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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The Wagner Forum for Undergraduate Research is an interdisciplinary journal which provides an arena where students can publish their research. Papers are reviewed with respect to their intellectual merit and scope of contribution to a given field. To enhance readability the journal is typically subdivided into three sections entitled *The Natural Sciences*, *The Social Sciences* and *Critical Essays*. The first two of these sections are limited to papers and abstracts dealing with scientific investigations (experimental, theoretical and empirical). The third section is reserved for speculative papers based on the scholarly review and critical examination of previous works.

This issue ushers in a newly formed editorial board. It has been a pleasure working with such talented individuals. Their stimulating conversations and insightful comments have already proven to be invaluable. Indeed, there was a great deal to discuss given the outstanding quality of the manuscripts submitted and the wide range of disciplines they spanned.

The articles on the pages that follow address questions including does the mercury in vaccines cause or predispose a child to autism and what role did Quotidian Women play in the French Revolution? They explore the connection between the stress placed on first responders and various psychopathologies that result. The interested reader will most certainly enjoy the paper on Malcolm X which challenges the popular misconception that his goal was to incite violence. Also, be sure not to miss the first of three papers on Renaissance Italy. It gives a fascinating account of how Vesalius composed the modern text on human anatomy.

Read on and enjoy!

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Section I:
The Natural Sciences

The Anterior Midgut of Larval Yellow Fever Mosquitoes (*Aedes aegypti*): Effects of Nutrients on the Transepithelial Voltage and Strong Luminal Alkalinization

Sejmir Izeirovski (Biology), Dr. Stacia B. Moffett¹ (Biology), Dr. David F. Moffett¹ (Biology) and Dr. Horst Onken (Biology)

Isolated anterior midguts of larval *Aedes aegypti* were bathed in aerated mosquito saline containing serotonin ($0.2 \mu\text{mol l}^{-1}$) and perfused with NaCl (100 mmol l^{-1}). The lumen negative transepithelial voltage (V_{te}) was measured and luminal alkalinization was determined through the color change of luminal m-cresol purple from yellow to purple after luminal perfusion stops. Addition of 10 mmol l^{-1} amino acids (arginine, glutamine, histidine or proline) or dicarboxylic acids (malate or succinate) to the luminal perfusate resulted in more negative V_{te} values, whereas addition of glucose was without effect. In the presence of TRIS chloride as luminal perfusate, addition of nutrients did not change V_{te} . These results are consistent with Na^+ -dependent absorption of amino acids and dicarboxylic acids. Effects of serotonin withdrawal indicated that nutrient absorption is stimulated by this hormone. Strong luminal alkalinization was observed with mosquito saline containing serotonin on the hemolymph-side and 100 mmol l^{-1} NaCl in the lumen, indicating that alkalinization does not depend on luminal nutrients. Omission of glucose or dicarboxylic acids from the hemolymph-side solution had no effect on luminal alkalinization, whereas omission of amino acids significantly decelerated it. Re-addition of amino acids restored alkalinization, suggesting the involvement of amino acid metabolism in luminal alkalinization.

I. Introduction

Strong midgut alkalinization is typical of a number of larval endopterygote insects of the orders Coleoptera, Diptera, Trichoptera, and Lepidoptera (for references see Clark 1999). Larval yellow fever mosquitoes (*Aedes aegypti*) reach pH levels of up to 12 in their anterior midgut (Senior-White, 1926; Dadd, 1975). The digestive enzymes are adapted to this pH (Eguchi *et al.*, 1990), and Berenbaum (1980) hypothesized that the high pH is important for the dissociation of protein-tannin complexes and increases assimilation of dietary protein. The high pH of the midgut is also essential for the

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susceptibility to biological control agents such as *Bacillus thuringiensis* endotoxin (Knowles, 1994).

Clark *et al.* (1999) perfused isolated anterior midgut segments of larval *Aedes aegypti* and observed a lumen negative transepithelial voltage (V_{te}) that was stimulated by submicromolar doses of serotonin, concentrations similar to those observed in the hemolymph of the animals (Clark and Bradley, 1997). V_{te} was assumed to reflect acid absorption and/or base secretion and it was analyzed in further detail to uncover the complete mechanisms of strong alkalinization (Onken *et al.* 2004a). The mechanisms proposed on the basis of these results were similar to earlier proposals based on studies with intact and semi-intact larvae (Boudko, 2001a,b; Corena *et al.*, 2002). However, when luminal alkalinization was evaluated in isolated and perfused anterior midgut preparations, it turned out that most assumptions about underlying transport mechanisms could not be verified (Onken *et al.*, 2008, Onken *et al.* 2009, Onken and Moffett, 2009). The only unambiguous finding was that V-ATPases in the basal membrane pump protons from the cells to the hemolymph and apparently generate the driving force for transapical acid absorption and/or base secretion. V-ATPases had been immunolocalized in the basal membrane of anterior midguts of larval *Aedes aegypti* (Zhuang *et al.*, 1999). Proton gradients on the basal surface of the cells – indicative of active proton absorption from the cells to the hemolymph – were inhibited by addition of the specific V-ATPase blocker bafilomycin (Boudko *et al.*, 2001a). Concanamycin, another V-ATPase inhibitor (Dröse and Altendorf, 1997), abolished the transepithelial voltage, the short-circuit current, and strong alkalinization of isolated anterior midguts (Onken *et al.*, 2004a; Onken *et al.*, 2006; Onken *et al.*, 2008). On the other hand, the apical transport mechanisms involved in strong luminal alkalinization remain uncertain (Onken and Moffett, 2009).

In most of the above studies with isolated anterior midguts, the tissue was bathed and perfused with a mosquito saline based broadly on the hemolymph assays of Edwards (1982a,b), which contains a number of nutrients, including glucose, amino acids and dicarboxylic acids. Amino acid transporters have been identified in larval mosquitoes with molecular techniques; these transporters were immunolocalized in the apical membrane of midgut epithelial cells (Boudko *et al.*, 2005; Okech *et al.*, 2008a,b). However, we have recently found that strong alkalinization persists in the absence of luminal nutrients (Onken *et al.*, 2009). The present study aimed to analyze the possible contribution of nutrient absorption to V_{te} , and to investigate the possible influence of hemolymph-side nutrients on strong luminal alkalinization in the anterior midgut of larval *Aedes aegypti*.

II. Materials and Methods

Animals

Aedes aegypti (Vero Beach strain) eggs were provided by Dr. Marc Klowden (University of Idaho, Moscow, USA) from a continuously maintained colony. The eggs were hatched and larvae were maintained in a 1:1 mixture of tap water and deionized water at 27 °C and on a 16:8 L:D photoperiod. The water was replaced each day, and the larvae were fed with ground Tetramin flakes (Tetrawerke, Melle, Germany). Fed 4th instar larvae were used in all experiments.

Solutions and Chemicals

The mosquito saline used for the experiments as hemolymph-side bathing solution was composed according to the hemolymph of larval yellow fever mosquitoes (Edwards, 1982a,b) and consisted of (in mmol L⁻¹): NaCl, 42.5; KCl, 3.0; MgCl₂, 0.6; CaCl₂, 5.0; NaHCO₃, 5.0; succinic acid, 5.0; malic acid, 5.0; L-proline, 5.0; L-glutamine, 9.1; L-histidine, 8.7; L-arginine, 3.3; dextrose, 10.0; Hepes, 25. The pH was adjusted to 7.0 with NaOH. The lumen of the isolated anterior midgut was perfused with NaCl (100 mmol L⁻¹, pH 7) with or without nutrients. In experiments where Na⁺-free solution was used as luminal perfusate, TRIS substituted for Na⁺ ions. When monitoring luminal alkalinization, the luminal NaCl solution contained 0.04 % of the pH indicator m-cresol purple. In some experiments, 6-diazo-5-oxo-L-norleucine (DON), an inhibitor of glutaminase (cf. Engler *et al.*, 2002), was directly dissolved in the mosquito saline at a concentration of 1 mmol L⁻¹. All chemicals used were of analytical grade and were obtained from Sigma-Aldrich (St. Louis, Missouri, USA).

Isolation, Mounting and Perfusion of Anterior Midguts

Anterior midguts of larval yellow fever mosquitoes (*Aedes aegypti*) were isolated, mounted and perfused as described before in detail (Onken *et al.*, 2004a,b). To summarize, after isolation, the midguts were transferred to a bath that contained mosquito saline and tied with a human hair on an L-shaped glass perfusion pipette connected to two syringe pumps (model Aladdin, World Precision Instruments, Sarasota, Florida, USA). The bath (volume 200 µl) was continuously gravity perfused with aerated mosquito saline at a rate of 15-30 ml h⁻¹. The midgut lumen was perfused with one of the syringe pumps at a rate of 50 µl h⁻¹. After passing through the midgut, the luminal perfusate entered the bath and was flushed away by the bath perfusion. As verified before (Onken *et al.*, 2004a), the open end of the preparation does not reduce the transepithelial voltage.

Measurement of the Transepithelial Voltage

To measure the transepithelial voltage (V_{te}) the bath (hemolymph-side of the epithelium) and the luminal perfusate (apical side of the epithelium) were connected with agar bridges (3 mol Γ^{-1} KCl in 3% agar) to two different calomel electrodes connected to the preamplifier of a voltage clamp (model VCC 600, Physiological Instruments, San Diego, California, USA). The V_{te} was measured with reference to the bath. Data were digitized using a Labtrax 4 AD converter and analyzed with Data-Trax software (World Precision Instruments, Sarasota, Florida, USA).

Measurement of Luminal Alkalinization

Alkalinization was qualitatively determined with the pH indicator m-cresol purple (0.04% w/w) dissolved in the luminal perfusion medium. Luminal perfusion was interrupted and a color change from orange to purple ($pK_2 = 8.32$) was taken to indicate luminal alkalinization (cf. Onken *et al.*, 2008; see also Fig. 3). The color changes were observed with a dissecting microscope and recorded with a digital camera. As a rule, photographs were taken every two minutes for a period of 10 minutes during such stop-flow experiments.

Statistics

All the data are presented in the Results as means \pm standard error of the mean (SE). Differences between groups were tested, using paired Student's t-test. Significance was assumed at $P < 0.05$.

