . treated as hostile, wherever they may be found, and particularly if they are near settlements or the great lines of communication.” For Grant, reservations provided the necessary means to protect white civilization from hostile Indians.

Grant had long believed that the hostility of Native Americans arose from the actions of both the white settlers and the U.S. government. Since he blamed white settlers while he was the head of the military, it is logical that he would also blame them during his presidency. This position manifested itself
most clearly in his disgust with white encroachments upon the Great Sioux Reservation in the Black Hills.\textsuperscript{37} As president, however, Grant also began to attribute Indian problems to another source—the government. This view first appeared less then three months before taking office when he wrote to Sherman, “Indian wars have grown out of the mismanagement of the [Indian] Bureau.”\textsuperscript{38} Grant further articulated this view when he emphasized in his State of the Union Message in December 1869 that he not only held white settlers responsible for the Indian problems, but also governmental “legislation” and negligence.\textsuperscript{39} A possible reason for this newly expressed view was that as Grant moved from general to president, his perspective of Indian affairs changed. During his years as the head of the military, his Indian outlook was more generally focused on the west where he dealt directly with the military, settlers and Indians. His position as president, however, required a broadened perspective that also included the central government and its Indian policy. Whatever the reason, President Grant concluded that both white settlers and their government caused much of the Indian problem.

Although he saw both the settlers and the government causing major Indian problems, Grant had faith in the military and therefore implemented a policy that potentially gave the military an increasing role in Indian affairs. In the first months as president, he immediately set to work proposing to Congress the effectual transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department.\textsuperscript{40} Also evident throughout the first year of his presidency were his explicit replacements of civilian Indian agents with military officers. The reasons for these actions were nearly parallel to those stated during his time as the head of the army. However, besides the economic, communication, and peace reasons, previously noted, he also mentioned that the military already played a large role in the reservations and therefore utilizing them was a logical policy.\textsuperscript{42} Another reason, only implicitly mentioned by Grant, was that military officers were paid for life whether or not they had an assignment. Therefore, to give military personnel these positions eliminated the civilian salaries.\textsuperscript{42} Through his actions to transfer Indian affairs to the military and to make army officers Indian agents, Grant demonstrated the extent to which his Indian policies relied upon martial forces.

In addition to instating military officers as agents, Grant also began to use Christians and philanthropists as Indian agents. Most scholars refer to this as Grant’s “Peace Policy” and/or “Quaker policy”.\textsuperscript{43} This approach began as an experiment in the process of using Quakers as Indian agents. Just like Grant’s overall goal, the reason he chose the Quakers for these positions was because they lived in peace with Indians and “were known for their opposition to all strife, violence and war.”\textsuperscript{44} Their use advanced to more than just an experiment, however, when Congress passed the army appropriation bill on July 15, 1870, which made it illegal for military officers to become Indian agents.\textsuperscript{45} Around the same time, Congress also thwarted Grant’s proposals to transfer the Indian Bureau to the military.\textsuperscript{46} In commenting on this situation, Grant wrote in his second Annual address that “the experiment of making it [Indian Affairs] a missionary work was tried with a few agencies given to the denomination of Friends [Quakers], and has been found to work most advantageously. All agencies and superintendents not so disposed of were given to officers of the Army.” Because of the act of Congress, he stated, “I determined to give all the agencies” to religious denominations.\textsuperscript{47}

Grant’s overall goal concerning the Indians by the end of his first term was to have peace. He believed that this would be accomplished by two major methods—the military and the reservation system. Combining these methods, peace would be accomplished by the military forcing non-reservation Indians to go to the reservations, where the agents (picked from religious institutions) under the control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs would assimilate the Indians into civilization through education and agriculture.

Grant’s articulated goals and methods during his first term concerning Native Americans continued to be foundational throughout the rest of his presidency. He received the least amount of support from the western states, which often condemned his policies as too lenient towards the Natives. Near the end of his first term, Grant received a request from Philadelphian George H. Stuart, as to
whether he would change his Indian policies to gain the support of the western states during his second run for office. Grant replied, “If any change takes place in the Indian policy . . . while I hold my present office [as president], it will be on the humanitarian side of the question.” Grant won the presidential election of 1872 and continued to follow the basic goal and methods that he had established in his first term. In one of his final State of the Union Addresses, Grant declared that “the method for the treatment of the Indians adopted at the beginning of my first term has been steadily pursued . . . and will be continued, with only such modifications as further experience may indicate necessary.” Grant’s Indian policies during his second term were essentially the same as his first term.

Despite Grant’s overwhelmingly static Indian policy, his goal for peace was virtually never accomplished. During the early part of his first term as president, Indian hostility remained significantly low. In fact one of the most noteworthy events of aggression was not done by Native Americans, but to them. This event occurred in January 1870 when the military slaughtered a group of peaceful Piegan Indians in Montana. This relatively peaceful pattern did not last for long, however. Hostility between Native Americans and whites rose during Grant’s years as president, and during much of his final term, Indian wars increased to one of the highest levels in history. Even the infamous Battle of the Little Bighorn occurred in the second to the last year of Grant’s administration. Grant’s goal for peace was undermined with each hostile outbreak and with the news of battles and campaigns. Even his most ardent supporters often had to claim that Grant’s desire for peace could not be achieved. This was especially the case after the Battle of the Little Bighorn (or “Custer’s Last Stand”), when a paper that had always praised Grant’s peaceful Indian policies exclaimed, “Our philanthropy and our hostility tend to about the same end, and this is the destruction of the Indian race.” Grant’s peaceful policy was recognized as bringing about the same results as a war of conquest on the Indians. Grant’s own desires for peace were undermined by the rapid succession of Indian wars that occurred throughout his presidency.

A main reason for the increase in wars was because of the method Grant implemented to bring about peace—the reservation system. Throughout his presidency the reservations provided a major catalyst for Indian hostility. One of the first major Indian hostilities during his presidency involved the Modoc War of 1872 to 1873. This war occurred because the tribe revolted, not wishing to live on the reservation they were assigned. Another war occurred throughout the northern plains when various tribes, most notable of which was the Sioux, led by famous leaders such as Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, fought for their right to live off the reservation. This long and drawn-out war culminated in the Battle of the Little Big Horn near the end of Grant’s presidency. Hostility outbreaks during Grant’s presidency not only centered on non-reservation Indians, but also included reservation Native Americans. These conflicts arose because of Indian anger at the corruption of reservation agents, the sedentary lifestyles they were forced to live, or because of the broken reservation treaties.

Ironically, this increase in hostility fit nicely into Grant’s desire for the military to control Indian affairs. Since the main instrument to quell the insurrections was force, the army was a key player in the hostile outbreaks. Subsequently, Grant’s desires were also fulfilled and the military could play the increased role in Indian affairs that he sought during his presidency. “The Indian wars,” Prucha has emphasized, “made the army an agent of the United States government in the control and management of Indians that was on par, or at least almost so, with the Indian Office.” By emphasizing the reservation system, Grant was actually giving the military more control in Indian affairs. Grant’s own reservation policy played a large role in the reason for the rise in Indian Wars and the military’s subsequent significance in Indian affairs.

The peace that Grant desired would have occurred only if the Indians submitted willingly to the reservation system. The President’s vision of Indian policy, although motivated by peace, was overwhelmingly set to a white man’s standard and was undermined by the very methods he
implemented. Peace in fact never really occurred, as events such as the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890 remind us.

ENDNOTES


4. Grant to Julia Dent, March 19, 1853, in Papers, 1: 296


6. Before going to the West Coast, Grant and his regiment briefly served in Panama for six weeks. Here they helped in building a railroad across the isthmus. Grant, Memoirs, 117.

7. Grant to Julia Dent, June 28, 1853, Papers, 1: 303.


10. Parker was a part of Grant’s staff throughout the Civil War and attained the rank of Lieutenant General. When Robert E. Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House, Parker wrote the draft for the articles of surrender. See Floyd B. Largent, "Iroquois chief and Union Officer Ely Parker," America’s Civil War, 9, no. 4 (September 1996): http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail?vid=1&hid=4&sid=d88688d7-cdfb-45be-8097-c797ebaddb0ed%40SRCSM2 (accessed November 1, 2007).


12. See Papers, volumes 2 through 14. The volume indexes to Grant’s letters provided the data necessary to see this trend.


14. Grant to Edwin Stanton, November 11, 1865, in Papers, 15:622. The forwarded letter was from Major General John Pope who had received it from Colonel Christopher Carson of the 1st New Mexico Cavalry and William Bent of St. Louis.


17. See ibid, 15: 296, 305-308; 16:116, 319, 345, 417; 17:104-105


21. Grant to Stanton, February 1, 1867, in Papers, 17:40.

22. The first war that had broken out had occurred while Grant was serving in the Civil War. It is commonly referred to as the “Sioux Uprising of 1862” or the “Dakota Conflict of 1862”.


32. Grant speech to Native Americans, May 28, 1872, in Papers, 23:145-146.


34. Grant and Sherman correspondence, see Ibid, 18:257-258; 22:74, 91.


37 See Grant correspondence, in Papers, 23:369-370. See also Prucha, American Indian Policy, 170-171; Smith, Grant, 538-539; Brown, Bury My Heart, 276-277.
38 Grant to Sherman, December 24, 1868, in Papers, 19:99-100.
39 Grant, First Annual Message, December 6, 1869, in State of the Union Messages, 2:1199.
41 Grant, First Annual Message, December 6, 1869, in State of the Union, 2:1199.
43 Smith, Grant, 526; Robert H. Keller, American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-82 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 17-30; Wooster, Military, 45; Prichard, Grant’s Peace Policy, 1; Brown, Bury My Heart, 180. These names are given despite the fact that Grant’s idea of Indian policy encompassed a wider arena then just the Quaker Indian agents. The reason may be that the Quaker policy was the most revolutionary part of his Indian policy.
44 Grant, 2nd Annual Message, December 6, 1869, in State of the Union Messages, 2:1217
45 Prucha, American Indian Policy, 49-50.
46 Wooster, Military and United States Indian Policy, 78-89; Robert M. Utley, The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984) 46, 133. Congress continued to deny the transfer throughout the rest of his presidency. A main reason that they did not allow the transfer was because Congress was upset that Grant had replaced the civilian Indian agents. These positions had often been filled by Congress as a way of rewarding their political supporters. Another reason was that the recent massacre of Piegan Indians by the military on January 23, 1870 had caused a public outcry towards the military.
47 Grant, 2nd Annual Message, December 5, 1870, in State of the Union Messages, 2:1217
48 Grant to George H. Stuart, October 26, 1872, in Papers, 270.
49 Grant, Seventh Annual Message, December 7, 1875, in State of the Union Messages, 2:1315. Almost the very same words are used in his Fifth Message on December 4, 1873, 2:1290.
50 Wooster, Military and the United States, 145.
51 The Nation, July 13, 1876, quoted in Smith, Grant, 539.
52 Prucha, Great Father, 1:539-49; Utley, Indian Frontier, 157-201; See also Brown, Bury My Heart; Wooster, Military and United States.

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Identification of Subject
Our presentation is on the images of men alone or with other men in advertisements in the years of 2007-2008. While looking through the advertisements that we have collected we discovered they could be sorted into 5 different categories. The nurturing father, the active father, the working man, the average joe and the macho man. We were able to examine each advertisement and see comparisons that it has with other advertisements. We looked at the way each man in the ad were exposed and how the reader was supposed to see that man. We noticed that there were certain ways men were portrayed depending on the product and if other people were also in the advertisement.

A Review of the Literature
Tom Nakayama, a professor of communications and the director of Asian Pacific American studies at Arizona State University wrote an article in 2007 titled, Images of Men in Advertising. Nakayama’s approach starts with the question that each ad answers, “What images of men will sell my product to men? To women?” He states that they will shape the images of men as well. Here he talks about how advertising “narrows the definition of what it means to be a man.” He says that men are usually portrayed as in charge, self-contained and are pictured alone. They want to unleash their aggression if they are shown with other men. When men are shown with women they will be the dominant figure in the advertisement. Nakayama says, “These images of men from hardhats building dams to captains of industry rewarding themselves with the best whiskey are powerful and disturbing.” This is negatively affecting men by narrowing the definition of what it means to be a man in the American Society. Nakayama states that there are few ads that focus on men in partnership, rather is be men with children, men with men or men with women. The fact the role these ads are playing are strong, silent, and authoritarian seems to be neither positive nor realistic. Nakayama feels that these ads affect the views they have upon themselves compared to the masculine role models they want to be like in the ads. He tells how a few advertising agencies have turned men into sensitive, caring and gentle men. This shows that men, like women, can experience a broad range of emotions. Nakayama states, “Only when we understand ourselves can we demand that this understanding be reflected in the media.”

When it comes to the analysis of Gender in Advertising, Erving Goffman’s study was right on track. His book was published by the Harvard University Press, and he was able to explain and tell about the less obvious elements in advertisements. It set the pace for all subsequent studies of gender in advertising. While new findings relative to gender and the ad emerge, much of this is due to changes in society. Much of what Goffman uncovered in magazine portrayals in the 1970’s in America, however, remains true today, regardless of medium and regardless of cultural context. As Goffman wrote, gender advertisements are “both shadow and substance: they show not only what we wish or pretend to be, but what we are.” Women, however, were portrayed over feminized. When a woman and a man posed together, men were often portrayed as central, strong and dominant. Men in advertising are portrayed as strong and dominant making the reader want to have similarities with the man shown. However, at the same time there must be some sort of connection with the reader and the man in the advertisement so that the man reading the ad can feel and see the similarity he has with the ad. This helps persuade the reader to want and feel as if he needs the product. Goffman points out as society changes the way men in advertising will slowly start to alter. In the past men are always the more dominant one,
however, during our study we have noticed as times change women are slowly starting to appear more in ads have more beneficial roles. Goffman was able to see a pattern in the way men and women are posed in advertising and how men often tend to take up more space. The men are usually shown to be guiding the action in the ads while the women are smaller and lower down on the In the future men and women could become very equal in the way they are portrayed in advertising. In Goffman’s study he was able to classify the subtle messages found in advertising in 5 classifications. Relative size, referring to the way men and women were posed and how big or small they were made in each ad. Next is Feminine touch, the way a person touches or caresses the object and is able to be distinguished from contact such as grasping objects. The third category is licensed withdrawal. This is when a person in shown to need protection from others and needs someone there for help. They are shown in a vulnerable situation. The fourth category is function ranking. This is when an executive role is being played by one person. An example of function ranking is when a secretary is observing a meeting of high-level executives. Finally, ritualization of subordination is when a person is position in a way that makes them seem like they have control of another person. These certain definitions of ads will help guide us through our study and notice things we wouldn’t normally notice.

In Deana A. Rohlinger’s article Eroticizing men: cultural influences on advertising and male objectification she explains how erotic images of men are used in terms of economics. These erotic pictures are used to both appeal to liberated women as well as the new male consumer. This article notes that the relationship between gender and sexuality is very dialectical. The primary building block for men is the notion of masculinity and the cultural definition of manhood. “It is through our understanding of masculinity that we construct a sexuality, and it is through our sexualities that we confirm the successful construction of our gender identity. Gender informs sexuality; sexuality confirms gender. (Rohlinger) The male body is a tool that men manipulate in order to achieve a gendered identity. Here Rohlinger talks about the category of the “erotic male” or the sexualized image of a man. This man is physically fit, attractive, and muscular and is put on display. Like Goffman said, because of cultural changes our media is slowly starting to alter. With the cultural changes in American society we have a greater sex appeal on men and women. The advertising industry’s representations of masculinity were examined in five mainstream magazines that targeted a male audience from the ages of 18 to 49 years old. The magazines chosen were from the years 1987 to 1997 and included Sports Illustrated, Men’s Health, Popular Mechanics, GQ, and Business Week. Samples were taken from the months of October and May from each of the 5 types of magazines and the advertisements were coded. There was a coding scheme that was developed to analyze the masculinity portrayed in the sample. There were 9 main categories of men that were made from this sample. The nine main categories included: the hero, the outdoorsman, the urban man, the family man/nurturer, the breadwinner, the man at work, the erotic male, the consumer, and the quiescent man. The hero was the man with a status based on his celebrity in sports, business, politics, or military service. The outdoorsman was seen as conquering nature or animals or gaining control over a wild environment. The family man/nurturer was an active participant with children. The family man/nurturer can be displayed as a father, family member, or coach. The breadwinner is seen as directing children or his family. In this category the man does not participate in family activities but is rather seen as a leader and the family follows rules from him. The man at work is engaged in a profession or even an area of expertise. The consumer is the average man. He could either be using the product that is being advertised, shown to desperately need to use the product being advertised, or he could just be positioned as a satisfied customer of the product. The urban man enjoys his life in the big city. He is a fashionable man and is shown in or around theaters, restaurants, bars, or involved in social engagements. The quiescent man is the man engaged in a light recreational activity. These activities could include tourism, playing a video game, or being completely inactive. Finally, the erotic male is the man that is placed on display. This man could be pictured alone or with other models. This male is usually positioned in a sexual manner and his
sexual organ could become the focal point of the picture. The male’s physical appearances in these ads are usually highlighted showing off his body. This male rarely smiles and seems to be “caught in a personal movement.” He makes his focus point on something other than the surrounding audience. The erotic male was the single largest category, which accounted for 36.9% of the sample. The coding scheme was also a way of noting the sexuality of the erotic male in each advertisement. The models in the images were identified as being heterosexual, homosexual, ambiguous, or unknown. The heterosexual if he was displayed as being in a heterosexual relationship. The model was homosexual if he was displayed in a homosexual relationship. The ambiguous male was if the coder was not able to recognize or detect if the male was in a homosexual or heterosexual relationship. Finally, the unknown, if the models was shown alone or if the text did not provide information letting readers know if he was heterosexual or homosexual. This coding scheme also noted differential use of touch and gaze behavior, just like Erving Goffman’s study on gender in advertising. They say that the feminine touch is delicate and precious. However, the male models engage in active touch behavior like grasping. Here they also mentioned the way males gaze. The male models tend to gaze directly at the audience when the female models tend to engage in the mental drift, where they do not make eye contact with the audience.

**Thesis Statement and Hypothesis**

Upon analyzing the advertisements found in magazines of men in the years 2007 and 2008, it becomes clear that there are different groups that the man can be categorized in. These groups depict a certain aspect of male lifestyles. We will consider men portrayed alone as well as men accompanied with other men. The natures of men’s ads are characterized differently based on the product and story of the ad. We gathered advertisements portraying men alone or in the company of other men and focusing on their position, the environment they are in, their appearances, what they are doing and the type and target audience the publication is aiming for. We will be able to make a comparison of the different types of ads and of the different men shown. This will help us understand the stories that the advertisers are trying to tell and see how they portray men. The main thing we will focus on is the story type of the advertisements with men. We will look for the same archetypes that Luigi Manca and Alessandra Manca found in their own study of men in advertisements. These groups include the nurturing father who portrays men in a motherly fashion. They are typically shown showing more caring emotions towards the children in the advertisement. Second is the active father, who is portrayed typically with their son or grandson. These men are usually outdoors, doing more physical activities. Next is the working man, who portrays men working, typically is an office setting. It can vary from men in the office to men at home, and even sometimes out in public. The average joe category portrays the everyday man in his daily routine. It shows the more realistic view of the man and his life. Finally, the macho man, who is normally, portrayed outdoors doing extreme activities. Most of them include extreme sports. Our research is trying to analyze what values and stories are shown within the ads, using a large amount of different types of magazines. Because of this we will have a wide range of advertisements to study.

**Method**

Our research focuses on how men are portrayed in advertisements either by themselves or accompanied with other men. We have gathered advertisements from 2007 to 2008 portraying men alone or in the company of other men. We focused on their position, the environment they are in, their appearances, what they are doing and the type and target audience the publication is aiming for. We were able to make a comparison of the different types of ads and of the different men shown. This helped us understand the stories that the advertisers are trying to tell and see how they portray men. We had a wide range of advertisements to study taking 20 women’s magazines, 20 men’s magazines and 20 neutral magazines to examine for advertisements. We wanted to have a mixture of magazines so we
can see how men are portrayed in the eyes of women and in the eyes of men. We chose 20 neutral magazines that both men and women will read to see if the image of men changes. Each one of these advertisements was chosen with specific criteria. The first of the criteria are that there must be at least one man in the advertisement. It can be a man with another man, a man with a child or a man alone. It must tell its story through photography without using animations. The second is that it has to be a full page advertisement in either color or in black and white. Lastly our advertisement must tell a story without Celebrities and models alone, unless they represent fictional characters in a story. The character in the story should not be aware that the picture is being taken. After reading Goffman’s article we were able to check each ad for the categories he made in Gender in Advertising. We carefully checked each ad for certain ideas that normally wouldn’t be noticed and tried to categorize them as best as possible. We examined each story that is being told and try to see the similarities each advertisement has with others. We then grouped the advertisements into 5 separate groups. This process has been ongoing and we have been adding and removing throughout all of our research.

Findings

Upon analyzing the advertisements of men in the year 2007-2008, it becomes clear to the reader that there are different groups these men can be categorized in. The nurturing father, the active father, the working man, the average joe and the macho man are the 5 categories that we have come up with. Each of these categories has specific details that make each advertisement fall into the category. The nurturing father portrays men in a motherly fashion. They are typically shown showing more caring emotions towards the children in the advertisement. The nurturing father is a new category that has not been present in advertising until recently. Men in these advertisements are more like homemakers and are shown doing womanly chores, such as cooking, cleaning, and dressing the children. The advertisements are more emotionally based and have less physical or outdoor activity. These men are taking on the role of a maternal figure, generally being much more attuned to the needs of the children they are with. Take for instance, the ad pictured with the father and two children dressing. He is holding the child’s chin lightly, using a much more gentle touch then he would normally if he weren’t with them. He is also smiling, another symbol of a more caring nature, showing his children that he, just like them, have to figure out what to wear. Also, notice the ad with the father and his daughter outside. First off, although the ad itself is in black and white, the atmosphere of the ad is outside in the light, giving the general appearance a much lighter mood. He is cradling the child, like a mother would, and is giving the impression that he is talking in a light, high pitched voice to the child, mimicking that of a mother.

The active father is portrayed typically with their son or grandson, usually outdoors, doing more physical activities. One unique factor of these advertisement is that the role is usually filled by a grandfather rather than a father. In these advertisements they are more teaching the son how to be a man and bonding more over masculine adventures, such as: fishing or playing sports. There is a much more hands on approach in these advertisements where the father uses everyday activities to teach the son life lessons. All the lessons are usually physical activities and masculine environments where the male figure is doing the activity showing the son. Notice here the grandfather is taking charge and teaching his grandson carpentry. The reader can get the message that he is teaching him ways to be a man and to be handy for situations he could encounter in the future, such as building or fixing things around the house just like a father would. Also, notice in the second ad this grandfather is teaching his grandson how to read a map and survive in nature. This is a physical environment and is again teaching the child how to take control over a situation where he may need to take care of others.

The working man portrays men working, typically in an office setting. It can vary from men in the office to men at home, and even sometimes out in public. They are usually shown dressed up in suits with ties, showing their professionalism. Businessmen are not the only type within this category. We also have
manual labor workers, those who do their job outside of the office, such as busboys or construction workers. In all the advertisements, it appears the men have control over their working environment and are able to multitask. In each ad you can tell they have control over their situation and seem to be handling in a diligent way. For instance, in the ad with the man walking the dog he is able to multitask by working and walking his dog at the same time. He is still in his office showing a dedication to his job but is also able to give his dog the exercise he needs. Just like the ad with the man who is working on a document and getting his daily exercise. Again this ad manipulates the idea of multitasking while still showing the male has control over his environment.

The average joe category portrays the everyday man in his daily routine. It shows the more realistic view of the man and his life. These advertisements show more of the things that go wrong in life for men, and are typically more on the humorous side. They show the man making mistakes or being outdone by another. The men in these advertisements are far from perfect and endure problems and issues that most men encounter in their daily lives. Their lives are by no means played up and they show that readers aren’t the only ones that go through difficulties. For example, in the ad with the man watering the lawn, he is being outdone by his neighbor. He is not dressed up in anyway, but is very casual and realizing that he has been outdone by his neighbor. In this ad the man is trying to barbeque and is still shown to be failing. He is doing something as simple as cooking and the struggles represent the common stereotype that men can not cook. The selling point of these ads is giving male readers something to relate with which encourages them to purchase that product.

The macho man is normally portrayed outdoors doing extreme activities. Most of them include extreme sports, such as competitive biking, wind surfing, and rock climbing. There are even everyday activities included, such as running or grilling that are manipulated into more extreme situations. These men are shown as very skilled at what they are doing, visually portraying a sense of confidence in the face of danger. In this ad the message being portrayed is that by simply wearing these workout pants a man would get superhuman strength. This ad taps into the male desire to be strong while improving self image to impress others. Here the everyday action of grilling is being shown, unlike the average joe this man in conquering this task by making what looks to be a perfect meal. Notice how this macho man is a good looking and physically fit male, which portrays the common idea of a macho man.

Conclusion

In conclusion, men in advertising are portrayed in different ways to get a message across. Rather it be, the nurturing father, active father, the working man, the average joe or the macho man. Each of these tells a different story based on what the point is that is trying to be portrayed. Each one of these groups tries to attract a different target audience rather it be male or female. According to the literature, the male body is a tool that men manipulate in order to achieve a gendered identity. Rholinger talked about the sexualized image of men and how their bodies are manipulated and put on display to help sell products. The literature talked about how they advertisements will be able to be categorized in different groups based on the story, just like we found in our research. After doing our research we were intrigued to find out if the images in the advertisements actually affect society’s views on men. Does this raise the standard in the everyday life for men? After reflecting on our research we have concluded that each category represents an aspect of everyday life.
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Stephen S. Wise, a rabbi from New York City, gave a speech on February 12, 1914, entitled, “Lincoln, Man and American.” The speech was given on the 105th anniversary of Lincoln’s birth and embodies Americans’ thoughts of the fallen president. The following is an excerpt from that momentous speech.

“...Instead of sitting at his feet as his disciples, and humbly heeding the echoes of his lips, we attribute to him our own petty slogans. The truth is that Lincoln belongs to no party to-day, though in his time he stood well and firmly within party ranks. His spirit ought to-day to inform all parties. He was a partisan second, an American first, as he is the first of Americans. Men and measures must not claim him for their own. He remains the standard by which to measure men” (Copeland, 349).

As the sixteenth and first Republican president, Abraham Lincoln accomplished much for this country. While we were in a state of disarray due to the Civil War, he led us through. Slavery was abolished on account of the commander-in-chief. However, one of his lesser-known yet remarkable accomplishments is the Pacific Railway Act. In the midst of all this, Lincoln remains one of the greatest orators this country has ever known. In this paper, I will examine the rhetorical strategies Mr. Lincoln chooses to employ to pronounce his political points throughout the years.

Before “Honest Abe” was elected as this nation’s president, he was nominated as a candidate for the United States Senate. Upon the acceptance of this nomination, he gave his first most famous speech, encompassing the most famous line: “A house divided against itself cannot stand.” I find this speech a remarkable representation of rhetorical strategy because Mr. Lincoln informs the Republican State Convention that he believes the president, and his cabinet, have lied to the general public for five long years. “We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of the policy, that agitation has not only not been ceased, but has constantly augmented” (Copeland, 309). However a remarkable rhetorical strategy this is, I believe Lincoln’s decision to publicly humiliate, whether knowingly or unknowingly, the president and his cabinet, may have hindered his nomination to the senate seat. Lincoln could have used this strategy to his benefit if he would have stated his proposed solutions to the problems that the presidential cabinet either created and/or opted to ignore.

Lincoln introduces this speech to the public in the following manner: “Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it” (Copeland, 309). After this thought-provoking introduction, he goes on to talk about the underhanded policies of the United States legislature; for example, the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the Dred Scott decision. After long explanations of the two, Lincoln states: “This shows exactly where we are now, and partially, also, whither we are tending” (Copeland, 312). Here the future president employs the rhetorical strategy of repetition. Strategically, it works well in the text because he alludes back to the introduction where he previously states, “whither we are tending.” Using this strategy, in this manner, forces the public to recognize that the direction in which the country is headed may not be the most desired direction. However, repeating this phrase allows for the recognition that the country is only placed in this predicament because of the votes of citizens. Lincoln’s goal in doing this was for the voters to question if that was where they wanted the country to be headed. Although his nomination to the senate speech, affectionately dubbed, “A house divided...” is far from his best work; it displays plenty of excellent rhetorical strategies that Lincoln finds useful in many of his best works. He attempts to execute parallelism in the beginning...
of the address: “I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided” (Copeland, 309). However, as I will illustrate further throughout the paper, he becomes more familiar with the art of being a good orator, and as a result, we will see that even his execution of this type of rhetoric becomes as flawless as the quality of his oratory, in general.

A rhetorical strategy Lincoln employed that I am sure he did not even realize at the time is foreshadowing. When he said, “In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed” (Copeland, 309)—the “crisis” to which he was referring is the Civil War, which began in 1861 while this speech was given in 1858.

Towards the end of his nomination to the Senate speech, Lincoln starts “mudslinging” at his Democratic opponent, Stephen A. Douglas. Even though he devotes only a small percentage of this speech as a whole to the demise of the current (for the time) senator; it remains effective, nonetheless: “They wish us to infer all, from the fact that he now has a little quarrel with the present head of dynasty; and that he has regularly voted with us on a single point, upon which he and we have never differed. They remind us that he is a great man, and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. ‘But a living dog is better than a dead lion,’ Judge Douglas, if not a dead lion, for this work, is at least and caged and toothless one” (Copeland, 314). The oratory genius compares Douglas to a dead lion. In not quite so many words, Lincoln is saying that Douglas has paid his dues to this nation’s senate; moreover, that it is time for a much needed change. Although, I believe this metaphor to be extremely effective in pursuing what Lincoln set out to pursue, he still lost the senatorial election to his opponent.

Rhetorical questions are a major component of the Republican nominee’s rhetorical strategies, especially in this speech. Lincoln forces the audience to think analytically about the election when asking questions such as “Why was the court decision held up?” and “Why even a senator’s individual opinion withheld till after the presidential election?” He was trying to get the general public to understand the political machine that is our government. Why wouldn’t the Supreme Court release their decision until announcement of the next president had been declared? I would venture to say that it most definitely has to do with the political machine that is our government. Supreme Court justices are all appointed by the president and, in my opinion, none of them were willing to take the chance on losing their seat. Lincoln knew this much was true and wanted to force the public to think about the likeliness of that possibility.

Lincoln displays great knowledge of rhetorical strategy in just the first line of the “Gettysburg Address,” given on November 19, 1863—“Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal” (Copeland, 315). Here, he alludes back to the Declaration of Independence, in that he reiterates “all men are created equal.” Moreover, as Rosalind Horton and Sally Simmons point out, “Lincoln used the word ‘nation’ five times but avoided the word ‘union,’ as this might have been misinterpreted as referring to only to the North” (105). After reading the “Address” through several times, I didn’t realize that was what Mr. Lincoln was trying to accomplish. It was only after I read the thoughts of Horton and Simmons that I fully understand the effect he wanted that repetition to have.

It is in this speech that he perfects parallelism as it is used for a rhetorical strategy. One of the most famous lines from this speech is “...we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground” (Copeland, 315). This is, perhaps, the most famous example of parallelism that one can be exposed to today. I remember sitting in my high school English classroom learning about parallelism with this exact phrase. Not only is it a wonderful example of parallelism, but it can also be used to show repetition as well. “…we cannot…we cannot…we cannot…” These are two very powerful and persuasive words when used forcefully, let alone with both repetition and parallelism.

Lincoln’s “Second Inaugural Address” is also an important milestone in not only the history of the United States as a nation, but also in great literary history. He gives an inaugural address that is
significantly shorter than most because “there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at first” (Copeland, 315-16). The president states that he said everything he wanted to say in his first inaugural address and the second is a mere extension of that. He chose only to reintroduce himself to the public and explain that the Civil War is quickly coming to a close.

“With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured” (Copeland, 316). As far as rhetoric goes, this line from his “Second Inaugural Address” sticks out because it is something that an excellent politician would say. It is as if he is sitting on the fence, in the midst of a life-altering decision and all he can seem to say is that he has hope for what is to come, although he is not going to try and fathom it. He doesn’t want to set a standard that he is afraid he won’t attain, yet he doesn’t want to seem out of touch with the public.

Lincoln had an amazing capacity not to hold any grudges toward people. He concluded the latter inaugural address, “With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation’s wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves with all nations” (Copeland, 317).

In the conclusion of this address, it is implied that he would like the nation to become whole once again. The union and confederacy are no more. There can only be the United States of America.

Even President elect Barack Obama thought of Lincoln as an oratory genius and even chose to quote his thoughts in the victory speech he presented to the nation on the eve of November 4, 2008. He said, “As Lincoln said to a nation far more divided than ours, ‘we are not enemies—but friends, though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection.’” Obama then goes on to say, “And to those Americans whose support I have yet to earn, I may not have won your vote tonight, but I hear your voices I need your help, and I will be your president too” (13:01).

Mr. Obama displays the same capacity when he informs us that regardless of our vote, the democratic or republican ticket, he will be our president.

Over the fifty-four years that have passed between Mr. Lincoln’s first momentous speech and Stephen S. Wise’s dedication speech, Americans learned to accept everything for which Abraham Lincoln stood. I am sure when he was writing the speeches as a political figure, he had no idea that we would be looking at them a century later as a work of literary genius. Even more time has passed between Mr. Lincoln and today’s president elect’s time, yet President Lincoln remains the “standard by which to measure men.”

WORK CITED

Resolving the Cognitive-Collaborative Feud in Second Language Acquisition

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A current feud in second language acquisition theory stems from the question of whether linguistic competence results from pure exposure to speech and subsequent cognitive processing of grammatical constituents or whether the process entails a more contextualized and dialogical focus where human interaction is the facilitative key. Theorists have pondered which end of the spectrum—be it extreme adherence to the processing of raw linguistic material, or extreme dedication to dialogical appreciation—spurs the acquisition of a second tongue and results in native-like proficiency.

In order to digest the nature of this dichotomy, let us consider a simple metaphor that distinguishes the cognitive approach of language processing from the dialogical approach of human interaction, both of which can be conceptualized in pyramidal fashion. Let us also bear in mind that the basis of comparison for these models is that of outward movement and direction, as the cognitive and the dialogical approaches are distinct in both their theory of language and the level to which language itself is of principal focus. The cognitive approach to language processing assumes that we as humans intuitively and mechanically dissect the sentences fed to us via environmental stimuli. Thus we begin with a base phrase (if provided a phrase as input; if we are to create the phrase the process is inverted) and consequently break down the grammatical components to draw relationships among linguistic features. In pyramidal fashion, the coherent base phrase would exist at the point and its derivations would appear at the foundation. The coherent, grammatically correct utterance (the apex) is the product, whereas the unfurnished, abstract components that eventually comprise the utterance exist disjointedly at the foundation.

The dialogical approach, on the other hand, demonstrates a progression from little proficiency to enhanced proficiency as the novice expands her dialectic relations and becomes more attuned to the dynamic nature of her sociocultural setting. Thus, the apex of the pyramid is representative of the individual herself before she is exposed to and cognizant of the collective voices that shape her reality, and the foundation of the pyramid indicates the burgeoning nature of her external relationships, as well as her augmented sense of consciousness within a given language community. She essentially moves towards heterogeneity by means of dialogical expansion, as opposed to the cognitive model where language processing is directed inward and is capped by a homogeneous set of constituents. Bearing in mind this metaphor for second language acquisition, we note that the cognitive route is fundamentally internal, whereas the dialogical route concerns itself with external variables that facilitate the appropriation of a language.

The categorization of language acquisition as either wholly cognitive or wholly dialogic is problematic, and I seek to emphasize that our cognitive processes and our affective, dialogic processes can be inextricable in nature. Thus I assert that both the cognitive and the dialogical models operate in tandem, the cognitive serving as a conscious editor that provides for the self confirmation checks and judgment of grammaticality, whereas the dialogical generates for the self available, comprehensible input and spurs self-integration, or perhaps immersion, into a community of speakers who serve as participants in a collaborative, sociocultural language continuum. Though these approaches have been perceived as separate and adverse in nature, in this discussion I attempt to reconcile this schism by positing that the self assumes the role of “novice” to focus on language-specific conventions, and to concurrently participate in ongoing dialogue, which recognizes the speaker, the listener, and the fruit of discussion as a unified whole. I argue that it is only through the collaboration of novice and instructor,
or novice and novice, that relevant input is generated, triggering both human problem-solving abilities and overall awareness of one’s communicative and contributive powers throughout dialogical interaction.

In this discussion, I will first explain cognitive theory and the particular assumptions of its proponents, who hypothesize that language acquisition reflects the inherent human inclination towards homogenous rules and their respective application at the internal, mechanical level. I will then introduce the scholars who reside on the demarcation between pure cognitive processing and pure dialogism, as they examine the role of output and the result of novice interaction during task-based activities. In the following section I will introduce sociocultural theory and dialogized heteroglossia, making these notions less abstract and tangibly relevant to the formal classroom setting by discussing theorists who purposefully seek to collapse the boundaries between these schools of thought. Finally, I will conclude by offering my interpretations and those of Marysia Johnson, who serves as my guide throughout this quest for knowledge on second language acquisition strategy, demonstrating how the interconnectedness of both theories is perhaps the ideal approach to facilitate the acquisition of an additional language.

I. The Cognitive Approach

As we analyze both schools of thought, let us begin at the internal level with the cognitive approach where linguistic production – according to cognitive scholars – is the work of the mind and the brain. This methodology came into speculation during the 1960’s, following the focus on behavioral (or rote) learning, as a result of increased emphasis on Cartesian philosophy and the notion that the mental functions could be analyzed qualitatively. Scholar Marysia Johnson, whose text The Philosophy of Second Language Acquisition (2004) offers a comprehensive breakdown of cognitive and dialogical theories, categorizes the cognitive approach in light of Noam Chomsky’s principal argument: humans themselves are “information-processing device(s),” who acquire language through an innate, language-specific faculty (30). As articulated in the pyramid metaphor, Chomsky views language acquisition purely as the result of language processing – that is, the intuitive and meticulous digestion and production of linguistic features – and the generation of grammar. The intuitive nature of grammar and language is the result of UG (universal grammar), which presupposes that grammar is the result of logic, and where logic is both the cause and effect of our conceptualization of reality. The cognitive school of thought does not itself give sustenance to the connectedness of language processing and the conceptualization of reality but, being nomothetic in nature (see below), this interpretation is inevitable. I give voice to this argument within my present discussion, claiming that cognitive theory is only valid when viewed as a culmination of notions: humans are inclined towards the causal laws of nature and utilize these laws during cognition, and it is through unconscious application of these laws that we generate language. Thus, language, its constituents, and therefore the arrangement of its parts reflect the rule-governed human perception of reality to which humans subscribe. The mind serves as the central processing organ that synthesizes these laws and projects them in the form of language, striving to organize human thought according to the causal, homogenous laws of nature that, according to nomothetic tradition, we are innately drawn.

Johnson claims that the origin of cognitive thought, dating back to Plato, is derived from this nomothetic tradition, which “assumes that there is one ordered discoverable reality which causally obeys the laws of nature” and “further assumes that the Laws of Human Nature exist” (13). This theory implies the fixed nature of how humans generate and subscribe to a reality, further indicating that humans are inherently logico-deductive when acquiring a second language: they must comprehend the decomposition of an utterance by discovering and mapping the grammatical roots of its parts. Johnson’s text complements the introduction of nomothetic philosophy by addressing its adversary, hermeneutics, which accentuates the “art of interpretation” and is concerned with “understanding and
interpreting natural phenomenon.” Cognitive theorists are not as concerned with interpreting these laws and elaborating on the reason for their existence as they are with seeking to prove their existence, and therefore they omit the “why” or “how” in terms of deciphering what constitutes human logic. All answers are essentially provided in and of themselves utilizing laws of logic-deductive problem solving, where the answer is ultimately the answer because its conclusions cannot be rejected and because it conforms to the universal order of things. A sociocultural approach with a focus on the genetic roots of human thought and language, which will be addressed in the third section of my discussion, does demonstrate a linkage between human thought, interlanguage, and human speech and the relationship that these processes have to their environmental stimulus, driving the notion of internal human laws to the external plane.