III. Results

Effects of Luminal Nutrients on the Transepithelial Voltage

In addition to inorganic ions and buffer, mosquito saline contains glucose, two organic acids and four amino acids (Edwards, 1982a,b; see Materials and Methods). In a series of experiments, we studied the influence of these nutrients on the transepithelial voltage (V_{te}) of the anterior midgut of larval *Aedes aegypti* when they were separately added to the luminal perfusion medium (100 mM NaCl). After mounting the tissues in the presence of hemolymph-side mosquito saline and luminal NaCl, an average V_{te} of -5 ± 0.5 mV ($n = 44$, \pm SE) was measured. Addition of serotonin (0.2 μ mol Γ^{-1}) to the hemolymph-side bath drove this voltage to more negative values (-13 ± 1.1 mV; $n = 44$, \pm SE). Addition of arginine (10 mmol Γ^{-1}) to the luminal perfusate significantly increased the lumen negative V_{te} by about 180%, from -7 ± 1 mV to -17 ± 3 mV ($n = 7$, \pm SE; $P < 0.05$). In 13 experiments, luminal addition of glutamine (10 mmol Γ^{-1}) resulted in a

significant V_{te} increase by about 75 %, from -15 ± 2 mV to -25 ± 4 mV ($n = 13$, \pm SE; $P < 0.05$). Luminal histidine (10 mmol l^{-1}) significantly stimulated V_{te} , from -23 ± 4 mV to -37 ± 6 mV ($n = 4$, \pm SE; $P < 0.05$), and luminal proline (10 mmol l^{-1}) resulted in a V_{te} increase of about 80 %, from -12 ± 2 mV to -19 ± 3 mV ($n = 11$, \pm SE; $P < 0.05$). Luminal addition of the organic acids malate or succinate (10 mmol l^{-1}) resulted in V_{te} stimulations by about 80 % (malate: -22 ± 4 mV to -36 ± 3 mV; $n = 7$, \pm SE; $P < 0.05$ and succinate: -13 ± 2 mV to -23 ± 4 mV; $n = 8$, \pm SE; $P < 0.05$). Luminal addition of glucose (10 mmol l^{-1}) did not affect V_{te} (-17 ± 6 mV before and after glucose, $n = 6$, \pm SE). The results obtained with nutrients in the luminal perfusate are summarized in Fig. 1.

The effects of nutrient addition were reversible. They also were enhanced by the presence of serotonin. In some experiments, we washed out hemolymph-side serotonin in the presence of a luminal nutrient. From the observed V_{te} changes it is evident that the voltage stimulating effect of luminal amino acids or dicarboxylic acids is enhanced by serotonin (Fig. 2). Sodium in the lumen is required for the stimulation of the voltage by nutrients. In three experiments, arginine was added in the presence of hemolymph-side serotonin to a luminal perfusate that consisted of TRIS chloride (100 mmol l^{-1}) instead of NaCl. In these experiments, glutamine did not induce a significant change of the transepithelial voltage (before glutamine: -25 ± 16 mV; after glutamine: -25 ± 15 mV; $n = 3$, \pm SE).

Effects of Hemolymph-side Nutrients on Alkalinization

It is known that strong luminal alkalinization occurs in the absence of luminal nutrients with perfusion medium containing only NaCl (see Onken *et al.*, 2009). In another series of experiments we studied the influence of hemolymph-side nutrients on the capacity of the anterior midgut of larval yellow fever mosquitoes to alkalinize the luminal medium. In all experiments, alkalinization was first observed during a control interval with serotonin and all the nutrients present in the hemolymph-side bath. Under control conditions, alkalinization was clearly visible after 2-4 minutes and intensified afterwards. After this control experiment, the procedure was repeated in the absence of hemolymph-side glucose, or the two dicarboxylic acids, or the four amino acids. Neither omission of glucose ($n = 6$) nor of the two dicarboxylic acids ($n = 4$) affected the capacity of the anterior midgut to alkalinize the lumen. However, in the absence of amino acids ($n = 7$) no alkalinization was observed during the 10 minutes after luminal perfusion stopped (Fig. 3).

In the last series of experiments, we observed the effect of hemolymph-side addition of 6-diazo-5-oxo-L-norleucine (DON, 1 mmol l^{-1}) on the luminal alkalinization

in the anterior midgut. DON is a glutamine analog that inhibits glutaminase (Engler *et al.*, 2002), an enzyme responsible for the conversion of glutamine to glutamate with release of ammonia. There was no effect of DON on luminal alkalization, neither with mosquito saline as the hemolymph-side bath (n = 9), nor when all amino acids were replaced by glutamine (n = 3).

IV. Discussion

Amino Acid Absorption

Antibodies have detected the presence of amino acid transporters in the midgut of larval mosquitoes (Boudko *et al.*, 2005, Okech *et al.*, 2008a,b). The results of the present study are consistent with the presence of amino acid transporters in the anterior region of the midgut of larval *Aedes aegypti* and show that they are active in *in vitro* preparations of the tissue (Fig. 1). We observed that voltage changes after addition of glutamine were abolished when luminal Na⁺ was replaced with TRIS, consistent with the reported cation dependence of the transporters (see Results, cf. Boudko *et al.*, 2005). Moreover, our observations confirm the electrogenic nature of the transporters and indicate that amino acid absorption is stimulated by serotonin (Fig. 2). Absorption of amino acids significantly contributes to the transepithelial voltage measured with isolated midgut preparations in the presence of luminal mosquito saline, which is certainly of importance for the re-interpretation of previous investigations with isolated anterior midguts (Onken *et al.*, 2004a, Onken *et al.*, 2006).

Our observations diverge from previously reported characterizations of mosquito amino acid transporters in two respects. First, glutamate and proline, two amino acids that induced voltage changes in the present study, are not avidly accepted by the transporters already characterized (cf. Okech *et al.*, 2008b; Boudko *et al.*, 2005). Moreover, the amino acid transporter characterized in larval yellow fever mosquitoes *Aedes aegypti* was mainly found in the posterior midgut and hardly expressed in the anterior midgut (Boudko *et al.*, 2005). Based on our results, it can be anticipated that more types of amino acid transporters may be present in the midgut of larval mosquitoes.

Dicarboxylic Acid Absorption

Transepithelial transport of dicarboxylic acids has long been known and renal transporters of this type were reviewed over 20 years ago (Wright, 1985). These transporters accept a variety of dicarboxylic acids (including malate and succinate), are electrogenic and Na⁺-dependent. Three Na⁺ ions are transported together with one dicarboxylic acid molecule. To our knowledge such transporters have never been

described for any insect epithelium. Our observation of voltage changes in response to luminal addition of malate or succinate (Fig. 1) strongly suggests the presence of such transporters in the anterior midgut of larval yellow fever mosquitoes. A hypothetical transport model for amino acids and dicarboxylic acids is shown in Fig. 4A.

Glucose Absorption

Na⁺/glucose cotransporters have been identified in epithelial tissues of many animals, vertebrates and invertebrates. However, early studies with insects suggested the absence of Na⁺-dependent, active glucose absorption in the gut and described the absorption as passive, driven by the fast transformation of glucose into trehalose, generally regarded as the major hemolymph sugar of most insect species (Treherne, 1957, 1958). However, in the hemolymph of larval *Aedes aegypti* glucose and trehalose are present at almost equal concentrations (Edwards, 1982b), suggesting that active glucose absorption is necessary for a effective absorption of dietary glucose. Recently, Na⁺-dependent glucose absorption has indeed been reported for the gut of an aphid (Caccia *et al.*, 2007). However, in our experiments the addition of luminal glucose did not cause any voltage change indicative of Na⁺-dependent glucose absorption (Fig. 1). Of course, on the basis of our results we cannot exclude active glucose absorption in gut regions anterior or posterior to the anterior midgut.

Hemolymph Nutrients and Strong Luminal Alkalinization

Strong luminal alkalinization in the midgut of larval *Aedes aegypti* was observed when isolated anterior midguts were perfused with 100 mmol l⁻¹ NaCl (Onken *et al.*, 2009), indicating that alkalinization is not obligatorily linked to nutrient absorption. However, the results of the present study demonstrate an influence of hemolymph-side nutrients on alkalinization. Whereas the omission of glucose or dicarboxylic acids was without effect, alkalinization was abolished or at least significantly decelerated when amino acids were not present in the hemolymph-side bathing medium (Fig. 3). This observation can be explained in at least two ways. It could be that the energy metabolism of the epithelial cells responsible for strong luminal alkalinization completely depends on amino acids as fuels. Consequently, the omission of amino acids could result in a decrease of intracellular ATP and, subsequently, in a decreased capacity to drive the processes necessary for alkalinization. Alternatively, or in addition to the first point, the products of amino acid catabolism, ammonium and bicarbonate, could be of importance for the alkalinization. Interestingly, both products of amino acid catabolism are strong bases in their unprotonated forms and both could result in strong alkalinization when

secreted to the lumen. For a hypothetical model of how amino acid catabolism could contribute to luminal alkalization see Fig. 4B.

We used 6-diazo-5-oxo-L-norleucine (DON) to inhibit glutaminase (Engler *et al.*, 2002), and interfere with the catabolism of glutamine. However, DON did not affect luminal alkalization. A number of confounding possibilities could account for this result. First, we have no independent evidence for the expression of glutaminase in this tissue, or that DON is effective against any insect form of the enzyme. Furthermore, although DON is regarded as a membrane permeant inhibitor, it could be that in this case it does not enter the cells. Moreover, it could also be that inhibition of glutaminase does not completely inhibit amino acid catabolism. Many amino acids are transaminated to glutamate, but it is actually glutamate dehydrogenase that, downstream of glutaminase, may produce the bulk of ammonia by oxidative deamination. Thus, the latter enzyme could be a better target to interfere with the production of ammonia and bicarbonate from amino acid catabolism. Additional studies will be necessary to clarify these possibilities. In particular, it will be of interest to determine whether ammonia is secreted into the lumen of the anterior midgut.

Final Remarks

Altogether the results of the present investigation show evidence that a significant part of the transepithelial voltage generated by isolated and perfused anterior midguts of larval *Aedes aegypti* is related to nutrient absorption rather than alkali secretion. Whereas absorption of luminal amino acids and alkali secretion appear to be independent processes, amino acids in the hemolymph seem to play a crucial role in luminal alkalization. This observation supports the possibility that more detailed studies of the link between hemolymph amino acids and alkalization may contribute to our understanding of the mechanisms of strong alkalization in this tissue. It is for example necessary to measure whether ammonia/ammonium actually appears in the luminal medium.

V. Acknowledgments

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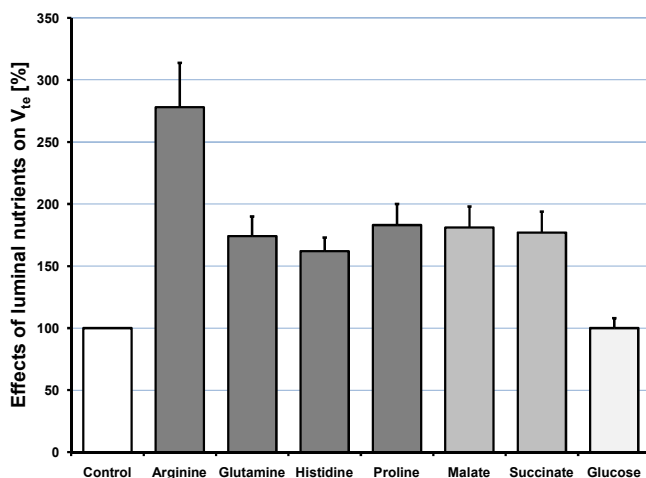


Figure 1: Effect of luminal addition of different nutrients (at concentrations of 10 mmol l^{-1}) on the transepithelial voltage (V_{te}) in percent + SE. For further details see Results.

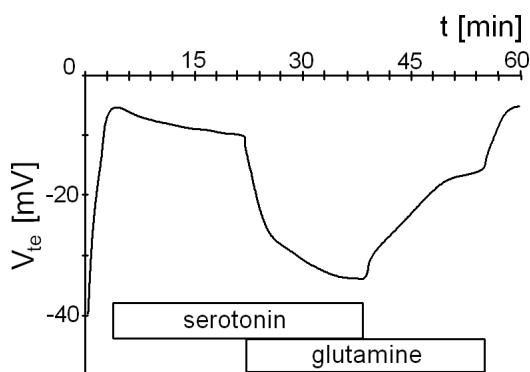


Figure 2: Representative time-course of the lumen negative transepithelial voltage (V_{te} , in mV), showing the effects of addition and withdrawal of hemolymph-side serotonin ($0.2 \text{ } \mu\text{mol l}^{-1}$) and luminal glutamine (10 mmol l^{-1}). The serotonin-induced change of V_{te} is much smaller in the absence of glutamine (5 mV) than in its presence (20 mV). The glutamine-induced change of V_{te} in the presence of serotonin (23 mV) is markedly larger than the glutamine-induced V_{te} change in the absence of serotonin (12 mV).

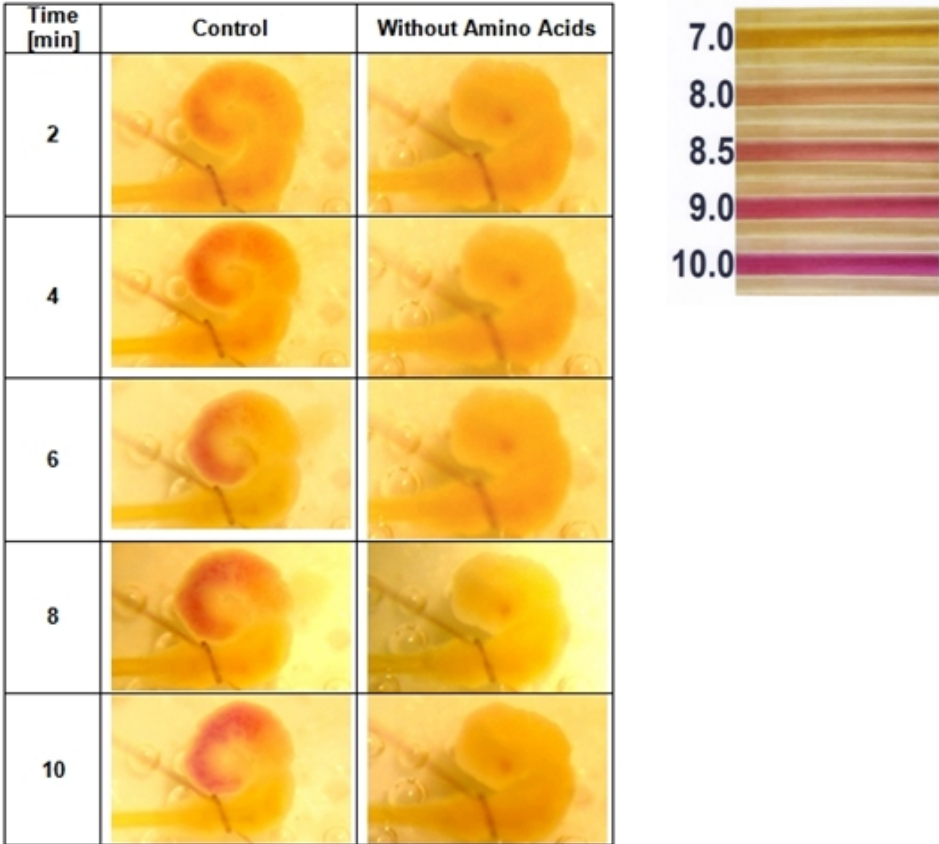


Figure 3: Luminal alkalinization in the anterior midgut of larval *Aedes aegypti*. Left: An anterior midgut (width approximately 250 μm) in the process of alkalinization after luminal perfusion stop under control conditions (left column of photographs) in the presence of mosquito saline in the hemolymph-side bath and NaCl (100 mmol l^{-1}) as luminal perfusate. Luminal alkalinization is identified by the purple color of m-cresol purple and is visible already two minutes after perfusion stop. Afterwards the luminal alkalinization intensifies and spreads towards the posterior region of the anterior midgut. In the absence of amino acids in the hemolymph-side bathing medium (right column of photographs) the same tissue shows no luminal alkalinization.

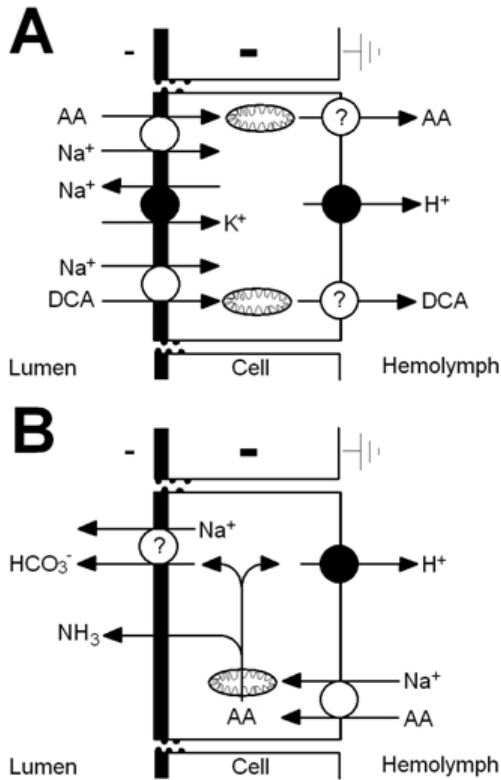


Figure 4: Hypothetical models for absorption of amino acids and dicarboxylic acids (A) and for the possible contribution of amino acid catabolism to luminal alkalization. A) Luminal amino acids (AA) and dicarboxylic acids (DCA) are absorbed across the apical membrane driven by an inward directed electrochemical gradient for Na⁺. Basal V-ATPase generates the cellular negativity and apical Na⁺/K⁺-ATPase (Patrick et al., 2006; Okech et al., 2008a) maintains low intracellular Na⁺. Intracellular acids are either catabolized in mitochondria or transported to the hemolymph by unknown transporters. B) Basolateral amino acid transporters (Okech et al., 2008a) import amino acids into the cells. Amino acids are catabolized in the mitochondria, producing NH₃, HCO₃⁻ and H⁺. Basal V-ATPases pump protons to the hemolymph, producing an intracellular pH of up to 8.5 (cf. Onken and Moffett, 2009). At this pH, considerable amounts of ammonia stay unprotonated and could leave the cells by diffusion across the apical membrane to the lumen. HCO₃⁻ (or at the alkaline intracellular pH even CO₃²⁻) are proposed to be secreted to the lumen by so far unidentified Na⁺-dependent transporters. Altogether the secreted fluid would contain (NH₄)₂CO₃ and Na₂CO₃ at a pH between 10 and 12.

Section II:
The Social Sciences

Traumatic Incidents: Psychopathology in Children of First Responders

Jacob Miner (Psychology)¹

The focus of this thesis is the psychopathology that arises from exposure to traumatic events. First responders and emergency personnel, who witness high levels of exposure to traumatic events, are of particular concern because of the stressful nature of their work. Research indicates that children of first responders are also at risk of developing mental disorders. Although little is known about the mechanisms that underlie these transmissions, social support networks and coping strategies appear to play a part. A study currently under way is investigating psychopathology in children of first responders and evacuees exposed to the September 11, 2001, World Trade Center attack. Preliminary findings show significant variation in mental disorder prevalence rates amongst these children and that the rates depend on the type of first responder family member (e.g., police officer, firefighter, and EMT/paramedic). The importance of this research has developed over time stemming from established public health initiatives to recognizing wartime stress reactions. The origins of these initiatives are traced to the present.

I. Literature Review

First responders are the trained professionals who are the initial personnel to arrive at emergency situations. This group of workers includes police officers, firefighters, emergency medical technicians (EMT), and paramedics. Although the public relies heavily on their rescue, relief, and recovery services, the psychological ramifications on the workers themselves from the nature of their work has been inadequately studied. Furthermore, even less is known about the psychological burdens that their families bear.

Research on this matter is currently being conducted using the population of first responders exposed to the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and its aftermath. This ongoing study primarily focuses on the transmission of posttraumatic stress and other psychopathologies from first responder parents to their children.

¹ Research performed under the direction of Dr. Miles Groth (Psychology) in partial fulfillment of the Senior Program requirements.

Beginning with the oldest literature and ending with the most recent, the following review traces the origins from which the present study derives.

Early Stages of Public Health Services

An appropriate place to begin this investigation is the inception of the American Public Health Association (APHA). At the Association's first session on May 1, 1873, the first president, Stephen Smith, M.D., delivered an address entitled "On the Limitations and Modifying Conditions of Human Longevity, the Basis of Sanitary Work." The founding of this Association formally marks an early step towards improving public health, and its objectives defined as "the advancement of sanitary science, and the promotion of organizations and measures for the practical application of public hygiene" (Smith, 1873). Sanitation as a science, Smith indicates, seeks to bring individuals closer to their maximum potential longevity by creating immunity from disease and eliminating death from reasons other than old age. He reflects on the suffering seen around the world—the sickness, violence, insanity, and death—that plagues civilizations far and wide, to which mankind has grown accustomed. This is partly due to an acceptance that these evils are simply man's punishment for disobeying God, and it is in the interest of the APHA to promote science that will abandon those beliefs. After all, Smith says it is beliefs such as those that thwart efforts to understand man's capacity for health and long life, and the conditions that modify them.