This being said, cognitive philosophy not only assumes that human beings innately obey specific rules, but it also proposes that all processes can and must be measured quantitatively to prove that the nature of human mental functioning is a consistent truth. As Plato conjectures that there is one reality from which we deduce laws that explain cause and effect principals of nature, cognitive theorists conjecture that humans have an inherent inclination towards causality and deduction, or homogeneity, and that all rules of language are processed in language-designated area of the mind. In this light, we view language as the combatant of entropy, where rules of human communication culminate and crystallize.

As an extension of this language-logic phenomenon, Johnson touches upon Gottlob Frege’s accentuation of reference (Bedeutung) and sense (Sinn) and emphasizes how both are imperative in the holistic comprehension of any sentence or utterance (14). A receiver of the utterance must not only be able to reference certain sentential components extralinguistically, but the receiver must also be able to differentiate between what is sensible and relevant within the linguistic context, and that which is not. In her discussion of Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet (1992, 57-59), Johnson cites the following sentence as an example of potential referential confusion that is healed by logic: The morning star is the evening star. Johnson discusses the application of sense by first acknowledging that both the “morning star” and the “evening star” have “Venus” as their referent. Therefore, to avoid relating that “the morning star is the morning star” or that “the evening star is the evening star,” we assume a logico-deductive stance that enables us to differentiate between “morning star” and “evening star” at the linguistic level, even though they carry the same referent (15). If we are in fact aware that Venus is the referent, we require no external knowledge or rules of language to make this distinction, as the process is considered cognitively inherent.

Having noted that sense and reference are imperative in the logico-deduction of a sentence and that they support the nomothetic tradition of rule-centered interpretation, let us focus our attention to one of the staunchest proponents of the cognitive school, Noam Chomsky, whose theories demonstrate the synthesis of these aforementioned pieces.

A. Chomsky

Beginning with the earlier works of Chomsky, we note that his principal discovery in the human mind was the presence – or so he argues – of UG, or as he had previously named it, transformational generative grammar. Johnson defines this phenomenon as “a set of abstract principles that apply to all natural languages and have language-specific parameters,” signifying that the parameters and constituents of all natural languages share commonalities that mark the human conceptualization of logic (35). Cognitive theorists argue that we can nearly prove the operation of UG when we examine the relationship that children have with language, as they acquire languages with native-like proficiency before they reach the critical period and unconsciously apply grammatical constituents to their utterances. From a very young age and without much assistance from veteran speakers, children are
able to sensibly and competently arrange linguistic pieces within a sentence to transmit meaning, even though they may not be able to articulate the rules they apply.

I once again return to my language-reality paradigm in light of Chomsky’s UG, as I attempt to distinguish between the phonological and morphological trends of a specific language and the non-language-specific constituents present in almost all natural languages, which demonstrate the human attraction to homogeneity and order. My reading of Chomsky, though not particularly extensive, does not seem to present this distinction, though it is necessary to differentiate between a child’s ability to acquire spoken competence of verbal tense formation, for instance, and the primitive human mind’s ability to recognize relationships among ideas. Let us take the following utterance as an example: “I gave her the books that are old but useful” reflects some notion of agency and action (“I gave…”), some notion of time (though nonspecific, we can sense this occurred in the past), a sense of subordination to the principal clause of the sentence (“…that are old but useful”), and some notion of qualification to justify what may seem contradictory to the receiver (“…old but useful,” as the “but” qualifies the books as useful, even though they are old). Though I am only familiar with the syntactical relationships among linguistic components in romance languages, I can imagine that these aforementioned principles of action, agency, time, subordination, and qualification, among others, are fairly universal when expressing an utterance because they reflect the human reality. That is, they reflect how we organize and perceive the internal components of our own lives, which, according to the nomothetic tradition, is the result of natural laws. In other words, I posit that UG as an abstract linguistic system should not concern itself with the rule that we, for instance, pluralize “books” with a single “s” rather than an “-es,” because this morphological trend is not relevant to our conceptualization of reality. Chomsky’s theory of UG poses as almost indistinguishable the phenomenon of child acquisition of forms, and human application of syntactical features. Perhaps we have two distinct means of language processing: one that makes children sensitive to homogeneous laws that allow for clarity throughout verbal communication, and one that reflects the primordial human desire to be in sync with the laws of nature as are exhibited both at the mental level and at the material and spatial level.

Let us refocus our attention on the mental processes to which, according to Chomsky, we attend unconsciously when presented with an utterance. In *Topics in the Theory of Generative Grammar* (1966), Chomsky demonstrates how meaning is derived from a sentence based on two rules of grammar – rewrite rules and transformational rules – which indicate that a base phrase can be divided into subcategories that map its composition in terms of linguistic components. While the term “generative grammar” has been replaced by “universal grammar,” let us consider what it means to generate grammar and why maybe it is best (based on the interpretation of universal grammar offered above) to keep separate these notions: Chomsky postulates that through “rewrite rules” we can formulate a series of “base strings” – or “branches” – to which we can attach syntactic labels, such as a noun phrase (NP) or a verb phrase (VP), among others. Once we decompose a sentence into raw material, we recognize what components can be rearranged or moved within the sentential construction, and what particular, language-specific rules pose restrictions on the repositioning of elements.

Essentially, transformational grammar fulfills two roles: once subjected to rewrite rules, it indicates the grammatical composition of the sentence and the extent to which those elements can be rearranged, and it demonstrates the process by which abstract thoughts are expressed concretely via syntax. Chomsky presents a theory of deep versus surface structure meaning (55), which is correlated to the notion of UG and supports the second tenet of transformational grammar: he claims that “the rewriting rules of the base component and the rules governing ordering and arrangement of transformations generate an infinite class of T-markers…We take a T-marker to be the deep structure; we take the derived phrase marker that is the final output of the operations represented in the T-marker to be the surface structure.” Thus, the deep structure – or the abstract, affective meaning intended by the speaker – is assigned syntactical features which, although not mimetic of the original thought, allow
the speaker to relate the thought at the surface level via a system of rules that transmits shared understanding. States Chomsky, “the function of the transformational rules is to map generalized phrase markers into derived phrase markers” so that the deep structure is represented by the generalized phrase markers in a sentential-mapping, and the surface structure is represented by the derived phrase markers. These generalized phrase markers map the composition of a sentence based on its NP and VP, and further break down these elements until all lexical items (in terms of their particular, rule-transcendent function within the sentence) are accounted for to achieve “surface structure” comprehension. Thus, the surface structure derivation should reflect all semantic, phonetic, and morphological properties of each lexicon as represented by the dynamic syntactical construction. The hierarchical mapping of linguistic components demonstrates that deep structure meaning is initially made tangible by principles of UG, and is further crystallized at the level of surface structure by the application of language-specific parameters “mapped” by the generation of grammar.

Theorists continue to scrutinize whether or not the existence of UG and the process of generating grammar is an inherent human inclination that facilitates second language acquisition, or if perhaps these phenomena only operate during child first language acquisition. Lydia White in *Universal Grammar and Second Language Acquisition* argues that the mediation of UG in first language acquisition is obvious in that speakers ultimately achieve native-like competence and attain a sense of “complex grammar that goes far beyond the input resulting in knowledge of grammaticality, ungrammaticality, ambiguity, [and] paraphrase relations…” (37). Thus, though the input to which we are subject as a child is limited in both quantity and grammatical complexity, we are still able to achieve a competence that signifies the intervention of an abstract linguistic system to pilot our L1 acquisition.

Bearing in mind that most speakers of L2 never gain native-like competence, White, along with many other linguistic theorists, suggests that perhaps UG is nonexistent at the L2 level, as our knowledge of L1 may be what guides our attainment of L2 and may explain our imperfect level of acquisition (38). White iterates the fundamental differences established by Bley-Vroman (1989) and Schachter (which will be revisited in greater detail in paragraphs below), which include the degree of success in L2, the existence of a prior language that effects positively or negatively the acquisition process, the likelihood of fossilization (or the tendency for language acquisition to “plateau” once novel input becomes scarce), the lack of naturalistic input, and the age of the novice, although it is unknown whether or not younger or older novices bear the advantage (44). White raises an interesting point about the needs of L2 speakers, as she states that L1 acquisition always takes place with “naturalistic input” as opposed to L2 acquisition, where the input is catered to the novice based on the learning environment and the teaching method. She further conjectures, “if acquisition depends on an interaction between UG and input, it is possible that lack of naturalistic input might make it harder for universal principles to be triggered, without forcing one to conclude that they are not available at all” (44). Chomsky, who establishes himself as a minimalist in *The Architecture of Language* (2000), supports this notion that only experience is needed to achieve linguistic competence, and that language acquisition is inherently a passive process (4). He refers to himself as a minimalist because he dispenses with all previously held theories that language requires more than phonological and semantic competence, where deep structure and surface structure meaning no longer carry the same weight (8).

Let us return to Chomsky and reexamine his cognitive theories of language acquisition to delineate how input is decomposed and output is formulated. We are familiar with his concept of UG and his notion of generative grammar (the movement from the abstract deep structure to the communally understood surface structure), so now let us examine yet another facet of language processing: the language acquisition device (LAD). Johnson iterates that Chomsky’s theories of linguistic competence focus on the “mental processes and on the operation of an innate, autonomous, language-specific mechanism responsible for the native speaker’s implicit knowledge of formal properties of grammar” (37). This “mental organ” is essentially triggered by application of UG in L2 acquisition and
operates according to an inborn, genetic code on a biological level, which serves to process linguistic data once the rudiments are intact. To recapitulate these three elements, we can say that UG is the principle of grammaticality based on nomothetic tradition, generative grammar is the process of deriving shared meaning, and the LAD is the vehicle through which grammar is generated. Chomsky posits that our environment serves as a source of input, which consequently triggers our UG in the LAD at the L2 level and yields grammatical competence (38). In essence, grammatical competence in L2 is a result of our environment (much like in L1) and, as Chomsky asserts in his minimalist program, experience, which triggers the UG, is needed solely to attain this competence.

Having assumed this minimalist stance in his later works, Chomsky eschews the necessity of labor as a means of attaining grammatical competence and proposes that input alone (though he does not explain whether or not this input need be comprehensible) awakens the UG and enables the novice to absorb and consequently apply linguistic material in the form of output. Interestingly, Chomsky’s later works pose a modification of his earlier theories as there seems to be a shift of emphasis from his rule-governed nature of linguistic systems to a more abstract correlation between the thought and the utterance, as his minimalist affiliation is not concerned with syntax, but with how novices grapple with the phonetic and semantic structures of language. I find certain facets of his later theories seem to have Vygotskian undertones, as he proposes that we arrive at a particular state of being through the assumption of a language, and that language is far from mimetic of our thoughts.

Let us address these two concepts in more detail, beginning with the notion of state assumption: Chomsky conjectures that a language is merely a state of the language faculty, in that speaking a language and subscribing to a culture-based reality triggers the UG and results in a language-specific generation of grammar. It is significant to note this superimposition of a culture-based reality upon principles of UG because, if culture were not a factor, then there would be no alternative state to assume. Chomsky would not select the term “state,” which implies a variation of our reality, as a means of discussing language usage. Clearly Chomsky does not indicate that cultural immersion is a requirement for language acquisition because his focus does not dwell in the realm of the sociocultural setting, or that which is exterior to the human being; his focus is purely internal and mostly cognitive. However, as language is a murky reflection of one’s reality and thus a murky reflection of one’s culture, language and culture can be deemed inextricable to a certain point, where one’s language “state” is a microcosmic representation of its respective culture.

B. Stephen Krashen

As we witness Chomsky’s perceived shift from a rigid model of language acquisition to a more flexible model that accommodates for the imperfect nature of language, let us not forget that second language acquisition, according to theorists of the cognitive tradition, is inherently rule-governed and patterned. Stephen Krashen, another staunch proponent of cognitive theory, argues in Input Hypothesis: Issues and Implications (1985) that language acquisition, by rule, occurs in the presence of comprehensible input where the availability of grammatically correct utterances from proficient, native speakers alone spurs language internalization (1). Like Chomsky, Krashen posits that from the natural environment we derive sufficient input to stimulate our UG in the LAD and subsequently process a language based on the language constituents embedded in the utterances. He argues that five tenets support this central input hypothesis (IH), providing positive evidence that language acquisition does in fact take place when the LAD is activated by reliable input: 1) acquisition versus learning 2) natural order 3) monitor 4) input 5) affective filter.

Krashen first seeks to distinguish between language acquisition and language learning, claiming that language learning is rote in nature and involves exposure to rules of grammar, whereas language acquisition occurs passively (2). The “passive” nature of language acquisition is the core theory of
cognitive tradition, indicating that language development is fully internal (though an external stimulus is imperative) and does not necessitate dialogic exchanges for linguistic maturation.

Krashen, who cites Corder (1967), also proposes that language acquisition occurs in a predictable fashion, where certain rules or trends in grammar are acquired before others, despite the order of grammar taught in settings of formal structure (3). This phenomenon validates the claim that the nomothetic tradition is the backbone of cognitive theory, where “rules” of acquisition are inborn.

As his third tenet, Krashen conjectures that the sole purpose of conscious knowledge (that is, knowledge of language-specific constituents) is to serve as an editor for utterances as they are converted into output (3). When a novice becomes aware of a rule, the novice may use that rule to affirm the correctness of potential output by measuring its quality against the rule before its deliverance; the potential assistance of formal rules, however, is negated if the novice is not provided with access to comprehensible input.

The notion of comprehensible input is Krashen’s fourth tenet, as he claims that, through natural order, novices take the next step in language acquisition by engaging in $i+1$, where “$i$” refers to acquired input and “$1$” refers to the successive phase of acquisition that follows inherent, patterned tendencies (3). Krashen explicates that speech is the result of acquisition and not the cause: speech, or output, does not generally serve as comprehensible input unless the novice consciously appropriates her output as such. Thus, Krashen supports the notion that humans possess an LAD – or a “mental organ” for language processing – where human language is produced in a seemingly uniform fashion and does not necessitate formal learning for its activation and development.

Procedurally, Krashen and Chomsky rely on identical support for the major tenets of the cognitive tradition: language acquisition is an effortless phenomenon, triggered by the environment, processed through means of an inherent device, and developed internally without much external influence, except for the input that serves as a stimulus. Krashen further claims that language acquisition requires comprehensible – or grammatically correct – input, and that it is also dependent on psychological factors. His fifth tenet proposes that acquirers must be “open” to input, and thus the presence of comprehensible input is fruitless if the acquirer’s affective filter – a psychological barrier that prohibits or facilitates language acquisition – is up (3). The affective filter is down when the novice is not concerned with failure, is motivated, and considers herself as part of the group at hand. Krashen argues that the filter is lowest when the acquirer is so consumed by the material that she forgets she is in a second language state (4). The assertion that group integration and openness to second language material facilitates L2 acquisition has dialogic undertones: the core theory of dialogism, as will be discussed later, is that the speaker is context-centered and is essentially “in dialogue” with or attuned to all aspects of the present sociocultural setting.

As he examines current issues in SLA, Krashen ultimately rejects the need for two-way interaction, and thus adheres to solely a cognitive stance in terms of language processing and development. He contends that two-way interaction and activities of cultural immersion do benefit internal language processing by providing for the novice comprehensible input, confirmation checks, and negotiation for meaning (33), but that the only real requirement for language development is the availability of comprehensible input. Non-extreme cognitive theorists may be “strong interaction hypothesis proponents” who fall more or less on the threshold of dialogism, but who still are more focused on internal cognitive processing than they are on sociocultural enrichment of language acquisition. These proponents posit that language is acquired via “output practice” where novices formulate utterances in the presence of a proficient speaker (thereby ensuring that comprehensible input is present) and consequently modify these utterances by partaking in $i+1$, where $i$ is the phase of language development pertinent to the novice speaker. This phase, occurring in natural order, must be fully absorbed before the novice can progress.
Krashen also cites Sharwood-Smith’s (1981) theory that explicit knowledge of language-specific constituents may aid acquisition via practice. Sharwood-Smith assumes a strong-interface stance, according to Krashen, where conscious learning and the implementation of drills facilitate the acquisition process, thus invalidating the claim that comprehensible input alone is sufficient (33). Krashen supports a non-interface view of language acquisition, contending that only comprehensible input is needed to trigger the LAD and spur the development of L2. The conflict he encounters with strong-interface stances are that novices may learn rules of grammar but not acquire or incorporate them; Sharwood-Smith, however, argues that novices may acquire and unconsciously apply rules of grammar when instructors assume a non-interface stance, but not learn or be able to articulate them. A perspective that incorporates both positions is a moderate or weak-interface stance, which postulates that learning can facilitate language development, but that language acquisition still transpires in the absence of rote memorization (40).

Tying together Krashen’s theories, we note certain stipulations that drive L2 acquisition. First of all, there must be comprehensible input accessible to the novice, and this input must be interesting and novice-focused. Arbitrary “talk” does not facilitate the process, as output is generally not a reliable source of input. Second of all, engaging input must also be phase-appropriate and must satisfy the role of the “I” in the “i+1” acquisition model: the presentation of input beyond the novice’s capability will yield almost no development, and the consistent absence of advanced, novel input will lead to stagnation. In both cases – the first being an information overload and the second being a deprivation – language acquisition is hindered due to non-meticulous presentation of the input. Finally, the setting must motivate or inspire the novice to lower the affective filter for both absorption of comprehensible input and perhaps the generation of output in a setting where the quality of “form” is assessed.

In “Formal and Informal Linguistic Environments in Language Acquisition and Language Learning” (1976) Krashen postulates that both informal and formal settings can be beneficial based on the needs or level of the novice acquiring L2, as long as the conversion of input into intake is facilitated. Intake refers to the novice’s ability to retain certain constituents in the working memory, as to embed them effortlessly within their produced utterances. Therefore, intake is indicative of acquisition. His studies demonstrate that formal linguistic environments are useful, though they do not necessarily provide “real-life” exposure, because they allow for instructor feedback and rule isolation, which aids in monitor development. Informal tasks occurring with a classroom setting create a balance: novices are subject to instructor feedback and explanation of rules, and are simultaneously privy to primary linguistic data via instruction in the target language (167).

C. Kevin Gregg

As Krashen vacillates between the appropriateness of formal versus informal settings, Kevin Gregg in “Linguistic Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition” staunchly contends that language acquisition is in fact a formal learning process (15) where both knowledge and competence are attained through the absorption of linguistic rules and their implementation thereafter (18). Gregg distinguishes between knowing “that” and knowing “how,” both of which are imperative in L2 acquisition, claiming that “our linguistic ability rests primarily on our linguistic knowledge, but it is not identical to it” (18). Arguing that knowledge and competence are nearly synonymous, Gregg, who is a cognitive theorist, veers from the theories of Chomsky and Krashen by accentuating the necessity for learned, grammatical constituents, but supports the activation of UG during language acquisition. Gregg essentially poses two assertions regarding linguistic theory: his theory of autonomy, where language is knowledge-based and deals with syntax, semantics, and phonetics, and his theory of modularity, where grammar is conceived in relation to other mental systems. His theory of autonomy proposes that language be studied separately from communication theory and rather be conceived in light of linguistic theory. In such a model, language is correlated solely to principles of grammar and pragmatics, and does not take into
account the context or nature of discourse at hand. Commenting on Gregg’s appraisal of Chomsky’s formalism, Johnson observes, “In summary, Gregg recommends that SLA define its domain within the boundaries of linguistic competence and develop a theory of grammar that explains that domain. Such a theory of grammar needs to be linguistic and formal in nature” (38). Though Gregg eschews non-linguistic elements of study for L2 acquisition, his theory of modularity does postulate that more than knowledge of grammar is necessary for proficiency; he argues that speakers must possess knowledge of sense and pragmatics, which are correlated to the logico-deductive rules of the nomothetic tradition.

Johnson’s reading of Gregg indicates that his stance regarding UG remains inconclusive, which is clear in “Second language acquisition theory: the case for a generative perspective” (1986) Gregg states that the autonomous and modular nature of language stems from our utilization of UG (18), but later claims that “language universals have almost no influence on the acquisition process” (32). While this inconsistency may be more apparent than real, the impression remains that Gregg grapples with the existence of UG at the L2 level.

D. Robert Bley-Vroman

Robert Bley-Vroman in “What is the logical problem of foreign language learning?” (1989) conjectures that UG is absolutely not present during L2 acquisition, a position which he supports through his modified rationale of Chomsky’s “logical problem of language acquisition”. Remember that Chomsky’s “logical problem” refers to the discrepancy between child and adult second language acquisition, where children acquire a second language with more apparent rapidity and ease than do adults. Bley-Vroman diverges from the previously discussed cognitive theorists by rejecting the existence of a domain-specific acquisition system for L2 novices (42), claiming that L2 novices do not always attain that which is available in the same fashion as do acquirers of L1. There appear to be eight facets of the adapted “logical problem” which explain the inability for L2 novices to acquire native-like proficiency of their second tongue, thereby demonstrating that UG must not be available to L2 novices in the same way it is for children of L1. These factors that impede second language proficiency include lack of guaranteed success at the level of L2; general failure with language particularities; variation in success; variation in terms of goals and affective components; fossilization; indeterminate solutions; importance of instruction in place of mere cultural immersion; and the role of negative evidence during correction.

Bearing this in mind, let us discuss these tenets in relation to what we already know about UG, where UG until this point had been conceived as a uniform device for language processing whose role during L1 was nearly indistinguishable from that during L2. Bley-Vroman notes that adults almost always fall short of complete proficiency and are not able to assimilate particular linguistic nuances and accent patterns with same ease as do children. Perhaps we can argue that language-specific constituents, such as morphological or phonetic components of language, are not acquired with ease because they are not directly correlated to principles of UG. I assert this possibility because, if UG does in fact exist and operate as cognitive theorists propose, then access to it should not be limited. The environment should continue to serve as the stimulus that activates the LAD, resulting in the generation of grammar thereafter, despite the age – that is, whether or not the novice has surpassed the critical period of language learning – or the internal needs of the novice. If UG were present in the way Chomsky proposes, there would not be much variation in the level of success L2 novices’ experiences, nor would speakers “plateau” or stagnate in the presence of novel input. Our LAD would be wired to acquire the target language once the UG is stimulated by the environment, sensing the language-specific properties that must be applied to abstract, deep structure concepts.

Also, we would not need explicit instruction or corrections in the form of disconfirmation (negative evidence) if L2 acquisition truly were a passive process, as access to comprehensible input would be a sufficient facilitator. Bley-Vroman recognizes these child-adult discrepancies and attempts
to reconcile the “logical problem” by offering his fundamental difference hypothesis, noting that native knowledge of language principles and general abstract problem solving skills can and often do yield proficiency in adults (54). He argues that the nature of the difference is internal, linguistic, and qualitative, as language acquisition is based on the internal, cognitive state of adult novices, the alteration in the language faculty, and the notion that the domain-specific simply cannot be accessed. In terms of Bley-Vroman’s theory of the adult-child dichotomy, let us examine his analogies for the internal mechanisms that facilitate language acquisition: knowledge of one’s native language in L2, he claims, is analogous to the operation of UG during L1, whereas general problem solving skills in L2 are analogous to the domain-specific learning procedures implemented unconsciously during L1.

The role of the native language is imperative, he contends, as it creates for the novice a peaked sense of intuition and general knowledge of syntax, semantics, lexicon, morphology, and phonology (47). Considering that UG, as I proposed earlier, be tied to the human conception of reality based on the arrangement and relationship of elements within a particular utterance or expression, it is valid to argue for the presence of UG during L2 acquisition, even if this presence is obscured by current language knowledge or accessed indirectly through one’s native language. Bley-Vroman postulates that adult learners construct a surrogate form of UG stemming from their knowledge of the native language, as past linguistic studies have indicated that a novice can intuit what would be a universal principle of language and what would be language-specific. He makes the case that L2 acquirers at the adult level develop problem-solving skills that help them to grapple with the abstract nature of language, but that L2 acquisition is nonetheless hindered by first-language interference, unavailability of comprehensible input, affective factors, such as motivation or perhaps boredom, and the intervention of competing cognitive systems (45-49).

Clearly Bley-Vroman finds a flaw in the simplicity of Chomsky’s LAD and implies that his system is far too abstract, where a further division is needed. He thereby argues for the presence of a LSC (language-specific cognitive system) and a PSC (problem-solving cognitive system) where the LSC applies language-specific constituents to deep structure concepts during generation of grammar, and the PSC applies extraneous mechanisms of analysis and problem-solving skills to our formation of utterances. What Bley-Vroman has not yet established is whether the LSC, which is comparable to Chomsky’s LAD, disappears or prevails during L2 acquisition, and whether or not the PSC plays a predominant role in language development. Furthermore, Bley-Vroman expresses uncertainty regarding the facilitative role of the PSC in L2 acquisition: he questions whether or not a weak PSC would be useful in guiding L2 acquisition, where an overbearing or dominant PSC may obstruct one’s intuition (61).

E. Jacquelyn Schachter

In “Testing a Proposed Universal,” Jacquelyn Schachter vacillates much less between the existence or nonexistence of UG in L2 language acquisition, indicating that UG is not available to L2 acquirers in the same way it is during L1. She argues that after an L2 acquirer reaches the critical period of language acquisition, which occurs during the pre-to-early teen years when a novice can no longer intuit a second language from environmental factors with native-like proficiency, UG in its entirety is no longer available (77). The only remaining vestiges are the parameters of first-language intuition after the first language is acquired. However, she hypothesizes that the language faculty can be reaccessed in L2 and that subsequently the UG can be reactivated. She tests these three hypotheses by examining the ease with which novices grasp and apply subjacency principles, which in this case consists of the movement of “wh”-words, or “what,” “which,” “where,” “why” words, over more than one boundary category. Subjacency principles have to do with the constraints placed upon certain words or clauses and their inability to be inserted arbitrarily within the sentence, which native speakers grasp intuitively and non-native speakers find problematic. Schachter claims that “subjacency can be detected as a constraint in the psychological knowledge-state of individuals” (78) who do not utilize constructions
such as “wh” as a linguistic feature. By examining their grammaticality judgments when speaking in languages that do utilize these forms, Schachter claims that we can determine the degree to whether or not it appears as if the language faculty could be reaccessed. With this model as the basis of her experiment, she conjectures that non-native speakers will exhibit evidence of subjacency in their judgment of “wh”-movement based on their ability to differentiate between correct and erroneous syntactic structures that apply this English-language subjacency principle. Her results indicate that the language faculty does not seem to operate in this L2 acquisition activity, nor does it appear as though the UG had been reactivated. Her third tenet, which proposes that UG cannot be reaccessed in its entirety after the critical period of language acquisition, is not fully supported either, though subjects do exemplify some evidence of subjacency.

Before we move towards a more all-encompassing “threshold approach,” let us consider Schachter’s three tenets and what stipulations her conclusions place upon the notion of UG. Perhaps then we can create for ourselves a compact schema of what UG seems to entail in light of certain consistencies that prevail throughout theorist examination. Schachter proposes (though later rejects) that the LAD can be reaccessed during L2 and that UG can be reactivated, which implies that the LAD and the internal works of the UG must cease at some point. Whether or not this halt occurs during the critical period of language learning is left unknown, but the implication exists that the UG disappears or at least enters into a recession after a certain point following L1 acquisition. Her third tenet does support the hypothesis that the UG is ever fully deactivated, but rather postulates that UG is not available in its absolute entirety during L2 acquisition. Essentially, access to UG and processing in the LAD either halts, is temporarily deactivated, or is available only in fragmented bits after one passes through the critical period.

What remains consistent across cognitive speculation is the notion that UG is inherent and accessed by all speakers during L1, and that UG is the result of environmental stimulus. I postulate that since UG is intangible it can never truly disappear, but rather it recesses once our minds are subject to our particular language state, thereby restricting the degeneration of our synthetic, linguistic mentality. To acquire a second language, we must become conscious of the syntactic material that is otherwise attained through intuition, thereby self-constructing a UG-concept in our language faculty that is built on learned knowledge and knowledge acquired through heightened awareness of linguistic principles.

II. Threshold Approach
A. Bill VanPatten

In order to elicit this state of “heightened awareness” we must challenge the theory of passivity that many cognitive scholars support. We must entertain the notion that increasing our consciousness requires dialogical interaction with our environment and self-induced linguistic immersion. Bill VanPatten in From Output to Input (2003) seems to embrace a duality of cognitive and dialogical principles, arguing for the synthetic construction of an implicit linguistic system that is constantly developing to accommodate novel input. VanPatten asserts five “basics” of SLA (which I have condensed to three), contending that, as mentioned, it involves the creation of an implicit linguistic system where processes are complex and dynamic, but often slow; that novices generally fall short of native-like proficiency; and that skill acquisition is distinct from the creation of an implicit system (10). Though he postulates that our implicit system at the L2 level is synthetic, he, like Chomsky, emphasizes that we access certain rules of grammar outside of conscious awareness. By a fourth semester of language study (if we can in fact examine linguistic progression based on semester divisions), VanPatten asserts that novices begin “to create an implicit system in their heads” that embodies the specific constituents of their target language (13).

VanPatten, unlike Gregg who advocates autonomy, also calls for a certain interdisciplinary recognition of language learning, where acquisition must entail that of lexicon, function of words,
phonology, morphology, syntax, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and discourse competence (14-15). He asserts his model of language generation claiming that we make sense of linguistic data by creating a grammatical system that produces utterances in real time, this process necessitating the availability of input, accommodation and reconstruction, and the formation of output (15). The complexity of this process is further delineated by his notion that acquisition occurs through a predictable order of developmental phases, both in terms of accurate attainment over time and in terms of the particular nuances exhibited by non-native speakers of a language.

To demonstrate the latter of those two points, VanPatten explains the typical developmental patterns of non-native English speakers in regards to negation. In the first stage a novice places “no” in front of the noun or verb to be negated, whereas in the second stage the novice demonstrates increased sentential complexity by embedding the “no” more internally within the sentence. In the third stage the novice replaces the “no” with a “don’t” or “can’t,” where sentences or phrases are still grammatically simple and often incorrect, and finally in the fourth stage the novice resorts to the use of auxiliaries and acquires a comprehensive understanding of their function and placement within a sentence (16). VanPatten delineates his model of “uneven” yet predictable acquisition as a “U” shape where the horizontal axis represents time and the vertical axis represents accuracy. He contends that novices learn a grammatical rule and seem to master its parameters initially when the rule is isolated from “real” speech, but grapple with its proper usage and insertion in a sentence when they partake in a more holistic production of speech, apart from drills or activities. Mastery of skills, he argues, is the ability to use language accurately and effortlessly, where production does not always indicate comprehension and or true internalization of material (21).

According to VanPatten’s patterns of language acquisition, we note that novices create an implicit cognitive system during L2 acquisition that scopes out the parameters and constituents of a particular language, and that novices build upon their developing system in a rather predictable fashion. We also note that true mastery is achieved through consistent, correct incorporation of acquired material within real-time discourse, where isolated drills or activities do not indicates one’s proficient application of constituents. Perhaps this summary alone is indicative of VanPatten’s “threshold” stance, as he advocates both the existence of an implicit system forged by rules of grammar, and the need for real-time, discourse-based activities that put into communicative context the acquired elements.

Having conceptualized his basic tenets, let us examine how the developing system processes input and consequently generates output. VanPatten, in concert with the cognitive theorists cited earlier, stresses that the language a novice hears or reads must have some kind of communicative intent to be considered as valid input, and therefore must be comprehensible (27). Instruction without input, he maintains, is senseless and fruitless (29). In regards to the internal workings of “input processing,” novices essentially grapple with input by constructing “form-meaning” connections and by applying the principle of “parsing.” This notion of “form-meaning” encapsulates our tendency to search for semantic clues within a sentence and subsequently analyze the apparent sentential construction in light of L1 knowledge. VanPatten indicates that novices acquire content words before anything else, and that they eventually formulate prefabricated patterns, or “chunks” of words, that operate as one bit of information in their working memory and are considered the equivalent of a content word (31). “Parsing,” on the other hand, is conceived as our analysis of syntactic structures and our subsequent designation of noun phrase and verb phrase structures as a means to comprehend the relationship among syntactic features (35). In the process of “parsing” or “mapping” a sentential composition to determine “who did what to whom,” we tend to impose our L1 grasp of direct or indirect objects on the L2 phrase, where a native English speaker, for example, may wrongly interpret the first noun or noun phrase of a sentence to be the subject when in fact this “first noun strategy” may only serve in more rigid, subject-verb-object constructions (37). We essentially construct our implicit system based on the
consistencies we attain from these form-meaning connections and parsing tendencies, and we thereby store this acquired material as “intake” in our working memory (38).

VanPatten emphasizes the fact that our implicit system is constantly developing as we forge more complex networks of forms and lexical items by accommodating new words via logico-deductive analysis, and by reconstructing our knowledge of L1 principles to derive sense during L2 acquisition. He notes that our implicit system performs tasks comparable to Chomsky’s idea of generative grammar, where sentential components are seen as hierarchical in nature and necessitate pragmatic competence for comprehension. However, unlike Chomsky and many other cognitive theorists, VanPatten addresses the significance of output in a communicative interaction and claims that output, while not identical in function to input, does contribute to the creation of a developing system by serving a facilitative role in L2 acquisition (68). While there is not yet a proven link between output and acquisition, speaking undoubtedly permits negotiation for meaning, the potential for confirmation checks, and a greater need to process input for both semantic and syntactic content if the novice is expected to respond accordingly (75).

Overall, VanPatten acknowledges that language acquisition is a highly cognitive process that entails more than passive exposure to input, where communicative exchanges enhance one’s ability to process input in the implicit, developing system. While some emphasis on dialogue is evident in his theories, the central focus is still the internal mechanism for cognitive processing where very little attention is given to the sociocultural context. We do, however, note a refreshing emergence of dialogical emphasis in the theories of Richard Young and Joan Hall, who, according to Johnson (97) view interaction not as a cognitive issue but as a social issue.

Before I state the contributions of these threshold theorists, who reside on the demarcation between a purely cognitive and purely dialogical approach, I wish to introduce the dialogical tradition by summarizing Johnson’s description of its principle elements, whose words so keenly embody what it means to “be in dialogue” with one’s current state of existence. According to Johnson, the dialogical approach “heals the Cartesian dualism and restores the proper balance between external and internal human realities” (16) where the body and the mind are essentially perceived as inextricable from one another, and furthermore where this mind-body union is deemed inextricable from its sociocultural context. She clarifies that this approach fully addresses the “dynamic role of social contexts, individuality, intentionality, and the sociocultural, historical, and institutional backgrounds of the individual involved in cognitive growth.” Thus, the dialogical approach is fully transactional and attributes a sense of permeability to all elements within a given context where boundary conditions of time and space are often nonexistent. Recall the pyramid example that I offered earlier, the apex – a sole point – represents the individual and the foundation represents the individual’s burgeoning, dialectic relations as she establishes herself within a variety of sociocultural contexts.

Johnson explains that this tradition also “assumes the existence of multiple realities that are interpreted differently by different individuals,” where our nature as human beings, and therefore our thought processes and linguistic expressions, are in a constant state of flux and are highly susceptible to alteration based on shifting variables or immersion into a new context. She posits that the human tendency to acquire new voices through exposure to different sociocultural and institutional settings necessitates a focus on “intersubjectivity, coconstruction of the shared realities, and dialogized heterglossia” (16).

Above all, Johnson emphasizes the qualitative nature of dialogical studies where subjectivity is valued over objective measurements or data collection and the individual is conceived to be of central importance. For theorists of the dialogical tradition, a focus upon “normalized or homogenized group behavior” only scrapes the surface of unique human potential and cognitive ability. The theorists I focus upon in this section – primarily Lev Vygotsky and Mikhail Bakhtin – develop less structured formulations of their insights and positions; thus, this section will be much less nuanced and will also be shorter in
length, though I have not yet determined if this is the result of there being fewer pieces that directly address dialogism, or perhaps an overwhelmingly greater amount of pieces that embody this vision in some form or another. Nonetheless, I am eager to incorporate and respond to the voice of Marysia Johnson, who proposes a new model of SLA “that acknowledges the social origin of the human mind” and examines interaction and dialogism as a means “of transforming social realities” (17).

B. Richard Young and Joan Hall

As promised, I will return to my discussion of threshold theorists Young and Hall who, as Johnson reports, conceive interactional competence to be of central importance in SLA. For these two theorists, the notion of “local, context-specific competence” replaces that of “general language competence” (97). They contend that through face-to-face “oral practices” or “speech events,” individuals are privy to an infinite supply of linguistic resources, including novel vocabulary, complex structures of syntax, situational appropriateness, and knowledge of rhetorical scripts. While we can argue that interactional competence provides us with “comprehensible input,” we must recognize that mere input as an environmental stimulus is no longer deemed “enough” to satisfy the scope of linguistic competence. Verbal exchanges in and of themselves, while valuable, are not considered the end-all-be-all of dialogic tradition; rather, we must acknowledge the dynamic nature of a communication transaction through a process that Jacoby & Ochs (1995) coin as “coconstruction.” Coconstruction is “the joint creation of a form, interpretation, stance, action, activity, identity, institution, skill, ideology, emotion, or other culturally meaningful reality,” and is the responsibility as much as the natural result of participant interaction. Within a particular face-to-face interaction, “meaning is negotiated” and “is jointly coconstructed in a locally bound social context” so that all participants, physical elements, and intangible or affective factors are conceived as inextricable from the dialogue at hand.

III. The Dialogical Approach

Coconstruction, then, is the heart of dialogism. It is through coconstruction that the theories of Lev Vygotsky and Mikhail Bakhtin converge, where Vygotsky focuses on the sociocultural setting as the root of higher mental functioning and Bakhtin focuses on dialogue and heteroglossia (or many-languagedness) as the root of connectedness among human and their environment. Johnson addresses the theories of both scholars, which I will summarize in the proceeding paragraphs, intertwining my own research and interpretations to clarify the abstractness.

A. Lev Vygotsky

Primarily, Johnson indicates that Vygostky’s sociocultural theory (SCT) has three major components: the developmental analysis of mental processes, the social origin of human mental processes, and the role of sign systems in the development of higher mental functions (105). We can perceive these components as graduated and transpiring in order, where the first component calls our attention to the origin of human thought and the final component calls us to examine the development of sign systems – that is, language – based on human thought processes. Essentially we will note that the cognitive human processes are the source of dialectic interactions, and that this introduction to dialogism is not meant to discard the importance of cognitive processing, or the internal operations of the mind. Vygotsky primarily states that we must focus on the process by which higher forms are established through an examination of phylogenesis, sociocultural history, ontogenesis, and microgenesis (107). That is, we must examine the origin of human thought at the cognitive level in relation to biology and evolution, noting how human beings react and adapt to changes in their environment. We must then investigate the human propensity for higher mental functioning by examining the effect that social activity has on the development of rational thought and one’s learning capacity. Vygotsky posits that higher mental functions originate on the interpersonal plane and thus
suggests that the capacity for higher mental functioning is given rise to both on the external plane and on the plane of human interaction. Higher mental functioning, then, develops through internalization of that which is both observed and received on a social plane (108). Communication in and of itself serves as a form of potential knowledge that enables the receiver to expand her zone of proximal development (ZPD) and thus internalize the social patterns she experiences interpersonally. Internalization ultimately transpires through the “mediated function of sign systems,” which we will dissect below.

However, let us first recapitulate. Vygotsky states that the propensity for higher mental functioning is biological and that social patterns are internalized via interpersonal interactions and the mediation of signs. He also theorizes that humans operate within the ZPD by acquiring new information based on what it available and sequential in the order of learning, much like the \( i+1 \) phenomenon introduced in cognitive theory. While theorists of SCT and dialogism do not explicitly address cognitive theory, the notion of “higher mental functioning” is clearly the result of cognitive processing. We must remember that theorists examine language acquisition in the same way a photographer captures images: while all aspects of the scene speak to one another, certain pieces seem more worthy of speculation than others. Thus, the photographer adjusts the lens according to her field of interest and focuses on these pieces, knowing that the remainder of the scene exists at the implied rather than the immediate level. In this same way, theorists such as Vygotsky contend that language acquisition is a holistic response to one’s environment and interpersonal interactions, and that this dynamic process deserves more than a focus on intrapersonal, mental processing.

Another commonality that exists between dialogism and cognitive theory – if this aforementioned illustration does in fact indicate a commonality – is what I call the “self-other-it” phenomenon. Both schools of thought acknowledge that language acquisition cannot ensue without the “other,” which could be the availability of comprehensible input or a broader focus on the speaker who produces the input, or without the “it,” this being a facet of the language itself as it passes through a series of developmental phases. The “it” of Vygotsky’s theory is the mediated role of language in the development of higher mental functions, as language is the vehicle that transforms thought into a more concrete medium of expression. Vygotsky assigns the label of inner speech to thought, or to “pure meaning” that “lacks syntax and a clear sentential structure,” and outer speech to language, whose purpose is that of social interaction and establishment of a shared reality (114). He claims that speech serves two functions, one that is “indicative and referential” and one that is “symbolic and decontextualized.” Thus, it is through abstract thought, or decontextualized inner speech, that we apply rules of syntax and generate language. Vygotsky describes the process of decontextualization as both the precursor to language generation and the result of interpersonal internalization, where words are detected for “sense” and are subsequently disembodied at the intrapersonal level (116).

In his essay, “The Problem and the Approach,” Vygotsky further examines the correlation between thought and language, recognizing that language is an imperfect representation of that which occurs at the abstract level. Words, he emphasizes, are generalizations that refer to a class of objects rather than just one, which poses a problem when attempting to assign a very particular meaning to an object by labeling it a “tree” or a “table,” for instance (5). Words rarely capture the essence of an idea in and of themselves, as our abstract thoughts are remarkably too complex to be embodied by a fixed set of signs. According to Vygotsky’s interpretation of Edward Sapir, words must be generalized in order to be translated into signs and symbols, thereby facilitating the communication process. Words, serving as generalizations of a shared idea, carry a specific, connotative and affective attitude toward “the bit of reality to which it refers,” (8) thereby accentuating that words are derivations of an abstract and disjointed array of thoughts as presented in my cognitive pyramid model. As Vygotsky addresses the human norm for creating shared meaning by assigning signs and symbols to a particular idea, he essentially supports a more abstract version of Chomsky’s generative grammar.
Noting this discrepancy, Vygotsky addresses the relationship between the abstract and the concrete in “The Genetic Roots of Thought and Speech” by examining Kohler’s study of anthropoids and their utilization of tools during a prelinguistic phase of thought and development (38). He essentially questions why humans alone are capable of formulating speech when other anthropoids possess the necessary voice apparatus and phonetic range to produce speech, as well as the same propensity for thought that ancient humans exhibited. Vygotsky heals this discrepancy by positing that thought and speech have distinct genetic roots and that there is no clear correlation between the two, which perhaps helps to explain why the delegation of signs and symbols to abstract thought is imprecise and difficult. Contrary to the belief that thought determines the structure of language, Vygotsky also asserts that thought development is determined by language, or by the linguistic tools of thought and through the sociocultural experience of an L1 acquirer (51). Thus, we note until this point that thought and speech are not mimetic of one another, and that the generation of speech from thought is a synthetic process that occurs similarly to Chomsky’s notion of generative grammar. We also gather that language development influences thought and that through human interaction – that is, through dialogical means – our thoughts or conceptions of reality are given shape and perceived normalcy.

Vygotsky extrapolates on the relationship between the abstract and the concrete in “Thought and Word” by indicating that speech is not a direct result of thought, but that it is a generalization we make as we attempt to attach words to mental concepts (124). Even at the level of inner speech where we feel as though we were conversing with ourselves, our speech does not have a regulated system of linguistic constituents that make rigid or crystallize our thoughts in the form of speech. Vygotsky posits that speech is an imperfect reflection of our reality, as we perceive or think holistically and consequently speak by dismantling this holistic representation and assigning to it a series of descriptive words and phrases (139). By noting these discrepancies in terms of thought to speech translation, Vygotsky sets forth that language formation is problematic because it does not allow for a clear pathway between our cognitive processes, where inner speech serves as our means of higher mental functioning, and the product of speech. The notion of inner speech indicates that our minds converse with the world socioculturally and, as described in the subsequent paragraphs, through the mediation of tools and artificial signs and symbols. As Johnson indicates, Vygotsky “stresses the importance of speech for human cognitive development” which occurs within the boundaries of the ZPD and is given shape through realistic human-human or tutor-novice interactions (127).

Having examined the connection between human thought and word, let us redirect our focus to dialogical interaction. Johnson extrapolates on SCT by introducing the notion of activity theory, which conjectures that the most linguistically influential aspect of an interaction is thought to be the tools, objects, or the labor itself that operate in the development of higher consciousness (119). An “activity” in this context is defined by the “motives, goals, and operations” of an individual’s interaction with her environment. What distinguishes an “activity” from a “task” is that an activity is shaped by the particular affective relationship – this including the drives, desire, and purpose – that an individual forges with the objects and tools that constitute her reality. We can consider “tools” to be the means through which we achieve a personal goal, which undoubtedly influences our perception of reality and how we formulate our language. Yet, the particularities of activity theory indicate that an activity becomes our own not only through our actions or use of tools, but also through our drives, desires, and sense of purpose within that self-environment interaction. For instance, two students studying for the same exam with identical study guides are partaking in distinct activities if the goal of one student is to pass the exam for personal fulfillment and the goal of the other student is to avoid being reprimanded by her parents. The processes and structures of the two tasks may appear indistinguishable when conceived procedurally, whereas a closer and more holistic examination of all affective factors brings to light the unique, unrepeatable nature of the activity at hand.
Alexei Nikolaevich Leont’ev, who was both a follower and collaborator of Vygotsky, coined activity as a branch of SCT where the focus was given to the structure of the activity (this once again being the motives, goals, or operations), the mediation of tools and sign systems, social interaction, and internalization (the shift from the interpersonal to the intrapersonal). Activity theory essentially emphasizes the utilization of tools, objects, or signs as a means of facilitating a task, where a task is realized as an activity when personal affective factors come into play. SCT, however, focuses more intensely on the effect that signs and symbols have on a communication transaction and how precisely these mediators facilitate a dialogical interaction within a given context.

In comparison to Chomsky’s theory of generative grammar, Chomsky emphasizes that the prime area of speculation is to be the utterance and the manner in which the LAD assigns grammatical constituents to the mind’s learned response to environmental stimulus. Vygotsky’s theory does not necessarily disregard this phenomenon, but rather it emphasizes that the key area of focus within human interaction is that of inner and outer speech – that is, the aspect that accounts for the context and perhaps the tools involved in a setting that frames one’s construction of reality. Generative grammar implies that the natural laws of language construction govern our perception of reality, and SCT implies that a reality is constructed by a one’s interaction with her environment. SCT further implies that this constructed reality is perpetuated by the mediation of signs and symbols that embody this synthetic – or humanly constructed – perception.

B. Mikhail Bakhtin

We acknowledge this perpetuation of constructed realities by sensing the “many-voicedness” and the “many languagedness” present in our interpersonal interactions, our reading of a text, and even our intrapersonal interactions. Everyone has a hand, or perhaps a voice, in constructing this dream or vision of reality in which we each live. I must emphasize that we each dwell within our own dream state, and that it is our own personal collage of voices that constitute this vision of reality. Scholar Mikhail Bakhtin gives substance to this notion of heterglossia, arguing that our voices reflect those of others who have come before us. Johnson indicates that, unlike scholar Ferdinand de Sassure who perceives the language user as a “free agent,” Bakhtin calls for a more holistic and interconnected perception of language use that redefines our conception of language processing. Remember that, until recently, language acquisition had been viewed as a purely a cognitive process that transpired at the internal level, where the novice was thought to solely require exposure to environmental stimulus. The “threshold” theorists then adapted this vision by noting that communicative exchanges with a mentor facilitated acquisition as input was tailored to meet the needs of the novice. Even at the “threshold” level, processing of language was still conceived to be a mental process, though greater emphasis was given to feedback, recasting, and general interaction within a formal learning environment.

These approaches tend to frame language as a “thing,” and the human mind as a device. Vygotsky relieves himself of this objectification by studying the roots of language, thus recognizing that language is ever-changing and always evolving. Bakhtin advances this notion and focuses on the spirit of language as prevalent among human beings, implying humans are constantly collaborating, coconstructing, and negotiating for meaning by rupturing the perceived barrier of time and space. He introduces his new epistemology of dialogized heteroglossia, claiming, according to Johnson’s summary of his contributions, that “fields of linguistics, stylistics, and the philosophy of languages strongly favor the investigation of the centripetal – unifying and centralizing – forces of language, with almost total exclusion of the centrifugal forces” (128). Keep in mind that the centripetal forces to which she refers are the grammatical constituents and phonological systems that bring about unity at the internal level. These forces are purely connected to the operations of the mind and therefore result in homogeneity of linguistic rules to regulate the mind’s organization of language. Centrifugal forces, on the other hand, refer to heterogeneity or diversity, and according to Bakhtin are the most imperative means of partaking
in dialogue because they allow for a “branching out” of speakers and a greater acquisition of voices (126). Dialogized heteroglossia is the heart of human interaction, as our minds partake in what Vygostky labels “inner speech” speech and what Bakhtin labels “addressivity.” These two concepts of self-projected thought are distinct, but share similarities and operate through centrifugal forces, recognizing the broad “external” and the self as two beings in constant dialogue. While inner speech serves as a form of pre-language and is shaped by the interaction between the self and the self’s external reality, addressivity refers to a more abstract dialogical exchange in which the self produces utterances that are intended for a specific “other.” This model, in light of Johnson’s summaries, suggests that all utterances are meant to reach their addressee, or the second party which varies in terms of concreteness and proximity, and a superaddressee, which is conceived more metaphysically as the utterances intended to reach God, a higher power (such as ultimate truth), or a higher projection of one’s self (122). In Michael Holquist’s introduction to Bakhtin’s Speech Genres and Other Late Essays, he claims that the superaddressee is always kept in mind, and that the “speakers shape an utterance not only to reach the object and the addressee, but also according to the particular image in which they model the belief [that] they will be understood” (xviii).

In light of this universality, Bakhtin conceives language holistically and does not dismantle the internal pieces of an utterance for purposes of scrutiny, as do proponents of formal-setting language learning when they encounter a sentence. He rejects formalism and does not subscribe to sentential dissection, knowing that the art of an utterance is destroyed when its internal components are labeled, mapped, or objectified. While my research has not led me to a quote or particular statement that supports this claim, I notice a theme of continuity within his essays that discuss literary works of art, as his work implies that the interruption of human dialogue for the purpose of analysis weighs too heavily on the need for centripetal forces, or destructive homogeneity.

Johnson as well addresses Bakhtin’s holistic interpretation of speech, perceiving its most fundamental level to be that of the utterance, not the word or the sentence. An utterance, as Johnson recapitulates, is a “unit of speech” whose “boundaries are delineated by a change in speaking subjects” and whose propositions invoke some kind of response (121). The idea that an utterance must invoke a response is characteristic of the central tenet of dialogism: all forms of speech are the cause and effect of other forms of speech. Our voices do not exist in isolation; rather they perpetuate the ongoing dialogue that humans maintain across dimensions of space and time.

Bakhtin’s The Problem of Speech Genres sheds light on this dynamic, fully-transactional and permeable interaction by claiming that “language enters life through utterances, and life enters language through utterances” (63), where the utterance is the central component of human interaction. While sentences and grammatically-dissectible linguistic features are void of originality in and of themselves, the expressive capacity of the utterance gives it personality and enables its appropriation by the speaker (84). Bakhtin clarifies that the speaker does not “disturb the eternal silence of the universe” (69) with her words, but, given the dynamic nature of the context, she does unlock a new pathway for human interaction that is fully contingent on the sociocultural setting. The utterance serves as a stamp that attempts to embody her affective and contextual “here and now,” though it is a broken and imperfect representation. The speaker grapples with speech nonetheless because through the formation of an utterance she believes she can objectify herself, unleashing her spiritual creativity at the individual rather than the collective level. Clearly, Bakhtin finds this interpretation of the self to be erroneous because it evades the notion that speech is comprised of “echoes” and “reverberations” of utterances, whether offered in the written or spoken form, that establish them as interrelated speech acts.

Bakhtin further examines this ongoing dialogue through means of literature, where he personifies the “subject” of a text, attributing to that subject a real, valid existence. We must bear in mind that, while he focuses on literature, this “subject” to which he refers need not be confined to
written communication, but rather can be conceived as the fruit of all communicative forms. In his text, *Art and Answerability*, Bakhtin eschews the notion that a working subject within a body of literature is merely a composition of ideas that are owned by an author; rather, he posits that this “subject” must be referred to as the “hero” to accentuate its sustainability and extratextual importance. This hero then thrives as the heart of an utterance, this utterance perhaps being as dynamic as a novel or a dissertation that ultimately elicits a response from the receiver, who then perpetuates this dialogical interaction with the speaker. For instance, I am in dialogue with Marysia Johnson, demonstrating that I am in accord with the majority of her propositions regarding SLA and the need for dialogism, but her voice and my own are distinct in style and content. As I read her text, however, I come to appropriate certain nuances that, in concert with the other voices I have acquired, make my voice a reflection of a particular sociocultural context. This notion that the utterance spurs dialogue regardless of boundary conditions means that it contains universal, semantic value and thus should not be conceived as solely relevant to the time period, cultural movement, or geographic location in which it was written or conceived.

Though the utterance and the speaking subject, or the “hero,” are given considerable agency, Bakhtin does not intend for language to be perceived as a living entity. Here I depart from Johnson’s interpretation of Bakhtin when she claims that “for Bakhtin, language is a living thing” (123) because language itself is not responsible for its alterations. Humans are. The individual human may not be a free agent, as Bakhtin argues in opposition to Saussure, but humans collectively drive language diversity and the existence of speech genres due both to dispersion and intermingling of cultural groups. Language essentially rides the waves of cultural evolution, and possesses no agency or independence from the human race.

Charles Schuster in *Mikhail Bakhtin as Rhetorical Theorist* explains that “Bakhtin reifies language, making it into not a living thing, but a vital medium which expresses the continuous energy of its speakers.” (597). Schuster also contends that that individuals tend to mistreat the hero of a given body by attacking it, criticizing it, or objectifying it in some way that takes away from its rhetorical power. According to Bakhtin – reiterates Schuster – the speaker and listener partake in a dialogical interaction in which they switch roles and both “become charged by the hero’s identity.” Unlike a simplified, linear model of communication in which communication is conceived as monologic, isolated speech elements, the dialogical model proposes that language development occurs when an individual acknowledges the “circumference” of this speaker-listener-hero communication paradigm and, bearing this in mind, comes to appropriate or own a linguistic system and that which it represents by forging one’s voice within the given language community.

Essentially, spheres of “relatively stable types” of human utterances compose speech genres, which are innumerable in quantity due to the inexhaustible nature of human activity, as offered in Bakhtin’s *The Problem of Speech Genres* (1952, 60). We must view the variation in “repertoire” as pertinent to distinct facets of life, where speech in a military setting is different from speech in a church setting. Joy Ritchie in *Beginning Writers: Diverse Voices and Individual Identity* claims that exposure to various genres and recognition of heteroglossia within these language spheres facilitates classroom learning and cultivates a greater sense of cultural appreciation and socialization, as students come to forge their own voice. She claims that novices should not only be subject to an instructor’s “authoritative discourse,” which is linear and static in nature, but that they should also be conscious of the contributions of their peers, and of the overall dynamic nature of language.

C. Collaboration Scholars

Johnson as well seeks to collapse these barriers that isolate the internal workings of the mind from real human communication by shedding light on a holistic, dialogical mode of second language study. Other scholars who have shifted their focus from that of pure internal processing to that of collaboration and dialogue, according to Johnson’s research, include Donato, Aljaafreh & Lantolf, Swain,
and Lantolf & Pavelenko. Donato argues that collective scaffolding, or relying on other L2 novices rather than relying solely on an expert, serves as a sufficient source of input exchange and as a means to enhance social competence. Wood, Bruner, and Ross (1976), as cited in Donato’s study, explain that communicative approach has six dimensions, which consist of recruiting interest in the task, simplifying the task, maintaining pursuit of the goal, marking the discrepancies between what has been produced and what is ideal, controlling frustration during problem solving, and demonstrating an idealized version of the act to be performed (130-31). Language acquisition is essentially a social process that is coconstructed through collective scaffolding and through recognition of all the voices present during the interaction. The result of the interaction is increased linguistic competence as a whole, where even the contributors themselves generate input that facilitates their acquisition of the target language. Also, because novices are operating within the zone of ZPD, they are more apt to provide the relevant “1” in the “i+1” construct by actualizing the knowledge provided by the instructor and building upon past knowledge.

Johnson reports that Aljaafreh & Lantolf, in light of Vygotsky’s conceptualization of ZPD, examine how negative feedback in tutor-novice interactions is to be the result of negotiation and coconstruction. This focus on partnership and the need for collective voices within an interaction, according to these scholars in “Negative Feedback as Regulation and Second Language Learning in the ZPD,” lead to “effective error correction” where “language learning depends crucially on mediation provided by other individuals who, in consort with the learner, dialogically construct a zone of proximal development in which feedback as regulation becomes relevant and can therefore be appropriated by learners to modify their interlanguage systems” (480). This study claims that feedback and other-regulation – that is, interjection by a peer or tutor – should be graduated and contingent, beginning at the most implicit level of assistance and increasing if additional help is needed. With this model there is a “hierarchy of regulation” so that the novice learns how to self-appropriate and self-retain the issues at hand, by coming to terms with the structural, centripetal forces of language learning and simultaneously integrating the centrifugal forces of peer or tutor interaction.

Aljaafreh & Lantolf summarize Vygotsky’s SCT and apply it the classroom setting – a step that Vygotsky had not taken in regards to current trends of second language acquisition – by positing that this theory studies how “mediational means are appropriated by the individual as a result of dialogic interaction” (467). They argue that “human mental activity is a mediated process in which symbols and socially constructed artifacts” facilitate the language acquisition process, enabling novices to grapple with the very tools and components of reality that impact and shape the target language. All tasks conducted in a formal learning environment must occur within the bounds of the novice’s personal ZPD, as the tutor or instructor ensures that assistance is tailored to the needs of the novice, is hierarchical in nature, and is contingent on the specific situation at hand (468).

Swain also adopts Vygotsky’s SCT and focuses on the construction of output, contending that dialogue and interaction between novice and instructor enable the novice to build upon linguistic knowledge through collaboration and coconstruction. Output, or the produced utterance, should not be subjected to “backwards speculation,” as I call it here, where the novice is forced to scrutinize a sentence and examine the errors long after the utterance has lost its relevance to the context at hand. Rather, collaborative dialogue should be a process of advancement in which novice and instructor operate in a real-time setting and together negotiate for meaning within the ZPD of the novice. In light of Swain’s theories, Johnson states that language acquisition should be a “quest” for linguistic knowledge, and that it must be both social and cognitive in nature as it reduces the demarcation between the centripetal and the centrifugal forces of language processing. We must recall that our propensity higher for mental functioning is a cognitive process in which we learn how to convert our interlanguage into a series of signs and symbols that facilitate human communication, and thus homogeneity of constituents is necessary for shared meaning. When an error occurs, it must be
corrected in light of the language specific parameters and may necessitate clarification of linguistic rules. However, this process of error correction must occur within a relevant sociocultural context in a real-time setting where collaboration is possible, and must enable the novice to attend to both form and meaning simultaneously. This opportunity for “verbalization” via collaborative dialogue makes the novice aware of her shortcomings, or the categorical areas in which she requires more practice to acquire greater linguistic competence, and thus gives new form to her personal ZPD.

These interactions, though occurring in the form of “practice,” should not make the novice feel as if her contributions were disposable or unimportant, and this concern is perhaps one of the most significant tenets of dialogism. Rather, she should be cognizant of validity of her voice, and how her sessions of “practice” contribute to the ongoing dialogue of human activity, where her utterances are an integral part of Bakhtin’s notion of dialogized heteroglossia. Pavlenko & Lantolf’s participation metaphor, which complements the acquisition metaphor of rule attainment, supports this theory of integration by proposing that the novice assimilate herself into a language community and acknowledge herself as a “full-fledged participant in the discursive practices of the target language culture” (168). In this case, language acquisition is no longer concerned with mastery of linguistic principles, but with the willingness to “lose” oneself through immersion and reconstruct a new sense of agency. The novice is conscious of her immersion and aware of her evolving self, as her agentive metamorphosis results in linguistic, cultural, and personal transformation.

IV. A Healed Duality

In essence, a polarized cognitive or dialogical vision of SLA does not account for the fully transactional nature of the human being, who necessitates both explicit instruction and cultural immersion to facilitate her acquisition of the second language. Marysia Johnson offers her philosophy that language acquisition processes be conceived as a fusion of both Lev Vygostky’s sociocultural theory and Mikhail Bakhtin’s dialogized heteroglossia to “heal the schism that currently separates the learner’s social environment from his or her mental functioning.” (170).

Though Marysia Johnson’s paradigm of a “healed duality” only incorporates theorists who assume a dialogical stance, let us bear in mind that the principle tenet of Vygostky’s theory is that one’s holistic, external environment is responsible for her augmented cognitive growth. I postulate that Vygotsky’s theories are principally dialogical because they assert that one’s language development and communicative competence are a result of her interaction with the external world. He essentially implies that one’s internal state of being and one’s external state of being are in constant dialogue with one another, each influencing the other and expanding due to increased interaction with the objects, tools, concepts, and other cultural participants within a given context. Thus, as Johnson argues, Vygotsky’s SCT enables us to view second language acquisition – a matter he had not specifically addressed – as the response to one’s environment, though not in the rigid, regulated manner that Chomsky proposes. Proponents of Chomsky’s LAD and the accessing of UG would perhaps have enriched their argument had they accounted for the role that the environmental stimulus plays in cognitive growth and language state assumption. However, cognitive theorists assume that an utterance itself – though not bound to any one temporal or physical context – is enough to “turn on” the mental organ for language processing and generate respective grammar. We must give credit to these theorists as their principle focus is that of child acquisition where language competence does seem to unravel with such ease, but even theorists such as Stephen Krashen, who does focus on the second language classroom setting, does not contend that interaction is necessary for cognitive growth.

Recall that even Bley-Vroman, who denies the existence of UG after the critical period, still maintains that language acquisition ensues due to a general problem solving module that humans apply, where language is perceived as an organized product – or a solution – to one’s mental chaos and unfurnished thoughts. Cognitive theorists overall seem to objectify language as a product of mental
processing and isolate it from holistic human functioning, where holistic human functioning is perhaps the key to increased communicative competence. Johnson responds to this “void of social contexts” within the cognitive field by claiming that such models “give an impression that their creators are in denial of their human existence in the real world or of human communication with all its imperfections, ambiguities, and unpredictability” (171). Rather, novices must acknowledge that all contexts are “highly localized” where language acquisition cannot ensue beyond the realms of specific, contextually-oriented cultural parameters.

The field of SLA extends even further than Vygotsky’s notion of the self-environment interaction and beyond Johnson’s notion of specificity, as it relies heavily upon an examination of speech genres and the impact that one’s acquired voices have on her construction of a new self. Bakhtin’s concept of speech genres inspires us to examine the extent to which exposure to these genres in real-life contexts enables the novice to appropriate new voices and increase her communicative performance as a result. His theory also calls for an examination of whether this organization of particular speech-eliciting contexts into a series of speech genres heals the unfocused nature of Bahktin’s heterogeneous vision by “normalizing” it, or applying to it a series “rules” that crystallize this abstraction. If his notion can in fact be “normalized,” current theorists of SLA must discover the facilitative nature of these genre-based divisions and the psychological impact they have on one’s cognitive functioning and mental organization.

Johnson offers a brilliant argument in terms of the agency that a novice exhibits during her appropriation of a second language, which modifies and advances the argument of “reconstruction” asserted by Pavlenko & Lantolf. Remember that Pavlenko & Lantolf argue for the linguistic, cultural, and personal transformation undergone by novices who embrace the participation metaphor and therefore value interaction over measurable linguistic competence. In light of Bakhtin’s dialogized heteroglossia, these theorists declare that novices are constantly evolving and that they reconstruct the self in order to maintain “old voices” and accommodate for the “new voices.” Johnson furthers this argument by proposing that the novice “coconstruct” or “cocreate” a self that does not discount the significance of these “old” voices. This metaphor posits that the human is not a limited processing device, but rather that the novice is an agentive being who continuously appropriates these “new” voices when exposed to a variety of speech genres within sociocultural contexts (175).

In light of Johnson’s cogent analysis of SLA and her suggestion for a new model that “heals the cartesian duality,” I too call for a more balanced approach that recognizes the dialogical, interpersonal connection between one’s internal self and her external reality. I do not discount, however, the need for homogeneity and consistency in terms of learned rules of language that facilitate the acquisition process, because I do believe that humans gravitate towards “one discoverable reality,” as proposed by nomothetic law. In order to construct their self-monitor, humans need rule affirmation. In order to combat the entropy of disorganized thought, humans need language. Thus, formal settings for language learning are necessary for novices to familiarize themselves within the constituents of a given language and become competent speakers, though these formal settings should be tailored to meet the needs of the novice and should awaken her to the scope of new voices present within her sociocultural setting. These settings are made authentic through the novice’s recognition of her agency, as she both chooses to become communicatively proficient and acknowledges the power of her voice within her exchanges.

As we construct a new vision of SLA, let us bear in mind that humans cannot function dialogically without having some semblance of language mastery, which necessitates cognitive functioning. Though Chomsky’s notions of UG and generative grammar do not provide clear evidence as to how second language acquisition is cognitively processed, they do suggest that humans have a sense of “linguistic intuition” and an acute capacity for problem-solving. This notion must not be discounted due to its limitations, but rather explored to examine the level to which language acquisition is innate and to determine what principles are grasped inherently by human beings. Also, if cognitive tradition does
follow the major tenets of the nomothetic tradition as Johnson proposes, we need to examine the relationship that syntactic structures have with the organization of the external human reality to determine whether there is a parallel between these two states, and whether this connection is responsible for our generation of grammar.

Above all, we must recognize the need for a duality. We must bear in mind that our utterances are not isolated units of speech, but that they carry with them the voices and ideologies of previous speakers as a result of previous dialogical interactions. By noting the interdependency of the individual and the discourse, and the interdependency of the discourse and the sociocultural and sociohistoric setting, we realize that language is a function of interaction and that only through interaction can language proficiency –derived from experiencing language in its “natural habitat” – occur. We must recognize that the utterance and all of its features have been shaped by a multitude of hands that thus make it impossible for us to consider our dynamic, linguistic endeavors apart from the sculptors that have come before us.

As participants in an eternal language continuum, we need to perceive the field of SLA as dialogical in nature, where our internal mental processes and external communicative exchanges are mediated by the relationships we forge with the sociocultural context into which we are immersed. Dialogism, then, becomes the key to our enhanced performance because it bridges the gap between cognitive processing of language and discursive language practices through active participation, and because it focuses the novice’s attention on both syntactical formation of her utterances and on the personal, cultural value embodied within her communicative contributions.

WORK CITED


Leonor López de Córdoba was a woman of literary firsts. She was the author of Spain’s first autobiography, a literary genre that had not been popularized at that time. Also, she is recognized as Spain’s first known women writer, setting the tone and reputation for generations of women to come. Her autobiography, later entitled Memorias by an editor, tells the story of her childhood and part of her adulthood as a member of Spain’s aristocracy. It gives insight into the experiences of the nobility as well as survival through times of political instability and rampant sickness from the Black Death. An important element, though, is the way she portrays her position as well as the status of other women within a politically turbulent time. The Memorias of Doña Leonor López de Córdoba reflects a concept of female autonomy that emerges from the political and economic instability of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century Castile.1

Leonor López de Córdoba was born in late 1362 or early 1363 in Calatayud, a city in Castile. Her father, Don Martín López de Córdoba, held an important position as the Master of the Military Order of Calatrava during the reign of King Pedro I.2 It has been speculated that Leonor’s father was able to earn King Pedro’s favor through his loyalty as well as his marriage to Leonor’s mother, Sancha Carillo.3 Sancha was the niece of the King’s father Alfonso XI and she had been raised in the royal household. However, Sancha died early on in Leonor’s life. As a result, at the early age of seven years Leonor was married to Ruy Gutiérrez de Henestrosa. Ruy was also well connected because his father was the uncle of María de Padilla, the wife of Pedro I.4 Also, the years between 1366 and 1369 were a period of political unrest and a civil, fratricidal war. King Pedro I was assassinated by his half brother Enrique de Trastámara. Enrique then usurped the throne of Castile.5 As a result, Leonor’s family fell out of favor of the royal household, now under control of the rival of the former King Pedro I. Carmona, the city where Leonor and her family were living at the time of the overthrow, came under siege by pro-Enrique troops for over a year. Finally, the family was captured and placed in prison at Carmona. Leonor’s father was killed for his close association with King Pedro I. Leonor remained in prison for eight years from 1371 to 1379. When she was finally released in 1379 all of her relatives in prison had died except for her and her husband.

After the release, Leonor’s husband was forced to travel in an attempt to reclaim their fortune lost at imprisonment. Leonor, in 1386, joined the Order of Guadalajara, an order associated with her family. Not much is known of her time there except that it is likely that she received some education during that time. Then, when Leonor left the Order she came under the household of her maternal aunt María García Carillo. Under her aunt, Leonor became economically independent and gained property. She adopted a Jewish orphan and, at the end of her time there, her biological son, Juan Fernandez de Henestrosa died from the Bubonic Plague. Eventually, she was asked to leave her aunt’s household, which Leonor blamed on her cousins’ spite. She then became the Camarera Mayor in the court of Catalina of Lancaster.6 At that time, Catalina was co-regent with her brother-in-law Fernando de Antuquera while her son, John II, was still young. Then, in approximately 1410, Leonor was exiled from court because she fell out of favor with the queen. The reason for her exile is not completely determined, it could be because of those jealous of the great influence she held over the queen or because a rival lady-in-waiting Inés de Torres pushed her out of the queen’s favor.7 After her departure Leonor wrote Memorias between 1410 and 1412.

Historians and critics hold differing opinions on the value of Memorias as a source of historical fact. Some critics have asserted that Memorias does have value as a historical document. One historian,
A.D. Deyermond, posits that Leonor provided a good description of the events that occurred during the civil war, and is therefore a historically reliable source. Even more, some critics look beyond the verisimilitude of Leonor’s writings to the value that the text holds as the first ever recorded by a woman in Spain. According to Clara Estow, Memorias has significance because she is a first in the world of writing women. Johnson and Kaminsky in “To Restore Honor and Fortune: ‘The Autobiography of Leonor López de Córdoba’” assert the same significance to Leonor’s writings as Estow through stating that even though it is a “forceful and dramatic autobiography” it is the country’s first work by a known woman writer and is therefore an important text to be considered both in literature and history.

However, other critics have said that Leonor was too subjective in her approach to history. Ruth Ghassemi argues that Leonor’s memory had recreated facts to put herself and her family in a better light and these facts were in contradiction to other who narrated events of this same period. She was too personalized in her story to present objective facts. Likewise, Piedad Calderón asserts that Leonor’s memories were selected with a particular purpose and image to convey her own self and of others. Leonor wanted to return the former material and personal prestige of herself and her family. Suelzer, similar to Calderón, says that Leonor’s commentary on the historical events is not the primary focus of her text, and so her credibility falters. Leonor is the subject of her commentary, so all of her emphases and memories are filtered through that lens. Overall, critics who argue against the historical validity and value of Leonor’s autobiography make the claim that her motivation to justify her actions and present her family in a positive light ultimately colors the way that she presents historical events and facts. Thus, these critics beg the question, what is the historical validity of any autobiography? According to Calderón, the basic characteristic of an autobiography is “la coherente interpretación de sí mismo desde un punto de vista especial, que ayuda a reconstruir la propia vida, dándole cohesión y unidad” [the coherent interpretation of oneself from a special point of view, that helps to reconstruct one’s own life, giving it cohesion and unity]. As Calderón suggests, an autobiography is constructed in the basis of a certain point of view and a tendency to lend cohesion to the memories. This construction contributes to the fact that the genre of the autobiography in and of itself, should, historically, be judiciously analyzed. Also, most autobiographies are written with a purpose to glorify, to defend, to highlight, and/or to explain.

Further, there are varying viewpoints on why as to why Leonor López de Córdoba wrote Memorias, but all agree that she had a clear purpose. Most critics argue that her impetus came from a desire to defend her family name and honor. Others stress that she wrote in order to justify herself and her own specific actions, such as the way that she acted while in her aunt’s household, her desire to gain property, and her decision to compel her biological son, Juan Fernández de Henestrosa, to care for her adopted son. Calderón argues that Leonor wrote in order to regain material and personal prestige. Suelzer, similar to Calderón, asserts “wounded honor and an aggrieved sense of justice forced Leonor to make her private life public knowledge.” Finally, Clara Estow added that Leonor’s Memorias was a way of countering the criticisms of her opponents, especially those who worked against her in Catalina of Lancaster’s court. The one other motivation that some historians have cited was the one that Leonor herself stated in Memorias: “I write it to the honor and glory of my Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Virgin Mary his mother who bore him so that all creatures that suffer might be certain that I believe in her mercy, that if they commend themselves from the heart to the Holy Virgin Mary she will console and succor them as she consoled me.” Suelzer, for example, explains that Leonor’s purpose was “to publicly acknowledge and praise the favors that she had received from the Virgin to encourage others to share her faith.”

With these critics as background, the analysis of Memorias with regards to female autonomy during the time of Leonor López de Córdoba can be readily begun.

First of all, as can be seen from the beginning of the text, the presence or absence of men in Memorias emphasizes the female centered and female controlled narrative that reflects the autonomy of Leonor in the time after her imprisonment. Men were very present in the first section of the
memoirs; her father and her brother both played a significant role in her narration of her time in prison. She spent much of the beginning of the text describing her father’s loyalty to King Pedro and how that loyalty was what led to the imprisonment of the family. She recounted the agony of her father’s death, which was by decapitation. While in prison, the majority of the males in Leonor’s life died. Leonor stated “my two brothers and my brothers-in-law and thirteen knights of my father’s house all died.”

More specifically, her father was portrayed in a very positive and loyal light before his death. His loyalty to the throne of King Pedro I was highlighted when Leonor recounts his final statements to Mosén Beltrán de Clequin, a man who betrayed King Pedro: “It is better to die loyal, as I have done, than to live as you have lived, a traitor.” Ultimately, he sacrifices his life for his loyalty, a theme that is later seen in Leonor’s life. Even so, by her early teenage years, Martín López de Córdoba was no longer a presence in Leonor’s life. Likewise, the way that Leonor’s brother, Don Lope López’s death is portrayed underlines the fact that he was too weak to overcome death and dishonor. Even right before his death, he asked “Sir jailer, be so kind as to strike these irons from me before my soul departs, so I may not be taken to the blacksmith,” but the request was refused and Don Lope López was taken to the blacksmith’s “like a slave.”

While Leonor’s father and brother were examples of how men become quickly absent in the life of Leonor, her husband, Ruy Gutiérrez de Henestrosa was an illustration of male influence during the times narrated in *Memorias*. Ruy was the only male from Leonor’s family to survive imprisonment. When Ruy and Leonor were liberated, Ruy had to travel in order to try and reclaim the wealth lost at their imprisonment. He went to many friends and relatives who survived the change in power from Pedro to Enrique. Ultimately Ruy was unsuccessful in regaining any of their former fortune, despite the fact that he spent seven years traveling. He “wandered the world seven years, a wretched man, and never did he find kin or friend who did him a good turn or had pity on him.” He returned to Leonor who was staying at her aunt María García Carrillo’s household at that point. “He rode on his mule, which was worth very little money, and what he wore on his back was not worth thirty copper coins.” Ruy’s economic failure in contrast with Leonor’s eventual material independence and prosperity demonstrates that after imprisonment, men had minimal roles in the world of Leonor. This is also highlighted by the fact that Leonor’s husband was surprisingly absent from the narration. After Leonor mentioned that she and her husband joined her aunt’s household, he was not mentioned again. However, it can be assumed that he was still in her life because Leonor had three children, suggesting his presence during this time. This, perhaps, can be explained by the fact that at this point Leonor’s allegiance was more so with her aunt than with her husband. Her aunt was the one who provided, financially and socially, more than her husband. As seen, the absence of male influence from the majority of the autobiography, especially that of Leonor’s husband, highlights the autonomy that both Leonor and noble women such as her aunt enjoyed at that time.

Further, in contrast to the role of men, an important observation to make of Castilian society at Leonor’s time is that traditionally, the role and portrayal of women were restricted to the private sector of society. According to Amy Suelzer in “The Intersection of Private and Public Life in Leonor López de Córdoba’s Autobiography,” the private sphere of society was considered to be within the walls of the home and was occupied by members of the family or within the confines of a convent or a monastery. The public sphere, on the other hand, was a more complex environment. It occupied a larger space such as a town or a kingdom. Also, during this period, it was very unlikely that women were prominent actors outside the private community. Rather, a male spokesman usually defended interests in the public world. Even more, the conventional definitions of class-based ownership of property and material circumstances in general were not constructed with women in mind. Women’s privileges and needs were usually subordinate to the needs of men, the family, and their social group. This can be clearly seen early in Leonor’s life. She was married at the early age of seven because economically and socially it was most advantageous for her family, who had recently suffered the loss of the mother of the
family and needed to establish a more stable connection. Even so, in *Memorias* that the women took more prominent roles and have a greater influence than what was “traditionally” considered appropriate to a woman’s place in society.

Thus, in contrast to the traditional role of women in Castilian society, the representation of women in *Memorias* reinforces the concept of female autonomy. The other female most directly present in the autobiography was Leonor’s aunt María García Carillo, a woman who had great social and economic independence because of her large dowry. Leonor turned to her when she found herself in great financial need after her release from prison. As mentioned earlier, Leonor’s husband was unsuccessful in regaining their former wealth, and María García was the person that Leonor turned to for support. Within her own household, María García dictated its running as well as the control of finances. She had the autonomy to give Leonor property and financial security. María García was a “rica hembra” [rich female] who was a woman of high nobility who was able to achieve autonomy. In *Memorias*, María García was the main provider mentioned. Leonor lived for sixteen years in her household and under her provision. These years were some of the most integral; not only are they the ones in which Leonor gained financial security and regained personal prestige, but she experienced much of her life including the birth of some of her children, the adoption of another son, and the death of her oldest son, Juan Fernández de Henestrosa. Catalina of Lancaster, a later patroness for Leonor, was not mentioned in *Memorias* because the text ends at around 1400 when Leonor was released from her aunt’s household. The exact reason for Leonor’s departure from her aunt’s household is unknown. It occurred shortly after her adopted son and Juan Fernández both contacted the plague, with the latter son dying. According to Leonor, her cousins, the daughters of María García pushed her out of the household, because they were jealous of the attention and privilege she received from her aunt. As seen, the portrayal of María García’s domination of her household and the way in which she, instead of her own husband, Don Gonzalo Fernández, or Leonor’s husband provided for Leonor illustrates her autonomy.