Bearing in mind the somewhat naïve state of medicine and concept of public health in the late 19th century, Smith defines the natural courses of human life that are granted at birth. Every animal is given a limited supply of "life force," which is largely drawn upon during the periods of growth and serves to maintain the organism thereafter. The more complex an organism is, the more force it needs to grow, regenerate tissue, and maintain itself. This absolute potential longevity is determined by the speed at which the supply of the life force is depleted, and it varies amongst and within species. As humans, we show an inherent capacity for longevity because we are complex organisms.

Smith estimates that the absolute potential longevity of humans is 100 years. Because of our omnivorous eating habits and our increasingly developed brains, we do not need to expend as much energy as do other animals on searching for food. Communities cooperate to decrease individual struggle by seeking the "greatest good for the greatest number of people" and caring for the sick—things that are absent from animal societies, causing premature death. However true this may be, most people do not live to see 100 years of life. To illustrate, Smith cites the 1870 census: of 492,263 deaths, 110,445 were infants less than 1 year old, and 203,213 were less than 5 years old. 16,000

reached ages 45-50, 13,000 reached 55-60, 14,000 reached 65-70, 11,000 reached 75-80, 4,500 reached 85-90, and 1,300 reached 95 and above. There is evidently a discrepancy between the potential and actual longevity if 60% of the people who died did not live past age 25, and 25% did not live more than 5 years. Sanitary science must aim to reduce this waste of life.

These deaths are unnecessary, Smith says, and can be avoided more easily than one may readily admit. Improperly cooked food, inadequate clothing and shelter in cold weather, and impure air all claim lives needlessly, yet are all things controlled by humans. Perhaps an even more pertinent observation is that the medical field, presumably responsible for the care of the sick, spends little time devising preventative measures to stop sickness before it happens. With the establishment of the APHA, Smith proposes extensive education as a means by which humans can become more effective at preventing maladies. Schools should teach physiology, pathology, and preventative medicine to the same extent as other standard subjects. The medical field, as well as practically every other profession, should be educated in sanitary science so that public health is of interest to all. With the cooperation of the state and federal governments, Smith believes that reforms can be made to improve the prevention of epidemics.

Stress Reactions

The research that has ensued since the address in 1873 is more or less a reflection of the humanitarian initiatives set forth by Smith and the APHA. As the primary concern of this paper is the effects of traumatic incidents, most of the earliest research stems from soldiers' reactions to wartime events. An example of this is Swank's (1949) analysis of combat exhaustion during World War II. The study sought to clarify contradicting opinions on combat neuroses that arose mostly from the inadequacy of subjective observations. Combat exhaustion, characterized by fatigue, loss of confidence, irritability, agitation, and anxiety, is typically observed after prolonged and severe combat in more willing and stable soldiers. Thus, panic reactions and breakdowns early in or prior to combat were excluded.

The men in the study were considered to be of better than average stability and willingness, and were divided into 3 groups. Group 1 was comprised of veterans of the Normandy Campaign who took part in the initial invasion. Many of them had received brief treatment for combat exhaustion and were temporarily assigned to companies not actively involved in combat. All but 150 of the 4,200 men in the group were casualties. Group 2 consisted of 54 men who entered the Normandy Campaign but were evacuated with combat exhaustion during combat in the Hürtgen Forest. The 3rd group was

comprised of 289 men who experienced the same plus additional combat as those in group 2, including the Battle of the Bulge. These men differed from those in group 2 in that they had been either on non-combat duty or in hospitals/replacement centers for 3-6 months between combat and admission to the hospital where this study was made. Each soldier was assessed for the following: average, low, or high intellect; mild, moderate, or severe pre-combat neurotic and psychopathic traits; and mild, moderate, or severe battle stress. Present symptoms were recorded and divided into groups according to emotional tension and associated symptoms, somatic symptoms (including the hysterical), and disturbances of grasp and mentation.

Almost all of the men with combat exhaustion complained of emotional tension—characterized by persistent fatigue, anxiety, inadequacy to all tasks, insecurity, and fear of crowds. The constant alertness, irritability, and stomach quivers led most of the men to keep busy to distract themselves from these tensions. Although some resorted to excessive drinking, few used sex for relief. Difficulty falling asleep, spontaneous awakening, and nightmares accompanied these problems. Perhaps the most embarrassing manifestation of the tension involved jumping or “hitting the dirt” at unexpected noises, most notably when automobiles backfire. Disturbances of grasp and mentation came in the form of retardation—slow responses to questions, dullness in severe cases of combat exhaustion, memory defects, preoccupation of thoughts, and apathy. Interestingly, confusion was not a commonly observed symptom.

Somatic symptoms such as headaches, head tenderness, and pain in the eyes and back were common. Although soldiers tended to deny these symptoms, observations revealed otherwise. Hysterical symptoms were the least common, present in 4% of the subjects. The symptoms included stuttering, aphonia, amnesia, weakness, ataxia, camptocormia, and depressed muscular tone. These were caused by exposure to explosions and were almost always accompanied by symptoms of combat exhaustion.

Swank shows that as the length of time spent in combat increases, soldiers are less capable of controlling emotional reactions that develop. All of the men in group 3 were chronic sufferers of severe combat exhaustion, while personality stability prior to combat was more of a predictor for anxiety and somatic symptoms in group 1. In general, the men in group 2 were sicker than those in group 1. Most of them exhibited mild to moderate retardation, preoccupation, and apathy, and 94% had one or more somatic symptoms. In an attempt to explain why the symptoms of combat exhaustion develop in the order that they do, Swank hypothesizes that the subjects become continuously alert to protect themselves from overwhelmingly threatening situations. Severe and continuous emotional tension results, and is followed by emotional fatigue or

exhaustion from the constant, rapid dissipation of emotional tension. Exposure to blasts, causing “blast concussion,” also influences symptoms of combat exhaustion. Expanding upon previous research, conclusions are drawn that combat exhaustion only develops after severe or prolonged combat, and that in contrast to WWI, few patients in WWII had hysterical manifestations.

Related to the study of the development of combat exhaustion is a study on the improvement of mental illness and the measurement of adjustment (Ellsworth & Clayton, 1959). Because psychiatric patients can either remain hospitalized or leave the hospital despite symptomology, the extent of psychopathology is not necessarily correlated to the adequacy of social functioning. Ellsworth and Clayton present data on the relationship between behavioral adjustment and psychopathology, and how they relate to post-hospital adjustment.

Every functional psychotic patient under 60 years of age at Fort Douglas VA Hospital between August of 1956 and May of 1957 participated in this study. None of the patients had any major physical illnesses or were hospitalized more than 90 days in the 6 months preceding this study. Upon admission, each patient was interviewed and rated on a psychopathology scale. To assess behavioral adjustment, raters used the MACC Behavioral Adjustment Scale, which measured motility, affect, cooperation, and communication. Post-hospital adjustment was measured by family, recreational, community, and occupational/school adjustment, in addition to the management of funds.

Although psychopathology and behavioral adjustment might appear to be different approaches to evaluating psychiatric patients, Ellsworth and Clayton argue that they are similar in the respect that they are both based on behavioral observations. It is for this reason that behavioral adjustment is important in assessing behaviors that psychopathology scales would overlook, as is the case with psychiatric patients who do not exhibit symptoms. This study raises doubts as to the usefulness of only psychopathology as a meaningful criterion of improvement because some patients can show a decrease in psychopathology but no improvement in social functioning, while others can show an increase in psychopathology yet be more capable of handling themselves in social situations. Thus, Ellsworth and Clayton conclude that although both psychopathology and behavioral adjustment should be taken into consideration, the latter is more predictive of hospital stay length and level of post-hospital adjustment.

While that study depends on raters’ observations of behavioral adjustment patients, Weissman and Bothwell (1976) describe a method of assessing adjustment that relies on patient self-report. Like Ellsworth and Clayton, Weissman and Bothwell recognize the importance of evaluating adjustment, particularly social adjustment, and its

distinction from symptoms and the abstractness of thoughts. The ineffectiveness of symptom scales as sole data sources for evidence of treatment has contributed to an increased interest in social adjustment. The Social Adjustment Scale Self-Report, which is the instrument described in the article, improves on earlier scales (Weissman & Bothwell). By the nature of the self-report, training programs are not needed, making assessment simpler and less expensive to administer. Possibly the most desirable improvement, however, is the removal of interviewer bias.

This scale is adapted from existing scales and has demonstrated efficacy in clinical trials with psychiatric populations including patients with depression, alcoholism, drug dependency, and schizophrenia. The 42 questions on the interview fall into 4 major categories: the patient's performance at expected tasks, the amount of friction with others, finer aspects of interpersonal relations, and inner feelings and satisfactions. These serve to measure instrumental or expressive role performance in 6 major areas of functioning: work, social and leisure activities, relationships with extended family, and marital, parental, and family unit roles.

Upon comparing data from the self-reported to the interview-rated reported assessment of social adjustment, Weissman and Bothwell find that the self-report method is accurate. Attention is called, however, to the tendency for the self-reporting patients to consider themselves more impaired than an interviewer rates them. Additionally, white interviewers tended to rate black patients as more impaired than white patients, but black patients did not rate themselves as more impaired than white patients. Although the self-report method is an improvement in some respects, it is disadvantageous in certain situations (e.g., data might go missing if a trained assistant is not present to ensure completion of the assessment). The self-report assessment might also present problems in certain populations, mainly those with limited reading ability, and delusional or psychotic patients who tend to underreport impairment. If attention is paid to these populations, the results suggest that the self-report method can be substituted for the interview.

Social Support

One hundred and three years after Smith addressed the APHA by calling for physicians to prevent rather than cure disease, Cobb (1976) reflects on the progress. "Everyone talks about health," Cobb says in reference to Smith's address, "but nobody does much about it." Although it was advocated in 1873 at the outset of the APHA, Cobb asserts that the concept of preventive health had been absent until the recent implementation of the Health Maintenance Organization. In addressing prevention

issues, the essay focuses on social support and the areas in which it has and has not been effective. Particularly of interest to Cobb is the interaction of social support with environmental stress. For this reason, he avoids addressing data on the direct effect of social support on health.