Another significant figure in Leonor’s autobiography was the Virgin Mary. According to Leonor, her devotion to the Virgin was the impetus for her writing. She wanted to acknowledge the work of the Virgin in her life. Leonor prayed to the Virgin specifically for three miracles: one, for the right to open a small door to her aunt’s house so she doesn’t have to suffer the humiliation of walking on the street, two, to gain property, and three, that the life of her adopted son be spared the plague. All of these miracles were, to a certain extent, granted. Her aunt agreed to open the small door so Leonor and her family would not have to walk out on the street to reach her house (even though other members of the household prevented it), she bought property during her service to her aunt, and her adopted son survived the plague (even though her oldest biological son died).

Further, appealing the Virgin, to Leonor, was a way of superseding the norms of earthly society. The Virgin gave her a vision of a house that she was to build, a means to obtain property and prestige. As can be seen with the dream, the Virgin Mary functioned as a divine model approving of Leonor’s autonomous projects. Also, perhaps, Leonor’s material wish comes disguised as an ideological-religious justification. As many critics have asserted before, Leonor wrote *Memorias* with a purpose to justify her actions and defend her family name. By invoking the beneficence of the Virgin, Leonor’s desires took on meaning that superseded earthly bounds, and, in her mind, could not be deemed unsuitable. The fact that Leonor utilized the “power” of the Virgin in her autobiography as a means of gaining autonomy and a source of inspiration further reinforces the concept of female autonomy seen in *Memorias*. Later, Leonor would serve at the court of Catalina of Lancaster, Catalina would become Leonor’s benefactress for several years and Leonor gained a position of influence within the court. Her service with Catalina shows that not only did Leonor depend, once again, on a woman with independence and power, but she exercised influence as well.
Leonor’s writing also demonstrated a significant event because writing at this time was generally associated with authority and power. Literacy, in the first place, was found usually only among nobles, and commonly male nobles. Consequently, women were generally discouraged from writing. At that time in Castile, to allow “women access to the discourses of power [threatened] the dominant discursive formation of male control.” If women’s writing did emerge, it usually fit into certain themes and topics that were previously determined as appropriate and which excluded any means of achieving power or control. Leonor’s authorship brings a new and different perspective than the traditional literary roles for women, especially not fitting in the religious genre. The religious life allowed more opportunities for women to write, but in the secular realm, writing women were a very rare occurrence. A strong motivation for many writing women was the search for power, and Leonor is an example of that. Her Memorias are seen in many ways as an attempt to justify her life and her actions as well as to restore prestige to her family name. Therefore, the fact that Leonor was not writing in a way that was considered “normal” for this time is very significant. Her writing represented a change in women’s literature; perhaps she blazed a trail for writing women of the future.

Further, Leonor’s portrayal of herself in Memorias alludes to her independence in her adult life. Leonor set up her autobiography to show herself as an example of piety and propriety. There is no sense of confession or atonement in Memorias; she did not apologize or admit fault in any of her writing. Also, she portrayed herself as very pious. In the beginning of Memorias she wrote “so that all creatures in tribulation might be assured that I believe in her mercy and that if they commend themselves wholeheartedly to the Holy Virgin Mary she will console them and succor them as she consoled me.” She mentioned many times the amount of times that she prayed to the Virgin Mary, wanting to show her devotion. According to her, all her main prayers were answered. Also, it is interesting to note that the way she mentioned the number of prayers she said was similar to the way in which she talked about the number of material goods in her dowry. Perhaps, then, her piety was piety with intention; perhaps Leonor was pious with the purpose of gaining the favor of the Virgin, not because she was truly religiously pious. The way that she spoke of her number of prays is almost as if her prayers are a means of spiritual currency; the more that she prayed, the most likely she was to be granted what she wished, just as the more value that her dowry had granted her greater status and a better marriage earlier in her life. Another way she displayed her piety is when she mentioned adopting the Jewish orphan. She said she did it so that he might be brought up in the Christian faith, displaying her religious devotion.

Finally, Leonor’s claim to piety was a way of also restoring her family’s name. Along with the characteristic of piety came the ideas of loyalty and prestige. If Leonor was able to demonstrate herself as pious, she gave testament to the family that she came from, both her paternal family and the family of her husband.

In a similar vein, in the second half of Memorias, Leonor talked about her accumulation of property and wealth as a way of demonstrating her autonomy. First, she accumulated property from her aunt, the same property that she saw in the vision given to her by the Virgin. Leonor was then able to set up her own household separate from that of her aunt’s establishment. She built her own house. These independent financial and familial actions highlight her autonomy. Also, she juxtaposes herself with the character of her husband. Ruy returned from seven years of ultimately failed searching with no financial gains. He returned when he saw that Leonor was financially secure. Therefore, their security as a family came from Leonor’s actions instead of those of her husband. After his return, Ruy was no longer present in the narration, perhaps demonstrating that he was unnecessary for Leonor’s financial security and independence.

Also, Leonor further portrayed herself as integral to restoring and maintaining the family honor, and compared her actions to those of her father. Her father was willing to sacrifice the family in order to maintain his loyalty to King Pedro I. Ultimately, his loyalty cost him his own life as well as the lives of many of his family members, including his own son’s life. Leonor, like her father, was willing to sacrifice
her family as well in order to maintain her loyalty to her adopted son when he had the plague. At a certain point, there was no one left willing to care for Leonor’s adopted son, so she obligated her biological son to care for the adopted son. While her adopted son did get better, her biological son, in the end, dies from the plague. However, to Leonor, like her father, it was better to die a death in honor than to die as a coward. Therefore, this parallel of loyalty between Leonor and her father was a means of putting herself on equal footing to that of a formerly prominent man in society.

Another measure that Leonor took to portray herself as independent and on equal footing with men of her age is fact that she wrote Memorias in the first place. Her autobiography, as mentioned earlier, does not fit the typical form and theme of women writers of the period. It is not religious nor is it confined to certain domestic or familial themes of the private sphere. Also, the beginning of Memorias had a very professional and “masculine” tone and structure. For example, the document starts with the phrase “In the name of God the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, three persons, and one single God true in trinity, to which glory be given, to the Father and to the Son thus as it was in the beginning, so it is now, and for ever and ever amen.” Then, Leonor spent the subsequent paragraph extolling her lineage as well as her reason and validity for writing this document. This form lends validity to her memoir because it conforms to what was considered “masculine” writing. It also contains the language typical of legal documents. According to Mirrer, the notarial style “may have at once signaled her sense of authority and her recognition of the social constraints placed on it.” Also, according to Ronald Surtz, at this time “legal documents were another accepted context for self-naming.” Therefore, if Leonor was truly trying to reestablish the prestige of her family name, the utilization of a legal and professional style in her autobiography gives legitimacy to her claim. Her close attention to the way her memoirs are structured demonstrates an understanding of the context in which she wrote and how she might overcome the constraints placed on her as a woman. Even more, the fact that she decided to write down her memoirs exhibits her understanding of the importance of the written word. Hence, the very reality that Leonor was writing at a time when secular women writers were so uncommon and that she composed her autobiography with an understanding of what was considered professional and acceptable gives testament to her independence as a female.

Finally, Leonor López de Córdoba’s time in Catalina of Lancaster’s court reflected the autonomy she portrays in Memorias. Catalina of Lancaster, at the time of Leonor’s presence in her court, was the widow of the former King Enrique III de Trastámara. As a result of her husband’s death, she became co-regent with her brother-in-law Fernando de Antequera for her young son Juan II. Leonor went to Catalina’s court after she left her aunt’s household near the turn of the fifteenth century, and eventually became the Camarera Mayor in her court. As the Camarera Mayor Leonor was in a position of great prestige and influence. The “Crónica del Rey Juan Segundo” written by the courtier Pérez de Gúzman gives a short account of the time and influence of Leonor in Catalina’s court. According to the chronicle, her close relationship suggested specifically that Catalina “la amaba en tal manera, que ninguna cosa hacia sin su consejo” [loved her in such a way that she did nothing without Leonor’s counsel]. Also, according to the chronicle, even if all the other counsel said opposite, if Leonor contradicted it, Catalina would not do anything else. Ultimately, the portrayal of Leonor in Crónica is not a positive one. Pérez de Gúzman said that she was fickle and conspiring. At the same time, though, he cannot help but mention the influence that she held in Catalina’s court, for good or for ill. Eventually, though, as was the pattern in much of her life, Leonor fell of out of the Queen’s favor. The exact reason for her exile from court is unknown, but it is known that Inés de Torres took her place as Catalina’s confidante. Inés was also Leonor’s main rival. Even more, it is likely that Leonor’s exile from the court of Catalina of Lancaster was what prompted her to write Memorias between 1410 and 1412. The exact date of the composition is unknown, but it is thought that it came as a response to the fact that she had once again fallen from favor. Nonetheless, the influence that Leonor had for several years in Catalina’s court, to the chagrin of
many other courtiers such as Pérez de Gúzman, further reinforces the image of autonomy that Leonor portrays in Memorias.

Overall, it can be seen that in Memorias Leonor López de Córdoba creates a portrait of female autonomy uncommon to the traditional roles within Castilian society. For Leonor, this can be attributed to the absence of male leadership within her life, as caused by the political instability and transfer of power between King Pedro and his half-brother King Enrique. As a result, not only was Leonor more autonomous herself, but the figures that she depended on the most for support were women: her aunt María García Carillo, the Virgin Mary, and Queen Catalina of Lancaster. Memorias, for the portrait that it paints of female noble life, is a document of both historical and literary significance, regardless of its historical verisimilitude.

ENDNOTES

10. Johnson, 70.
15. Ghassemi, 19.
17. Suelzer, 38.
19. Johnson, 73.
23. Johnson, 75.
27. Suelzer, 44.
29. Suelzer, 38.
31. Hutcheson, 260.
34. Suelzer, 43-44.
36. Fernan Pérez de Gúzman, “Crónica del Rey Juan Segundo,” Crónica de los Reyes de Castilla, ed. Don Cayetano Rosell (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1953), 278. This source is also a primary source document written by the Castilian courtier Fernan Pérez de Gúzman in the fifteenth century. It has been translated to Spanish and that translation is found in this book.
39. Suelzer, 42.
41. Suelzer, 26.
44. Ghassimi, 27.
45. Johnson, 73.
47. Mirrer, 144.
50. Pérez de Gúzman, 278.
51. Mirrer, 142.
52. Pérez de Gúzman, 278. According to Gregory Hutcheson in “Leonor López de Córdoba and the Configuration of Female-Female Desire”, Catalina of Lancaster and Leonor “enjoyed a relationship that defied the accepted limits of convention (and possibly propriety)” insinuating their relationship went beyond the traditional bounds of friendship.

**WORK CITED**


Abstract

Contrary to Biblical facts about vengeance, Edmond Dantes in *The Count of Monte Cristo*, sought to become equal with God by acting as a divine agent of justice on his own personal enemies, and nearly destroyed himself and those he loved with his ambition for justice, yet he was ultimately restored by mercy. Seeing himself as God’s agent of revenge, Dantes set out to ruin his three chief enemies: Mondiego, Danglars, and Villefort. Dantes’ pride in the supposedly just destruction of Dantes’ enemies ended when he saw innocent people harmed. After this realization, Dantes’ confidence in his mission as God’s agent of wrath was shaken. Dantes’ final revenge nearly destroyed not only his few remaining friends, but also himself in the process. After witnessing the death of Villefort’s son as a result of Dantes’ plotting, he wanted to die-- for Dantes knew he could no longer say, “God is for and with me.” At this point Dantes realized that he, himself, needed forgiveness. This need caused Dantes to impart mercy to Meredes, Danglars, and Maximillian Morrel. Dantes’ demonstration of mercy actually allowed him to be restored. Even after becoming a blessing instead of a curse to those who had wronged him, Dantes still wanted to die. This longing for death disappeared when he discovered Haydee’s love for him. Dantes ultimately understood the Biblical principle that vengeance belongs to God alone and that only the righteous may call out for divine vengeance.

Over the course of time, the concept of revenge has captivated men. Part of human nature simply seeks to have wrongs atoned for and to have the satisfaction that the world has been set right again. Though this balance can be achieved only by the justice of God, humans still take it upon themselves to “avenge a wrong or bring punishment” (Unger, 1957, p. 925). This aspect of human nature spawned a new literary genre of novel: the novel of revenge (Fromkin, 2006). The first great novel of revenge was *The Count of Monte Cristo*, by Alexandre Dumas ("The Count of Monte Cristo", 2004). In the story, Edmond Dantes sought revenge for personal injustices in order to prove the existence of God in his own mind. Finding men to blame for his pain was a way for Dantes to keep his faith intact (Meyer, 2004). Dantes had become a victim of “contaminated competence,” because he could desire only revenge after discovering who had caused his misery (Marinetti, 1976, p. 267). Contrary to Biblical facts about vengeance, Edmond Dantes in *The Count of Monte Cristo*, sought to become equal with God by acting as a divine agent of justice on his own personal enemies and nearly destroyed himself and those he loved with his ambition for justice, yet he was ultimately restored by mercy.

In the beginning of the novel, Edmond Dantes was a poor, French sailor, but he wanted for nothing. Dantes was elevated to the position of captain of the Pharaoh at the age of 19 and was about to marry his beautiful fiancée, Mercedes. Desiring what Dantes easily possessed, two men, Fernand Mondego and Baron Danglars, devised a plan to have Dantes arrested on charges of being involved in Bonapartist plans to bring Napoleon back into power in France. Their phony plan was effective when Dantes was sentenced to prison at the Chateau D’If by Monsieur Villefort in order to protect Villefort’s own political aspirations. The Chateau D’If was a prison island for citizens that posed a threat to the political regime of the day; the men inside had committed no crimes. Dantes’ fourteen year imprisonment caused him to lose everything: “his future, his fiancée, and his freedom” because of the malicious jealousy of others (Meyer, 2004, p. 123). While in prison Abbe Faria, another inmate, found
Dantes’ cell while attempting to tunnel his way to the outside. Faria, a scholar and priest, taught Dantes everything he knew and shared with him the location of the treasure of Sparta, hidden on the island of Monte Cristo. Together they unraveled the mystery of Dantes’ incarceration. Holding the knowledge that “human hatred, not divine vengeance” (Meyer, 2004, pp. 122-123) had hurled him into indefinite captivity, Dantes’ innocence was stripped away and the possibility of revenge crept into his heart (Marinetti, 1976). Years later, Dantes escaped from Chateau D’If only to live in a “metal prison of revenge” (Winthrop-Young, 1997, p. 10). Poisoned by knowledge and using the vast treasure found on Monte Cristo, Dantes became the Count of Monte Cristo with the single purpose of exacting revenge on his enemies (Winthrop-Young, 1997). He then spent ten years retracing his steps, obsessing over, and plotting his perfect revenge, something that would be “slow, deep, infinite, and eternal” (Meyer, 2004, p. 124) (Hewitt, 2006).

According to Unger’s Bible Dictionary, vengeance is defined as “punishment inflicted in return for an injury or offense suffered or retribution” (1957, p.1146). Vengeance often occurs in the form of “passionate, unrestrained revenge” (Unger, 1957, p. 1146). Biblically, vengeance is a reaction reserved for God alone as a response to unrighteousness (Swartzback, 1952). Some Christians are uncomfortable with the idea of God punishing or executing righteous judgment (Unger, 1957) on humankind because it does not fit with the idea of a loving God, when in reality it is a logical aspect of the loving, “redemptive nature” of God to react forcefully to sin (Swartzback, 1952, p. 453). The righteous God of heaven can do nothing less than to “become the champion of the right” (Swartzback, 1952, p. 453) and deliver justice because he is holy. Vengeance is a part of God the divines’s care for his children (Charles F. Pfeiffer, 1975). Swartzback said, “Even though God does use human mediators in executing vengeance, the power to administer it is his alone” (1952, p. 452). Often the biblical nation of Israel was used by God to punish other nations that despised him, but that did not give them the liberty to avenge wrongs without God’s furtherance (Swartzback, 1952). In the book of Romans, chapter 12, verse 19, Paul wrote that men are not to “take revenge, but to leave room for God’s wrath” (New International Version). In Deuteronomy, God says that it is his job to avenge (Deut. 32:35). When people take revenge into their own hands, they accomplish little more than bringing God’s wrath down on their own heads, as is recorded in the book of Ezekiel, chapter 25, when nations sought revenge by destroying Israel. Clearly, when vengeance is executed by anyone less than God, there are consequences. Dantes defied this Biblical explanation of vengeance when he appointed himself an agent of God’s wrath in order to achieve revenge.

In a conversation with Villefort after his escape, Dantes, as the Count of Monte Cristo, revealed that he had had an encounter with the devil in which the devil offered him something, anything. Dantes answered, “I want to be Providence myself, for I feel that the greatest, noblest, most sublime thing in the world is to recompense and punish” (Dumas, The Count of Monte Cristo, 1895, p. 569). The devil responded that Dantes could not be God, only an agent of Providence (“The Count of Monte Cristo”, 2004). Dantes considered his liberation from prison proof that he was to become the agent of Providence that God would use to “restore the balance between right and wrong” (Meyer, 2004, p. 123). It is notable that Dantes associated vengeance with both the devil and with God (Goldstein, 2002), yet he considered himself only an agent of God. Critics have questioned Dantes’ Christian faith on the grounds that he could not be a Christian and still carry out revenge because Christians are to show mercy to their enemies (Marinetti, 1976).

In times preceding Mosaic law, God appointed avengers of blood. These avengers were the next of kin of someone who had been murdered. The avenger of blood was to seek out and kill whoever had murdered his relative. Even in this harsh justice system, God had stipulations and cities of refuge to protect the innocent involved in accidental manslaughter. Avengers of blood were prohibited to act on their revenge with vindictive motivations (Charles F. Pfeiffer, 1975). After the Ten Commandments, which include “you shall not murder,” it became the practice of God’s followers to call out to God for his
revenge (Ex. 20:13). Isaiah chapter 35, verse 4 promises that God will come with vengeance and divine retribution to save his people (Charles F. Pfeiffer, 1975).

When Dantes said to Villefort, “You do not recognize... the men whom God has placed above those titulators, ministers, and kings, by giving them a mission to follow out, instead of a post to fill,” it appears that Dantes fancied himself one of these men as he planned his revenge (Dumas, *The Count of Monte Cristo*, 1895, p. 565). His mission was to destroy those who had devastated his life. Even as he planned his revenge, it was apparent that he wanted one thing more than revenge: justice. Justice is defined as “what is right, or as it should be,” in *Unger’s Bible Dictionary* (1957, p.623). Meyer considers Dantes the “ideal avenger” because he wanted that justice more than revenge (2004, p.128). Justice was of paramount importance to Dantes because injustice was what had wrecked his own life. Justice in his revenge appeared harsh because it was so far reaching, but in reality, it was not excessive considering what he had suffered. Dantes sought to emulate God by “visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children” ("The Count of Monte Cristo", 2004) (Ex. 34:7). But he did not demand that the suffering of his enemies equal his own; he demanded only that they be punished for what they did wrong (Meyer, 2004). The purity of Dantes’ motives for justice can be argued though he accomplished nothing more than revenge (Kaplan, 2003).

As God’s agent of revenge Dantes set out to ruin his three chief enemies: Mondego, Danglars, and Villefort. Fernand Mondego falsely accused Dantes of treason because he wanted Mercedes, Dantes’ fiancée, for his own wife. In the 25 years since Dantes’ disappearance, Mondego had married Mercedes and been elevated to the title of Count de Morcerf, a title gained through betrayal and treachery. In Dantes’ revenge on Morcerf, Dantes uncovered the source of his enemy’s wealth: Morcerf’s betrayal of Greek ruler Ali Pacha, his mentor. Haydee, Pacha’s daughter whom Dantes purchased from slavery, then exposed Morcerf as a traitor in a court of law which caused him to lose everything. Dantes’ exposure of Morcerf’s guilt was entirely within the law (Joyce Moss, 1997). After his deceit had been revealed, Morcerf returned home only to find Mercedes and their son, Albert, preparing to leave him after discovering his duplicity. Loss of his entire livelihood drove Morcerf to commit suicide.

Dantes’ punished Villefort, the public prosecutor who sentenced him to Chateau D’If with full knowledge of his innocence, through Villefort’s family. Villefort’s wife wanted nothing more than for her son, Edward, to receive his step-grandfather’s inheritance that was bequeathed to Valentine, Edward’s half-sister. Dantes used his knowledge of poisons to entice Madame Villefort into committing murder. Her murder of Villefort’s child would not only “visit the father’s iniquity upon the children,” ("The Count of Monte Cristo", 2004) (Ex. 34:7) but also force Villefort to put his own wife on trial, bringing them public shame. After the tangled web of poison was set, Madame Villefort ended up poisoning herself and young son in order to avoid being hanged for the murder of others in their household. Villefort’s entire family died and he went mad for their loss.

Baron Danglars had plotted against Dantes because he was incensed that Dantes had been made captain of the Pharaon ahead of him. Danglars became a wealthy banker that Dantes, as the Count of Monte Cristo, invested with. Monte Cristo uncovered Madame Danglars’ illegal investing and used investment reports to cause the Danglars to lose all their wealth. Dantes’ belief in being an agent of Providence caused him to make decisions that would lead to the complete and just demise of his persecutors.

Dantes’ pride in the just destruction of his enemies was halted when innocent people were harmed (Marinetti, 1976). Valentine, Villefort’s daughter, was poisoned by her step-mother because of the information Dantes provided her with about poisons. Dantes was unconcerned with her possible death because it was a mere continuation of Villefort’s punishment ("The Count of Monte Cristo", 2004), until he discovered that his dearest friend, Maximilian Morrel, was deeply in love with Valentine. Dantes stepped in and saved Valentine for Morrel’s sake by giving her a pill that made her appear dead and
then hiding her from her murderous step-mother. The twisted vendettas clashed when Edward, Villefort’s son was killed without cause. Edward’s needless death made Dantes understand that his plan for revenge had spiraled out of his control proving that he was not equal with God (McDermott, 1988). After Monte Cristo revealed himself to Villefort as Edmond Dantes, Villefort dragged him to the body of his dead son and bitterly asked him if he was “well avenged” (Dumas, The Count of Monte Cristo, 1895, p. 588). Dantes blanched in shock, revealing that he had not wanted to be avenged, only to have justice served (Meyer, 2004). After nearly punishing Morrel whom he loved, with Valentine’s death and seeing the effects of bitterness in Edward’s death, Dantes realized that “neither rewards nor punishments can be confined to their targets” (Joyce Moss, 1997) (Meyer, 2004, p. 132). He knew that though he considered himself equal with God in exacting judgment, Dantes was still not all-knowing or all-powerful, causing the innocent to suffer with the culpable (Meyer, 2004).

After this realization, Dantes’ confidence in his mission as God’s agent of wrath was shaken. He could no longer continue in his holy revenge because it had gone too far and had been tainted with innocent blood. He was stunned to find that he could no longer say, “God is for and with me,” (Dumas, The Count of Monte Cristo, 1895, p. 588) because he knew that God’s vengeance would not have required the death of innocent child in this matter. Dantes’ inability to “limit the effects of his revenge” caused him to understand that God is the only source of supreme power and wisdom (Marinetti, 1976, p. 268) (“The Count of Monte Cristo”, 2004). After seeing the effects of his bitter revenge on the innocent, Dantes abandoned his revenge because of the suffering he had caused (“The Count of Monte Cristo”, 2004).

Dantes’ final revenge nearly destroyed not only his few remaining friends, but also himself in the process. After escaping from prison, Dantes never considered himself a citizen of a country again. He said, “I am a cosmopolite. No country can say it saw my birth. God alone knows what country will see me die” (Dumas, The Count of Monte Cristo, 1895, p. 567). As a result of the pain involved in being in certain lands, Dantes became, once again, a perpetual seafarer. The sea offered Dantes, a skilled sailor, “escape and solitude,” (Goldstein, 2002, p. 18) as he traveled in his yacht. Though he owned many houses, they were not his home. Along with losing his psychological citizenship, Dantes’ heart had changed. When Dantes was imprisoned, he was a loving, innocent man, but when he escaped bent on revenge, his heart was jaded and bitter. He could no longer love freely, for he had exchanged his love for hate and innocence for suspicion. The bitterness in his soul, produced by his revenge gained him little satisfaction. The peace gained from his vengeance did not give him peace to start over, but rather a “peace of death” that did not “heal, it cauterized” (Meyer, 2004, p. 135). Meyer wrote that, “Vengeance did not give him [Dantes] back his humanity; instead he becomes like Villefort, a “man of bronze” and a “hammer of God” (2004, p. 134). Dantes’ revenge stole years of life that he could have lived happily, and those years very nearly claimed his life.

At the end of the story, after putting Valentine and Maximilian together Dantes wanted to die. With his final goal accomplished, Dantes prepared to bid Haydee and the Morrels good bye and go commit suicide as pittance for the death of Villefort’s son, Edward. But he was dissuaded when “new love” tapped a crack in his bitter, defeated heart (Meyer, 2004, p. 136). Dantes’ revenge caused the destruction of his enemies, his mental destruction, and near physical demise; yet cycle of destruction halted when his misguided quest for justice caught a glimpse of what Dantes needed most: forgiveness.

After Dantes saw Villefort’s son dead as an effect of his plotting, he knew that he could no longer say, “God is for and with me” (Dumas, The Count of Monte Cristo, 1895, p. 588). It was at this point that Dantes knew that he needed forgiveness which would “remit a human penalty or charge” (Charles F. Pfeiffer, 1975, p. 377). Dantes’ need for forgiveness caused him to show mercy. Mercy is defined in Funk and Wagnalls Standard College Dictionary as “compassion where severity is expected or deserved” (1968, p. 848) and as “a form of love determined by the state of its objects...while they may
be unworthy or ill-deserving,” by Unger’s Bible Dictionary (1957, p. 713). This mercy changed the direction of his life and influenced the ones he had cared nothing for.

Dantes imparted mercy to Mercedes, Danglars, and Maximilian Morrel. For Mercedes, Dantes’ mercy began before his revenge was stopped. After exposing Count de Morcerf’s treason, Albert, the count and Mercedes’ son, challenged Dantes to a duel to defend his family’s honor. Dantes planned to kill Albert as part of the punishment for his father’s sin, but Mercedes begged for her son’s life. Dantes was touched by her plea and promised that Albert would live which was Dantes’ own death sentence. Dantes’ “enduring goodness” was proven when he set aside his vengeance to spare Mercedes pain (Goldstein, 2002). Mercedes then saved Monte Cristo’s life by revealing the story to her son, who instead of killing Monte Cristo apologized to him. Dantes continued to show mercy to Mercedes and Albert by providing for them a home and money to live on after they left Morcerf.

Dantes’ knowledge of Biblical principle was evident in his mercy towards Danglars, his only remaining enemy. Danglars was kidnapped by friends of the Count of Monte Cristo and held for ransom. They required Danglars to pay for any food he received at an exorbitantly high price. Because Danglars was proud, he refused to pay and was therefore sentenced to starvation. As Danglars was about to go mad from hunger, he succumbed and asked his captor to use some of his gold for food. He wanted to live and claimed to have suffered enough. A cloaked figure in the darkened corner asked Danglars if he would repent for all he had done wrong. Danglars said he did, and the voice said, “Then I forgive you” (Dumas, The Count of Monte Cristo, 1895, p. 634). Danglars recognized the man as the Count of Monte Cristo, but Dantes replied:

You are mistaken—I am not the Count of Monte Cristo... I am he whom you sold and dishonored—I am he whose betrothed you prostituted—I am he upon whom you trampled that you might raise yourself to fortune—I am he whose father you condemned to die of hunger—I am he who also condemned you to die of starvation, and who yet forgives you, because he hopes to be forgiven—I am Edmond Dantes! (Dumas, The Count of Monte Cristo, 1895, p. 634)

Dantes understood Matthew chapter 6, verse fourteen, which says, “For if you forgive men when they sin against you, your heavenly Father will also forgive you.” Obviously since Dantes chased revenge for a long time, his understanding of this principle was slow in coming, but in the end he did understand.

The final people to whom Dantes showed mercy were Maximilian Morrel and Valentine Villefort. Because of his love for Morrel, Dantes had saved Valentine from her murderous step-mother by giving her a pill that made her appear dead and then hiding her to keep her safe. Morrel believed Valentine dead and wanted nothing but to die too. Dantes crafted a plan to put the two back together. In the end, Morrel and Valentine were together because of Dantes’ orchestration.

These steps of forgiveness were acts of mercy. The demonstration of mercy allowed Dantes to be restored. Restoration is “the act of bringing something back into existence again” (1968, p. 1147). Dantes’ goal after revenge became “love alone” as opposed to justice (Marinetti, 1976, p. 268). This new goal was what caused Dantes to bestow acts of mercy onto the people in his life that he had formerly had no regard for or sought to destroy.

Even after becoming a blessing instead of a curse to those who had wronged him, Dantes wanted to die. He felt intense guilt for having fancied himself equal with God thereby causing the shedding of innocent blood. After reuniting Valentine and Morrel, Dantes told Haydee to forget his name and be happy. Valentine pointed out that Haydee was suffering because of his departure. Dantes then discovered that Haydee planned to kill herself when he left for she loved him and did not wish to live without him. Dantes recognized God’s mercy on him when he said to Haydee, “I wished to punish myself, but He has pardoned me!” (Dumas, The Count of Monte Cristo, 1895, p. 646). Dantes’ emotional distance from humanity ended when he discovered that Haydee loved him (“The Count of Monte Cristo”, 2004). Love, not hate, and life, not death triumphed in the end, reflected in Song of Solomon, “for love is as strong as death.”
In the final pages of the novel, Dantes and Haydee sailed away in their new found happiness leaving a letter to Morrel. In the letter Dantes asked that Valentine pray for him so that her “prayers may soften the remorse he feels in his heart,” (Dumas, *The Count of Monte Cristo*, 1895, p. 648). His intense responsibility for the death of Valentine’s family had not disappeared with Haydee’s love. Dantes’ final words to his friends were, “all human wisdom is contained in these two words: wait and hope” (Dumas, *The Count of Monte Cristo*, 1895, p. 649). These two words were more than a piece of advice; they were a revelation of what he had learned. The message “wait and hope” is an “essence of faith and trust in God” that was the opposite of what he had leaned on in his quest for vengeance which came up vastly short of satisfaction (Marinetti, 1976). Dantes understood, in the end, the biblical principle that vengeance belongs to God alone and that the righteous should call out to God to be avenged (Charles F. Pfeiffer, 1975) (Unger, 1957).

Throughout the novel, *The Count of Monte Cristo*, Edmond Dantes sought vengeance for the spiteful devastation of his personal life by wreaking havoc in the lives of his enemies. His pursuit for respite from his pain through the administration of justice ended when he was forced to acknowledge his human limitations as a divine agent of justice when his actions resulted in the spilling of innocent blood. His heart was nearly destroyed by vengeance, but his life was spared by the mercy of God.

REFERENCES

Hawthorne features women prominently in his novels and short stories, but very rarely features them as characters with any real moral compass or power to affect their worlds. The whole purpose of their existence within his novels seems to be to act as a foil to their male counterparts or as a passive victim/onlooker to the plots and plans perpetrated by the men in their lives. Some of the women, such as Beatrice Rappaccini (Rappaccini’s Daughter”), Georgiana (“The Birthmark”) and Priscilla (The Blithedale Romance), comply completely with the men’s wills, willing to part with their own beliefs, ideals, looks, and even, in some cases, going so far as to prefer death to disappointing or disgracing the men they are surrounded by. Others stand strong against the men in their lives – and uniformly come to a bad end. Zenobia (The Blithedale Romance) and Faith (“Young Goodman Brown”) both start their stories as strong women – Zenobia as a paragon of feminism, Faith as a strong moral compass – and both come to tragic ends. There is no good balance between strong and weak in Hawthorne’s portrayal of women – neither strength nor weakness results in a happy ending for the women in his stories.

Through a study of “Rappaccini’s Daughter”, “The Birthmark”, “Young Goodman Brown” and The Blithedale Romance, I intend to show that Hawthorne has misogynistic themes running through his stories. In Hawthorne’s stories, women are denied any chance of self-actualization or identity separate from the men in their lives. The women are seldom allowed to assert their selfhood or sexuality – and if they attempt to, are soon put “in their place” by the men who attempt to subjugate them. His treatment of women and their sexuality is mildly disapproving at best and downright chauvinistic at worst.

The majority of Hawthorne’s “heroines” are young, nubile women – easily molded, quick to fall in love and often with very little life experience. The wife of “The Birthmark” is a perfect example of the dutiful, malleable and helpless women that populate Hawthorne’s stories. She is a newlywed – a woman who should be experiencing the happiest time of her life – the honeymoon period – a time when the woman should be loved for exactly who she is. Instead of loved and cherished, however, she is made to feel self-conscious and unworthy by her new husband. Her husband, Aylmer, the representation of the spiritual nature of man, can find no moral fault with her, but because he sees a small imperfection in her physical form (a birthmark), he “mistakes Georgiana’s physical imperfection for a spiritual one, and, in trying to cure her of her human nature, he kills her” (Rosenburg, 146). Her spirited nature is crushed by her husband’s withholding of affection because of her physical imperfection. This emotional blackmail eventually culminates in her physical death at his hands as she attempts to perfect herself for him at any cost. She allows his opinion and needs to overrule her own sense of self-worth and her needs, abandoning herself in order to reach his ideal, even though she knows the process might (and indeed, does) kill her.

In opposition to Aylmer stands Aminadab, Aylmer’s assistant. Aminadab represents the anima – the base, physical nature of man. Aminadab sees nothing wrong with Georgiana, even stating that if she were his wife, he’d “never part with that birthmark” (Hawthorne, 43). Her birthmark, then, is used to identify her as an imperfect, earthly creature by Hawthorne, even though she is, in all other ways, perfect. Aminadab, even with his base nature, is a better able to see Georgiana than Aylmer is. Although the embodiment of all that is earthly, Aminadab is able to see the spiritual goodness of Georgiana better than Aylmer, who, although acting as the spiritual representative in the story, is caught up in thoughts of her lack of physical perfection.
Georgiana is placed somewhere between the two by Hawthorne—a creature that is both physical and spiritual. Even her name is a “feminized masculine, suggesting the ‘two-thing’ of the alchemical process and perhaps also geo, ‘earth,’ poised between the ‘highest cloud-region’ of Aylmer and the underworld ‘furnace’ of Aminadab” (Rosenburg, 147). She is, in every way, caught between two worlds—spiritual and physical, perfection and flawed nature. While Aylmer is ruled by his head and Aminadab by his flesh, Georgiana is ruled completely by her heart and emotions, seeming to exist solely in order to highlight the difference between Aylmer and Aminadab. She is caught in between the two extremes, not belonging wholly to either, while trying to exist simultaneously in both. In the end, her choice to attempt to transcend the physical in order to please her husband shows her weakness in a new light. Her loyalty to love above all else causes her death, seeming to indicate that her womanhood, her heart, not her birthmark, is her fatal flaw. Her loyalty to her emotions causes Georgiana to see her birthmark, which she once counted a mark of beauty, through Aylmer’s eyes—and to shudder at herself in revulsion. She loses any sense of self-worth that she possessed because of her willingness to accept her husband’s opinions and judgments as better and more worthy than her own. Aylmer’s aversion to her birthmark causes it to become a symbol of her mortality and imperfection in both their minds. His obsession with her “flaw” causes her pain and heartache. By her own admission, she is neither weak nor blind enough to be happy with her husband’s lack of love, and she is not strong enough to endure it hopefully. Her emotions, her very heart, will not allow her to ignore his aversion to her birthmark or the black heart he believes it indicates. She believes that her only option, if she wishes to keep Aylmer’s love, is to give in to his will and undergo the operation that she is fully aware might kill her. Had Georgiana had the strength and sense of self-worth required to stand against her husband’s emotional blackmail, she might have been able to live a long and fulfilling life instead of being sacrificed on the altar of love. She is not guilty of any great sin, like adultery or murder, yet she is sentenced to death nonetheless—sentenced merely for being female and for lacking the perfection that Nature refuses to grant to any of her creations. Georgiana was punished, in effect, for being a woman and being ruled by her heart.

“The Birthmark” uses Georgiana’s “crimson hand” as the emblem of her sexuality—desirable before marriage, admired by a multitude of men, and sexually unaware. Her husband admits that he had never noticed, or was, at least, thoughtless of, the birthmark (the symbol of her sexuality) before the marriage. After the marriage, however, the hand becomes an obsession for Aylmer. Aylmer’s attitude towards Georgiana is described thus:

[His] revulsion has its root in part in a jealousy of the power which her sexuality represents and a frustration in the face of its impenetrable mystery. As a sign of her menses and reproductive power (with the moralizing being described as bloody), it marks her difference, and it is a power that her [Georgiana] scientist husband Aylmer envies and seeks to control. Indeed, he sees her “birthmark” as an imperfection in his wife and in nature that must be tampered with and eradicated (Elbert, 28).

Her sexuality and womanhood, as represented by the hand, “expressed the ineludible gripe, in which mortality clutches the highest and purest of earthly mould, degrading them into kindred with the lowest, and even with the very brutes” (Hawthorne, 766). Her mortal flaw, then, is her sexuality, the one thing about her that her husband cannot control. This flaw causes Aylmer to remove his affection, which reduces Georgiana to a desperate woman, willing to remove even her sexuality in order to regain the regard of her husband. Her willingness to change even the most basic of aspects of herself for her husband’s happiness leads to her death—a death she seems to not only accept, but embrace, so long as her husband is satisfied.

The Blithedale Romance also contains a less than “liberated” heroine. One of Hawthorne’s lesser known works, The Blithedale Romance, is a novel concerned primarily with the reasons for a utopian
The narrator of the story attributes that failure to “certain facts about the nature of men, women and erotic attraction,” stating from the first that Hawthorne’s work is a treatise on relationships and how they affect both the men and women in and around them (Freeland, 49). Zenobia, one of the main female characters, is associated, both through her name and through her actions, with the “ancient, imperious – and doomed – Oriental queen of Palmyra” (Freeman, 51). The ancient Zenobia was a fierce warrior queen, expanding her territory by force. She ruled for seven years, a strong woman leading a nation of diverse people groups. Her kingdom stood strong, recognized by Rome as an empire separate from the Roman rule until Aurelian, the Roman emperor, marched against her and her army. After an inglorious defeat, Zenobia was forced to watch as her people were executed. She was then taken to Rome as a hostage. Kept from her homeland and true self, Zenobia became despondent and soon committed suicide. In a similar manner, Hawthorne’s Zenobia holds her small kingdom firmly – only when her “Aurelian”, Hollingsworth, appears does she lose her sense of identity and self – a loss that results, like a reflection of the ancient Zenobia, in suicide.

Hawthorne’s Zenobia has a very strong sense of self, as well as strong, counter-cultural opinions. Contrary to the opinions of her contemporaries, she holds no faith in the institution of marriage. As she says to Coverdale, the narrator, “Did you ever see a happy woman in your life? … How can she be happy, after discovering that fate has assigned her but one single event, which she must contrive to make the substance of her whole life? A man has his choice of innumerable events.” To which he replies: “A woman, I suppose… by constant repetition of her one event, may compensate for the lack of variety” (Blithedale, 60). From the context of the story (the love triangle that exists because of both Zenobia and her sister, Priscilla’s, striving for marriage to Hollingsworth), one might suppose that they are speaking of a “woman’s inevitable destiny” – according to Hawthorne, marriage, or at the very least, a life defined by the lack of marriage. Zenobia, the free-spirited woman who does not believe in the effectiveness of marriage, of course falls in love with the most dominant, severe, inflexible man present: Hollingsworth. Her seeming weakness for unyielding, somewhat villainous men (both Hollingsworth, the man she meets at the compound, and Professor Westervelt, the man Coverdale assumes she was married to, are very opinionated and somewhat unsavory men) seems to indicate that even the most original, independent and imperious woman has only one purpose, one goal – to be ruled, in some sense, by a commandeering man, no matter what her expressed opinions are. From the beginning of her life, she was brought up, without a mother, by a father who “only loved her ‘because she shone.’ Indeed, [her father] had not even cared for his wife but rather ‘wore her beauty for the most brilliant ornament of his outward state”’ (Freeland, 52). Her father was not always present, often leaving her with different relatives and family friends. Raised in such a performance-oriented but unstable atmosphere, is it any surprise that Zenobia started her tenure at Blithedale with such a strong sense of self? Zenobia is the heir to a wealthy uncle, which allows her access to a somewhat erratic, irregular education. She is brilliant, though her mind is relatively uncultivated. She is a well-known author, accomplished speaker, and gifted actress/masquerader, although she chooses to avoid the stage. As she grows and matures, she becomes entangled with Westervelt, a man who loves her even less than her father does – after her suicide, he only mourns “the waste of her death: ‘Had she lived, and hearkened to my counsels, we might have served each other well’” (Freeland, 53). After Westervelt, Zenobia’s affections were engaged by a man who is no better than Westervelt, but whom Zenobia falsely believes is a “true, strong heart.” Instead, “what binds her to Hollingsworth is, it emerges, his dominance, his antifeminism.” As Hollingsworth declares about a woman:

She [woman] is the most admirable handiwork of God, in her true place and character. Her place is at man’s side. Her office, that of Sympathizer; the unreserved, unquestioning Believer; the Recognition, withheld in every other manner, but given, in pity, through woman’s heart, lest man should utterly lose faith in himself; the Echo of God’s own voice, pronouncing- ‘It is well done!’ all the separate action of woman is, and ever has been, and always shall be, false,
foolish, vain, destructive of her own best and holiest qualities, void of every good effect, and productive of intolerable mischiefs! Man is wretched without woman; but woman is a monster — and, thank Heaven, an almost impossible and hitherto imaginary monster — without man, as her acknowledged principal (Blithedale, 113-114).

Hollingsworth’s beliefs completely change Zenobia’s independent view of womanhood to a completely subservient stance. Much like Georgiana in “The Birthmark,” she changes her opinion of everything in her life, from her thoughts on women and marriage to her beliefs about herself and her own worth, in order to please the man she loves. As she states, “Let man be but manly and god-like and woman is only too ready to become to him what you say” (Blithedale, 124). Even Zenobia, the strongest woman in the story, considers women to be little more than worshippers for the “god-like” men when she comes under Hollingsworth’s influence. Coverdale, the book’s “voice of reason,” reacts to Zenobia’s change of heart with disbelief and surprise, saying of her erratic behavior:

How little did these two women care for me, who had freely conceded all their claims, and a great deal more, out of the fullness of my heart; while Hollingsworth, by some necromancy of his horrible injustice, seemed to have brought them both to his feet! "Women almost invariably behave thus!" thought I. "What does the fact mean? Is it their nature? Or is it, at last, the result of ages of compelled degradation? And, in either case, will it be possible ever to redeem them?" (Blithedale, 124).

Coverdale is remarking this out of bitterness, but he hits on one of the key principles of Hawthorne’s beliefs about women: All that they really want, no matter how much they protest, is to be subjugated by a strong man. A weak man will hold no interest for a woman, and thus will be ignored as a romantic partner. Only a strong man is able to catch and keep a woman, because she is so accustomed to being controlled that she cannot function properly unless she is being controlled by a strong man.

Every statement made by men towards women by these two men indicates a lack of even the most basic of respect towards the women in the story. The most obvious example of contempt for the strong woman comes at the ending of Zenobia’s life — unable to deal with the fact that Hollingsworth has picked her timid, pale and weak-willed half-sister Priscilla instead of Zenobia, Zenobia commits suicide after symbolically passing on her role of independent woman to her sister. Priscilla rejects that role, choosing instead to remain an unsubstantial, quiet and shadow-like woman, dominated by the men in her life. As she says, “I am blown about like a leaf... I never have any free-will” (Blithedale, 171). Her meekness and timidity are, apparently, attractive qualities to the men in the story. The end of the book reveals that Priscilla has, in fact, become an obsession for all the main male characters in the story. Even Coverdale, the narrator, admits to being in love with her. Furthermore, Priscilla is the only female character in the book whose story ends happily — her malleability allows her to have the object of her desires — Hollingsworth. The passive, docile and weak woman is the one held up to high regard, while the strong, resourceful and rebellious woman comes to a tragic end.

Women’s sexuality, in Hawthorne’s times, was perceived as something to be controlled and contained, something to be rarely spoken about and ignored. Any deviation from the norm was considered a danger to society as a whole. Hawthorne was, without a doubt, a man of his time in this regard. Never is his view of sexuality and women’s bodies more obvious than in “Rappaccini’s Daughter.” Beatrice Rappaccini is a beautiful woman whose entire existence has been poisoned by her father. Her breath, skin, hair — everything about her has been made toxic without her consent. She is intelligent, kind and well educated, yet has no interaction with the outside world at all, and in fact is unable to interact with the world without being ostracized. She is kept pure and unspoiled by her father, isolated from all company, male or female. She interacts with the world as much as she is able to, but can only see as much of the world as her father, and then her would-be lover, Giovanni, allow her to see. She is completely hemmed in by the men in her life. She doesn’t even have any control over her death — she dies after ingesting a potion (at Giovanni’s insistence) that she and Giovanni believed was
designed to return her to normalcy. Instead, it kills her – she had become so poisonous due to her father’s machinations that any attempt to “save her from herself” proves useless. She is exploited by all three men, for different reasons, but each with the same motive: Her femininity. She “becomes a focus for these men’s fantasies, fears and desires, and is credited with (or at least punished for) various evil intentions which in fact spring from within the minds of the three men. In the language of psychology, “Giovanni, Rappaccini and Baglioni project upon Beatrice the impulses they are unwilling to acknowledge as their own” (Brenzo, 152). The poison that penetrates Beatrice’s every pore isolates her from the world. Yet she herself had nothing to do with the introduction of the poison – her lethality was caused by her father. She becomes the most blameless femme fatale in the history of the world, innocent of any wrongdoing except for the simple sin of being female and weak. Like Georgiana’s birthmark, her poisonous aspect seems to be synonymous with her womanhood. She is defined by, and ultimately rejected because of, her physical imperfection. Like Georgiana as well, her imperfection is something she has no control over, and is something she is content with possessing until the man she loves asks her to change it.

Her father gave her the “marvelous gifts against which no power or strength could avail an enemy” (Hawthorne, 298) and says that he did it only to keep her from being a “weak woman, exposed to all evil and capable of none” (Hawthorne, 298). His efforts to make her more capable of defending herself, more able to function safely and usefully in the world – in effect, to make her more like a man – backfired, losing him his favorite weapon and also, incidentally, his daughter. The man’s primary concern for his daughter seems to be in her as an experiment – he wanted to see if it was possible to create a beautiful and indefensible weapon. Even at her death, he betrays less horror than Baglioni, the murderer, does. Beatrice is merely a pawn to both men, used like they would use a rag doll or tug-of-war rope in their perpetual game of one-up-man-ship. Each man’s pride and drive for knowledge contributes to Beatrice’s death. Her desire to please the men in her life causes her to meekly submit to those men: First to her father and his deadly ministrations, and secondly to Giovanni and his deadly cure. Her need for companionship and love (womanly weaknesses, in Hawthorne’s opinion) make her vulnerable to those who offer her just such companionship and love. The men in the story do not long for companionship as Beatrice does, and thus they survive as Beatrice cannot. Her heart and its longings, her submission to her emotions, and her very femininity ensure that she will not be able to thrive in a world dominated by men.

Women in Hawthorne’s stories very rarely interact in a meaningful way with society. Monika Elbert suggests that this is because Hawthorne believes that female sexuality is only able to be redeemed (brought back from the evil purposes women obviously hold to) by maternity. A woman who has not yet borne children is considered dangerous and unpredictable by Hawthorne. She is capable of causing the men in her life to stumble into temptation and even into events that might cause him to change his view of humanity as a whole. This ideology is clear in his treatment of women in “Young Goodman Brown” and “The Birthmark.” Both women are presented as sexual objects, newlyweds, and therefore in the stage of “pre-sanctioned, pre-motherhood sexuality – the honeymoon wife whose sexuality is seen as alarming” (Elbert, 27). This uncontrolled sexuality terrifies their husbands, who then turn from their wives or try to remove the very thing that frightens them in an effort to control that unpredictable factor present in the woman. In “Young Goodman Brown,” Faith’s sexuality, “embodied by the pink ribbons that are inappropriate for a Puritan woman, leads Brown directly to the forest, where he would mingle with those whose sexual indiscretions (seduction, infanticide) have led to their doom. The forest is a morass where all bourgeois restraints have been lifted and where the rule of the “other”... seems to preside and where even chaste women by the light of day seem licentious” (Elbert, 28). If not for hearing Faith’s voice in the forest, Goodman Brown might have been able to withstand the pull of the darkness and the devil. Instead, the sound of Faith’s lamentations in the woods cause him to journey even farther into the forest. Faith, because of her femininity, leads her husband into the forest,
and by so doing, into temptation and the abandonment of all he formerly believed. Her sexuality caused the destruction of his faith, as well as his belief in the goodness of humanity.

Even in the Scarlet Letter, Hester Prynne, a lady who understands more than anyone else in the story and seems to rule her own heart, is chastised because of her one foray into unrestrained sexuality – a foray that led to the birth of her child, Pearl. Even though Dimmesdale, the man she was in love with, was as unrestrained as she in their “fall from grace,” Hester was the only one of the union who was physically and against her will ostracized and made into an outcast. Dimmesdale, on the other hand, chose to isolate himself emotionally from all those around him, managing to retain their good opinion and his position in the community. Hawthorne suggests, however, that his guilt served as a punishment severe enough that even the hardest heart might pity him. Hester, on the other hand, was obviously not as emotionally and spiritually sensitive as Dimmesdale, since she did not suffer as acutely as he – his declining health versus her robustness, his constant “otherworldliness” and prayers for forgiveness (albeit generic prayers) versus her moving forward in her day-to-day life and making a career for herself without even a seeming shred of regret or guilt. Within the world of the story, Hester’s conscious does not bother her as Dimmesdale’s does, and her passionate nature receives the blame for the fall from grace in the first place.

The women in Hawthorne’s stories are all dependent on the men in their lives, whether for affection, validation, morality or direction. The “good” women, such as Georgiana and Beatrice, are malleable and obedient, choosing to allow their male counterparts to rule their sexuality, lives and sometimes even their deaths. The “bad” women, those women in control of their own sexuality, are presented as evil and destructive to the men in their lives and the culture in general. There is no middle ground for women in Hawthorne – only bad and worse.

WORK CITED

In facing war, it has victory: In facing challenges, it has succeeded: In facing oppression, it has arisen. Through wars, conquests, government changes, trends, and technological advances, the English language stands, oppression serving only to make it stronger. But today, English faces another adversary. The recent eminence of technology, specifically text messaging, provides one more battle with both spelling and communication at stake. Will this hip, young challenger pose a real threat to the old, familiar, and lovable friend of our English language? Linguists and teachers cringe at the bleak future for Standard English as text messaging seems to reign over the younger generation. Not only does “text-speak” jeopardize the age-old spelling system, but it also looms over communication, threatening to remove from this generation the ability for authentic conversation.

Newspapers and magazines are littered with apocalyptic articles begging the world to see the horrific effects of text messaging on language. Again and again, yellow journalists rouse the masses by denouncing text messaging and fearing the wellbeing of those audacious enough to use it. Perhaps one of the most egregious examples is the article by John Humphrys in the Daily Mail. He condemns texting, saying that texters are “vandals who are doing to our language what Genghis Khan did to his neighbours eight hundred years ago. They are destroying it: pillaging our punctuation; savaging our sentences; raping our vocabulary. And they must be stopped” (qtd. in Crystal 9). Many agree (though probably with not as much conviction) with exactly what Humphrys said. Text messaging unmistakably is a revolutionary form of written language, and to ignore that would be ignorant.

Teachers watch while their oblivious students hide their cell phones under their desks and text message their friends. They sigh while walking over to take yet another phone from a student to add to their desk drawer collection. But they scowl in frustration as students continually misspell simple, common words, putting u in place of you in a research paper and gr8 instead of the outdated great while writing a paragraph. One cannot deny that text messaging does and will continue to have an effect on spelling. Others are concerned for text messaging’s effects on communication. Because text messages are simply succinct, the fear is not unfounded that ingressing shallow conversations may hinder students from deeper self-expression. As teachers and linguists are left to wonder the consequences of text messaging on language, text messages shrink in word count and abbreviations grow more numerous. Can text-speak nudge its way into our dictionaries? Can it find a home in our language? Language purists shudder at the possibility.

Throughout its history, English has faced wars, invasions, migrations, and self-righteous linguists. However, English has changed relatively little compared to what some project to be the text messaging revolution. A few words have been added, pronunciations changed, and spelling altered, but all of that has been over a course of a thousand years. Like throwing a pebble into the ocean, the effects of text messaging will hardly leave a ripple in the enormity of the English language. Examining how little an impact historical events have had on English compared to the effects of the recent advent of text messaging should calm all fears of an overthrow of Standard English.

Language unquestionably defines a culture. Language represents beliefs, values, and knowledge. The perils of revamping English could be even as pervasive as making literature or history unintelligible. Before Caxton helped solidify the spelling system, literature shows that words were spelled pell-mell, according to the author. Today, if we again threw out the standard spelling, words could be spelled to the fancy of the author, with no regard for widespread comprehension. One standard English offers those in the culture the ability for standard communication: It unites a culture.
Language allows one to sound educated in formal settings, but conversational in a relaxed atmosphere. Dialects distinguish language in speaking to friends, then giving a presentation to the CEO of a large company. Without a standard for language, there could be no difference between the language of the President and the language used by the uneducated boy in southern Kentucky. Language differentiates between the educated and the uneducated. It provides a different atmosphere between an office building and a bar on the corner of the street. This unique atmosphere presents the opportunity to rise in status in society. This country respects Standard English as a sign of education.

Likewise, a standard language and spelling allows a culture to communicate clearly with all people in the culture. Both in writing and speaking, common words and spelling give the basis for meaning. With abundant abbreviations littered in our language, what about those who are not as hip with the trend? What happens when the trend becomes the defining language? Will that generation be able to read the “old English” of 2009?

The question, then, is not does text messaging have an impact on our language, but how much impact will it have? Undoubtedly, text messaging affects those who use it. With over 158.6 billion text messages sent in the United States in 2006, one cannot deny that text messaging is growing in significance and potentially posing a threat to the English status quo (Briggs 1). However, some teachers and linguists panic that the end of “English as we know it” is near. Teachers observe it from their students: Linguists find it in society. In the decade and a half since its birth, text messaging has already affected education, the workplace, communication skills, and language itself.

Teachers are some of the greatest critics of text messaging. From teachers come many of the common complaints against text-speak. Teachers across the world see the impact of text messaging on their students, from elementary to college levels. “No large academic studies have confirmed it, but anecdotally, you can see text-speak creeping into students’ writing,” explains Kathleen Blake Yancey, president-elect of the National Council of Teachers of English (qtd. Briggs 1). Teachers of all levels give first-hand evidence of text-speak’s infiltration into their classrooms.

Eighth-grade teacher Jacqueline Harding has noticed a significant change in her middle-school classroom since 2002. In addition to her list of homonyms, she has added more words that cause her students spelling challenges: wuz, cuz, ur, and u. This latest group has its roots in the technological advances of instant messaging and text messaging. Harding is not the only teacher who has noticed the change in writing; middle school and high school teachers alike are increasingly seeing “a breezy form of Internet English jump from e-mail into schoolwork. To their dismay, teachers say that papers are being written with shortened words, improper capitalization and punctuation, and characters like &, $ and @,” notes Jennifer Lee, author of the New York Times article featuring Jacqueline Harding.

Student Eve Brecker, 15, admits that she has carelessly allowed her Internet lingo to slip into her papers, “You are so used to abbreviating things, you just start doing it unconsciously on schoolwork and reports and other things,” she explains. Melanie Weaver, teacher at Alvernia College in Pennsylvania, has even noticed emotions being represented by symbols in her students’ papers. "They would be trying to make a point in a paper, they would put a smiley face in the end [...] If they were presenting an argument and they needed to present an opposite view, they would put a frown." Teachers sigh while students admit that text messaging has affected formal writing (Lee 1).

The abbreviations of text-speak have unmistakably seeped into education. Students have difficulties distinguishing a difference between formal and informal writing, because “they have a social life that centers around technology,” says Judith S. Donath, professor who has studied the effects of electronic communication. Harding explains that these new forms of spelling are not technology’s attempt to wreck havoc on formal written English, but simply an extension of culture into writing (Lee 1).

The Irish Times newspaper published the potential ramifications of text messaging on students. In 2006, after reviewing the year’s exam performance by 15-year-olds, the chief examiner said to the
Irish State Examination Commission, “The frequency of errors in grammar and punctuation has become a serious concern [...] Text messaging, with its use of phonetic spelling and little or no punctuation, seems to pose a threat to traditional conventions in writing” (Text Messages). Text-speak seems to be creeping into education.

Student Montana Hodgen, 16, explained that though she proofread her papers, she often did not realize what was incorrect until returned by the teacher with corrections. “I was so used to reading what my friends wrote to me on Instant Messenger that I didn't even realize that there was something wrong,” she said. She said her ability to separate formal and informal English declined the more she used instant messages. “Three years ago, if I had seen that, I would have been ‘What is that?’” (qtd. Lee 2). Some teachers see the trend as alarming and rude, but others see it for what it is – a fad. These teachers use the misspellings as a teaching tool in their classrooms.

Not only does text-speak’s dabbling in the classroom create a problem, but employers also believe it wrecks havoc in the workplace. Recent college graduates and 20-somethings in businesses are increasingly using more text-speak in the workplace. While some employers embrace the modern communication, others are not amused. Communication in the office is changing, thanks to instant and text messaging. However, when this new language is overused or over relied upon, it becomes a problem.

Tom Van Riper, writer for Forbes Magazine, gives an example of text-speak’s invasion into the workplace: “For folks over 40, the following instant message may look like nothing more than gobbledygook: ‘#s look gd... Inch @ 1/ back l8r.’ But for younger employees, it’s just simple shorthand for: "The numbers look good. I'm leaving for lunch at 1 p.m., and I'll be back later." The new generation, labeled by some “Generation Text,” has brought with it a reliance on Google, text messaging, and instant messaging into the workplace (Van Riper 1). However, when older employees are left scratching their heads as to the meaning of the jargon on the computer screen, businesses are faced with a challenge: How to blend the avant-garde with the conventional.

The trials of text-speak unfortunately do not end with confused employees. Text-speak spells disaster for many college graduates hoping to get jobs in the business world, even to the detriment of hindering some from getting jobs. “Thanx,” “hiya” and the dreaded smiley-face emoticon can turn what could be an attention-getting thank-you card into the job-search guillotine. Hiring manager Troy Johnson believes that job-hunters are becoming too casual when using text messaging or online communication to search for a career. A time exists for the casual, but job searching is not the right time.

The Virginia-Pilot notes, “some applicants are writing e-mails that contain shorthand language and decorative symbols, while others are sending hasty and poorly thought-out messages to and from mobile devices. These incidents typically involve college students and recent graduates, and recruiters say such faux pas can be instant candidacy killers because they hint at immaturity and questionable judgment.” Sadly, many applicants cannot see the ramifications of their poorly-written, short messages, because these messages are simply products of the culture in which the writers live (Is Textspeak).

Furthermore, those who would rather use text messaging don’t see the value of non-verbal communication, says Ruth Sherman, communications consultant. Other businesses have had to eradicate the bad habits of the younger generation. For example, Deloitte accounting firm often has to remind young employees to use complete sentences (Van Riper). Text messaging has bred both bad grammar and spelling habits among many of its users. The majority of business environment will not stand for text-speak’s relaxed form of writing. Text messaging belongs to a specific environment, and it has damaged its relationship among many within the workplace.

But the havoc of text-speak does not stop in education or the workforce. It extends over all communication. Teachers fear that the short message form of text-speak will create generations of students who are satisfied with superficial communication, who cannot think deeply about a topic, and who cannot research but are dependent upon the instant results text messaging gives. Those who text
are not forced to have face-to-face interactions, and therefore cannot deal with real-life confrontation. After all, who hasn’t wished to break up with a boyfriend over text message or used text messaging to break plans with someone because of the guilt given through voice-to-voice connection? Text messaging provides an easy way out of uncomfortable situations and a quick answer whenever needed.

The language of text messages is founded on phonetic spelling, short sentences, simple tenses, and limited vocabulary (Text Messages). Texting encourages short messages with instant response. High school English teacher Ruth Maenpaa explains, “Texting relies on brevity, simple word choice and sentence fragments, and she sees more teenagers struggle to compose essays of any length with cohesive logic […] A generation of students who are content with five-minute research sessions on the Internet and communication based on sound bites will definitely struggle with abstract concepts and commitment as they encounter more rigorous educational environments and the expectations of demanding employers” (qtd. in Briggs 2). Ultimately, she says, texting “affects students’ intellectual endurance.” She continues to note that though text messaging offers instant gratification, learning takes time and requires hard work. Students are not learning these principles as they continually use texting for communication (Briggs 2).

With its feared detrimental effects on communication, one must wonder how communication will be affected. Text-speak seemingly sets the stage for shallow communication and superficial relationships. This generation has replaced personal conversations with strokes on a keyboard. “In addition to cell phone text messaging, Web logs and e-mail, [instant messaging] has become a popular means of flirting, setting up dates, asking for help with homework and keeping in contact with distant friends” (Lee 1). One cannot debate that keeping in contact with a distant friend via text messaging or e-mail can be exponentially faster than sending snail mail or trying to set up a convenient time for a phone conversation. Unfortunately, the rapid, short form of communication threatens to replace the desire for deep conversation and thinking.

The effects reach further than just one’s personal life, however. The repercussions even extend to the English classroom, in which students are asked to analyze and respond in critical thinking questions to a story. When students are trained to only see the superficial, they lose the real meaning of conversation and in literature. English teachers in the upcoming generation may be thanking text messaging for their students’ disengaged attitude in literature.

Many linguists have also predicted the fatalistic future of English. These people see the great potential within text messaging to change English. For example, Jesse Sheidlower, the North American editor of the Oxford English Dictionary explains, “There is no official English language. Language is spread not because anyone dictates any one thing to happen. The decisions are made by the language and the people who use the language” (qtd. Lee 2). Because there is no official English language, and because language is always in a state of flux, Sheidlower believes it will change. People decide how and what language will be used and when.

Throughout history, English changed because commoners, authors, and the upper class have all used it differently. Language changes because the lower class uses words from England to sound more educated, thereby bringing European English into American vocabulary or because authors coin new words and the words are accepted into culture. The unique aspect of language comes in its flexibility and constant change. Were it to be staunch and immovable, as society progressed, it would cease to be useful.

Already, concerns about the inability to read the language of the future surge throughout the minds of doomsayers. In a few generations, they say, we may no longer be able to read the common English of today, because text-speak will have completely changed written English. Think of all the older people who look at sentences such as “#s look gd... Inch @ 1/ back l8r” and wonder from what planet the writer comes. My grandparents have no idea what the text-speak characters mean, but in typing, most of my students cannot tell a difference between ur and your and could read the above sentence
with no hesitation. Yet, lest linguists lose their language love and teachers trade tradition, history has shown that though language is a product of the culture, only drastic events drastically change language. Text messaging is nothing drastic enough to bring the change (or demise) of the entirety of English.

History shows the development and progress of English since its beginnings almost two thousand years ago. To determine whether text messaging will be strong enough to change language, one must look to the factors that have proven strong enough to change English from an antiquated style to its current grandiosity. The history of English has three main periods: Old English, Middle English, and Modern English. By examining the changes that occurred to move English into its next period, one can see what drastic circumstances must arise to change a language.

English history traces back to the fifth century (449 AD), as an immigrant language into Britain. When the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Frisians came to conquer what would later be named “Angleland” (England), their dialects melded to establish the beginnings of English (Algeo 55 and Reed 9). The Celtic language previously spoken in Britain was then pushed north and west, while this early form of English (pre-Old English) replaced it (Algeo 86). The English language began from war and invasion and throughout Old English, contention continued to mark its life.

In the midst of strife, Pope Gregory I sent a band of missionaries led by Saint Augustine to the Angles. Once Augustine established Christianity in England, the Irish partook to start a monastery nearby. Through Christianity, then, arrived the Latin and Celtic influences into early English. When preference was given to the Roman customs, English culture was linked with mainstream Europe and the stage was set for the development of modern English (Algeo 86-89). During the First Viking Conquest (Scandinavian invasion) in the first half of the 800s, disastrous and disorganized raids pelted the people of England. In 865, “an expertly organized army landed in East Anglia […] and during the following years the Vikings gained possession of practically the whole eastern part of England” and tried to conquer all of England (91). One hundred years later, in 991, Olaf Tryggvason invaded England and defeated the English at the Battle of Maldon. The Scandinavians wanted to colonize England and because of their irenic disposition, the English and Norse languages mostly retained their individuality with the addition of some Old Norse words into Old English (for example the word sister took on the ON systir for OE sweostor) (93). Thus, English became an amalgamation of Latin, Celtic, and Scandinavian.

As Middle English developed, the Norman Invasion brought the most influential change to English. To being the shift from Old to Middle English, the Normans conquered England, replacing the English nobility with Anglo-Normans and introducing Norman French as the language of the government in England (Algeo 123). This invasion was much more extensive than the Scandinavian Invasion of years before. Under the leadership of William the Conqueror, The Norman Invasion brought an influx of French vocabulary and spelling. During this period, England temporarily abandoned English as the official language, which allowed different dialects to quickly develop (Reed 9). At this time, England was trilingual: Latin in the Church, Norman French in the government, and English for the commoners (Algeo 125).

Eventually, through the Hundred Years’ War and King John’s loss at Normandy in 1204, English again escalated in prestige. The commoners had risen in prowess from The Black Plague, which killed one third of the population and gave power to the workers. Also during this time, John Wycliffe translated the Bible into English, after his disputes with the authority of the Church, William Langland wrote Piers Plowman, and Geoffrey Chaucer produced his Canterbury Tales. This body of work developed the English language and English literature. Because of Chaucer, “English was well established as the language of England in literary and other uses. By the end of the fourteenth century, public documents and records began to be written in English, and Henry IV used English to claim the throne in 1399” (125-126).

Though English had contributions from many different languages, French became the most influential. It contributed greatly to the English word stock, adding new words, but even replacing Old
English words for the French. Because of these new words and because the French words remained mostly unchanged, Middle English and Modern English are very closely related. The connection between the two languages (Middle and Modern English) is unmistakable. In the following list, the words in the first column are native Old English and the words in the second column are Middle English borrowed from French (127):

- mildheortness: mercy
- gewilnode: coueitide
- gewistfullian: make we feeste
- forwearð: perischid
- þēow: seruaunt

‘mercy’
‘wanted, coveted’
‘let us feast’
‘perished’
‘servant’

Even in glancing briefly at Chaucer’s writing in Middle English, one can notice the remarkable similarities. In the lines from *House of Fame*, an eagle explains to Chaucer what speech truly is:

Soune ys noght but eyre ybroken
And every spech that ys yspoken,
Lowde or pryvee, foule or faire,
In his substaunce ys but aire;
For as flaumbe ys but lighted smoke,
Ryght soo soune ys aire y-broke. (qtd. 132)

Because the Middle English words are strikingly close to Modern English, readers can comprehend many words from Middle English without studying the language.

Finally, to solidify the shift between Middle and Modern English, in 1476, William Caxton established his printing press, standardizing English language and spelling. Because of the printing press, English had rules and regulations to be solidified an organized language. English spelling had previously undergone a transformation because of the Anglo-Norman influence. This changed many parts of spelling, some of which include the dropping of the Old English *h* in words beginning with *hl, hn,* and *hr* to simply *l, n,* and *r*; the addition of the letter *v*; and the dropping of the *schwa* from the end of words. In light of Caxton’s invention, these spellings became standard in Modern English.

Modern English changed spellings from the Middle English. Algeo explains that this occurred because “The influence of printers and that of men of learning – misguided though they frequently were – has been greater than any other on English spelling. Learned men (scholars and some writers) preferred an archaic spelling’ and, as we shall see, they further archaized it by respelling words etymologically” (156-158). From here, Middle and Modern English began to look different.

In addition to the spelling changes to increase intellectual appeal, dictionaries came alongside the people to aid in English’s developing prestige. During the eighteenth century, the middle class was gaining prominence, but they did not have the same confidence of the upper class in matters of manners and language. In their search to know what was “right” in matters of language, lexicographers developed more rules and dictionaries to define English, which “‘fixed’ English spelling and established a standard for the use of words” (174-175). In his book *The Story of the English Language*, Mario Pei observes the far-reaching effects of the dictionary in explaining that once a true linguistic standard is accepted, this standard freezes language from its quick and sporadic evolution (53).

The conclusions about text messaging’s effects on English can be drawn from this history: From the birth of Middle English until today’s Modern English, our language has changed surprisingly little. As history revealed, the most significant changes to English and its spelling have happened from people groups melding their languages. This adoption of foreign words is usually as a result of war or invasion.
The major changes in English have been from the Scandinavian invasions or the Norman Invasion. One can assume because invasions happened in Old English and early Middle English, the similarities between Middle and Modern English must stem from language retention. Because no invasions have allowed a host of foreign words to be introduced into the modern word stock, Middle and Modern English are closely related. The implications of these observations suggest that because the future does not suggest any kind of invasion from other countries, language will continue along a very similar path, the only potential changes being extremely minor.

Other changes to the language have resulted from the need to discuss recent advancements in technology or knowledge and conscious decisions to improve vocabulary (Algeo). These are the types of changes that have been made throughout the Middle English and early Modern English periods. These advancements may have added more words, but they have retained common spelling. Such changes are why the common reader can comprehend much more than expected of Middle English. After the French influence, the words basically stayed the same, with some spellings tweaked in the past two hundred years. Again, what a miniscule change for such a broad span of time!

As both Pei and Algeo have observed, changing language today would be an incredibly difficult task, since English now has a standard and a correct form. Were not the dictionary invented, people could continue to spell ask Shakespeare spelled his name – adding and subtracting vowels and inserting hyphens on a whim. Thankfully, for language purists, Caxton and Johnson devoted their legacies to the standardization of English. Today, great change would be both difficult and in many cases, ineffective and impossible.

Because text messaging is a modern trend with little history, few conclusive studies have been done as to the effects of text messaging on students. One can assume catastrophe, based on the current pattern of students’ work, but one can only assume. Though some may claim their students are making more spelling mistakes or test scores are lower in countries in which text messaging is the preferred form of communication, evidence is not yet definitive enough to label text messaging as the perpetrator. And for those who make text messaging a scapegoat for low test scores and misspellings – could text messaging simply be an easy culprit for a more significant issue? A problem of a changing generation with a different attitude toward learning? A problem of an experimental, nouveau teaching style gone awry?

Crispin Thurlow of the University of Washington Department of Communication provides an extensive study of the effects and history of text messaging. He states that the effects of text-speak are “largely unremarkable” (Thurlow 15). Even in noticing the language used in daily conversation, text-speak has a miniscule effect on the words used. As of today, there have been no noticeable impacts on the English language.

Thurlow persists that not all text messaging promotes the cataclysmic downfall of language, but, in fact, promotes both creativity and competence in texters. “What is more,” he says, “just as new linguistic practices are often adaptive and additive rather than necessarily subtractive, young text-messagers manipulate conventional discursive practices with linguistic creativity and communicative competence in their pursuit of intimacy and social intercourse” (17). Thurlow’s observations illuminate the other side of the debate: Text messaging may be more insignificant than harmful, and even more, may actually be beneficial.

The question resurfaces: To what extent will text messaging affect the English language? By examining historical patterns of language development, an advance as miniscule as text messaging should have an insignificant effect on language. To find a linguistic apocalypse in the unknown often is more fun than to accept the unknown for the benefits it could bring. Thurlow also notices the tendency to find the potential for disaster in the unknown, observing that “the history of the development of communication technologies is one marked by periods of excessive hype and hysteria about the kinds of cultural, social and psychological impacts each new technology is likely to have” (2). Judging from the
strength of the trend, its recent adoption as a form of communication, and its rejection from educated settings, text-speak cannot establish dominance over English. Text messaging has neither the power nor prowess to become the harbinger of language demise.

Prominent linguist David Crystal argues the detrimental influence texting will not have on the future generations in his book *Txting: The Gr8 Db8*. Here, Crystal explains that typically, only about 6% of the words in a text message are abbreviated (105). This small percentage can hardly bring the demise of language. He discredits the quote in the Irish Times about text messaging posing a threat to conventional forms of writing, explaining that the article does not distinguish that the quote was responding to the “Personal Writing” section of the examination. In fact, the other six sections of the exam showed no sign of text-speak infiltrating students’ writing (154). He also notes that the teachers he has talked with have not found a new overarching trend that students cannot spell or that text-speak has infiltrated the classrooms, but that the incidences of it in students’ writings are sporadic at worst (153). Media sensationalism seems to play a great part in making the text-speak phenomenon more than it is.

In his quest to clear text-speak of the misguided charges heaped upon it, Crystal adds that abbreviating is not a new language, but has in fact been present in language for many decades. Were the usage of abbreviations to be an avant-garde emerging dialect, fear potentially could be justified; however, generations have used abbreviations when writing. Lastly, he notes that texting is not the cause of bad spelling, because students must know the correct way to spell a word before changing it into an abbreviation. “Before you can write abbreviated forms effectively and play with them, you need to have a sense of how the sounds of your language relate to the letters” (162). He concludes that teenagers are neither stupid nor socially oblivious, but that their fault lies in their inability to choose a proper time to use text-speak.

For the naysayer who predicts the ruination of language or for the concerned citizen who desires to do something prevent the cataclysmic end for English, to preserve the purity of language, we must act in two ways. First, we must recognize that the only threat text-speak poses is in the development of a new dialect. Second, we must change teaching methods to fit the growth of technology. Like any threat, if one simply ignores it, hoping it will dissolve, often he will later recognize that in his doing nothing, he allowed the problem to grow.

Dialects help us speak correctly in different settings. English has hundreds of dialects that allow speakers to communicate with everyone, from the CEO of Biomet to grandma from Alabama. The formality or informality of a dialect is determined by the purpose of the dialect. Likewise, text-speak will only become a dialect – its purpose – to communicate short information quickly to the recipient. As history has proven, text-speak will never develop the strength to pose a problem to the language, but with its convenience and its recent popularity, its abbreviations and numeric/alphabetic combinations do show great potential for becoming a dialect. As with any dialect, it will have a proper time for use. Lest teachers fear, the proper times are not in educational or business settings.

Armed with this knowledge, teachers must adapt their teaching to address this issue to their students. In efforts of maintaining a relevant teaching style, the teacher must discuss this dialect and give attention to the shift in formal and informal writing. Similarly, with the growth of technology, teachers ought to embrace the benefits it offers in the classroom.

Remembering what Thurlow observed about the fear of change, if teachers can discover the benefits of technology and capitalize on those benefits, their teaching will be increasingly relevant to a fast-paced, always-changing culture. Maybe students’ spelling difficulties stem from archaic teaching methods that do not address their unique needs. Though linguistic purists may find the death knell in text-speak, studies have proven that since the advent of text messaging, students are both reading and writing exponentially more than in previous generations (Briggs 2). English teachers should be embracing that which excites students about writing and sharing their thoughts. They should be
integrating that technology into their classrooms, not shunning it because it is different or strange.

To take this phenomenon and capitalize on it in the English classroom could reap abundant benefits for an English teacher. Humans love to communicate with each other, as evidenced by the students texting under their desks during class and across the room to a friend. If language is build on the need to communicate, how great a benefit would emerge if the English teacher seized the opportunity to address text-speak in the classroom.

In seizing this opportunity to capitalize on the benefits of text messaging, the teacher must also teach the proper settings in which to use text-speak. In her article “The Death of English (LOL),” Lily Huang writes that the teenager who writes IOL in a term paper should be reprimanded, but more importantly, texting is “not so much a question of language ability as of judgment” (Huang). Making a distinction between ability and judgment is crucial. Once students are continually reminded that the classroom and the workplace are not acceptable arenas to loose their fingers upon their cell phone keypads, but that text-speak has a proper time, concerns about text messaging would diminish. After all, text-speak is not a matter of language dominance, but of improper timing. If all could see the benefits of text-speak as Lily Huang optimistically does and realize that “texting is a penchant for innovation, not linguistic laziness,” we might better reach the upcoming generation of students in teaching spelling and grammar, instead of using text-speak as a scapegoat for all linguistic concerns.

BIBLIOGRAHPY

In the last century, Detroit’s automobile manufacturers have experienced a long, tumultuous relationship with black workers. The prospect of work or the hope that northern cities would be free of the segregation rampant in the South brought waves of African Americans northward during the Great Migration of the early twentieth century and the employment boom of the World War II era. Many of them came to Detroit, which was reputed to be a city of unsurpassed economic opportunity. The resulting rise in Detroit’s black population was astounding. In 1910 there were 5,741 blacks living in Detroit. By the 1940 census, that number had skyrocketed and 149,119 blacks reported living in the city. However, this Northward shift of black labor was met with racist attitudes. Southern whites who also traveled to Detroit seeking work brought their racial prejudices to the city’s manufacturing plants, and Detroit, like most northern cities of the time, was not an idyllic, racism-free community. The majority of workers were institutionalized into a system where white workers kept semi-skilled and skilled jobs while blacks were restricted to janitorial work, foundry jobs, or general labor. The arrangement also put black workers in a constant struggle against the white authority that prevented their quest for upward mobility and equality both in and out of the manufacturing plants. In addition to two major riots, the city often experienced smaller racially related riots, strikes, and protests.

Civil unrest in Detroit was heavily influenced by public frustration with the automobile manufacturers, where blacks had constantly experienced discrimination and racially driven conflict. This paper will examine the catalysts for both the 1943 and 1967 Detroit riots that can be seen in the employment practices of the automobile industry, the working conditions found in manufacturing plants, the troubled relationship between black workers and unions, conflicts between black and white workers, and the endemic housing shortage created by industry recruitment. While these employment and labor issues are cited frequently by scholars as a catalyst for the 1967 riot, there is little attention given to their influence on the 1943 incident. Most scholarship focused on rioting and employment interprets the events as unconnected disturbances and analyzes one event, typically the 1967 riot, rather than comparing the two riots. Instead, the 1943 riot is labeled a race riot because groups of white men targeted and fought groups of black men. Yet in 1943 there was also widespread lawlessness, looting, and destruction, just as in 1967. This paper will serve as a comprehensive analysis of precursors to both the riots by looking at the common conditions that caused automobile worker dissatisfaction and social unrest before the troubles of 1943 and 1967.

The first Detroit riot began on June 20, 1943 on Belle Isle, a large island park in the Detroit River where around 100,000 people had gathered to enjoy the weekend weather. Small scuffles throughout the day between blacks and whites gradually escalated into a full-scale riot that continued across the Jefferson Avenue Bridge and spilled into Detroit. Rumors of a black woman and her baby being drowned circulated among the black community while stories of a race war passed through the white community. Although these stories of murder proved false, their emotionally charged nature incited more people to join the fray.

Once the police began to physically contain the violence to the black neighborhood of Paradise Valley, the black rioters looted stores, destroyed property, and confronted police officers, lashing out against “symbols of white domination.” Federal troops were eventually called in to help Michigan police quell the riot. In three days, 675 people were seriously injured, 1,893 were arrested, and 34 people were killed; 25 of those killed were black. An estimated $2 million in property damage was reported. Even after the violence was stopped, conditions were far from normal. A city-wide curfew
took effect, events were canceled, and thousands of black workers stayed away from their jobs, with total factory absenteeism estimated between 50 and 90 percent. In Washington D.C., a resolution was presented to Congress to investigate the race riot situation. A fact-finding committee was formed by Governor Harry F. Kelly that quickly identified the riot instigators solely as blacks and their militant leaders. A white bias was evident in the group, as several committee members were outspoken critics of blacks before their participation in the investigation. County Prosecutor William E. Dowling publicly blamed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Negro Press for dissent around the city, a statement supported by fellow committee member and Police Commissioner John Witherspoon. When the committee’s findings attributed the event to the black community’s pursuit of racial equality, the announcement was bitterly received by the black community and did little to soothe the tensions of the city.