Beginning in utero, social support is communicated in a variety of ways to facilitate adaptation to change and coping with crisis. Social support is considered any of 3 categories of information that leads a person to believe he is cared for and loved, esteemed and valued, and belongs to a network of communication and mutual obligation. During the young, developing years the primary source is the family, shifting then to peers at work and in the community, and helping professions in special cases. Later in life, support comes mostly from family once again. In order to be effective, the information must be shared by all parties, so that everyone is aware that everyone else knows. Central to the concept of social support is this information that is conveyed, not material goods or services that are offered.

Cobb reviews the extent to which social support protects an individual throughout life transitions and crises by citing studies focusing on various life stages. In the pregnancy, birth, and early life stage, a study of 170 army wives was conducted. Having all delivered their babies at a large military hospital, the women were categorized by the degree of change in their lives and the level of social support they received. The results show that 91% of the women in both the high life change and low social support groups had complications during pregnancy. In contrast, women with the same frequency of life changes but who received a high level of social support did not show a significant increase in complications. Because the percentage of pregnancy complications is similar in women with both low and high life changes, a high level of social support presumably has a protective effect.

Pregnancy “wantedness,” or the degree to which a mother wants her child, also might be associated with birth complications. In a 60-hospital study, low birth weight was significantly more common in unwanted babies born to mothers who had at least 12 years of education. A similar Swedish study, however, did not find any difference in birth weight between babies for whom abortion was requested but not granted and other babies. In spite of this contrasting finding, education was not used as a control variable. A reasonable suggestion in light of these studies is not that wantedness information is transmitted from the mother to the fetus; rather, it is likely that a common reason for rejecting a baby is inadequate social support. Mother’s support of the child 6-12 months after delivery also was found to be crucial in the development of sphincter control. Mothers who worked during that period of time after birth had children with significantly

delayed bladder function at night. Furthermore, an additional study on wantedness showed that wanted children adapt to and cope with the stresses of growing up better than children whose parents requested an abortion and were denied. Unwanted children tended to achieve less education, need more psychiatric treatment and have more problems with juvenile delinquency.

Cobb cites other studies on the effects of social support in other life events after childhood. In one study of life stress, men who tried to stop drinking without the support of an organized program were 20 times more likely to be admitted to a tuberculosis sanatorium. When bereavement was looked at, single or divorced men whose mothers died were 9 times more likely to commit suicide than married men. Less familial contact with relatives also increased the probability of suicide. Stressors that come with aging and retirement are exacerbated by low social interaction. In a study on persons aged 63 or older, marriage, employment, and substantial social activity were found to protect against the development of low morale—of the 280-person sample, 85% of those with low social interaction were depressed, while only 42% of those with high social interaction were depressed. Similar findings in 2 different army battalions from the same regiment showed that the battalion with low morale had about twice as many psychiatric casualties than the battalion with high morale. In these cases, high morale seems to be associated with high self-esteem and group cohesiveness, which, in turn, provide network support that maintains morale. When that network of esteem support is disrupted, problems arise. That was the case in soldiers who lost 75% or more of their comrades in the Normandy Campaign, as they all developed combat exhaustion.

Cobb concludes that although social support can accelerate the recovery process and reduce the amount of medication needed, it is not a panacea. The studies presented in his article show the protective ability that social support has against psychological maladies when environmental stressors are considered, but he proposes further research on the mechanism through which it operates. With a greater understanding of the mechanism and the education of patients on how to give and receive social support, Smith's proposal made in 1873 can finally come to fruition.

First Responders

After both World Wars and the Vietnam War served as primary sources for research on psychological reactions to stressful and traumatic events, the interest in these reactions started to gravitate toward other situations in which those reactions can be found. Responses that started off as being identified in wartime situations as shell shock, combat neuroses, and combat exhaustion, are now recognized as posttraumatic stress

(posttraumatic stress disorder, PTSD). While reactions to wartime events are still of considerable importance, a growing concern for first responders to emergencies has been the focal point of research in recent years—particularly in conjunction with social support and the severity of exposure.

Fullerton, McCarrroll, Ursano, and Wright (1992), noting that research usually focuses on victims of disaster, examined the psychological responses of 2 groups of firefighters after performing rescue operations. Rescue workers are arguably exposed to more stress in some cases because of the stresses of the event and their role as help providers. One of the groups was from Sioux City, Iowa (SC group), which responded to the July 19, 1989 United Airlines plane crash. The plane exploded in midair, resulting in 112 deaths and 59 serious injuries. Some passengers were thrown from the aircraft still in their seats, while others died in the burning fuselage. The fiery wreckage and surrounding field burned until the next day, and it was the firefighters' primary mission to put out the fire. The other group participating in the study was a special firefighting unit that assisted other units and performed rescue missions for serious incidents in New York City (NYC group). Four types of responses to the traumatic events were reported—identification with the victims, feelings of helplessness and guilt, fear of the unknown, and physiological reactions—and examples for each case were provided.

By observing both groups sharing their experiences, Fullerton et al. (1992) notice that all of the responses were present in both of the groups. Some firefighters identified with the victims because they had children the same age. In the SC disaster, one firefighter expressed the conflicting roles he felt fighting the fire on the one hand, and acting as a human rescuer on the other. He had taken a 14-year old boy out of the burning plane and brought him a safe distance away, but then left him assuring that someone would take him to safety. Even though he knew the boy was doing well after visiting him in the hospital, the firefighter still felt guilty because it prompted him to feel as if he had given up on his own son, who was living with his ex-wife after they divorced. A NYC firefighter reflected on identifying with dead firefighters at funerals—the reality of which being that the funeral could have been for him.

The expressed feelings of helplessness and guilt manifested primarily as regret for having not saved more lives. A malfunctioning water hose caused one firefighter to feel guilt because he was unable to help at a critical time, though he was later relieved when he learned that the valve was defective. Some firefighters reflected on their fear of the unknown by connecting the low visibility in smoky situations to the uncertainty of the surroundings—SC firefighters could not tell if they were driving over bodies, either alive or dead, while a NYC firefighter described touching something he thought was a dog but

turned out to be a dead infant. The physiological reactions experienced by the firefighters could be unique to exposure, but complaints similarly consisted of sleeping difficulties, fatigue, intrusive images, and persistent smells of burning flesh.

It was observed that these stress reactions were mediated by the availability of social support, type of leadership, level of training, and use of rituals. Along the same lines of what Cobb (1976) reported about social support and morale, firefighters indicated the positive effects of working in pairs. Firefighters compared themselves to family—sharing responsibilities, participating in activities together, joking around with one another, and valuing the importance of communication—so that partnership on the job provided moral support when in difficult situations such as being around dead bodies or having to make decisions. When one of the SC group leaders expressed his grief by crying and leaving the room, it permitted others in the group to do the same. Thus, it appears that the ability of community leaders to express feelings can influence the group recovery process. Rituals and training also mediated stress by providing firefighters with organization in their work, and help in staying on task and managing the fear of the unknown.

Possibly the most valuable suggestions that can be taken from Fullerton et al. pertain to the importance of social support and prior training in determining mental health outcome for individuals exposed to traumatic events. Prior training is overlooked as a response mediator, but when training is inadequate, rescue workers have a more difficult time recovering. They tend to feel more like victims, out of control, lonely, and experience more guilt over performance. Rescue work training for disasters, therefore, should include methods for maintaining communication, interaction, and involvement with coworkers and other social support networks. Social support provides an outlet in which rescue workers can share their feelings and gain reassurance from peers and leaders. By teaching rescue workers to decrease identification and emotional involvement with victims, psychological trauma might be prevented before incidents even occur.

In many individuals, PTSD is not the only disorder that results from exposure to a traumatic event. McFarlane & Papay (1992) look at comorbidity in PTSD in firefighters who fought an intense bushfire in southeastern Australia. 12.5% of the sample met the criteria for PTSD and 5% were considered to have a less intense, borderline PTSD. Of the firefighters with any PTSD, 77% developed another disorder—major depressive disorder was the most common, experienced by 51%, generalized anxiety disorder by 39%, panic disorder by 37%, phobic disorder by 33%, obsessive compulsive disorder by 13%, and 8% experienced a manic episode. When examined 42

months after the exposure, firefighters with either panic disorder or phobic disorder in addition to PTSD had a significantly greater chance of their PTSD being unresolved. Thus, McFarlane and Papay determine that the intensity of the PTSD is not solely related to the nature of the trauma, but also by the coexistence of associated disorders of affect or arousal.

Emergency services personnel that responded to the 1989 San Francisco Bay Area earthquake were also used as subjects of investigation in stress responses (Marmar, Weiss, Metzler, Ronfeldt, & Foreman, 1996). Included in this group are police officers, firefighters, EMT/paramedics, and California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) road construction and maintenance workers. The two control groups consisted mostly of the same types of responders, but were either civilians or responders with less exposure to the disaster. During the earthquake, the double-decker I-880 Nimitz Freeway collapsed, taking 42 lives. The emergency workers were exposed to extremely harsh conditions and duties—smelling odors of rotting or burned bodies when required to crawl into tight spaces, dislodging bodies from concrete and steel, identifying dismembered body parts, and removing bodies infested with rats and maggots. Besides the sights witnessed, they worked long shifts in harsh weather conditions with a limited supply of food and water, and were preoccupied with concerns of their own families and friends as a result of the earthquake.

As Marmar et al. predict, the responders to the I-880 disaster reported greater levels of distress and disturbances in functioning than the control groups—reporting twice as many sick days in the previous year. This validates the conviction that higher levels of exposure are associated with higher levels of stress responses. Congruent with emphasis in which Fullerton et al. (1992) place on the importance of training, Marmar et al. report that Caltrans workers, who had no prior rescue or recovery training, experienced greater distress and lacked adequate coping strategies. Additionally, any emergency personnel who felt poorly prepared at the time of the incident were more likely to report greater levels of distress up to four years after the incident. The EMT/paramedic group showed the highest distress levels, leading Marmar et al. to suggest that it was because only firefighters and police officers screen for psychiatric issues upon recruitment, and firefighters and police officers have more contact with the public, for which they receive more recognition and are offered more support. Meanwhile, EMT/paramedics have closer contact with victims and frequently provide care in situations with life-or-death consequences.