The 1967 Detroit riot was longer and far more destructive than its predecessor. Lasting July 23 to 31, 1967, the riot would bring chaos to Detroit and again highlight the great inequalities that plagued the city. The initial disturbances broke out in the early morning hours of July 23 as the police completed a routine raid on an illegal drinking establishment, casually known as a “blind pig.” The crowd that gathered to watch the arrests soon began making threats and throwing bottles. Within a few hours store break-ins were being reported, beginning what would be a week of destruction and lawlessness. Just as in the 1943 riot, rioters struck out against supposed symbols of authority and white oppression, looting laundries, drug stores, and clothing shops. Within a day, a fire was raging across 10 solid city blocks and Michigan Governor George Romney ordered 1,500 National Guardsmen with tanks to assist state and local police with riot control.

The riot would prove to be the worst urban violence in the nation’s history. Around 7,200 people were arrested, over 700 people were injured and 43 others were killed in the violence. In the weeks after the riot, insurance companies would report about $85 million in reported damages. The General Adjustment Bureau, Inc. of Detroit showed that 538 business establishments had been destroyed, while 549 others were seriously damaged. The rioting also destroyed a dozen apartment buildings while causing serious damage to 12 others, leaving even more inner-city residents homeless in a city already pressed by housing shortages. Again, just as in 1943, high worker absenteeism during the riots impacted automobile production numbers at plants belonging to Ford, Chrysler, and Pontiac. National production numbers from the week of the riot totaled 45,032, compared with 80,884 vehicles assembled in the previous week. Unlike the 1943 riot, however, there were no reports of fighting between white and black mobs, only generalized vandalism and lawlessness.

Black automobile workers did clearly use the Detroit riots as an outlet for their frustrations with the industry. Of 197 arrested rioters interviewed after the 1943 riot, 46 were blacks employed at one of Detroit’s major automobile plants. A majority of the city’s automobile workers were absent during the riots, as some workers participated in the violence and others simply avoided the plants. Half of the white workers were reported absent, while black absenteeism rose to nearly 80 percent in some facilities. Worker riot participation increased during the second riot. In 1967, the University of Detroit’s Urban Law Center surveyed 1,200 arrested adults in the wake of the riots. Of the arrestees, half were at the time employed for Ford, Chrysler, or General Motors, and about two thirds of these men had no criminal record, indicating that many of the riot participants were previously law abiding citizens. The survey also found that participants identified a lack of jobs and overcrowded living conditions as the most serious grievances influencing the riot. The great proportional increase of automobile workers participating in the 1967 riot coupled with grievances related to working and living conditions indicates that workers were becoming more and more dissatisfied with their daily lives and prone to react, just as they had responded to the pressures of work and segregation in 1943.

In the years following both riots, scholars have looked to identify the cause of these violent outbursts. Although each incident was a reaction to a specific event—racially charged scuffles in 1943
and the break-up of a “blind pig” illegal drinking establishment in 1967—scholars agree that the riots did not simply break out spontaneously in calm environments. Rather, the incidents were in response to a gradual buildup of frustration in the streets of Detroit. Various situations and conditions in Detroit have been identified as the causes of each riot, but there has not historically been an agreement on which was the leading catalyst. Just after the 1943 riot, the University of Chicago Law Review attributed it and similar rioting incidents to “a maldirection of character” rather than a greater underlying cause. This view is reflective of predominantly white interpretations of the riot and observation of the racially driven fighting that filled the streets. Another interpretation, popular immediately after the 1967 riot and later discussed by Sydney Fine, is the belief that the 1967 rioting was a reaction to police behavior and brutality.

Fine argues that the police system was flawed and hostilities toward police were aroused by televised instances of police violence against civil rights demonstrators across the United States. Blacks had always expressed resentment of bigoted police behavior, but this resentment was communicated with greater gusto in the 1960s.

The predominant group of scholars examining the history of Detroit associate civil unrest with problems in labor and employment, but the focus of such scholarship is primarily centered on the buildup to the 1967 riot. Heather Thompson argues that frustrations in 1967 were high because of the racially divided environment that had developed in Detroit’s manufacturing plants. Black workers were fighting the same labor and civil rights battles that were being fought in the South. Thomas Sugrue specifically associates the slow transition away from discrimination that contributed to the riots with corporate executives who had a disproportionate influence on the city’s development because of their high employment numbers and economic power. In this type of situation, one company’s decision could easily and instantly affect thousands of workers. Dan Georgakas and Marvin Surkin emphasize the influence the unhealthy relationship between black workers and unions had on revolutionary behavior and events like the 1967 riot. When the 1943 riot is discussed by these scholars, it is usually as an introduction to Detroit’s history of civil disturbances, rather than as a connection or precursor to the 1967 event, because scholars classify it as a race riot, not a social riot. B.J. Widick draws the closest connection between the two riots when he cites the employment draw of World War II that created a “keg of social dynamite” that would linger on production lines as black workers clashed with whites, but he still goes on to emphasize the difference between the “race riot” of 1943 and the new “social riot” of 1967.

Job dissatisfaction and discrimination were one major cause of the social unrest that influenced the Detroit riots. From the early days of automobile production to the reinvigorated hiring trends of the 1960s, black workers were consistently left on the low end of the job ladder and wage scale, with few opportunities for advancement in an industry loaded with endemic, institutionalized racism. Discriminatory hiring practices put black workers at a disadvantage economically, making daily life a struggle for a large proportion of Detroit’s black population. The automobile industry was a major employer of blacks in Detroit, and in 1922 Ford Motor Company alone employed around 45 percent of all black workers. Comparatively, less than 20 percent of all white workers in Detroit worked for Ford. Despite high employment figures, there was little variation in the roles these workers were assigned, and 65 percent of blacks working in the automobile industry were in unskilled labor positions. Blacks found themselves exclusively employed in foundry or janitorial work, as few white men would willingly work in the hot, dirty conditions that accompanied foundry work and white workers would not tolerate the advancement of black workers to semi-skilled positions.

World War II brought defense manufacturing to Detroit, and with it came more jobs and more workers. It was estimated that war production activities would require 200,000 additional workers in Detroit alone, and many workers, black and white, migrated north seeking employment. Ford Motor Company was still the largest single employer of the increasing population of black workers, and in 1940 Ford employed over half of Detroit’s black men, nearly 53 percent. Increased hiring was not
accompanied by increased job variety, however, and the vast majority of these men were relegated to foundry and janitorial work. Industry-wide, blacks who could secure jobs with automobile manufacturers continued to find work only in the lowest levels of the manufacturing system. Of the 1,850 blacks working for Chrysler in 1941, 1,400 were in janitorial or foundry positions. Between 250 and 300 blacks worked for Cadillac Motors as janitors, foundry workers, and truck drivers. Similar employment trends existed, albeit with much smaller proportions of black workers, at smaller firms like Packard and Hudson Motor Car Company.35

Much of the discrimination that black automobile workers faced around the time of the 1943 riot stemmed from the transplant of racial attitudes from the South during the worker migration to Detroit. Many industry-wide employment practices were entwined with the racial dynamics inside manufacturing plants that made social disturbances in Detroit seem inevitable. Repeated confrontations between black and white workers contributed to the tensions growing in Detroit and mirrored the larger conflicts that would evolve outside the plants.36 White hatred of blacks was so strong during World War II that one white worker at Packard Motors vowed during a walkout that he would “rather see [Adolf] Hitler and [Japanese Emperor] Hirohito win” than work next to a black worker.37 Many black workers were disappointed because the racially driven environment of the automobile industry’s production plants was very similar to attitudes assumed left behind in the South.

The automobile industry’s discriminatory hiring practices fell even harder on black women. In a time when many women found it necessary to leave the home for a career because men were away at war, the auto manufacturers resisted hiring black women. There were thousands of positions available to women at the Ford Willow Run plant, but Ford avoided filling those spots with blacks. The company even went so far as to intentionally turn away skilled black women in favor of unskilled, white, female workers.38 After being threatened with a public hearing, Ford had employed 25,000 women at Willow Run by March 1943, but it amounted to a token change as fewer than 200 of those new employees were black.39

During the rehiring trend of the 1960s, blacks were again isolated in the same low wage divisions reserved for them in previous decades: foundry work, paint departments, and janitorial positions.40 In 1960, the disparity in occupational status of whites and blacks was still as dramatic as it had been two decades earlier. A little more than 70 percent of Detroit’s black workers were employed as laborers, operatives, and janitors, while only about a third of white workers were classified in similar positions. The automobile manufacturers still reserved a vast majority of skilled labor positions for white workers, even when black workers acquired the seniority and skills to be promoted: a quarter of Chrysler’s area plant employees were black, but blacks held only 24 of the company’s 7,425 skilled positions.41 Characteristic of the industry, 90 percent of the Dodge Main plant’s skilled positions were still held by whites. Even more revealing of the racial disparity, 99 percent of the plant’s foremen were white, even in departments completely populated by black workers.42 The institutionalized racism of old was still very much a reality in Detroit. Workers attempted to negotiate greater equality in the workplace, but their efforts usually brought little change. It seemed little had changed, and frustrations were growing among black auto workers. In 1963, black workers picketed the headquarters of the United Automobile Workers and General Motors Corporation in protest of workplace discrimination, demanding that all jobs be opened to black workers.43 Their efforts would bring no change to the racial stratification of the auto industry, fueling the despair and frustration felt by many in the black community.

In the days before the 1967 riot, General Motors released a statement defending its policies regarding the hiring and promotion of black workers after being targeted for boycotts by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., dealing yet another blow to those seeking equality. Louis G. Seaton, G.M.‘s vice president for labor relations, said many workers refused to be promoted to higher rated positions, “preferring to remain on their present jobs.”44 For the numerous black workers who felt trapped by the
system in such jobs, the statement was an insult. Despite the passage of time, black auto workers were held in positions determined by racially biased employers, just as they had in the years surrounding World War II.

Disputes over the employment of black workers lead to the frequent use of workplace disruptions around the industry by both blacks and whites around the time of the 1943 riot. Black walkouts were a common response to recurring job discrimination, while white strikes and walkouts became common at automobile plants when black workers were introduced or given advanced positions. These strikes usually resulted in a temporary shut-down of production, hurting the automobile industry and, during the war, the Allied war effort. At Packard Motor Car Company, 250 white workers staged a sit-down strike in September 1941, halting all unit operations, when just 2 black workers were brought to defense work from their jobs as polishers. In June 1942, white workers at Hudson Motor Company walked because several black workers were upgraded in the naval ordnance plant. Production was only resumed when Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox reminded Hudson management that the strikers could be fired and barred from the defense industry for their behavior. Just 13 days before the first Detroit riot, 25,000 white workers walked off their jobs at Packard because several blacks pursued higher positions through the company’s regular seniority channels.

Working conditions industry-wide were also a frequent cause for complaint among workers, and fueled the flames of unrest among the blacks of Detroit before both riots. Almost from the time the first automobile rolled off the assembly lines, working conditions were a problem in Detroit. After the war many manufacturing plants, especially those owned by Chrysler, were in desperate need of repair. In spite of their leaking or crumbling buildings, temporary solutions and patches were routinely favored industry-wide over major reconstruction efforts. The Dodge Main factory had been declared a fire hazard as early as 1948, but was still kept running at full capacity. Temperatures within most factories were known to fluctuate dramatically; in winters the shop floors were near freezing, while at the height of summer they could reach 120 degrees. Neither extreme was safe for the exposed workers, but often their only alternative was unemployment.

Working conditions in the major automobile manufacturers were infamous among the families of employees and cause for outrage in the communities outside the plants. Jobs at Ford Motor Company were notoriously intense, especially for black workers relegated to foundry work. One factor that remained unchanged for workers around the times of both riots was the exhausting pace forced on employees. In the early decades of auto manufacturing, the jobs given to blacks were so tiring, auto workers recalled sitting for a half hour after work, too tired to change clothes and go home. It was not uncommon to see multiple Ford workers sleeping on streetcars during the war, too worn out to stay awake for the journey home. The exhausting hours also took its toll on the home lives of auto workers. Workers struggled with simple tasks such as making it up the steps upon returning home and often took dinner in bed, where they would then barely move throughout the night. Rumors about Ford workers being unable to satisfy their wives sexually became city-wide jokes, likely dismayng the workers.

Even women working for the automobile industry felt the strain of the environment. Female workers who were laid off during post-war reorganization were surveyed by the United Automobile Workers, and 25 percent said they turned down new job offers because of the working conditions in the manufacturing plants. These women remained unemployed because the jobs offerd to them imposed too great a strain on their health or because their previous job was so physically demanding, they were not able to return to work. Detroit’s black auto workers could not withstand the constant physical deterioration of foundry work indefinitely, and the accompanying psychological deterioration that accompanied such exhaustion only stood to make workers more dissatisfied with the “Arsenal of Democracy” that had promised them prosperity. The majority of working blacks worked for the auto manufacturers, and the collective population quickly grew weary of the physical toll of war production.
After the end of World War II, working hours also took a hazardous turn. Non-production times were greatly reduced, limiting the allotted time each worker was given to eat lunch, rest, and prepare for work each day. Throughout the 1950s, the lure of overtime pay brought new workers to the automakers, but the overtime was often compulsory and eventually became standard policy for all manufacturers. Workers with already grueling schedules were expected to log up to four extra hours per shift daily, and many were also made to work Saturdays. The conditions in most plants had regressed so badly by the 1960s that the facilities began to resemble pre-union manufacturing facilities. The combination of longer hours and shorter breaks meant workers were even more tired on the job than in the past and thus had a greater probability of injury in an already hazardous environment. Increased physical demand made black workers even less willing to accept the slow or nonexistent changes toward equal opportunity in the industry.

Before the 1970s, there was no recorded data on the number of accidents and health problems related with the automobile industry, so little information is available to understand the exact physical toll extended hours and dilapidated facilities had on workers. A 1973 study on the health of auto industry workers nationwide brought attention to the complaints of workers and shed light on the true consequences of conditions in the manufacturing plants. Because Detroit was the main center of the automobile industry, the report was highly representative of conditions around the city. Titled “Health Research Group Study of Disease Among Workers in the Auto Industry,” the report examined the risks faced across the country in plants similar to those in Detroit. Working conditions in the automobile industry were found to be the cause of an estimated 65 on the job deaths per day, totaling around 16,000 deaths annually. More shocking than the death toll alone was the fact that almost half of these deaths were the result of a heart attack. These heart attacks were presumably brought on by the extreme temperatures and ever-increasing speed of the production lines. The study also found 63,000 cases of disabling disease brought on by work in automobile plants. As important as this data is, it is important to note that the study still does not include deaths or injuries due to accidents, exposure to toxins, or long term endemic illnesses specific to foundry work. Were the specific effects of foundry work to have been recorded, the numbers would undoubtedly reveal a higher percentage of black workers suffering the ill effects of work in the auto industry because of their isolation in these areas.

Another obstacle contributing to the unrest of black Detroit in the 1940s and 1960s was the ongoing volatile relationship between black workers and unions. The unions did little to consistently promote and help the cause of black workers, instead maintaining an ambiguous connection to black workers. Select black workers did receive promotions because of union intervention, but the unions typically allowed discrimination to continue in the auto industry. The United Automobile Workers’ official position promised to provide equal seniority rights and promotions for all members, but the UAW allowed the existing pattern of discrimination to go unchallenged during World War II. Such behavior contributed to the constantly growing frustration among black workers and tensions between the black and white workers.

The relationship between unions and blacks had a weak start because of the racial composition of early union activities. Wary of the sweeping promises of equality delivered by union leaders, black workers typically remained neutral and did not participate in early sit-down strikes at Ford, Chrysler, or General Motors. Of the 400 blacks employed at the Chrysler Kercheval plant during the 1937 sit-in, only three remained for the strike. Automobile manufacturers also abused this early unsteady union-worker relationship to aggravate racial tensions in the plants and slow the formation of unions. When early unions were recruiting members in 1937, Ford Motor Company began hand-picking black workers to serve as armed guards against the organizing workers, who were predominantly white. This maneuver, paired with the early black skepticism of union promises resulted in a longstanding, underlying conflict between black workers and unions.
Union response to black seniority channel requests was limited. During the transition to defense production at the beginning of World War II, black workers were laid off in droves because fewer foundry workers were needed in military production. A transfer program sponsored by the United Automobile Workers promised all laid off employees would be rehired within the defense industry based on ability and seniority, but official rankings of blacks were repeatedly ignored in favor of white workers on all levels. In another situation, when new white workers were unexpectedly promoted past black sweepers who had requested upgrades through seniority in 1943, the local union response was simple: “We can’t do anything.” While 100,000 black workers had joined the UAW by 1944, they only comprised about 10 percent of the union’s total membership, and were thus still a minority voice within the group. Black workers grew increasingly frustrated with poor union representation as their membership numbers increased yet union support and employment options remained stagnant. Too often, blacks found that it was far easier for the UAW to attend to the needs of its primarily white membership and leave the increasingly angry black workers in the foundry than to counter the disapproval of a large number of white union members when black worker mobility was supported.

The uneasy relationship between the United Automobile Workers and blacks did not improve during the 1960s. Several decades of black union membership had passed, but the union still made little noise for black demands. The UAW also made little commotion about a common new practice where workers could be dismissed at will before their first 90 days had passed because they would not yet be under the protection of a full contract. The major automobile companies now made a practice of firing hundreds of workers per week in this way, creating a permanently rotating pool of job seekers. This policy was especially hurtful to the black workers brought in to work unskilled jobs that could easily be performed by another unemployed man waiting at the plant gate. The UAW actually earned a modest amount from this cyclical pattern of abuse directed at new workers; each 89-day worker delivered a $20 initial fee and $21 in dues to the union. Black workers felt betrayed by their unions and their employers, who seemed to be taking the easiest route to production and profits rather than finally acknowledging decades of worker complaints and requests for equality.

Black workers were also likely to participate in any developing civil disturbances because of the lasting housing predicament created by the early expansion of the automobile industry. Early industry recruitment made no efforts to accommodate the growing housing shortage, and instead added to the problem by continuing to welcome more workers, contributing yet again to the social decay that led to rioting. The shortage that resulted would only become worse as blacks continued to migrate to the Detroit area after the war. Blacks interviewed after both riots expressed their frustration at segregated, overcrowded living conditions in Detroit. World War II brought scores of workers into the city, and between 1940 and 1943, 190,000 migrants had already joined Detroit’s crowded streets. During the war, new workers crowded existing residences and moved into trailer camps and shanty towns around new factories. Housing options for workers were so limited that some men employed at Chrysler resorted to rented rooms in shifts. The company rented out rooms in old homes surrounding the manufacturing plant, and the day shift workers would vacate their rooms just as the late shift came to fill their beds. These conditions were far from the prosperous ideal pitched by industry recruitment, and left workers, especially blacks, disillusioned with their condition.

The biggest auto worker housing crisis involved the Sojourner Truth Housing Project, which became the center of racially driven conflict in 1942. After the housing project changed designation between groups of white and black workers several times, the new homes were appointed to black workers for occupancy by the Office of Defense Housing Coordination. Because the housing project was located in a predominantly white district, the surrounding community protested the decision and blocked black families from entering the neighborhood, sparking a small riot. The families were eventually moved into the homes under the watch of soldiers and local and state police.
housing projects around the city continued to also be a strain on government agencies. Providing 15,000 homes for new workers around the new Ford bomber plant was estimated to cost more than building the actual manufacturing facility. The Federal Housing Authority’s ability to keep up with new housing demands in Detroit did not improve by the end of the war. In the summer of 1944, the housing authority promised 2,398 housing units by the end of the year for black workers at the Ford Willow Run plant, but workers were still woefully in need of housing. Executive Director of the Detroit branch of the NAACP Gloster B. Current noted in a letter to Detroit Common Council member George C. Edwards that even with the promised Willow Run homes, 17,000 more housing units were needed just to fulfill the current housing need.

By the time the 1967 riot broke out, housing conditions had reached a crisis level. Whites had fled from the city to the suburbs en masse in the years following the war, leaving the growing black population in the city proper and dynamically separating an already segregated population. More black workers continued moving into Detroit’s central areas, many seeking jobs in the auto industry, packing densely into a limited area and unable to expand as their white counterparts constructed new homes across the suburbs. By 1960, the population of blacks in Detroit had grown to 482,229—up from 300,506 in 1950 and far above the 149,119 who were counted in 1940—but available housing had not followed the exponential growing trend. The inner-city areas where most black auto workers lived in 1967 had 100,000 housing units that were either overcrowded or in substandard condition. Despite the ever-growing demand for repairs and new housing, the last new public housing structure had been built in 1957, a full decade earlier.

In its troubled history, Detroit has been the site of major industrial production and innovation, but the city has also witnessed some of the most violent social conflicts in United States history. It took two major riots and several decades of social inequality and unrest to bring serious attention to the demands of black workers living in Detroit. Although they were separated by nearly 25 years, the 1943 and 1967 riots were marked by nearly identical working and living conditions for Detroit’s blacks, and the riots should be considered as connected events influenced by the overarching influence of a major local employer, the auto manufacturers. The automobile industry provided its black workers with low wages, nonexistent advancement opportunities, racially motivated hiring practices, discrimination within unions, and industry-created housing shortages, which all weighed heavily on Detroit at the time of both riots.

The events of 1943 and 1967 are too often regarded as independently occurring blemishes on Detroit’s past, but the riots were only chronologically separated by 24 years. By analyzing the riots as unconnected events in a history of racial and cultural conflict, one loses the vastness of the struggle of the black auto worker. It is important to note that the second riot did not simply grow because of the concurrent civil rights movement, but was the result of many years of grievances with roots in the changing structure of Detroit’s 1940s workforce. Overworked, underrepresented, and underpaid black auto workers did not just begin to raise their voices in opposition during the height of the civil rights movement. Their struggle began when Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler opened their doors to supplement the workforces of automobile and defense industries. The 1943 riot is often simply labeled a “race riot,” but its participants were expressing the same resentments that would become national news again two decades later. There are great similarities in the catalysts for the two riots, and the 1943 “race riot” should be reevaluated as the first major social riot to bring national attention to conflict in Detroit. A peaceful relationship between worker and industry did not emerge after the first riot or the close of World War II, and the social tensions in Detroit were not eliminated, connecting the two eras. The same battles for equality continued throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, slowly boiling within the manufacturing plants and crowded ghettos until the dramatic events of July 1967.
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II. Articles
The Confederate States of America lost the Civil War or, one might also say, that the United States of America won the Civil War. The difference in emphasis suggests that, Northern victory and Southern defeat are not the same. Northern victory implies that the major Northern advantages, including heavy industry, extensive transportation networks, a more advanced economy, larger population, and a larger military were too much for the South to match. Southern defeat implies that the South lost because it did not have any of the advantages available to Northerners. This explanation, however, is not complete enough to explain Southern defeat. The enormous physical size of the South (larger than Western Europe) combined with a largely defensive war could have been enough to force the Union to concede. One other element that Southerners hoped would come to their aid was a sense of nationalism that they felt simply did not exist in the Union but overflowed in the Confederacy. Not only did Southern leadership vastly underestimate the Northern sense of patriotism and will to fight, they greatly overestimated their own national cohesion. This great social miscalculation on the part of Southerners tipped the scale into the Union’s favor.

Prior to the Civil War, Southern nationalism existed as a reality inasmuch as Southerners perceived it to be real. During the two decades preceding the Civil War, Southern intellectual and political thought held that the South possessed a distinct political and cultural identity. This nationalist theory provided the impetus for the secession of Southern states and the willingness of Southerners for fight for the Confederacy in the Civil War. The Civil War exposed the cracks in Southern national cohesion, which contributed to the Confederacy’s defeat.

The roots of Southern nationalism stretch far back into the antebellum period. At one time, most states, North and South, were slave states. Slowly, due to a number of factors, chiefly moral and religious outcries as well as the impracticality of slave labor in many Northern areas, most Northern states began abolishing slavery. By the turn of the nineteenth century, slavery had become an institution almost completely relegated to the Southern half of the United States. There too, slavery appeared to be dying, as the chief uses for slave labor in the colonial period—the tobacco plantations of Virginia and Maryland—were no longer profitable. When Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin in 1793, the focus of slavery shifted from tobacco production in the north to cotton production in the Deep South. Cotton made slavery a worthwhile enterprise once again and the Southern economy became forever locked into agriculture. Political disputes such as the 1820 Missouri Compromise, the Nullification Crisis of 1832, westward expansion, the Compromise of 1850, and the Fugitive Slave Law all contributed to divide North and South. Beginning in the 1830s, a feeling of Southern isolation and Northern antagonism toward slavery began to fuel Southern nationalism. By the time of the political crises of the late 1850s following the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Dred Scott decision, Southern national pride threatened to dissolve the Union.

Prior to 1820, the number of slave and free states was equal. This meant that the number of senators representing slave and free states was also equal. Southerners also made up over forty percent of the representatives in Congress. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 was the first of a series of actions made by the federal government to keep the slave and free portions of America relatively equal in power and prevent either side from gaining an advantage. The increased power of the North, however, was inevitable. The North attracted more European immigrants and thrived on an urban, industrial economy. The population of the North exploded while the Southern population grew slowly. Thus, the North was able to expand westward and open more free territories faster than the South could open.
new slave territories. The Nullification Crisis of 1832 made it known to Southern politicians—particularly those from South Carolina—that the needs of the North were beginning to come first. In the eyes of Southerners, later actions only seemed to confirm this fact. Historian John McCardell writes, “Southern nationalism emerged when sizable numbers of Southerners began to perceive that their own set of shared interests were becoming increasingly incompatible with those of the rest of the Union and were, in fact, being threatened.”

The election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency in 1860 ignited the strongest Southern national sentiment. Secessionists feared that the election of a Republican would spark the beginning of a national abolition campaign to rid the south of slavery. For Southern nationalists, proslavery was the position around which Southerners could unite. Slavery subsumed every issue relevant to Southern politics, whether economic expansion, internal improvements, the tariff, or Manifest Destiny. Secessionism would not have gained any strength at the polls or at state conventions if the fervor of nationalism had not convinced Southerners that the only way to save their way of life was to form a new country. According to McCardell, the real Southern nationalists were “the growing, conscious, and vocal minority of Southerners [who] believed that the only way for the South to retain its rights was to sever the bonds of Union on the grounds that the Constitutional compact had been violated.”

Lincoln’s unwillingness to give up Fort Sumter and his call for 75,000 troops convinced the Southern nationalists that the time had come to defend their way of life with a war of independence.

When the call went out for volunteers to serve in the Confederate Army, the volunteers came. The majority of soldiers who volunteered to fight for the Confederacy in 1861 and 1862 did not own slaves, nor were a majority of them connected to the plantation economy. What they did possess, however, was a strong sense of patriotism. Confederate soldiers went to fight because they held to strong ideological beliefs for the independence of the South and their unique way of life. Soldiers joined up from the ranks of the Slave Power and yeoman farmers alike, from urban merchants and professionals to college students. As the acclaimed Civil War historian James McPherson states, “For Union and Confederate volunteers alike, abstract symbols or concepts such as country, flag, Constitution, liberty, and the legacy of the Revolution figured prominently in explanations of why they enlisted.”

McPherson examined thousands of soldier’s letters, diaries, and other correspondence to and from the home front and reports that the original volunteers of 1861-62 joined up largely out of patriotism and ideology. In his book, What They Fought For, 1861-1865, McPherson writes, “The letters and diaries of many Confederate soldiers bristled with rhetoric of liberty and self-government and with expressions of a willingness to die for the cause.”

The swell of volunteers to the Confederate Army arose because secession aroused the nationalist sentiment of Southerners that had been building for decades.

One source of the patriotic fervor among Rebel soldiers was a deep conviction that the Confederate States of America and her people were the true custodians of the legacy of the American Revolution. Southerners felt they fought against a tyrannical government not unlike the colonists who fought against Britain eighty years earlier. Another core motivation was simply the defense of slavery. Slavery created a very rigid social structure and a society that hinged upon racism. For many volunteers, patriotism to the Confederacy meant fighting to uphold the institution that defined the C.S.A.’s very existence. Drew Gilpin Faust writes, “Confederate citizenship and the defense of slavery were inextricably intertwined; theirs was to be an evangelical nationalism, with slavery as an essential component of Confederate identity.”

Of course, those soldiers with a direct tie to slavery and the plantation economy wrote explicitly about protecting the South’s chief institution, the word most frequently used in place of slavery. However, many volunteers with little or no connection to slavery wrote extensively about protecting the institution simply for the sake of racism. White dirt farmers from mountainous regions may have been poorer than planters from the Cotton Belt were, but at least they were not slaves. The yeoman farmers and Slave Power elite were equals in that both were white.
McPherson writes that this form of “Herrenvolk democracy” was a common Southern ideological motivator.\footnote{4}

Following large-scale Union invasion of Confederate territory in 1862, the average Rebel soldier enlisted to defend his home and family. Certainly, this “defense of hearth and home” sentiment could take the form of patriotic or national pride, but when the invading Northern army came near, nationalism took lost out to family obligation. One of the contributing factors to desertion from the Confederate army was fear for families at home. Many soldiers left the army to care for and protect their destitute loved ones, especially in the second half of the war when Union troops began occupying large regions of the South. Southern historian Joe Mobley writes that it makes a good deal of sense that poor soldiers were more concerned about the welfare of their families than the Confederate nation: “Confederate troops were paid poorly and inconsistently, and the army had no program to send a portion of their pay automatically home to their families.”\footnote{5} Another common manifestation of this philosophy included defense of one’s home state over defense of the Confederacy as a whole. The very nature of antebellum Southern political thought, Southern nationalism, the secession movement, and the political culture of the Confederacy valued state power and state loyalty over national power and national loyalty. State loyalty first manifested itself in the discontent of volunteers from Union-controlled border states such as Missouri and Kentucky who felt the C.S.A. was not doing enough to liberate their states. As the Union came to control Confederate territory, many soldiers resented the national government and the army for relocating them to the defense of a state that was not their own. State loyalty contributed to the Confederacy’s high rate of desertion during the second half of the war. The most striking example was the dissolution of the Army of Tennessee that followed defeats at Nashville and Franklin and a retreat of the army into Mississippi. The portion of the army that had retreated was a shell of its former self, depleted by both battle losses and desertions of native Tennesseans.\footnote{6}

The nationalistic fervor and exceedingly ideological character of the Confederate armed forces began to dissipate following the calling of a conscription draft in late 1862. By the end of the war’s second year, the waves of strong patriotic volunteers had begun to dry up and the South was in grave need of soldiers. The Confederate government had no choice but to begin drafting soldiers. According to McPherson, “The prototypical unwilling soldier who expressed no patriotic sentiments...was a non-slaveholding Southern married farmer with small children who was drafted in 1862 or enlisted only to avoid being drafted.”\footnote{7} With all of the most fervent patriots already in the field, it only follows that those drafted would have come from the ranks of Southerners who did not hold strong ideological convictions sympathetic to the Confederacy. This became especially true after the C.S.A. enacted dozens of draft exemptions that left many Southerners directly connected to the slave establishment free of military obligation. The most obnoxious of these exemptions was the so-called “Twenty-Negro Law,” which exempted any man who owned or worked on a plantation of twenty or more slaves from military service. Indeed, the majority of deserters from the Confederate army were draftees, mostly poor white farmers with no ideological ties to the Slave Power.\footnote{8}

Not only did conscription work to advance the Confederacy’s high desertion rate—a rate of nearly one in three soldiers at war’s end, and estimated to be around one in nine soldiers throughout the war—but it also worked to increase dissension on the home front.\footnote{9} Civil War popular historian Randall C. Jimerson writes that the Confederate draft and its plethora of exemptions “symbolized the special privileges accorded to the rich.”\footnote{10} The draft was just one of many elements that placed the burden of war largely on the shoulders of poor folks and non-slaveholding farmers, people who did not traditionally trust the central government. Many Southerners, rich and poor alike, viewed the draft as an overreach of the Confederate government’s power and a violation of states’ rights as well as of their own personal freedom. State governments, particularly North Carolina and Georgia, objected to what they saw as an infringement on their sovereignty.\footnote{11} Conscription existed because the Confederacy did
not possess the requisite number of ideologically and patriotically motivated troops to sustain a volunteer army. The C.S.A. turned to the draft before the war had elapsed two years, almost a year before the Union experimented with conscription. Jimerson writes, “The failure of conscription to solve the army’s manpower shortages indicates how serious disaffection had become.” While it is true that for the volunteers of 1861-62, nationalistic fervor remained alive until the end, their numbers dropped precipitously as the war of attrition dragged on and 1862-63 conscripts took the place of volunteers.

The last word on desertion must go to historian Paul Escott, who writes, “The large desertions from the Southern armies represented an overall judgment by the common people on Jefferson Davis’ policies. The action of thousands of soldiers proved that his government had failed to meet their needs and build the kind of morale necessary to endure a long and difficult struggle.”

Despite the initially enormous wave of passionate, patriotic volunteers who signed up in 1861 and 1862, and the hundreds of thousands of conscripts drafted into service from 1863 to the end of the war, a number of Southerners managed to escape duty to their new country. Unlike other shirkers of duty, they did not accomplish this through one of the many draft exemptions, these men were Unionists who blatantly ignored the law and evaded military service. Unionism, conveniently, happened to be strongest in those areas of the South that were inaccessible to draft agents. These areas included the mountainous regions of the South: western Virginia, eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina, northern Alabama, and northern Georgia were all home to either pro-Union majorities or yeoman farmers who were indifferent to the Southern cause. Once Northern troops liberated these areas, many of them quite easily, thousands of pro-Union Southerners joined the Yankee ranks. Unionists in West Virginia, of course, were the most successful, as they promptly seceded from the Confederacy and rejoined the Union. Approximately 100,000 men from the Middle South states of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia (mostly by way of the invention of West Virginia) joined the Union army. Given the troop shortages faced by the Confederacy, the loss and defection of 100,000 potential fighting men to the Union was devastating.

The Slave Power only represented a small portion of the Confederacy’s population in 1861. The 1860 census reports that just one-third of Southern white families owned slaves and the average number of slaves owned was around ten. More than half of the slave population belonged to the twelve percent of owners who held at least twenty slaves. In addition, secession was not an automatic phenomenon in many states. While South Carolina, the first to secede, did so almost unanimously, the other Deep South states that followed in the winter of 1860-61—Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Louisiana—seceded with considerable dissension and secession resolutions barely passed in some of those states. The other states that made up the Confederacy seceded only after President Lincoln called up troops in the days before Fort Sumter. Although North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Arkansas seceded with little problem in response to Union military mobilization, voters in those states had struck down earlier secession attempts, originally preferring to remain in the Union. Finally, the remaining slave states—Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware never seceded at all and entertained the idea of secession only briefly. Despite this, the Confederate government believed that if given the chance, the Border States would certainly defect to their side. This theory became apparent through military invasions of Southern armies into Kentucky and Maryland in 1862 with the expressed purpose of demoralizing the enemy and gathering Rebel soldiers. Both campaigns ended in disaster for the Confederacy and neither managed to gain any substantial troop support from Kentuckians or Marylanders. While it is true that as many as one third of the fighting age men in Border States did form Confederate regiments, the other two thirds either formed Union regiments or remained entirely indifferent. Of these states, Kentucky had the strongest sense of neutrality, with almost seventy-one percent of its fighting age men refusing to join either army. The Union raised over 200,000 soldiers from the supposed Southerners of the Border States, while the Confederacy only mustered 90,000 from the border region.
Losing the Border States to the Union hurt the Confederacy in more ways than simply troop numbers. It meant the loss of the industrial cities of St. Louis, Louisville, and Baltimore. Together, these three cities were larger than the fourteen largest Confederate cities combined. According to historian William Freehling, “By gaining the border, the rebel nation would have doubled its factory capacity and bridged its most crippling industrial gap: the capacity to make and repair ships and railroads.”

Freehling mostly focused on the industrial power of Baltimore and St. Louis to provide the means for maintenance of a viable naval and railroad infrastructure, but the Border States were far more industrialized than states further south. Another important asset that the Border States could have provided the South was an expansion of Confederate territory all the way to the Ohio River. The Confederacy already encompassed a very large land area, and the addition of four states plus the Ohio River as a defensive barrier would have been a wonderful bonus. In addition, Washington, D.C. would have been isolated in Confederate territory. As Freehling points out, “By compromising the Confederacy’s manpower, economy, and especially strategic position, the borderland’s Unionism yielded an early military turning point, one that gave the Federals an enormous head start.”

The simple fact that Border States failed to defect to the Confederacy contributed to the Confederacy’s defeat. The war may have been very different if it had pitted every free state against every slave state. Secession was not a foregone conclusion in Southern states because Southerners were not completely united in support of slavery. The patriotic fervor that swept across the south faded away during the war, exposing the hidden resentment of the Slave Power among poor white farmers. Freehling writes about the existence of “The Three Souths,” that is, the Lower South, the Middle South, and the previously discussed Border States, or Upper South. The Lower South—South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas—all seceded prior to Lincoln’s inauguration, while the Middle South states—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas—only seceded after the fighting began, while the Upper South states, of course, never seceded. In 1860, the Lower South contained 59% of America’s slaves and had the strongest slave industries: cotton, sugar, and rice. The Middle South states contained only 30% of the slave population and had limited plantation agriculture, mainly cotton and tobacco. The border states of the Upper South had the remaining 11% of slaves and did not grow cotton, sugar, or rice, the three major plantation crops.

With the Slave Power skewed to the states of the Lower South, sustaining a common nationalism throughout the Confederacy proved difficult. The skewed geographic distribution of those who most supported the war would not have been a problem if the war took place closer to their doorstep. Instead, with exception, such as Sherman’s March and the siege of Vicksburg, the majority of Civil War fighting occurred outside the Lower South. The horrible experience of war fell on those regions that were only passively in support of secession. The planter elite recognized this fact of war and formulated propaganda to encourage non-slaveholders to support the establishment. As Jimerson writes, “It was risky to make slavery the explicit primary justification of a revolution for which non-slaveholders were asked to fight and die.”

The war exposed class tensions and led to foot soldiers and their families grumblings about “a rich man’s war but a poor man’s fight.”

In addition to encouraging dissension from those not connected to the Slave Power, slavery and the plantation economy actually worked to impede the Confederate war effort. The conviction of secessionists and the planter elite to fight to protect slavery at all costs led to a number of problems that compromised the C.S.A. economically, politically, and militarily. This strong desire to save slavery also set Southerners up for failure as the institution collapsed under the weight of the Civil War and worked to compromise Southern morale. First, planters, despite the eventual legal urgings of the Confederate government, were unwilling to switch from cotton production to food production. Fields that could have grown corn or wheat kept growing cotton. Planters could have hedged the rampant food shortages the South endured during the war. Many planters viewed laws restricting cotton production as on overextension of government power and thereby, worth ignoring. As historian, James
L. Roark has astutely declared, that despite Confederate hindrances to plantation agriculture, “when the needs of the plantation clashed with the demands of the Confederacy, planters usually chose the homestead over the homeland.” Cotton production actually became more intensive as Southerners futilely kept hoping that Britain and France would come to their aid for the sake of cotton. Some states did not help matters by refusing to enforce national laws restricting cotton production and encouraging food production. Independently minded North Carolina and Georgia as well as cotton heavyweights Mississippi and Alabama tended to ignore Richmond’s calls for food production.