Current Research

Although the aforementioned studies express concern for persons exposed to traumatic events, there is little said about the effects of trauma that could be transmitted to individuals with which the traumatized person has close contact (Marmar et al., 1996; Fullerton et al., 1992; McFarlane & Papay, 1992; Cobb, 1976). Using the 9/11 World Trade Center (WTC) attack as the activating traumatic event, Hoven et al. (2005) assessed for child psychopathology in relation to the level of exposure. 8,236 New York City public school children in grades 4-12 participated in the study, which took place 6 months after the attack. A self-report questionnaire derived from the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (DISC) assessed for eight mental disorders: PTSD, major depression, generalized anxiety disorder, separation anxiety, panic disorder, agoraphobia, conduct disorder, and alcohol abuse/dependency. However, because the abbreviated version of the DISC was not intended to make formal diagnoses, the disorders were considered probable. The children were grouped according to exposure level (severe, moderate, and mild), and the following factors were taken into consideration: attendance in a ground zero area school, direct exposure, and family exposure.

More than one-fourth of the children (28.6%) were found to have one or more probable anxiety or depressive disorders, the likelihood of which increased with exposure. The most prevalent disorders were agoraphobia (14.8%), separation anxiety (12.3%), and PTSD (10.6%). Agoraphobia was an anxiety disorder of particular interest because an estimated 750,000 NYC public school children take public transportation. An important discovery was the association between family exposure to the attack and mental disorder—a finding indicating that a child directly exposed to the attack was not necessarily more likely to develop a mental disorder than a child whose family member was exposed to the attack. Additionally, and for reasons unknown, children who attended schools around ground zero had lower rates of mental disorder. It is speculated that this is because of strong networks of social and mental health support that were implemented immediately after the attack in response to the worldwide attention the situation received (Hoven et al., 2004; Hoven et al., 2005). While the associations among exposure level, mental disorders, and social support have been recognized, their underlying mechanisms are still not fully understood.

The data from these preliminary findings (Hoven et al.) are further analyzed as Duarte et al. (2006) reports on posttraumatic stress in children with first responders in their families. The same sample of NYC school children were grouped according to the type of their first responder family member, and the results are aligned with expectations

one might have from prior findings concerning the nature of first responder work and social support (e.g., Marmar et al., 1996; Fullerton et al., 1992; McFarlane & Papay, 1992). Children with EMT family members had the highest rate of PTSD at 18.9%, while children with firefighter family members had the lowest rate—5.6%. Children with at least 2 first responder family members had the second highest rate (17%), followed by children with a police officer family member (10.6%), and children with no first responder family members (10.1%).

While the children in the EMT group had the highest prevalence rate of PTSD, it is worth noting that 46.6% of them were not living with both parents, and about one third of them were in the youngest age group. Another possible explanation for the high rate could be the inconsistent nature of EMT work, which tends to involve stressful life-or-death decisions. EMTs themselves are known to be more prone to burnout from exhaustion, avoidant coping strategies, and have higher rates of PTSD. Firefighters, on the other hand, are known to have much stronger support networks; and, unlike EMTs, exposure does not necessarily correlate with PTSD (Hoven, 2006). Duarte et al. also suggest that the “heroism” associated with firefighters may also factor in to the lower rates of mental illness, possibly because it contributes to greater public recognition of and appreciation for the job.

II. Discussion

Participation in Research

The most recent articles (Duarte et al., 2006; Hoven et al., 2005) have supplied sufficient evidence to validate the current two-site longitudinal study (Hoven, 2006), which I have been involved in since May 2008. Christina Hoven, Dr.P.H., the principal investigator of the study, operates under a collaborative effort of Columbia University/New York State Psychiatric Institute (NYC area sample) and the University of Tel Aviv (Tel Aviv, Israel area sample). Using these two sites, the study attempts to understand the impact of parental exposure to violence on their children—specifically looking at the relationship between perceived parental exposure and child psychopathology, the types of violence and the degree of exposure, and risk/protective factors in the development of psychopathology. Among some other aims of the study are to evaluate the following: the influence of social support, child appraisal of parental occupation, and awareness of disaster preparedness as protective factors against mental health problems; the role that personality and socio-demographic factors play in the association between parental exposure to traumatic incidents and child psychopathology; and the effects of parental mental health problems, substance use/abuse, and impaired

parenting on child mental health (Hoven, 2006). While 9/11 serves as the single event to which participants in the NYC sample are exposed, more frequent violent incidents in Israel provide a comparison to multiple-event exposure. As I have been working on the study at the New York State Psychiatric Institute (NYSPI), the NYC sample is the primary topic of discussion.

To be eligible for participation, a family must consist of a child aged 9-15 and at least one parent who was either a first responder at the WTC or an evacuee. Spouses are encouraged to participate, but it is not mandatory. Eligible families are identified from the World Trade Center Health Registry and mailed information about the study and an invitation to participate. This method of recruitment has been particularly advantageous in finding participants who are eager to participate without feeling as if they have been solicited. From my experience, most participants indicate that the reason for their participation is to contribute to an understanding of disasters and trauma, not for the payment they receive as compensation.

Interview Procedures

Each family member is “interviewed” by one of three versions of the interview, depending on the role in the family: parent child informant (PCI), parent non-child informant (PNCI), or child. All interviews cover a broad range of topics, but PCIs mainly field questions about themselves and their children, and PNCIs are asked more about their work experience. Each interview is an extensive, computerized assessment comprised of many individual interviews and diagnostic modules such as the DISC (except for the PNCI), which was previously used in the initial assessment of child psychopathology in NYC schoolchildren (Hoven et al., 2005). To assess for mental health, the DISC evaluates PTSD, major depression, generalized anxiety disorder, separation anxiety disorder, panic disorder, agoraphobia, conduct disorder, and alcohol abuse/dependency in the child, and compares it to the PCI’s observation of the same. High comorbidity between PTSD and separation anxiety has been recognized, thus, further investigation of this connection is of interest to the study (Hoven et al., 2004).

Additionally, exposure to violent incidents pertaining to work-related situations, large-scale events, and individual events are assessed for. Work-related and non-work related exposures to critical incidents are assessed by the Critical Incident History Questionnaire, which addresses events that first responders are apt to encounter (e.g., those described in Fullerton, et al., 1992; Marmar et al, 1996). Frequency of exposure and the difficulty of coping for each event are measured. Questions about exposure to large-scale violent events primarily concern war, terrorism, and the degree of exposure to

9/11 defined by personal physical exposure, direct exposure (having to be evacuated to safety, witnessing the attack, or being in or near the cloud of dust and smoke), or family exposure (having a family member who was injured or killed in the attack). Included in this assessment is media exposure, as Hoven et al. (2005) found that high media exposure was associated with an increased risk of anxiety and depressive disorders. Information about risk and protective factors is gathered from five dimensions of parental personality (neuroticism, extraversion, openness, agreeableness, and conscientiousness), general parenting, social support, and disaster preparedness. Questions probe for marital problems, discipline techniques used, and the extent to which the parents monitor the child's activities.

First Responders

Bearing in mind the research on social support (Cobb, 1976; Marmar et al., 1996; Fullerton et al., 1992), the interview looks at coping behaviors and job-related/social support available to the first responders. EMTs, with perhaps the most notably emotionally demanding and stressful work environments, are more susceptible to burnout (physical and emotional exhaustion) and job turnovers—problems that are exacerbated by neuroticism and avoidant coping strategies, traits that are predictive of traumatic symptoms. Unlike police officers and firefighters, EMTs tend to have weak peer social support structures, most likely due to the erratic nature of their work shifts and independence they experience on the job (Hoven, 2006). Police officers and firefighters, of course, are not exempt from the stressors that EMTs typically experience, but they do tend to have social support systems that encourage positive coping strategies. If one were to look at PTSD prevalence rates in children found in Duarte et al. (2006) while taking into consideration these social support observations, the rates correspond with first responder occupations—as 18.9% of children with an EMT family member exhibited symptoms of PTSD, significantly higher than those with a police officer (10.6%) or firefighter (5.6%) family member. Also, when considering Cobb's (1976) indication that a high degree of life change can be mediated by a high level of social support, the strength of support that is associated with each first responder occupation can also explain the traumatic symptoms. However, even in light of all of this information, little is known about the specific mechanisms underlying the transmission of symptoms from the parents to the children and what in particular it has to do with social support or coping strategies.

Reflections on Involvement in Research

I have been interviewing families for the study through the NYSPI, and, more recently, have been reviewing other taped interviews. The interviews usually take place at the homes of the families, although occasionally families agree to come into the office. Generally, traveling to a home takes less than two hours by car, though the locations are scattered throughout New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. If a driver is not available for an interview, public transportation can be used. Allowing the families to remain in the comfort of their own homes is one of the ways that participation is made as easy as possible, along with the recruitment process and financial incentive. Usually these factors detract from any negative aspects of the interview—like its length and meticulous attention to detail—leaving participants satisfied with their experience, and hopefully willing to participate in the follow-up interview one year later.

My involvement started with rigorous training, a process that was meant to be strict to ensure consistency among all interviewers. The training serves to prepare interviewers for the standard data-collecting procedure, but also for unusual cases that one might encounter in the field. At first, learning about extreme situations I might have to handle seemed to be a rather distant idea from what I thought would be the norm, but the first interview I conducted proved otherwise. Even after all of the interviews and reviews I have conducted to date, the very first one I did was still the most difficult to do. The problem lay mainly in the length of the interview and the cooperativeness of the respondent, so when he decided to prolong every answer to every question by offering extensive stories with extraneous details, the process became drawn-out. With more interviewing experience, however, I gained skills to help prevent wasting. This involved finding harmony in a delicate balance between maximizing the efficiency of responding while still conveying to the interviewee my appreciation and interest in what is said.

Without interviewers to collect the data, there would be nothing to analyze; thus, collecting the data, and doing so in a consistent, appropriate manner are the most important elements of the study. This requires that the interviewer act in the interest of collecting accurate data without interfering with any responses. When asked to clarify a question for a respondent, careful attention must be paid to avoid influencing a response, while still providing enough information for an adequate answer. This usually simply means explaining that it is up to the respondent's interpretation of the question. Reviewing interviews, done by listening to the audio recording and checking the data on the computer, helps to catch mistakes and ensure that all interviews are executed properly.

Working on this study has been a valuable, eye-opening experience for me. Not

only have I been able to come into contact with persons involved in the 9/11 disaster, a group which I had little exposure to prior to this study, but the interviews have allowed them and their children to open up their lives to me. Each interview begins with me talking to a complete stranger, but ends with me feeling as though I have known the person for a while. Respondents are usually eager to share their experiences because the interview puts them at the center of attention—a position that most find conducive to telling the truth—and I try to help the situation by creating a comfortable, confidential environment.

Moreover, the different views on war and terrorism that I have encountered have been quite interesting. Attitudes have ranged greatly, from a naive child unaware of the meanings of the words “war” and “terrorism,” to a paranoid, retired firefighter who rarely leaves his house to avoid directly funding terrorism by burning gasoline, and for fear of an imminent attack. I have seen instances of families that support the hypothesis that exposure to violence is associated with poor family functioning, as well as families that do not support this. However, I have only seen a small portion of the sample. Hopefully as the study progresses, findings will provide insight to the causes of poor family functioning and mental illness, the effect of exposure level, and how to prevent maladies that arise after traumatic events.

III. Conclusions

As the literature attests, any traumatic event—war, natural disaster, terrorist attack—wreaks psychological havoc on its witnesses. Though disasters are detrimental to the lives of many, to say the least, each incident serves both as a test and a learning opportunity. Emergency services are appraised for their effectiveness of responding, and lessons that have or have not been learned from previous disasters are reviewed and considered to better prepare for future incidents.

Piece by piece, the literature paints a picture of the state of public health over the years—from goals set at the beginning, to gradually narrowing focal points of study. So where does the state of public health stand now? While a growing knowledge of social support can continue to provide insight to circumstances surrounding mental illness, further research is needed to examine the transmission of illness. The present study is an example of this, and with violence on the rise worldwide, this kind of research is imperative for finding ways to reduce psychological damage stemming from traumatic events, and for improving emergency response procedures, coping strategies, and social support.

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The Link Between Autism and Childhood Vaccines

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The number of children diagnosed as autistic is on the rise. Whereas years ago, autism was an unknown disorder, today it is seemingly a household name. There is conflicting information present regarding the link between autism and vaccines. Children today receive many more vaccines than they did twenty years ago. Additionally, it just does not seem sensible to inject any amount of a killer virus, either live or dead, into such a small body. Add known neurotoxin mercury and increased dosages into the mix, and there seems to be the equation for a problem. However, most published research seems to agree that there is no consistent link between receiving vaccines and developing autism. This study compared two sets of children born after the mercury was taken out of the vaccines in 1999; one group diagnosed as autistic, and one not, along with the vaccination schedule of autistic children against non-autistic children. Results indicated that all children were vaccinated, and the parents of both sets of children had different viewpoints as to the cause of autism. The majority agreed on the need to invest more research into this area, as it is a concern to many parents of both autistic and non-autistic children.

I. Introduction

Autism falls under an umbrella term of Autism Spectrum Disorders. ASDs, as they are known, contain five pervasive developmental disorders, including autism, Asperger's disorder, childhood disintegrative disorder, Rhett's disorder, and pervasive developmental disorders, which are all others (Autism Speaks, 2008). Autism is a neurological disorder that is characterized by marked deficits in the development of social interaction and communication, as well as a "bizarre" (Townsend, 2000) and limited set of interests and activities. It is usually diagnosed at two to three years of age.

Symptoms of autism can range from mild to severe, and are often first noticed by parents. It is reported that symptoms can be present from birth, or occur suddenly and spontaneously (Baker, 2008). Autistic children suffer from a lack of responsiveness to people, and so normal attachment does not occur. Parents often note that their young child or infant does not want to cuddle, make eye contact, be picked up, or show any

¹ Research performed under the direction of Dr. Lauren O'Hare (Nursing) in partial fulfillment of the Senior Program requirements.

facial emotion. They are unable to form friendships, and echolalia may be present. Additionally, autistic children exhibit abnormal responses to their environment. They may overreact to sensory stimuli, but simultaneously be oblivious to a major event in the same room. Affected children may experience labile mood swings, and repetitive hand motions, rocking, and rhythmic body movements are often observed (Pillitteri, 2007).

Until the last few years when its incidence of diagnosis has increased drastically, autism had been very rare. Thermiosal, a mercury-based preservative, was formerly a component of several childhood vaccines. The neurotoxic effects of mercury has not been disputed; however, a 1976 study by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) concluded that the amount of the preservative in vaccines was not substantial enough to have any negative effects upon its recipients (Baker, 2008). Although there has been no formally stated indication that thermiosal, whose composition is approximately 49% mercury, causes damage when given in vaccines, the United States government has recommended its removal from injections as of 1999 (Honey, 2008).

Currently, the government denies a link between vaccines and autism. It cannot be argued, however, that the number of children diagnosed with this disorder continues to rise. It is also important to point out that while the FDA has suggested thermiosal's elimination, it has yet to be mandated. The purpose of this paper is to study the link between autism and childhood vaccines after the removal of thermiosal.

II. Research Questions and Hypothesis

Q: Is there a relationship between children diagnosed with autism and receiving vaccines?

H1: If a child is vaccinated, there is an increased risk of developing autism.

Q: Is there a connection with the number of vaccines given at one time and the development of autism?

H2: If a child receives more than one vaccine at a given time, the likelihood that they will develop autism increases.

III. Review of Related Literature

Within the last ten years, numerous studies have been conducted testing links between childhood vaccines, in particular the MMR (measles, mumps, and rubella) and autism. A 1998 study by British gastroenterologist Andrew Wakefield proposed a connection between the two by studying a small number of patients who developed diarrhea and autistic regression after their MMR vaccine. While further studies have not confirmed identical results, many parents have been declining vaccinations for their

children following publication of this study. A major health scare ensued, despite epidemiologic evidence, and the decline in number of immunized children has led to several incidences of outbreaks (Baker, 2008).

It is a fact that in the 1970's, one in 100,000 children was diagnosed with autism; in 2000, this number rose to a staggering one in 150. The number of vaccines has also increased in that time period from eight in 1980 to twenty two in 2000; today, the majority of vaccines, thirty of the thirty eight received by age five, are given to a child before eighteen months of age (Vaccine Awareness of North Florida, 2005). Please see Appendix A for a chart on the overwhelming similarities between autism and mercury poisoning.

A major issue in the debate is the contribution of thiomersal, a vaccine preservative containing mercury. Despite various studies denying a connection between vaccines and autism, the Center for Disease Control (CDC) and the American Academy of Pediatrics came to an agreement with vaccine manufacturers in 1999 to remove or reduce thiomersal in vaccines. However, even with the thiomersal eliminated from vaccines, the number of children diagnosed with autism continues to rise (Honey, 2008).

Others simply point the blame of the vaccine/autism scare towards the United States' government and the FDA publicizing the issue. Richard Epstein seems to believe that while a very small risk may be present in vaccines, it is minute, and in no way large enough to compensate for the effects of not receiving vaccines. Epstein writes, "The FDA's report reads as if it has again adopted the worst-case scenario in evaluating patient safety (Epstein, 2005)." Because the FDA removed thiomersal from vaccines despite inadequate evidence of danger to children directly, the fear of parents in the United States was unnecessarily encouraged. Epstein also believes that the incidences of American children not immunized has not increased quite as drastically as they initially did in Britain because of regulations of public schools demanding their students be vaccinated before attending classes. Furthermore, the fear of vaccination is no longer as widespread in the U.K. because their government did not reinforce parents' concern (Epstein, 2005).

The controversy between the link between autism and vaccines has further been fueled more recently by the U.S. government's concession to pay the family of a nine-year old autistic girl for a vaccine-related injury; to many people, this was proof that vaccines do indeed cause autism. Other groups, however, contend that this case was not proof of anything, and was simply a special situation. The girl in question had a very rare mitochondrial disorder underlying the autism, and the CDC believes that this disorder is not common among children with autism, and concludes that this is an atypical

association. Additionally, the CDC conceded the case without an evidentiary hearing; they settled without proof that the vaccines had caused the girl's autism (Honey, 2008).

IV. Methods

Two randomized groups of children born after 1999 have been studied. The age range of the subjects, therefore, was between two and nine years. The non- autistic control group was chosen at random from a public elementary school in Staten Island, New York. The group of children diagnosed with autism was chosen at random from a school for autistic children in Staten Island, New York.

The parents of each child were given a one-page survey to fill out informally. A copy of this questionnaire can be found in Appendix B.

The researcher obtained approval from the appropriate authorities, and obtained a volunteer parent from each school. The parent volunteer passed out the surveys with a brief explanation of the study. The surveys were returned to the parent volunteer, and collected and reviewed by the researcher.

V. Limitations

Limitations of this study could be invariable. The amount of time in which to conduct the study limited the number of participants. Because there is no established cause of autism, the link could exist anywhere. Recent research surrounding the Hannah Poling case (Offit, 2008) suspects an underlying mitochondrial disorder as a prelude to being affected by the vaccine, which leads to an internal validity threat related to history. Due to a number of constraints, such as lack of access to a DNA testing facility to test each participant for a mitochondrial disorder, this research paper can not go that in depth. It would, however, be interesting to study that connection. Other suggestions, such as weakened autoimmune systems of children when receiving vaccinations, are credible concerns that merit research; due to the same restraints, those connections could not be addressed in this study.

Another limitation is the geographic location of the same population. Perhaps environmental factors, such as increased air contamination in a widely polluted urban area may affect a child's reaction to the vaccine, and trigger an autistic response.

VI. Results

The results of the study were diverse. Of those parents of children not diagnosed with autism, 60% responded that they strongly did not believe vaccines influenced the onset of autism. The remaining 40% were unsure of the cause, but felt

more research should be put into finding the cause. They also agreed that wider education regarding this issue was something they deemed crucial as parents, and as society. However, of the 60% of respondents, 77.7% just “do not know” the cause of autism and have no impression of it, often cited due to lack of exposure to the disorder.

Conversely, 60% of parents surveyed believed that there was some kind of link with vaccines and autism. 66.6% of those felt that there was a more important link with genetic factors and environment and autism. The remaining 40% of respondents felt that autism was influenced by “various causes” or “no specific factors.”

VII. Discussion

One parent wrote, “I do not believe immunizations cause autism. I have seen a *family* of six children all having autism, and two of the children weren’t immunized because they thought it caused autism. But proved to not be the cause.” Another agreed, “There hasn’t been any true evidence to back it.” However, of the 60% of respondents, 77.7% just “do not know” the cause of autism and have no impression of it, often cited due to lack of exposure to the disorder.

The parents of children diagnosed with autism were more in depth with their responses overall. One parent believed her son was “mercury poisoned by the many vaccinations he received. I think his immune system could not handle the overload... some kids are more vulnerable to toxic overloads than others.” 60% of these parents saw a marked change in their children’s behavior at some point from a normal development to “fearful and withdrawn” behaviors, “frustration” with having difficulty with expressing language, and an overall “difference in all areas.” One parent specifically stated the behavior changes began after an ear infection, and she attributed the onset of autism to the series of immunizations. Her son was diagnosed with autism after his eighteen month series.