Militarily, slavery did nothing but exacerbate the nagging problem of Confederate troop shortages. Although it is true that a great deal of the patriotic volunteers of 1861 and 1862 came directly from the slave establishment, volunteers seemed to be all that the planter elite was willing to contribute. The inordinate number of draft exemptions that either applied to people working for or in conjunction with King Cotton kept a number of military-age men from the field. The majority of draftees were poor white farmers with little or no connection to slavery. Slavery also encouraged some volunteers to desert for fear that their women and children were at the mercy of the slaves at home. (This was part of the impetus for the infamous “Twenty Negro Law.”) The unwillingness of the slave establishment to authorize the arming of slaves also contributed to the Confederacy’s troop shortages. Southern nationalism adhered to the most racist justifications for slavery, mostly to appeal to nonslaveholding whites who held no other support for slavery beyond its importance for social control and keeping blacks in their rightful place. Southern nationalism rested on slavery and white supremacy. Arming slaves and converting slave power into military power would have meant admitting blacks were less inferior, if not equal to whites. The South did place a number of slaves in Confederate gray, but only in desperation during 1865, long after the tide had turned against the Rebels. While it is hard to say how many slaves would have remained in uniform, abstaining from desertion, or how many concessions the South would have had to make to convince slaves to keep from deserting, a large number of slave regiments would have been helpful. This was especially true after slaves began fleeing plantations to serve in Union camps. Freehling points out that, “The Southern whites and blacks who expanded the Union army, and the unavailability of half the Slave South’s population to augment the Confederate army, were a natural outcome of the very nature of Slave South society.” Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephens provides an apt summation of Confederate feeling towards the issue, “The Confederacy’s cornerstone rests upon the great truth, that the Negro is not equal to the white man.” Southerners intended to preserve slavery to the last, even though keeping slaves from the front lines compromised their position militarily, a fact that the Confederate military and government acknowledged but did very little to rectify.

Slavery fell apart during the war. While slaves did not leave the plantation to work Confederate lines until the last months of the war, slaves began to flee for Union lines as early as 1862. Mass slave desertions whenever the Union army came near demoralized Southern society. The slave establishment long believed that slaves were happy and content with their situation. Paternalistic slave masters provided food and clothing for inferior people who would otherwise be helpless on their own. McCordell summarizes the paternalistic argument: slavery was the natural position for Negroes, they were to serve the whites; in return, whites would protect Negroes from themselves. The Civil War turned the paternalistic justification for slavery on its head. Slaves fled plantations in droves, not because of their own stupidity and ingratitude, as many Southerners believed, but because slaves hated slavery and relished the notion of leaving their hellish situation behind. Freehling estimates that over 500,000 slaves defected during the Civil War—one eighth of the slave population. The war may not have convinced plantation owners of their crime against humanity, but it did rob them of their livelihood through slave desertion. Jimerson writes, “In many areas of the Confederacy slave desertions brought agricultural operations to a standstill and left society in chaos.” Jimerson goes on to say that although the economic cost was heavy, the psychological cost on the planter elite may have been higher: “The extent
of [slaves’] disaffection shattered slaveowners’ self-image as benevolent patriarchs by showing that the slave’s love for his master existed primarily in the planter’s own imagination.\textsuperscript{44} The self-ruination of the plantation economy contributed to the demoralization of Southern society and economic decline.

The plantation economy also hurt the South during the war by leaving the Confederacy vastly unprepared for waging a nineteenth century war. Slavery trapped the south into an economy that was almost entirely rural. Commerce centered around production grown on the plantation. Economic diversification was something foreign to the planter elite. Business leaders and entrepreneurs attempted to diversify the Southern economy beyond plantation agriculture throughout the 1840s and 1850s, but Southern nationalists hijacked the campaign and transformed it into a campaign to strengthen cotton, sugar, and rice production.\textsuperscript{45} State governments and entrepreneurs did not encourage the growth of industry because slavery was so profitable. The North, on the other hand, encouraged free labor industry. Even Northern slave states, such as Missouri and Maryland, were somewhat industrialized. While the south managed to put together a viable munitions industry that kept the troops supplied with guns, other types of war necessities were constantly running a shortage.

The C.S.A. underwent one of the most rapid processes of industrialization of any country in the Western world. The sudden industrial transformation was overwhelming for many Southerners and met considerable cultural resistance in a region that had always been rural. For the true antebellum Southern nationalist, “To build railroads, to encourage commerce, even to contemplate manufacturing, was to copy the Yankee, the epitome of everything evil, grasping, and non-Southern.”\textsuperscript{46} Many people refused to work in factories and slave owners refused to allocate slaves to factory work—again for fear that, it might make blacks equal to whites.\textsuperscript{47} In the end, rapid wartime industrialization was not nearly enough to match the level of productivity from Union factories.

A primarily rural economy led to the next major problem for the Confederacy in waging war: poor national infrastructure. The Confederacy did not possess a standardized system of railroads and highways to facilitate effective transnational mobility. This, again, relates back to the Southern nationalist stranglehold on Southern economic thought. As long as cotton and the plantation economy were profitable, there was no need for large-scale infrastructure. Southern politicians had long disapproved of allocating government money for internal improvements, and why should they: the plantation economy did not demand the need for vast transportation networks. All Southern farmers needed were enough highways and railroads to get goods to market.\textsuperscript{48} The South possessed very few roads that crossed the entire region, let alone crossing state lines. In addition, not all of the trans-Confederate roads were paved.

Compared to surface roads, railroads were more extensive but, again, only a small number of railroads crossed state lines. Perhaps the strangest characteristic regarding Confederate railroads was that lines belonging to competing rail companies did not connect in cities, or anywhere, for that matter. A number of cities, Richmond included, prohibited companies from laying track within city limits. Goods had to be unloaded at one end of the city, carted through town, and then reloaded at the other end of town. Another major problem was the issue of competing gauges. Different companies and states built railroads in varying gauges. Southern railroads could have operated on one of eleven different rail gauges in 1860. Shipping an item from New Orleans to Atlanta, for example, took a very long time because the cargo would constantly have move from one gauge of track to another. In addition to logistical problems, the Confederacy underestimated the need to upkeep the railroads during a time of war and there was a significant resistance to using slave labor for railroad upkeep from both the government and slaveowners. Historian Clement Eaton writes, “Confederate leaders did not recognize the supreme need for the government to take vigorous control over the railroads and the\textit{laissez-faire} ideas of the people and their devotion to constitutionalism militated against government seizure.”\textsuperscript{49}

The ineffective transportation networks within the Confederacy were indicative of how the doctrine of states’ rights may have worked to injure the Confederate war effort. Southern historian
Frank Owsley has written that the Confederacy “Died of states’ rights.” Jimerson expands on Owsley’s thesis, writing, “States’ rights impeded the Confederate quest for independence by weakening the spirit of cooperation and shared sacrifice essential for unity.” The Confederate national government was not strong enough to administer the necessary wartime policies. The new C.S.A. government and its constitution reflected Southern agrarian interests: “Protective tariffs, bounties, and appropriations for internal improvements were outlawed.” The national government relied on states to enforce federal policy, and many states often ignored or only half-heartedly worked on behalf of Richmond. North Carolina governor Zebulon Vance and his administration were especially critical of national government policy and took actions that protected North Carolina interests at the expense of the rest of the Confederacy. These actions included the creation of a North Carolina state militia untouchable by the C.S.A. government, failure of the Raleigh government to enforce President Davis’ call for suspension of habeas corpus, and resistance to conscription laws. The fact that North Carolina contained a majority of the South’s textile mills and was not opposed to withholding some of that production from the national government did not help ease tensions. The only other state that could have rivaled North Carolina in its stubbornness was Georgia. Led by its governor Joseph E. Brown, Georgia opposed many C.S.A. policy decisions vital to the war effort. Supporting the governor in dissension from Confederate policy were Senator Robert Toombs and Vice President Stephens. Toombs and Stephens were probably the most ardent anti-Davis men in the Confederacy. Curiously, a third state that came to oppose many actions of Davis’ regime was South Carolina, the vanguard of secession. Eaton writes that South Carolina underwent a “drastic revolution of sentiment” against the Confederate government. The Palmetto State was a zealous participant in the first two years of the war, but by 1864, the people had elected a strong anti-Davis state government. There were even minor attempts in some states to leave the Confederacy, and while these movements came to nothing, they show that state loyalty had not disappeared in the new nation.

The aforementioned case of Georgia and its strong proclivity towards sentiment against the Richmond government provide one example of the divisions and ineptitude within the Confederate regime. Conflict between pro and anti-Davis supporters divided the Confederate Congress for much of the war and Congress was unwilling to levy taxes or deal with finances. A number of potentially beneficial measures never even made it out of Confederate Congress because lawmakers feared they would trample on state sovereignty. Without national standards, some states lagged considerably behind others, particularly in education, poor relief, uniformity of laws, infrastructure, and industrial growth. Eaton writes that the morale of Southerners and the effectiveness of the C.S.A. government in fulfilling its duties were weakened “by the disruptive effect of the states’ rights doctrine.” A problem that plagued both Congress and President Davis’ Cabinet was that the most able statesmen chose military service instead of political office. “Some of the most forceful political leaders of the ante-bellum South spent most of their careers in the Confederacy as generals. Thus their brains were scarcely used in the administration of civil government where they would have been the most useful,” laments Eaton. Resignations plagued Davis’ Cabinet, to the tune of six war secretaries in four years, for example. McCardell points out the irony that the most fervent Southern nationalists did not contribute very much at all to the politics of the new country they had longed to create, leaving that task to moderates, like Davis, Stephens, and others, many of whom were practically Unionists up until the firing upon of Fort Sumter.

The Confederacy’s strong libertarian politicians did not operate in a vacuum. Their anti-central government views simply reflected the sentiments found among a large portion of the Southern electorate. Ordinary citizens undermined C.S.A. measures, using states’ rights and local sovereignty as justifications. Conscription, national taxes, laws forcing planters to grow food instead of cotton, laws against speculators and war profiteers, and suspension of habeas corpus all met with significant resistance from the Southern populace, which claimed that the Confederate government was
overstepping its bounds. The Richmond government lacked substantial federal enforcement power. If individual states did not enforce C.S.A. policy, chances were that the policy went ignored in that state. The fact that the Confederacy lacked an adequate court system only exacerbated this problem, especially in regards to the writ of habeas corpus. Whereas in the Union, Lincoln had a loyal Supreme Court to sanction his repeal of the writ, Davis lacked a supreme court to which he could even appeal. By 1863, the Davis administration had lost considerable support among the average Southern citizen, as evidenced by the substantial number of anti-Davis newspapers that began to circulate after 1862. 

A number of other groups undermined the Confederate war effort by seeking personal gain and profit and not Rebel victory. War profiteers, speculators and their unscrupulous practices contributed to the crippling of the Confederate economy. While shortages drove up the prices of many necessities, profiteers exacerbated the problem by charging even higher prices and profiting on the extreme need of disadvantaged people. According to Jimerson, speculators “set in motion a devastating spiral of rampant inflation and supply shortages that threatened the social stability, political authority, and military effectiveness of the young Confederacy.” A common practice among speculators was to invest and horde necessities with the expectation that the South was going to lose the war and speculators could then sell the goods in exchange for Union greenbacks instead of worthless Confederate money. Other speculators and profiteers kept cotton growers in business by investing in the crop instead of stimulating production of food crops that could have alleviated shortages. War profiteering became such a widespread problem that religious institutions from across the South railed against the sins of “extortionists,” even going as far to say that the God might punish the sins of speculators with Confederate defeat. The national and state governments also became concerned and tried to pass laws controlling speculators. Profiteers and speculators came to be the most reviled people living in the South during the war. Confederates hated these opportunists more than they hated the Yankees they were fighting.

Other groups that compromised Southern unity included outlaw gangs that roved across the western states and mountainous regions of the Confederacy. Outlaw bands raided and pillaged communities and plantations, surely contributing to the shortages experienced by many communities. The Confederacy dispatched troop details to round up bandits and several violent clashes occurred between Rebel soldiers and the raiders. A number of outlaw groups allied with Unionists of southern Appalachia and openly attacked Confederate troops and positions. However, while some of the outlaw gangs that terrorized the countryside had Union sympathies, most were draft dodgers and deserters that were perpetually on the run from army police. Outlaw gangs created a strong current of fear that ran through every Southern state and severely hampered home-front morale.

The later years of the war saw a number of peace movements arise in the South, especially after Lincoln proclaimed that if ten percent of a Southern state swore allegiance to the Union, it could repatriate. These movements encouraged individual states to seek peace settlements with the Union or other measures that they felt would end the war. Groups formed out of the peace movement took action to undermine the Confederacy as much as possible. According to Mobley, “[Peace societies] encouraged and hid deserters and draft dodgers, supported Unionists, and assisted the Federal army in invasion areas.” Not surprisingly, North Carolina and Georgia had the strongest peace movements, encouraged by their state governments’ antagonism of the Davis Administration. The Georgia state government went as far as to support officially the peace movement there in 1864. A number of peace activists won political office in the later years of the war, including a few Confederate congressional representatives, but most Southerners saw peace movements as nothing but cowardice, and their actions generally came to nothing.

As the war of attrition dragged on, peace movements and religious groups began suggesting that the South should give up slavery if it meant ending the war. While this did gain a considerable amount of support, the Confederacy never came close to outlawing slavery. Other forceful movements
arose out of religious bodies simply to reform slavery into a much more humane institution. Some religious groups felt that mistreating slaves was a national sin and that God was punishing the Confederacy with defeats on the battlefield. As with wartime abolition campaigns, religiously based slavery reform movements met with stern defeat, reflecting the paternalistic and racist strands of Confederate nationalism that continued to dictate policy. Surprisingly, many of the slavery reform movements came from the Slave Power establishment itself, and desperately wanted to perpetuate slavery in some form and yet still win the war. A number of the peace and anti-slavery groups came from groups and regions not heavily connected to the Slave Power and thus they felt very little vested interest in slavery or the war, especially after it became apparent that the South probably was not going to win. Individuals, who gave themselves to the war simply based on democratic and libertarian principles such as states’ rights, and not for defense of slavery, were no longer willing to support a regime that felt they believed was fighting the war at the behest of the Slave Power.

In April 1865, the Confederate armies surrendered and the Union declared victory. The Confederacy could have won the war, despite the industrial and military advantages inherent to the North. Good military strategy and the sheer size of the South could have been enough to force the Union to back down and realize the war was not worth the trouble. However, the Confederacy failed to build the authentic national cohesion required to wage a successful war against another country that possessed authentic national cohesion. Confederate nationalists went to war believing that all Southerners would rise up to fight the Northern industrial menace that threatened their unique way of life. In reality, however, the South had no choice but to perform a conscription draft only two years into the war because there were not enough patriotic volunteers. Nationalistic justifications of slavery focused on racism in order to encourage all Southern whites to fight, not just the planter elite, but poor, nonslaveholding whites were the most common deserters and draft dodgers. Nationalists underestimated the strength of Unionism in the South and did not account for disaffection from the Slave Power. Southern nationalism from its earliest days rested on protection of slavery, the cornerstone of everything that Southerners held dear. This cultural bondage to slavery prevented the South from industrializing, urbanizing, constructing infrastructure, and building the economy that a modern war required. Planters were unwilling to sacrifice their livelihood to the war effort, in both labor and production.

Resistance to central government in the antebellum period translated into resistance to central government under the Confederacy. A weak, dysfunctional central government was ill suited for warfare. The Confederacy could not exploit the requisite national cohesion during the war because Southern national cohesion never existed prior to the war. As Clement Eaton astutely declared, “In 1860, the Southern mind, having reconciled the existence of slavery within a Christian society, cherished a romantic delusion that Southern civilization was superior to that of the North.” A delusion is exactly what it was. The Union was willing and prepared to continue the fight for years to come—at least until the end of Lincoln’s second term. The sheer personal and economic devastation caused by the Civil War convinced a number of people that slavery was not something worth defending at such a cost. To be sure, many Southerners possessed the patriotic and nationalistic zeal of secession all the way to the end, but it was not a sentiment shared by all Southerners, certainly not enough to hold up during a modern war.
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Beautiful and complicated, the human mind continues to fascinate researchers in the realms of psychology, philosophy and science. How one perceives the world, as well as how he perceives himself, remains a mystery. This question of self-perception, of identity, cannot be conclusively understood without a study of language. The one who can see his own language and culture from an external point of view, the expatriate, discovers the realities that constitute the human condition, the realities that often remain unseen by most of the world. Yet this understanding comes with a sacrifice. (Huston, Nord Perdu 19) For the expatriate who lives between two languages and cultures, life is both beautiful and painful; wisdom and self-awareness deepen while translation proves inadequate, meaning fades and identity ceases.

An expatriate leaves the place of his birth, usually renouncing citizenship. Individuals or entire families relocate and become expatriates often to escape economic and social persecution. Others become expatriates by following a job or working to meet a career goal. In either case, while the relocation is still a choice, the expatriate has been influenced by factors beyond his control. Nancy Huston, however, chose to become an expatriate for different reasons. A native of Calgary, Huston had a troubling childhood. Her mother left her when she was six, leaving Huston no choice but to follow her new stepmother to Rotterdam, Germany. Back in the states for high school and University, Huston was accepted in a study abroad program in Paris. She never came back. Finding her literary voice in French, Huston explains in an interview with journalist Gerry Feehily: "I felt I could survive better in a place with no associations... where I could make myself over. It was an illusion that held me in good stead for over 15 years." (Feehily 2008) After these years, Huston realized that she lost her original identity; when she took off her ‘mask’, her natural face was unrecognizable. She betrayed her motherland and her mother tongue; she lost it (Huston, Nord Perdu 15)

The English word ‘identity’ is derived from the Old French ‘identité’ and the Late Latin ‘identitās’. The roots are found in the Latin words for ‘the same’, ‘being’ and ‘repeatedly’. (“Identity,” Houghton Mifflin Origin) The Random House dictionary defines identity as “the sense of self, providing sameness and continuity in personality over time” (def. 5). In essence, to have an identity is to consist of a single being; to have the same values, priorities, and way of looking at the world no matter with whom one talks. Societal identity, which attributes to one’s personal identity, defines an individual based on language and culture. The American Heritage Dictionary defines identity: “the set of behavioral or personal characteristics by which an individual is recognizable as a member of a group.” (def. 2).

Our English word ‘language’ also comes from the Old French ‘langue’, which means ‘tongue’, and from the Latin ‘lingua’. According to the Random House dictionary, a language is a “body of words and the systems for their use common to a people who are of the same community or nation, the same geographical area, or the same cultural tradition.” (“Language.” Random House def. 1)

Language can limit, as well as expand, one’s emotional and intellectual capacities. Take, for example, the concept of ‘love’. In English, I can love my brother and I can love my husband. These two phrases obviously differ in sentimental connotation, yet the language limits my expression. In Greek, however, there are four distinct words for the one English word love or the one French word amour. ‘S’agapo’ (I love) my husband while I have storge for my brother. (Greek Words for Love)

For both the bilingual and monolingual, language is a choice. As Ervin-Tripp points out, when one has the need to express himself in language, he has multiple ways to phrase his thought. (qtd. in
In any language, he has a variety of language techniques available. Word choice, syntax, verb form and structure can all change depending on the social situation. The choice faced in the everyday life of the bilingual becomes more intricate and complicated, for he has two languages to draw from in all of these areas. The setting, the interlocutor and the purpose of the communication all play a part in determining the language choice for both monolinguals and bilinguals.

This choice carries weight, for words have a certain power and charm. Huston personifies words as having a mind of their own; words ‘do not want to say something, so they refuse to. Therefore, they may start of saying one thing and finish in a different direction.’ (Huston, *Nord Perdu* 13) This must be managed for the bilingual, and especially for the bilingual writer.

The cover page of *Nord Perdu*, Huston’s collection of biographical essays, provides insight into the mind of the expatriate. Of the two dedication quotes, the first one is in French. “Pour Lorne, mon frère de sang, d’âme et de langues.” (Cover Page) This short list shows the inseparability of language and life. Huston feels connected to Lorne by blood, soul and language. The structure of this quote places language equivalent to the soul and to blood; their common language is as deep as their common blood. For Huston, as for many bilingual writers, “languages are not only languages. They are also worldviews—and therefore, to a great extent, untranslatable….And in a way, if you have more than one worldview, in a sense you really have none.” (Huston, *The Mask and The Pen* 67)

Translating a phrase from French into English is often irreversible. This same phrase, now English, may very well rend a new phrase when translated back into French. For Huston, translation proves inadequate and often frustrating in this way. (It is worth noting, however, that there are some words that have seemingly perfect translations. “Fort” and “libre” translate “strong” and “free.”) (Huston, *Nord Perdu* 14)

Translation, especially self-translation, has an interesting effect on one’s identity. In a life with two languages, self-translation is inevitable. Huston writes of the pain of this “autotraduction,” comparing the process of reconciling two languages to that of reconciling a separated husband and wife or two countries at war. While painful for the interceder, it is worth it. It is hope for the world; hope for humanity. (Huston, *Traduttore non è traditore* 158-160)

Not all expatriates struggle with their sense of self as Huston did. The degree to which this phenomenon occurs depends on the type of bilingual one is. Huston explains the difference between ‘les vrais’ and ‘les faux’, including herself in the latter. ‘Les vrais,’ or real bilinguals, are those who have grown up with two languages. They are perfectly bilingual and the two languages together make up one person. This person has one single identity that involves two languages. Examples of this are those who live in colonies where one language is colloquial and the other is academic. The languages occupy distinct places in their minds and ‘les vrais’ are able to pass from one language to the other without changing ‘the state of their soul.’ (translated from Huston, *Nord Perdu* 53) The mind of ‘les faux,’ however, is more chaotic. The two languages overlap in the mind, and one will often block the other from being retrieved.

In his studies of language acquisition and usage in international conference interpreters, Thiery defines a true bilingual to be “someone who is taken to be one of themselves by the members of two different linguistic communities, at roughly the same social and cultural level.” (qtd. in Grosjean 232) These supposedly true bilinguals have no apparent foreign accents in either of their languages; they are equally fluent with no language interferences. It is worth noting, however, that most of these bilinguals had acquired both of their languages before the age of fourteen and had received formal education in both languages. (Grosjean 232). In an effort to find a definition that encompasses those people who speak multiple languages without a “native-like fluency”, other researchers have focused on the extent, or degree, of a bilingual’s language skills. As one researcher states: “Bilingualism... may be of all degrees of accomplishment, but it is understood here to begin at the point where the speaker of one language...
can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language. From here it may proceed through all possible gradations up to the kind of skill that enables a person to pass as a native in more than one linguistic environment.” (qtd. in Grosjean 232) Further in the study of bilingualism, researchers move from the question of ‘vrai’ versus ‘faux’ bilinguals to ‘balanced’ and ‘unbalanced’ bilinguals, which concerns the question of language dominance. (Grosjean 233) Fluency tests and dominance tests that try to understand the mind of the bilingual show the issue of bilingualism to be much more complex than simply the ability to understand and speak two languages.

Other social and environmental factors affect the degree of one’s bilingualism, and therefore the culture and identity of the expatriate. “Culture is the way of life of a people or society, including its rules of behavior; its economic, social and political systems; its language; its religious beliefs; its laws; and so on. Culture is acquired, socially transmitted, and communicated in large part by language.” (Grosjean 157) Everyone has a culture; everyone, with the rare exceptions of those such as the ‘wild child’, has a certain mindset and values. We all have a way of looking at the world based on our experiences, our beliefs and our language.

Bilingualism can lead to biculturalism, which Grosjean defines as the “coexistence and/or combination of two distinct cultures.” (157) This phenomenon occurs mostly in people who move to a new country and are faced with the need to adjust to a new way of looking at the world. The process is usually painful for the expatriate. Grosjean accounts how an anonymous France to England to France expatriate felt about coming back to France and adjusting to life with two cultures. “For a long time I felt that it was impossible to be bicultural – that it was too painful – and I therefore strove hard to adopt one culture and reject the other.” (165)

Huston, when she moved to France, became bicultural as well. Admitting the pain of adopting to an unfamiliar language and culture, Huston describes her choice to live in France as a choice to live the rest of her life in “in theatre, imitation, make-believe.” While she loses part of herself, part of her identity, she gains a deeper understanding of another aspect of her life. “The fact is that one doesn’t become aware of one’s own cultural values until they enter into conflict with those of a different country.” (Huston, The Mask and The Pen 55). Before seeing life outside of her own culture, she couldn’t see the influence that it had on her life. So while knowing two languages and two cultures can be “unsettling”, it made her life more beautiful. (Huston, The Mask and The Pen 59)

To illustrate the inseparability of language and identity, we note the Australian Human Rights Commission, which was established by the federal parliament in 1986 to promote and protect human rights in Australia. The commission aims to protect and restore the culture and identity of the Indigenous communities. In an article from the Seventh Session of the United Nations Permanent Forum, researchers promote the “interrelationship between language thought and cultural knowledge.” (Agenda Item 7) Language for these tribes is more than a system to communicate with words. Hidden in these aboriginal languages is the history of their forefathers, instruction on how to live and knowledge of how to care for the environment. “Language cannot be divorced from the People, our Spirituality and our environments.” (Agenda Item 7) If we let these languages die, argue the commissioners, we also let the entire culture die. And without their culture, who are these people? Do they have any individual or societal identity anymore? The commission feels so strongly about the importance of language, that to deny the communities of their native tongue would be to deny them their human rights.

There are times, however, when losing your mother tongue, at least momentarily, can be beneficial. Referencing the twentieth century writer and philosopher, Huston reports “Sartre said that when you write, you’ve got to do so as if your own language were a foreign one.” (Feehily 2008) Huston followed this philosophy and took French as her first literary voice. Yet she found herself unable to fully assimilate into the French culture and language. “Who am I, in French? I really don’t know—a bit of everything, perhaps.” (Huston, The Mask and The Pen 64) In describing her interactions with native French speakers, Huston deplores how she was treated. She fiercely describes how native speakers
perceive and identify “aliens” among them. Once foreigners are discovered within a group, the locals reduce them to just that, foreigners. Drawing from her experience as the foreigner, while also recognizing her own biases towards other immigrants, Huston explains how immigrants’ countries of origin become their “most salient feature, the thing that best describes and defines [them].” (Huston, The Mask and The Pen 57) And although fluent in French, Huston still becomes painfully self-conscious when speaking French in public, afraid of betraying an accent or making a grammatical error. (Huston, The Mask and The Pen 60). Huston came to realize that “one can never know [the language and the culture] like the natives know.” (translated from Huston, Nord Perdu 58)

After years of writing solely in French, Huston longed for the freedom that would come from writing in her mother tongue again. She wanted to have the liberty to explore the complex dimensions of human emotion without struggling through language barriers and translations. Yet when she did return to English, it did not come natural to her like a birth language should. “To my dismay, I discovered that I was faced with the same stylistic dilemma in English as in French. I’d turned my back on my mother tongue for too long, and it no longer recognized me as its daughter.” Huston could now only write in English in the same way she does French; by imitation. She can copy the tone and style of English writers, but “no melody came ‘naturally’ to [her] lips.” (Huston, The Mask and The Pen 66). “Could it be that, even in my mother tongue, I can accept myself only as a “foreigner”?” (Huston, The Mask and The Pen 62)

Overall, Huston takes a positive view of her bilingualism. She sees the ways it makes her a better person; a healthier and more stable wife, mother and writer. “The use of a foreign tongue discourages not only loquacity and pedantry; it prevents you from taking yourself too seriously.” (Huston, The Mask and The Pen 60) The self awareness that inevitably came from living as a continual outsider ultimately strengthened her.

Huston’s bilingualism also shaped her professional life. Defining foreigners as people who adapt, Huston explains how this continual state of adaptation conceives the attentiveness and comprehension of language that is necessary in every good writer. Words can no longer be taken for granted; grammar and language complexities are seen in a new light and idioms and paraphrases are reevaluated. Language is no longer “natural”, but intentional. Huston attributes this awareness of language to being a foreigner. As an expatriate, she has not only an awareness of language, but also an understanding of identity that only expatriates tend to have. “Yes—all forms of identity, including stylistic identity, are conventional and contrived. But... expatriates tend to be more aware of this than other people.” (Huston, The Mask and The Pen 62-63)

Huston does not try to define herself as ‘French’ or ‘American’, but rather as a writer. After receiving news that Huston was the recipient of the ‘prix Femina’, a prestigious French literary award, Quebec radio announcers and magazine editors rallied around her, proclaiming her a national hero. While undoubtedly flattered, Huston sees the futility of this sort of international competition. She defines herself not by language or region or country of origin, but as a writer. The world of literature has its own language and identity, and this crosses all man-made regional divisions. There is beauty in literature, in poems, in novels. Huston does not write for Canada and she does not write for France. She has no desire to take on the role of a cultural ambassador for any specific country. No, her goal in writing is to grow the world; to expand its borders and cross the frontiers of the human mind. By questioning her identity, by comparing and contrasting her worlds, Huston hopes to make her world, this one world, more livable for people of all languages and cultures. (Huston, Traduttore non è traditore 152-153)

Sylvia Molloy, another bilingual member of the literary world, is actually trilingual, speaking Spanish, English and French. She claims it impossible to be “in only one space, only one language.” (Molloy 69). By her own account, her three languages occupy different, and most importantly, distinct parts of her mind and her emotions. As a writer, she has three separate identities. As a young girl
writing in Spanish, her first language and mother tongue, Molloy found success at writing “good, principled” stories. When required to write in English at school, she found she needed a new approach. Her tone became “funny” and even “sassy”. Her writing in French, however, was much more intellectual. French was a “more complex experience, a sentimental education-another story.” (Molloy 70)

Molloy writes of the very sensation that has plagued ‘les faux’; shuffling back and forth between languages in order to find the one word or phrase that she needs. This language transitioning is the very inspiration for her writing. She finds it “exhilarating” and “liberating”, yet also “laborious” and “fatiguing”. (Molloy 69) She also finds herself lost when beginning to write, no matter what language. (Molloy 77)

The sensation of writing – and living – with three languages at her disposal definitely has its advantages. At first she feels she must momentarily lose two of them, for one can only write in a single language at one time. Yet the other two are still alive; they are still active in her mind, bringing “unexpected eloquence” to the one language she lets out on the page.

While proud of her heritage and language understanding, Molloy is not immune to the sense of shame and “linguistic embarrassment” that comes from using a ‘wrong’ language. “I don’t know, but it is as if I were guilty of something, caught unprepared, in a compromising position.” (Molloy 75)

Multilingualism can also disrupt the everyday life of Molloy, catching her off-guard’ when she reads the world around her in a language different than intended. Using the example of the English noun ‘hay’ being read as the Spanish verb for ‘there is’, Molloy admits these moments are annoying, yet also fascinating. (Molloy 74) In certain instances, the two (or three) distinct worlds meet and even enrich one another, offering new understanding that only can only be seen through the lens of language.

The human mind, regardless of what or how many languages are spoken, is intricate and impenetrable. To be human is to be complex. Huston sees us all, even those who only speak with one language, to have complex identities and, in a way, multiple personalities. Every man and woman has a past; everyone has an individual story. We all have things we hide from the world; memories that shame us, yet shape us none the less. (Huston, The Mask and The Pen 59) For the expatriate, the man who renounces his motherland and mother tongue, life is beautiful yet also painful. With an increased understanding of life and self comes an increased probability of losing that self; of losing identity. “Und so weiter... Who are we, in other words, if we don’t have the same ideas, the same fantasies, the same existential outlooks or even the same opinions in one language as in another?” (Huston, The Mask and The Pen 67)
WORK CITED


“Of all the forces that shaped the Irish community in Chicago during 1880 to 1920, Catholicism had the most pervasive influence.” (Meagher 136). In Timothy J. Meagher’s work, From Paddy to Studs: Irish-American Communities in the Turn of the Century Era, 1880 to 1920, he explores this area more fully. As the Irish established neighborhoods, the Roman Catholic Church served as the center for Irish communities, especially during this time period. Ethnic relations also became prevalent throughout the 1880s, with the Irish dominated church hierarchy and settlements. The Chicago Fire of 1871 was the turning point in Chicago history and was when most Irish immigrated and settled in Chicago. Irish settlement and Catholic parish formation was significant to the Chicago community from the 1880s to 1924.

When Irish Catholics settled in Chicago during this period, American culture was largely Anglo-Protestant. This English heritage, as well as nativism, carried a strong anti-Irish bias. Protestants controlled governments, school districts, corporations, and social institutions. As a result, Irish Catholics became very defensive and worried that their faith would be threatened in America as in Ireland. This caused them to build strong Roman Catholic Communities and steadfastly raised their children in the Church (Olson 8).

While immigrants from a variety of European countries settled in specific cities, the Irish settled everywhere. From the 1880s into the early 20th century, there were social and economic changes in Europe which uprooted millions of people, many of them coming to the United States. A significant percentage of these newcomers were Catholic. In 1850, there were 2 million Catholics in the U.S.; in the 1890s, 8 million. By 1920, the Catholic population in the U.S. had reached over 20 million (Olson 9). This shows the tremendous rate at which Catholic immigrants were flooding the U.S. and its cities.

As Irish Catholics established neighborhoods, their behavior was seen as stubbornly clannish, which aggravated existing anti-Catholic prejudice (Olson 8). They would congregate together on certain streets or blocks, and their enclaves became known as little cities within a city. The Irish seldom mingled with Italians, and Catholics rarely met Protestants or Jews. Their neighborhoods were divided by nationality and were usually in poor areas. These immigrant neighborhoods were cultural ghettos, not residential ghettos (Dolan 200-201). In their neighborhoods, the Irish belonged to and established major social institutions, including political clubs, churches, schools, saloons, police stations, firehouses, and athletic clubs (Dolan 197). These clubs helped to provide a sense of unity and solidarity among their members and in their communities. During the century of immigration, the Catholic Church was the most important and enduring cultural institution. The church became the matrix in which immigrant Catholicism nurtured and sustained (Dolan 197). These churches became the focal point in each neighborhood.

Bridgeport, on the South Side of Chicago, is an Irish Catholic neighborhood that was settled in the mid-19th century. It is also the lifelong residence of Chicago’s former Mayor Richard J. Daley. The major institutions in this neighborhood were the Nativity Catholic Church, the 11th ward Democratic Organization Headquarters, and Schaller’s Pump. As historian Jay Dolan states, the bible, the ballot, and the bottle are defining symbols of Bridgeport (Dolan 197). This shows that not only did the church play an influential role in Irish Catholics’ lives, but also pubs and politics. As more “new immigrants” came from Southern and Eastern Europe, more Irish left Bridgeport.

Washington Park was another Irish Catholic neighborhood, but differentiated itself by being the home to middle class Catholics. Owning a home in Washington Park was the epitome of the good life.
for the South Side Irish. However, Catholic immigrant neighborhoods were not always exclusively Catholic; Protestants also lived in Washington Park (Dolan 199-200). Yet, even though they lived in the same area, Catholics and Protestants rarely socialized.

When the Irish came to the United States, as with most new immigrant groups, they were not seen as being equal in comparison to the Anglo-Protestants. This is interesting because the many of the Protestants that were already established here, came from Ireland and Great Britain. However, due to their religion, Irish Catholics had an extremely difficult time moving upward economically and socially in Ireland. They saw their inferiority in America directly related to British oppression of Ireland. Chicago Irish felt that when Ireland was free, they would have been seen as full status Americans. As a result of this outlook, Irish supported nationalist groups such as the Clan na Gael, which funded extremist groups in Ireland, and the Irish National Land League (Meagher 127). Both of these groups were Catholic organizations, but the Irish National Land League was more moderate and sought a peaceful solution to free Ireland. The Irish made up the bulk of early immigration to Chicago and arrived without means and without much, if any, education. They found employment in the construction of public works and utilities, building railways and canals, and as factory workers (Sanders 76).

Chicago history changed drastically after 1871. In that year, the Chicago Fire burned down much of the city and caused a great demand for Irish labor in a variety of occupations. This was when most of the second wave of Irish immigration settled in Chicago. There was steady work for laborers, especially for newly arriving immigrants. In the 1880s, railroads gave Irish more employment. Construction jobs were created for residential areas and included projects for sidewalks, sewers, gas, electric, and telephone lines. During this time, the Irish emerged in Chicago as the most powerful political and religious group (Meagher 117-118). With the influx of “new immigrants”, the Irish became less concentrated in manual labor, but recent immigrants were still in unskilled labor. Irish now dominated blue-collar managerial posts in industries like iron, steel, and mining. Irish economic progress was the greatest in the Midwest. Native-born women now worked as secretaries, stenographers, nurses, and school teachers, instead of domestic servants (Kenny 186). Diversity in occupations led to steady paychecks, which eased domestic life and diminished violence from early Irish families in the 1850s and 1860s. This prosperity helped the poor move out of the slums and upward social mobility among the Irish was evident in the 1870s (Meagher 119).

Irish attitudes towards the “new immigrants”, which were immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, were not welcoming. These immigrants also did not feel welcome in Irish dominated parishes. By the 1880s, the Irish dominated most territorial parishes. Because of differences in the practice of Catholicism, internal conflicts arose. To minimize these conflicts, parishes separated by nationality (Olson 102-103). Many Irish groups eventually left the old immigrant settlements as they and their children gained experience, learned skills, and obtained an education. This allowed them to move upward socially and economically. They moved outward to neighborhoods for better conditions. Not all Irish improved their status, but most did (Shanabruch 105). By 1900, most Irish Americans were second and third generation and resented large scale immigration. They had to battle over jobs and wages with Slavic, Italian, Portuguese, Syrian, and French-Canadian workers. The Irish eventually blended into Anglo-American society and lost touch with their roots; they gave little or no sympathy for immigrants. The nationality parishes insulated the Irish from these new immigrants (Olson 103).

By the beginning of the 20th century, the number of foreign-born Irish and German people diminished incredibly. By 1910, nearly two-thirds of Irish or German people were born in America (Shanabruch 105). In the 1890 census, Chicago was home to six percent of the nation’s Irish-born people. This is relatively low in comparison with New York City (12%), Philadelphia (11%), Boston (16%), and San Francisco (10%). In 1880, there were six million Catholics in the U.S. and by 1890 that number increased to 7.3 million. At that time, one-sixth of the Catholics in the U.S. lived in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia (Kenny 142, 163).
Intense devotion to Roman Catholicism became a means of resisting Protestantism and asserting the Irish heritage. More than ever before, Irish and Roman Catholic had become synonymous (Olson 26). This is true for every major city in America that had a strong Catholic presence, especially in Chicago. The Irish dominated the Catholic Church, and in their practice they favored simple devotion; they emphasized the internal and contemplative tradition of ancient Celtic devotion. This emphasized piety, restraint, and liturgical clarity, which was almost the opposite of how the Germans practiced Catholicism. The Germans loved pageantry, ceremony, and ritual (Olson 54). The Catholic faith and doctrines are universal and well defined; they leave little room for personal interpretation. However, expression varies according to customs and tradition for certain nationalities. Each group has special devotions, expressions of belief, liturgical practices, and different emphases on particular doctrines (Shanabruch 40). This is one of the reasons why churches were formed with a certain nationality.

Parish formation became a crucial element for the Catholic Church in Chicago. It placed an emphasis on permanent church buildings and schools. Forming a parish demanded ambitious fund raising programs, which usually lasted anywhere from 10 to 15 years. Since Catholics came to the U.S. and began to build parishes, they were always at odds with Protestants, especially in terms of how money should be spent. Protestants favored the establishment of missions in poor areas and relieving poor families of financial obligations. In turn, Catholics were criticized for spending money on churches instead of on charity programs such as orphan asylums (Meagher 123). To build a parish, the people of the community needed to raise large sums of money. They accomplished this by having bazaars, where they served liquor and the main attractions were voting contests (Meagher 124). The church was not afraid to combine politics into their religious activities.

A community could not have a church without priests, and the dominant Irish preferred to have these priests Irish as well. As a result, they brought many here from Ireland. Since the 1850s, there had been a continuous stream of priests from Ireland, and they had expanded the territory of Catholic Chicago’s English-speaking system. Foreign language parishes tended to be divided in themselves, and from other parishes. These new Irish parishes were a way to extend Catholic power and influence in a city. The Irish gained control of English-speaking parishes because of Southern and Eastern Europeans, who generally did not speak any English (Meagher 121). The Irish had also already been settled here for a while and knew how to build successful parishes. Southern and Eastern Europeans had a difficult time establishing their own parishes having to compete in Irish dominated dioceses. Parishes were set apart by geographical boundaries, which usually corresponded to natural boundaries of city neighborhoods. These boundaries provided ethnic and class distinctions, while the church was divided by class and nationality. Urban Catholicism tends to be a multiethnic, multiclass community, usually comprised of lower-class people (Dolan 197).

By the 1870s, the Irish parish system was strong and made significant gains in building churches and establishing schools. This strengthened Catholic identity and these parishes helped immigrants acclimate into American society. Early parishes were in very poor areas and transformed immigrants into law-abiding people. Parishes became strong when the Irish began to move up economically, because it generated more money coming into the church (Meagher 118). The Catholic Church was transformed into the largest domination in the United States, because of the mass immigration of nearly 9 million Roman Catholics between 1890 and 1925. (Olson 101). By the 1880s, the Catholic Church was the largest denomination in Chicago and was Irish dominated. Five out of six Chicago bishops were Irish from 1834 to 1880, and these bishops appointed Irish priests. These priests had much control over their congregations, and the congregations preferred strong pastors and powerful bishops. By this time, Irish Catholics were content to let pastors make decisions about buildings, schools, personnel, and money (Meagher 120). Parishioners trusted their religious leaders, and in turn, those leaders built them new churches and expanded Catholicism.
As Irish Catholicism expanded, great diversity occurred within these parishes among structure, personnel, and orientation. The largest and most well-known Irish parish was Holy Family, which was established in 1857. This parish had over 20,000 members in 1881, along with four grammar schools, a convent academy, and St. Ignatius College (Meagher 121). This parish, located on the west side of Chicago, was an Irish working-class parish, one of the largest in the county in the 1880s and 1890s. In 1895, Holy Family had 25,000 members and in 1896, listed 25 societies in its bulletin. These societies were spiritual, recreational, educational, and charitable. There was a society for every age group and they sponsored many events (Dolan 205). This was one of the major ways people were able to become involved in their church and community. Parishes formed the center of community life in religion, recreation, and education (Meagher 135). Not only did Holy Family offer several societies, they also had an extensive educational system. Parochial schools generated more money into the parish and extended the Catholic faith to many in the community. During its peak in 1890, Holy Family parish had 5,000 pupils in five schools, which was one-sixth of Chicago Catholic school children. By 1920, only 1,000 students remained. This decrease was due to displaced Catholic population, which began in the 1880s when parishes and schools spread southward (Sanders 91-92).

Archbishops held the highest positions in Chicago’s Catholic diocese and were prominent in the church. Chicago had three archbishops from 1880 to 1924 and were Patrick Augustine Feehan, James Edward Quigley, and George W. Mundelein. Two (Feehan and Quigley) of these three were Irish. Feehan was the first archbishop of Chicago and was very successful in expanding the church, bringing in revenue, and creating one of the nation's most extensive school systems (Shanabruch 36). Quigley, who was also Irish, was known to be a rigid disciplinarian among laity and clergy, but brought harmony and order to his diocese (Shanabruch 110). Mundelein was the first American born archbishop in Chicago. He established many Catholic associations, charities, and also worked with Chicago, Illinois state, and national politicians (Shanabruch 155-164).

Even though religion was very important in these communities, ethnic relations and divisions were prevalent in every U.S. city at the turn of the century, especially in Chicago. The Irish were described as “shanty” and simple (in religion), while Germans reveled in celebrations. The New World newspaper wrote an article in 1897 on why these two groups cannot get along. However, Irish and Germans were not the only groups who did not cohabitate peacefully. Poles resented both of these groups’ establishments and strove to establish themselves by creating organizations that urged to build more Polish schools (Sanders 50). They thought that this would also increase their church membership. Archbishop Feehan was once quoted saying, “Fill the schools now and the churches will be filled in the future” (Shanabruch 36). This held true to every immigrant group that established parochial schools.

The prejudice towards the Irish in Chicago, as well as the rest of the country, pushed for Irish nationalism. Irish nationalism started with the Know-Nothing party, who disliked immigrants and anything that they viewed as being “un-American”. The Irish saw the English as keeping them poor, illiterate, unskilled, and to blame for social ills in Ireland and America. They passed down these feelings to their children, which strengthened their nationalism even more (Shanabruch 80). The prejudice against Irish was also towards Catholics in general. Catholics wanted to respond to these attitudes collectively, but had no sense of unity. They did not see themselves as American Catholics, but as Irish Catholics, German Catholic, Polish Catholic, etc. The church wanted to become enough Americanized to be accepted by Protestants, but still hold on to their Catholic immigrants. Catholics, on the other hand, did not like the concept of Americanizing the church; instead they wanted proportional representation in the church’s power structure. Catholics claimed the goal was “Irishization”, not Americanization, because of the predominantly Irish-American hierarchy (Shanabruch 78-79).

Even though religion played a prominent role for immigrant, by the 1920s, Irish identity was not reinforced in parishes or the Catholic educational system because of Catholicism, politics, and nationalism in the 1880s. Older parishes, such as St. Patrick’s, Holy Family, and Holy Name all served
thousands of Irish immigrants but were becoming more Americanized (Meagher 119-120). The church was trying to move away from ethnic identity and lead towards a common American-Catholic identity. The church hoped that this would unite Catholics, as well as form and strengthen ties with other religious dominations.

As more immigrants came to the United States, native born Americans here felt that the government must enact laws to restrict the influx. The National Origins Act of 1924 was an attempt to appease nativists’ fears and help to restore unity among the American people. This legislation imposed restrictive quotas on immigration to severely limit immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. While this did not so much affect Irish coming to the United States, it did significantly slow the growth of Catholicism in the U.S. By the mid 1950s, Catholicism became the church of the middle class (Dolan 356).

From the 1880s to 1924, the Irish were, by far, the largest immigrant group in Chicago. Their presence allowed for the incredible expansion of the Roman Catholic Church and faith throughout the city. While neighborhoods and ethnic relations caused great divisions among Catholics, they also played a prominent role throughout communities. Among many associations throughout their communities, the church was certainly the most important. Parish formation, not only spread Catholicism, but also united these people.

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Many contemporary researchers contend that the entire Jack the Ripper legend came about out of the combination of sensational news coverage and a phenomenon called the “Ripper Correspondence”, a series of letters mailed to the authorities claiming to be from the killer. The myth was created from a society filled with violence, sex and the unknown. In the autumn of 1888, the East End of London was a place overflowing with social unrest and extreme poverty. The area was known for being packed with the unemployed, the poverty stricken, and crime ridden people who inhabited the most undeserving of neighborhoods. In this turbulent climate, newspapers took liberties with police accounts of the Ripper murders and crafted an image of a monster in the minds of a susceptible public.

During this time, many wonderful inventions and innovations changed the way that people tended to culture, turned the details of the murders of five prostitutes into an instant genre with mass appeal that is still as interesting today as it was in 1888.

In this “outcast London,” tenement houses overfilled with filthy desperately impoverished people crowded into outdoor markets and taverns looking for enough wealth to get them through the week. Most were not opposed to turning to crime or prostitution for support. Surrounding this den of sins, middle class London enjoyed puritan values and morals. They lived in a society filled with a stratified social hierarchy that dictated proper conduct. There aren’t two groups of people that could have lived any differently – and within the same city limits. Case in point was the difference between middle class sexual mores and the risqué attitudes shared by their east end neighbors. Any suggestion of sexuality in middle class society was diminished and dismissed as unspeakable. However, across all the social classes, the Victorian world was one full of secrets and whispered sexual innuendo; their life was referred to “the secret life of sexuality.” Newspapers routinely reported on a variety of stories of a sexual nature including, “seduction, rape, adultery, transvestitism, illegal abortion, prostitution, bigamy, sadism and indecent exposure.” The East Enders however took a more tolerant approach to sexuality, if not only for the reason of survival. Prostitution was common place and rampant.

Social structures were not the only phenomenon that was influencing Victorian Londoners of all social classes. Society was changing with the influx of new ideas and wants spurred by such phenomena as the industrial revolution and new cultural challenges such as those that sparked debate about the role of women. These new dynamics changed the way that people thought about themselves and the world around them. New economic developments and improvements transformed a primarily agrarian society into one of manufacturing, which in turn changed the way that people earned their keep. During this time, many wonderful inventions and innovations changed the way that people tended to daily affairs. Even the way that news, newspapers and the art of journalism was practiced altered. Although the standard, traditional papers continued, the new papers emerged targeting a specific audiences that were not previously addressed; those of the working and middle classes. The “New Journalism” as author Mark Hampton noted, in the 1880’s sought to address and challenge existing roles of journalism and transform them into a vehicle for challenging or controlling society. Previously, newspapers served as a record of the Parliamentary proceedings, but the new style encompassed a
thrilling style that appealed the masses. Features, seductive works of fiction and spicy human interest pieces became the subject of the articles, pushing the editorial sections aside. Papers also changed their looks to gain broader appeal. The addition of images, headlines, sensational topics and interviews became vogue. Circulations of daily newspapers soared during the second half of the 19th century, in some cases quadrupling their numbers.

There were a plentiful number of newspapers in London available at a price that could be afforded by a literate community. Several acts of parliament enabled this trend. The first being an education act in 1870 the provided for a primary education for everyone. Secondly, several taxes were abolished that revolved around advertising, newspapers and paper. Additionally, technological advances, like the rotary press that printed from one continuous roll of paper were being introduced. Together, these occurrences created a nation that had 158 papers.

Because of virulent competition, reports printed may have been less than accurate and bolstered to become more magnificent. As the headlines became more sensational, sales from newspapers increased the public’s voracious appetite for gossip, sex and news and were abated only until the next issue appeared. News accounts filled the minds of Londoners and were topics of conversation in public houses and in middle class homes.

Consequently, with a wide variety of social, political and economic conditions simmering together, a crime spree like that of Jack the Ripper easily exploded into a media and public frenzy. In the book, Jack the Ripper: Letters from Hell, authors Evans and Skinner note that, “the result of all the high-profile press coverage of the murders, the inquests and the arrest of suspects led to great public excitement, fear and curiosity.” Newspaper publishers capitalized on the public’s interest in the lurid and gruesome murders by selling scores of papers. First, reports of the gruesome murders filled the imaginations of the public. Then, news articles, ranging from demure to sensational, hit the press. Lastly, as a result of the printed verbiage about Jack the Ripper, a vast number of letters, referred to as “the Ripper Correspondence” were delivered to the press, police and the medical community, interweaving and cementing a relationship between the press and the public – one that was fluid and surreal. Because of these social conditions in Victorian London and the increasing readership of newspapers, crimes like those of Jack the Ripper became sensationalized in the mind of the public and forever changed journalism.

If one true thing could be said about the killing spree of Jack the Ripper, it would be that there are no truths. At the time, the police never found any substantial clues that would give them a suggestion of who the killer was or a plausible motive for the murders. Even one hundred years after the crimes were committed, the number of women murdered cannot be agreed upon, the reason is still under speculation and the sanity of the murderer still in question. Yet, then as now, many have their ideas and assumptions, but no conclusive evidence has ever prevailed. In the 1880’s, Scotland Yard was in a state of flux, heads of departments often changing at the will and whim of the Home Secretary. The department of detectives and that of the forensic sciences were very new and lacked any resources and manpower. At the time, most murders were solved by police catching the murderer in the act, or by a confession. Violent crimes were not unheard of, but usually solved by the above manner. However, during the search for Jack the Ripper, the police appeared to be bumbling and backward. Often missing potential clues or possibly destroying others. One gentleman who wrote to the Editor of The Times suggested that the police use a microscope to look at fingerprints to help detect the villain. It would seem that the confidence of the police by the public was at an all time low if a gentleman felt he had to write to the newspaper to discuss clue gathering techniques for the police. Author, Paul Begg’s summary of the police force at the time of the murders corroborates this thought. He notes that “public confidence in the police seemed to be shattered and there were widespread demands for a reorganization of Scotland Yard.”
The Ripper murders were something new and quite unique. The sheer brutality of the killings shocked the public as well as the police and the lack of any evidence continued to restrict the prosecution of a suspect. The murders happened out in the open on frequently traveled roads and squares yet no evidence was left and little witness information was ever verified. The stories from witness were generally unreliable, especially as the murder streak continued; as the stories were told and retold they became more like tall tales instead of an eyewitness account. Reporters would do the best they could to craft their headlines by guessing at witnesses, following police and interviewing anyone who would speak to them. Generally, they found “locals basking in their new-found importance, anxious to please and ready to regale him with a hundred highly circumstantial stories, most of which, upon inquiry, proved totally devoid of the truth.”

The public was all at once horrified, fearful and intrigued by the killings. The middle class was appalled by the killings because of the blatant sexual connotation. The thought of prostitution and sexual promiscuity did not fit into their neat and tightly packaged world, and a murderer who apparent purpose was to highlight the loose and sexual nature of his victims was unusual. The residents of East London were not only appalled, but afraid. Any person, although generally considered a man, could be Jack the Ripper. One account in The Times discusses a man arrested and questioned after grabbing a random woman on the street, urging her to “come along with me”. She reacted by screaming and running which caused a group of men to capture the accused and hold him until the police could arrive. After being thoroughly questioned, a judge sentenced him to one month of hard labor. The man claimed that he was drunk and felt the woman was a prostitute looking for a few coins. The Times ran several accounts of people being pursued simply on account of their “actions were very strange.”

Londoners were gripped with fear. The murderer could have been anyone and with the lack of facts, clues or viable suspects, the public was in turmoil. The daily newspapers played into this fear, and produced story after story surrounding the case. The stories were in the form of police publications and others as theories or narratives about the case. From this turmoil, an interesting series of events occurred that shaped the Jack the Ripper crime spree for years to come. After the first few killings, the police and the press began receiving letters in droves. These letters, which are generally referred to as the “Ripper Correspondence” and numbered in the several hundreds, add a chilling aspect to the Jack the Ripper investigations. Admittedly, a portion of the correspondence received was sent by individuals, with their signatures and addresses noted who wished to give ideas or theories on the murders. However, many of the pieces were written by anonymous individuals claiming to be Jack the Ripper and gave eerie and, most notably fictitious clues and descriptions of future killings. Contemporary historians generally agree that all but potentially three of the letters were fakes; created for a “desire for publicity, the thrill of causing a panic, and the desire to get back at individuals they disliked by putting a good scare into them.” And, at the time, the police generally believed them to be fakes as well. In a letter written by the Commissioner to the Permanent Under Secretary of State, it was noted that “the whole thing is a hoax, but of course we are bound to try & ascertain the writer in any case.”

Nevertheless, the genre that the letters formed produced an interesting social commentary. People took information that they learned from the press, notwithstanding the fact that the information may be a fabrication, and began to form theories of their own about the case. From this, people began to produce these violent and disturbing letters in mass. The first was dated September 24, 1888 in which the author admitted to be the killer. The note took information learned from the widely publicized news accounts and wove a violent account. Several phrases of the note were blacked out with ink in the shape of a coffin or of a long blade knife. The knife, as noted by researchers Krughoff and Gibson, represented a violent future threat specifically and represent a “taunting or teasing” impression adding to the viewer’s emotional state. Other letters began to pour into the police headquarters, many with drawings of murdered victims, weapons, and written in red ink to symbolize blood. The second letter to materialize is known as the “Dear Boss” letter and it is the one the coins
the name *Jack the Ripper*. It is likely to be the most important of all the letters, as it began the legend of Jack the Ripper. The letter, dated September 25, 1888. It reads:

Dear Boss,

I keep on hearing the police have caught me but they won’t fix me just yet. I have laughed when they look so clever and talk about being on the right track. That joke about Leather Apron gave me real fits. I am down on whores and I shan’t quit ripping them till I do get buckled. Grand work the last job was. I gave the lady no time to squeal. How can they catch me now. I love my work and want to start again. You will soon hear of me with my funny little games. I saved some of the proper red stuff in a ginger beer bottle over the last job to write with but it went thick like glue and I can’t use it. Red ink is fit enough I hope ha. ha. The next job I do I shall clip the ladys ears off and send to the police officers just for jolly wouldn’t you. Keep this letter back till I do a bit more work, then give it out straight. My knife’s so nice and sharp I want to get to work right away if I get a chance. Good Luck.

Yours truly

Jack the Ripper

Dont mind me giving the trade name

PS Wasn’t good enough to post this before I got all the red ink off my hands curse it No luck yet. They say I’m a doctor now. ha ha

At the time, it was taken seriously by the police because of certain threats and themes contained in it, but it has since been regarded as the work of a journalist from the Central News Agency, created to cause a stir and to sell papers. As additional letters and accounts were published, more Ripper letters arrived at the police headquarters. The letters contained such morbid phrases as, “If I can’t get enough women to do I shal cut up men, boys & girls, just to keep my hand in practice” and “Double event this time. Number one squealed a bit. Couldn’t finish straight off. Had not time to get ears for the police.”

As these letters continued and reports of their contents were published, more letters followed. They began to follow a certain pattern in their prose, often beginning with the phrase “Dear Boss”. Writers would continue with arrogant comments about the last killing and move onto the details of the next. They used a mocking vernacular and often referred to the murders as “funny little games”. The letters were often embellished with drawings and composed using red ink to carry on the bloody theme. As time went on, often the writers suggested that they would send a piece of the body with the note, this being especially popular after Mr. Lusk of the Vigilance Committee was delivered a human left kidney. The aforementioned kidney was delivered with the famous “From Hell” letter – one of the notes considered from Jack the Ripper. It reads:

Sir, I send you half the Kidney I took from one woman praserved it for you. Tother piece I fried and ate it was very nise. I may send you the bloody knif that took it out if you only wate a whil longer.

Signed

Catch me when you can

Mister Lusk.

As terrifying as the Jack the Ripper murders are, it is equally terrifying to believe that random people were penning notes, like the above, for a good time. Authors Skinner and Evans describe this time as, “At its height, the letter-writers were in the ascendant and the legend was rapidly developing. For the police, the correspondence made things worse which hampered their inquiries; for the press it was a sensational boost and increased circulation.”

Many contemporary researchers contend that the entire Ripper legend came about out of the combination of news coverage and Ripper correspondence. The genre created out of a mixture of
violence, sex and the unknown during a time of great social upheaval. With morals, values, politics and sexuality at odds with each other, society was being torn asunder with “guilt and fear.” Judith Walkowitz notes that, “At the height of the crisis, cultural fantasies ran rampant in the speculations about the murder’s identity and the social and political significance of his crimes. These speculations also resembled the literature of the fantastic in their symptomatic expression and management of anxieties over social and political disorder.” Newspaper stories crafted an image of a monster in the minds of a creative and susceptible public, who then created a morbid legend out of a gloomy series of murders. The murders, conversely, of five old, drunk, sad prostitutes that shouldn’t have been of interest to anyone, save their families, created an instant genre. As the inquiries to the third and fourth victims were being held, a visitor to London could visit a wax museum and “take in life-like tableaus of the Ripper and his victims.” Additionally, in the years after the last murder, people developed novels, theater productions and eventually television shows around the crime. Newspapers and the social mix created a “monster”, one that was together real and imaginary in the minds of Londoners in 1888.

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Sin is a complex concept that is difficult for the human mind to comprehend. However, one belief about sin is that there is always a way to be redeemed or forgiven for the offense committed. Nathaniel Hawthorne believes that there is one sin that is worthy of the title “the unpardonable sin” and that for this sin alone there is no forgiveness; once the sin has been committed, the guilty party is alienated from society for life and never allowed to return to their original state of innocence. But what if Hawthorne was wrong and it can be proven that there can be forgiveness for the unpardonable sin?

Hawthorne has become famous for his short stories and novels that use deep allegorical imagery and themes that leave the reader contemplating their meaning long after they have set his books down. The interesting thing about Hawthorne though is that while his stories have a good message behind them and the plot is usually driven by the symbols and motifs he uses, by studying several of his works under the same light, it is discovered that he tends to reuse the same themes in his different pieces. The most common of these themes that seems to have been Hawthorne’s preferred topic is the state of alienation or separation that people experience either due to the physical distance between them and their counterparts or through spiritual separation from God and the things with which they are associated.

According to Hawthorne, when a person becomes isolated and detached from society, there is no way for them to return to their previous state of living and no way to reintegrate themselves in with the civilization and culture around them. They are forever set apart and forced to live lonely, unfulfilled lives. The reason their fate is unchangeable is because they are found to be guilty of a transgression so great that Hawthorne christens this state of being the “unpardonable sin.” But could it be that Hawthorne’s ideas and philosophy about this particular subject were wrong and there really is no such thing as an unpardonable sin? Possibly there is a way for the characters to remove themselves from a situation even as grim as this and restore their lives to its normal order and function once again in the world? If Hawthorne was wrong this means that the unpardonable sin can be forgiven.

The works by Hawthorne that will be studied are four of his short stories that include “The Minister’s Black Veil,” “Young Goodman Brown,” “My Kinsman, Major Molineaux,” and “The Birthmark.” One of his novels, The Marble Faun, will also be included in the comparison of themes. So why is it that Hawthorne tends to always come back to the same morals and lessons taught in his pieces of work? Is it a lack of originality, an intense desire to make a point through this chosen point of discussion, or is it simply that the ideas he writes about are ones that show up several times throughout his own life and it is easier for him to write on topics he has experience on then to come up with new ideas he does not know a whole lot about? Only after fully investigating these questions will a person finally be able to discover the truth about Hawthorne and discover a whole new perspective on his writing as well.

Nathaniel Hawthorne was born on July 4, 1804 in Salem Massachusetts to Nathaniel Hathorne and Elizabeth Clarke Manning Hathorne. His father, a sea captain, died in the year 1808 from yellow fever and Hawthorne, along with his sisters, was left under the care of his mother (Mellow 18). The idea of isolation or alienation is one which Hawthorne chose to describe his life many times throughout his young adult life. This was especially found to be true between the years of 1825 to 1837, a time in which Hawthorne spent living under his mother’s household. Statements made by Hawthorne have been found in which he calls these his “solitary years” and according to Moncure D. Conway, author of The Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne, “Later he looked back upon these years as a period of dreamlike isolation.
and solitude, spent in a haunted chamber, where he sat enchanted while other men moved on” (Conway 17).

Hawthorne wrote in his journal, “In this dismal chamber fame was won...If ever I should have a biographer, he ought to make great mention of this chamber in my memoirs, because so much of my lonely youth was wasted here, and here my mind and character were formed...if I had sooner made my escape into the world, I should have grown hard and rough, and been covered with earthly dust, and my heart would have become callous by rude encounters with the multitude” (Hawthorne, J. 55). In this statement as well as the one previous, Hawthorne claims that he was deeply affected by feelings of alienation and separation from others in the world, but sees it as being a good thing because it kept him in what some would almost call a purer state than those who were exposed to everything going on in the world. Hawthorne clearly felt like he was an expert when it came to this topic of seclusion because he supposedly lived in such a state for much of his young adult life. However, a turning point came to his reclusive life when he married his former neighbor from Salem named Sophia Peabody and from that point on, ventured out into the world and became a more vital part of society (Hawthorne, J. 5).

It seems already as if Hawthorne is proving his central theme wrong just by the way he lived his life. He claims that he was isolated and cut off from society, but he ended up being able to reintegrate himself in with those around him. If his thesis was true then he would have been cut off from people for good once he chose to distance himself the first time; however, this is clearly not the case in Hawthorne’s situation so it can then be proved that if Hawthorne was able to avoid this eternal separation, then it can be assumed that other people should be able to reverse their fate as well and undo the actions that placed them under the circumstances of which they are currently found.

But what exactly would Hawthorne define alienation as? There are so many different interpretations of the term that it is important to know what Hawthorne meant when he claimed that this was one of the most common things that impacted the lives of people throughout the generations. By studying some of Hawthorne’s memoirs from his youthful days, author James R. Mellow says that, “Isolation or ‘alienation’ is Hawthorne's principal theme and problem, and loss of contact with reality is the ultimate penalty he envisions. Characteristically, this results from a separation of the ‘head,’ or intellect, and the ‘heart,’ a term that includes the emotions, the passions, and the unconscious. The heart is the custodian of man's deepest potentialities for good and evil, and it is man's vital connection with reality. Too much ‘head’ leads always to a fatal intellectual pride, which distorts and finally destroys the wholeness of the real world. This, for Hawthorne, is the worst sin or calamity that man is heir to” (Mellow 19).

It is time to put all of this background information to use by using it to better understand the characters in Hawthorne’s stories. To begin with, in the short fictional story “The Minister’s Black Veil,” the Reverend Mr. Hooper, a local parson in the town of Milford, cuts himself off from everyone around him and alienates himself (Selected Tales 186). Hooper believes that there is sin in his life in which he needs to hold himself accountable for, so to visually display this sin, he covers his face with a black veil and never lets anyone see his face again, even demanding that the veil be left on him once he dies (Selected Tales 199). He goes so far with this obsession to alienate himself from the people surrounding him that he will not even let his own wife, Elizabeth, gaze upon his appearance and he tells her, “This dismal shade must separate me from the world: even you, Elizabeth, can never come behind it!” (Selected Tales 193).

While his whole purpose in alienating himself from those around him is to keep himself set apart because of sin in his life, separating him both physically when he covers his face and spiritually when he tries to keep himself away from the sin around him that is found in the people of Milford, he ultimately begins to make others feel alienated as well because they lose that connection with him and end up feeling scared and depressed because of the distance the black crape veil puts between them (Carnochan 185). This is shown in the last few paragraphs of the story where Reverend Hooper is
addressing those around him and says, "I look around me, and, lo! on every visage a Black Veil!" They then respond to this by alienating themselves as can be seen in the lines that say, "While his auditors shrank from one another, in mutual affright..." (Selected Tales 199).

Even in his last few dying breaths, he is able to remain alienated and also make everyone around him start to alienate themselves from one another. "In a passage which verges on the humorous, Reverend Hooper becomes frightened when he catches a glimpse of himself in a mirror. The isolating sin typified by the black veil appalls even Hooper and allows the reader some insight into the terrifying loneliness Hawthorne imagined waiting for those who set themselves above others" (Mellow 92). Hawthorne is able to effectively convey his message about the dismal state people must live in when they submit themselves to being isolated from others through his character in this story, using him as an example of what it is like to never be able to escape from this terrible way of life.

But what was stopping Hooper from connecting with the people around him? Was it some higher power that was keeping him from leading a normal life with the people around him that knew and loved him? No, it was he himself who decided to separate himself from them. His religious knowledge forced him to detach his senses and emotions from his way of thinking and therefore caused him to place the veil on his face that served as a barrier. Just as he placed the veil on, he could have just as easily removed it from his face and the people would have been thrilled to have the Reverend ask them for their forgiveness for trying to distance himself from them. Instead his heavy conscious deemed him unworthy of forgiveness for his sins in his own mind, making him the responsible party for his alienation, but not meaning that there was not a way to get out of this separation. For his sin to truly be unpardonable, he would have had to be suppressed without an escape route, on a one way path that did not allow for a change in direction no matter how much it was deserved, but this simply was not the case for this particular man.

Switching to the story "Young Goodman Brown," once again the theme of alienation is seen through Brown who is the main character in the allegorical story told by Hawthorne. Brown chooses to leave behind his new wife, Faith, in order to go off by himself into the forest on a journey of self discovery (Selected Tales 133). Once in the forest, he encounters Satan and other images that he recognizes as people from his town and through a series of events, comes to the realization that he is in the process of losing his faith (depicted allegorically through the image of his wife Faith). This is an act that would alienate Goodman Brown from God in a spiritual sense and Brown immediately sees the danger in this and cries out in fear because he will not be able to stand this separation, or alienation, from the only thing that gives his life meaning (Keil 38).

In the end of the story, he is found completely alone in the forest, all images having left him, and he is unable to determine if the experience he just had was real or if he imagined the whole thing, so he then lives the rest of his life in suspicion of those around him. "And when he had lived long, and was borne to his grave...they carved no hopeful verse upon his tombstone, for his dying hour was gloom" (Selected Tales 148). Because of the feeling he had of complete alienation from those around him, due to his suspicion of all of them because their images appeared while he was in the forest, he dies in a depressed and horrid state because without the connection to other human beings, he is unable to be joyful and prosper. This, according to Hawthorne, is one of the terrible side affects alienation plays on those who are forced to endure it.

In this case, the alienation experienced is once again not due to anything outside of the main character himself. Young Goodman Brown gained insight and knowledge into the lives of people around him, but he was never even sure if the knowledge he had about each of his fellow townspeople was true, yet based his actions off of theses suspicions. This decision is what drove him to his grave an empty, detached man who was full of sorrow and despair. Had he found concrete evidence of the offense each of these characters supposedly committed, he would have been able to better deal with his fear of them because he would not spend the rest of his days wondering whether what he had seen
was true or not. His downfall was not unforgivable because he was the one keeping himself distanced, not the people around him.

Next, in the short story “My Kinsman, Major Molineaux,” young Robin sets off in search of his relative Major Molineaux in order to try and persuade his distant relative to help him out and provide him with a better way of life then he was previously living (Selected Tales 34). Robin is forced to endure the trip, one which takes him from his home to the city in which he is told his kinsman is living, all by himself in a sort of alienation from all that he knows and has grown accustomed to in order to begin his life afresh. When he reaches the place where he is supposed to find the major, he spends much of his time searching around for his relative but is unable to locate him (Selected Tales 35). The only reason Robin is able to keep pressing forward despite these looming feelings of being completely alone and isolated from everything familiar and comfortable to him is the notion that everything will be okay once he finds Major Molineaux (Selected Tales 37).

The story ends with Robin finally seeing his relative, who has been tarred and feathered, being paraded through town and suddenly it sinks in for the young man that there will be no immediate relief from the feelings of separation and lack of companionship that he is currently experiencing (Carpenter 51). In the last paragraph of the story, Robin is faced with the option of returning to familiarity or continuing on in the city, building a life for himself there by working through the estrangement he feels and pressing onward toward his goals of bettering himself despite these horrible feelings he has been forced to endure (Selected Tales 50). Here Hawthorne may be raising the question of whether the intimidating feelings of being alone can overpower the desire of a person to rise to their full potential.

This idea comes directly from Hawthorne’s own life when he was left on his own and has to decide if he was going to keep moving forward in an attempt to improve his quality of life by working hard and achieving great things or if he would choose to pity his situation and let it overpower his ability to keep going. If Robin is a character modeled after Hawthorne, then it can be determined that Robin chose to stay in the city and work to build himself up without the help of anyone around him, proving that alienation does not always get the best of those it effects, but that it is possible for those who have a strong enough will to overcome the unfortunate situation they are placed into.

Now looking at the last of the four short stories to be studied, the theme of alienation seems to resonate the loudest in “The Birthmark,” the story of a man and his wife who are separated by a blemish on her cheek that keeps the husband from being able to fully and truly love his wife (Selected Tales 260). The woman, named Georgiana, was born with a red birthmark upon her cheek that is in the shape of a small hand, which leads many people under the impression that this is the touch of an angel upon her face. This is not the feeling her husband Aylmer gets from the mark though as he sees this as an evil, ill-boding sign left upon her that must be done away with if he is going to keep his sanity and be able to ever truly love his wife in the manner that he is supposed to (Weinstein 52).

According to John L. Idol, Jr. and Melinda M. Ponder of the University of Massachusetts Press, “Aylmer’s obsession with perfection has driven him from the possibility of heartfelt sympathy with Georgiana, and probably with anyone else. Like many of Hawthorne's artist or intellectuals, Aylmer is alienated” (Idol iii). As talked about in an earlier section, Hawthorne defined alienation as separation of the head from the heart in many cases and in this case especially, the main character, Aylmer, is so disgusted and appalled by the sight of the red mark on his wife’s face that he cannot even bare to look at her and begins to use his knowledge of science, which comes from his head, to attempt to reconnect his thoughts of his wife with his heart, which has been severed ever since he has spent the majority of his time dwelling on ways in which he can remove the mark (Weinstein 54).

The reader is able to see more into the character of Aylmer when they are given a description of his laboratory space where he conducts all of his experiments because it is dark and gloomy, set apart from everything else, a place where people do not come unless Aylmer himself invites them in. It is a place of secrecy and one in which thoughts and knowledge preside over feelings and emotion. “The
The setting of ‘The Birthmark’ helps the reader see that the world in which Aylmer is most comfortable is one lacking connection both to common domestic comforts and to the life-giving light of the sun, further evidence of his alienation” (Idol 5). Aylmer is not about to let his emotions overcome his sense of pride, the later being one of the driving forces behind the feelings of loss of intimacy he has with his wife. In the end, he successfully removes the mark from her face, but she dies along with it, proving that the mark was what was connecting her to life, holding onto the strings of her heart, keeping her alive and well (Selected Tales 277). Aylmer cuts these ties to life and finally fully submerges himself in isolation by cutting off his last connection to emotion and feeling in life.

Finally, it is time to study and interpret one of Hawthorne’s novels, “The Marble Faun” in order to find ways in which Hawthorne incorporated his main theme into the plot of this story as well. Out of all of the stories so far, this one uses the theme and develops it more fully then any other one has been able to. This is probably due to the fact that it is a longer piece of work so Hawthorne was able to develop the theme more fully through the characters and storyline then he ever was able to before. The characters in the story that are affected the most by the feeling of isolation are Hilda, Kenyon, Miriam, and Donatello.

The first character that will be looked at is Hilda, a pure, religious, angel-like personality who is unaffected by sin and the evil of the world until she is exposed to a crime that she witnesses two of her friends commit (Waples 228). Through this experience, Hilda is cut off from one of her best friends, Miriam, and left to sort through the meaning of life and all it has to offer on her own, without the help of anyone. Hilda suffers greatly due to the isolation she experiences, showing that it takes greater effect on those in life who are living lives above that of worldly things and desires and for purposes greater then themselves. Hilda eventually overcomes these feelings of grief and despair, but it takes a long time of soul searching and self-exploration to finally be able to live with herself again and rejoin others in society, returning her life to a place of normality (Huzzard 120).

Next, Kenyon is effected by isolation by default because all of his friends are off mourning experiences they have had to endure, which leaves him with no one to consult or talk to until he sets off in search of his grieving friends and is able to reunite them once again. In Kenyon’s case, he is able to rise above this miserable state when he is separated from those he associates himself with because his heart and mind stay connected in his purpose for living and it is through this that he is able to help his friends join him once again in the lives they lived before (Huzzard 122).

In the case of Miriam, she is the perfect example of what it means to be an alienated soul from the beginning of the story because she is dealing with past sins and grievances that do not allow her to associate herself with the jolly and uplifting personalities of the three friends she travels around Italy with. For example, she is always off by herself, isolated and alone, until she is able to connect to the model and later to Donatello though their shared experiences with sin (Huzzard 122). Miriam is never able to deliver herself from the effect the alienation plays on her being and even up to the end, is a lost and wondering soul that none of her friends are ever able to fully understand no matter how hard they try to connect to her (Hawthorne, N. 464)

Donatello is the fourth and final character in the story that displays signs of being alienated or separated from those around him. In the beginning of the story, the friends all decide that he is clearly a faun because he is so jovial and full of energy all the time, dancing and singing, being one with nature (Hawthorne, N. 18). This all changes when Donatello murders the model in response to Miriam reaching out to him for help, causing the creature to lose his faun-like traits, making nature flee from him, but not making him quite like humans as to where he can connect with them (Hawthorne, N. 173). He is now completely alone and much like Miriam is destined to stay this way, with the book ending with him locked in prison, apart from all people and everything he once related himself to (Hawthorne, N. 467).

Now that all of the different characters from Hawthorne’s selected pieces of literature have been discussed, it is clearly evident through these works that Hawthorne was an expert on creating
characters that, when affected by the feelings of alienation, all reacted in different ways. Some went in
search of the life they had lost, while others fell apart and continued down a road towards self
destruction or pain and suffering. No matter what the reaction, it was Hawthorne’s goal to warn people
of the all too imminent danger people are sure to face if they allow themselves to fall into the trap of
secluding themselves and bringing those they are connected to down with them. Through his own
personal experiences, Hawthorne is able to show readers what reality is like for anyone who is must deal
with alienation.

For all of his theories to be found true, Hawthorne needed to work off of a sound foundation
and belief upon which to base his central conflicts. He chose a legitimate issue to deal with and write
about, but by trying to make his writing original and unique, he may have gone a little bit too far to
stretch the basis of truth supporting his claim. According to a group at the University of Chicago, the
unpardonable sin is a bit different than Hawthorne’s definition.

“It is a sin against knowledge, which involves much deeper guilt than that which results
from blindness or ignorance. But it is still more than a deliberate and persistent sinning
against the light, for many do so with uneasiness, shame, and self-reproach, longing for
and ultimately finding deliverance from the thrall of passion. Men who have sinned
against the light with deadness of soul, without remorse, have yet been converted.
Hatred of goodness is a still greater depth, and yet even here we do not touch the abyss
of guilt over which lies the dreadful shadow of eternal sin. We reach this only when we
come to the open scoff, the spoken blasphemy, the proselyting sneer, which are
intended to turn others from the way of life. To reject right and purity and love for one’s
self, and then to commit one’s self to the work of bringing others into such a condition,
this marks adhesion of the heart to evil as its settled, shameless choice, which no
appeals of love can ever disturb. It is not that God’s mercy is insufficient to forgive such
sin, but that the sinning soul willfully and forever persistently spurns it.” (“The
Unpardonable Sin” 248).

The person who is allegedly committing the sin according to the definition given must be doing
so deliberately. They must have the knowledge that the crime they are committing is wrong and still
choose to do so without reservation. If they commit the sin without prior knowledge then they should
not be found guilty of the offense and therefore do not fall under the category of “unpardonable.” In his
theory, Hawthorne chose to define his unpardonable sin using the same key themes and concepts, but
twisted the rules just slightly so that by his definition, everyone is subject to fall under this curse despite
their circumstance and no one is exempt from the consequences. He says that anyone with too much
intellectual or spiritual knowledge is likely to fall into this group of accused people, but if the definition
given is correct than it would not matter if they were intellectual individuals, they simply know that the
sin they are committing is wrong and still chose to commit it. The change, though minor, drastically
changes who is included among the people likely to become alienated from society without hope of re-
 inclusion.

Now looking back at the stories once more, in the case of “The Minister’s Black Veil,” Reverend
Hooper is a religious intellectual who becomes separated from society due to his superior understanding
of the human’s spiritual life and sin nature. He does not deliberately use his knowledge to go against the
structure of society, nor does he try to bring those around him down with him. Yet Hawthorne still
groups him in with those found guilty of the unpardonable sin. Likewise, Young Goodman Brown is on a
journey of self discovery that also leads to his downfall, but he does not share what he learns in the
forest with those around him, which would have corrupted their view on life and brought them down
with him, instead he suffers through the pain of knowing the “truth” himself and as a result is not found
guilty of committing the unpardonable sin in the complete sense of the term.
Next, in the "Birthmark," Aylmer is responsible for the death of his wife, but he thought that the actions he was taking to remove the mark on her face would improve life for them, not destroy it. He did not purposely or willfully harm her in an attempt to go against what was good and virtuous, but did so ignorantly unaware of the fatal impact this would have on her. This is connected to the sin Miriam and Donatello of *The Marble Faun* are found at fault for when Donatello kills the model. He does so purely out of defense for Miriam, who looks to him in her moment of desperate need, offering up a silent plea for him to save her. He does so trying to free her from her heavy burden, not knowing it would isolate her even more from the world and bring Hilda and himself down as well. Had he killed with this knowledge in mind, he would have no excuse for the state in which he finds himself and would therefore be unable to remove himself from such a position.

Hawthorne strongly supported his theory that knowledge and religious superiority will eventually lead to a destructive downfall that is irreversible, causing the person who committed the sin to live forever in a state of alienation. However, his claim that the characters he created within his short stories and one of his major novels are characters that can be punished for committing the unpardonable sin is not a sound argument because as seen, by closely examining his pieces of literature, it is apparent that they were not guilty of crimes which fit the definition of the unpardonable sin. If they could be forgiven, then the unpardonable sin as Hawthorne chose to define it, does not exist.

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