Celebrity parent and autism spokesperson Jenny McCarthy is a strong advocate of the needs for increased awareness regarding the rise of autism and its causes. As a mother who watched her son reach normal developmental milestones, and then suddenly regress, she speaks often to the public regarding autism. Her son developed seizures in response to a fever following a routine vaccine. McCarthy argues that there are numerous contributors to autism; of them, a preventable cause is the high number of “unsafe” vaccines given to children with weakened immune systems; test children for a weak immune system before subjecting them to any amount of a virus that is contained in a vaccine, she argues. McCarthy does not call upon parents to avoid vaccinating children; like most parents of children with autism, she recognizes the need for such

immunizations. However, it is unfair to subject them to children whose bodies cannot handle them (Terry, 2008).

It seems unrealistic to ignore the evidence of correlations between vaccinations and autism. While there is not enough convincing proof to demonstrate the link between the two, the stories of parents speak for themselves. The medical community is taught that when working with the pediatric population, the best source of determining individual changes in the child is the parent. It is a wonder that the medical world is concurrently ignoring the outcries of parents with children diagnosed with autism as to the correlation between the disorder and vaccines. Parents see the changes in their children in days following vaccinations: spiked temperatures, rolling eyes, and staring at the wall are all signs of seizures and are symptoms claimed by parents that continue to say their child has not been the same since. The testimony of the Hannah Poling case speaks for itself. For even one child to have this type of reaction is one more than should. The saddest part of autism for many families is that autism is a disorder that may be prevented if the proper people were willing to put more research and thought into this issue that is affecting a growing population of our future.

As per the research in the medical world, along with the opinions of parents surveyed, it is probably safe to assume that vaccinations are not the sole cause of autism. Many parents of children with autism have said that the autism was a gradual onset, or they do not believe the cause lies in the immunizations. Some evidence points to genetics or environment; but most of the research results in an unknown cause. This is not an acceptable conclusion to a disorder that affects so many people. The community of families affected by autism is passionate about finding a solution to this problem; a passion that it seems this entire nation should respect and feel as well. “Mother warriors,” as McCarthy calls them, are the parents that are devoted to finding alternative treatments to cure autism, take their children to doctor after doctor, enroll their children in special programs, and do everything in their power to help the people trying to aid them in looking deeper into the issue (Terry, 2008). It is time that more funding goes into this issue, and time for medical professionals take the responsibility of finding treatment and preventative measures off the shoulders of parents and accept that we need to work together to find a solution to this problem; whether the cause be vaccines, environment, genetics, or anything else, the time has come to address the issue and find a viable solution.

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Appendix A: The Autism -Vaccine Connection: Comparison of Characteristics

	AUTISM	MERCURY POISONING
Motor Skills and Movement Disorders	Uncoordinated; clumsiness; rocking; circling; flaps arms; walks on toes; difficulty with walking, sitting, crawling; difficulty with swallowing or chewing	Uncoordinated; clumsiness; rocking; circling; flaps arms; walks on toes; difficulty with walking or sitting; difficulty with swallowing or chewing
Sensory Disorders	Oversensitive to sound; does not like to be touched; abnormal sensations in mouth, arms and legs	Oversensitive to sound; does not like to be touched; abnormal sensations in mouth, arms and legs
Speech, Hearing & Language Development	Delayed language or failure to develop speech; problems with articulation; mild to severe hearing loss; word use errors	Loss of speech or failure to develop speech; problems with articulation; mild to severe hearing loss; word retrieval problems
Cognitive Ability	Borderline intelligence; mental retardation (may be reversed); poor concentration and attention; difficulty following complex commands; difficulty with word comprehension; difficulty with understanding abstract ideas and symbols	Borderline intelligence; mental retardation (may be reversed); poor concentration and attention; difficulty following complex commands; difficulty with word comprehension; difficulty with understanding abstract ideas and symbols
Physical Characteristics and Functional Disturbances	Weakening muscle strength, especially upper body; rash, dermatitis; abnormal sweating; poor circulation and high heart rate; diarrhea, constipation, abdominal discomfort and incontinence; anorexia; seizures; tendency to have allergies and asthma; family history of autoimmune symptoms, especially rheumatoid arthritis	Weakening muscle strength, especially upper body; rash, dermatitis; abnormal sweating; poor circulation and high heart rate; diarrhea, constipation, abdominal discomfort and incontinence; anorexia; seizures; tendency to have allergies and asthma; more likely to have autoimmune symptoms, especially rheumatoid arthritis
Behavior	Difficulty sleeping; staring and unprovoked crying; injures self (such as head banging); social isolation	Difficulty sleeping; staring and unprovoked crying; injures self (such as head banging); social isolation
Visual Problems	Poor eye contact; blurred vision	Poor eye contact; blurred vision

(Vaccine Awareness of North Florida, 2005).

Appendix B: Questionnaire

1. Has your child received any of the following vaccines? Please check yes or no, and indicate the date that they were given. Please be sure to specify the year:

Hep B(hepatitis B)	Yes_____	No_____	Date_____
MMR (measles, mumps, rubella)	Yes_____	No_____	Date_____
DTaP(diphtheria, tetanus, pertussis)	Yes_____	No_____	Date_____
Hib (Haemophilus influenza B)	Yes_____	No_____	Date_____
PCV (pneumococcal)	Yes_____	No_____	Date_____
IPV (inactivated poliovirus)	Yes_____	No_____	Date_____
Rotavirus	Yes_____	No_____	Date_____
Varicella	Yes_____	No_____	Date_____
Hepatitis A	Yes_____	No_____	Date_____
Influenza	Yes_____	No_____	Date_____

2. What is your child’s date of birth? ___/___/_____ Age? _____

3. Please describe your child’s current behavior, as it relates socially and academically.

3. Has your child been diagnosed with autism?
Yes_____ No_____ Date of Diagnosis_____

If “no,” please skip to question #5.
If “yes,” please answer the following questions:

4. Had you noticed a marked change in behavior at a specific time, or was your child’s mannerisms constant? If behavior has changed, please describe how, and when.

5. Were you aware of the ingredients of all of the vaccinations your child received? If so, did they contain thermiosal? Yes_____ No_____ Don’t Know_____

6. As a parent or primary caretaker, what is your impression, if any, of the causes of autism?

The Influence of an Intervention with Relationally Aggressive High School Females

Christina Herrera (Psychology)¹

Relational aggression can be defined as behavior that is intended to harm someone by damaging or manipulating his or her relationships with others. Children who are frequent targets of relationally aggressive acts exhibit significantly high levels of social-psychological maladjustment than do non-victimized children. Early detection of children's social difficulties is an important factor in preventing and treating childhood adjustment problems. Interventions on relational aggression are conducted in schools not only to decrease the students' use of relational aggression but also to make the students aware of relational aggression as a form of bullying that many students experience. The Ophelia Project is an intervention on relational aggression that focuses on the role that bystanders play in bullying situations. Researchers have demonstrated how peers may reinforce the aggressive behaviors of bullies through their attention. However, peers may also shape the behaviors of bullies either by intervening or ignoring the bullying behaviors.

The high school where I was an intern currently utilizes the Ophelia Project. This intervention does not entirely eliminate relational aggression in the school. Some possible reasons for the evidence of relational aggression based on past research and on observations of the high school may include the inconsistency in the amount of lessons that are conducted, that the staff and parents often trivialize their stories of victimization related to relational aggression, that relational aggression is difficult to observe, and that teachers are not reinforcing the intervention curriculum on a daily basis. However, there are many situations in which the students engage in positive helping behavior. Even if there are small changes that help some students then an intervention is something valuable for a school to utilize.

I. Literature Review

Most of the research conducted in the past on aggression has been gained through the study of aggressive boys (Crick, Casas, & Mosher, 1997). However, there is a lack of

¹ Research performed under the direction of Dr. Miles Groth (Psychology) in partial fulfillment of the Senior Program requirements.

attention to aggressive girls. It might be the case that past research has emphasized attention on direct physical and verbal aggression, which is more characteristic of boys (Block, 1983; Crick et al., 1997). In more recent research, a relational form of aggression has been identified that has shown to be more characteristic of girls (Crick et al., 1997). There is a need for more knowledge and understanding about the topic of relational aggression in order to address the issue of future social adjustment of the victims, and the psychological maladjustment of the instigators. Several prevention projects are effective in increasing children's social interaction skills (Aber, Jones, Brown, Chaudry, & Samples, 1998). Interventions are needed in order to decrease aggression in a classroom. Salmivalli, Kaukiainen, and Voeten (2005) stated that trying to make a bully behave differently rarely leads to change in school bullying situations. Peers rarely intervene, but when they do, bullying tends to stop right away (Frey, Hirschstein, Snell, Van Schoiack Edstrom, MacKenzie, & Broderick, 2005). If an intervention is set up to promote bystanders' social responsibility it may help to reduce school bullying.

Early research on bystander responsibility influenced current research on relational aggression. Darley and Latane (1968) believed that the more bystanders to an emergency, the less likely anyone will intervene. Fifty-nine female and 13 male college students believed that they were to take part in a discussion over an intercom system where only one person is able to speak at a time about problems associated with college life. During the discussion, one of the individuals is heard experiencing what appears to be a seizure. It is impossible for the participant to find out if anyone responded to the emergency. Darley and Latane (1968) observed whether the perceived number of bystanders would effect the speed with which the participants report the emergency to the experimenter.

The number of bystanders that the participants perceived to be present had an effect on the chance that the bystander would report the emergency. Eighty-five percent of the participants who thought they were the only ones who knew about the seizure reported it before 125 seconds. Only thirty-one percent who thought four other bystanders were present reported the situation. Sixty-two percent of the participants in the six-person groups reported the emergency. Ninety-five percent of the participants who responded did so within the first half of the time available. Sex and perceived medical competence of the other bystander had an insignificant effect on the speed of response. Personality measures were not insignificantly correlated with the speed of reporting the emergency.

Darley and Latane (1968) believed that the participants who had not intervened were still deciding whether or not to respond. Bystanders are often concerned that they

may be overreacting to the situation but can still be worried about the victim. The participants were not able to tell how the other participants reacted to the seizure. However, bystanders to relational aggression know how others react to the situation and may still choose not to intervene. This could be because the bystander may not want to become the next target of the aggressor and not because they are afraid they may overreact. The results of this experiment indicated that personality factors were not as important as the situational factors. If individuals understand that situational forces can make them less likely to intervene in an emergency, they may better be able to overcome them.

Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, and Peltonen (1988) were some of the first to research indirect aggression. Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, and Peltonen (1988) studied the prevalence of indirect aggression among 11 and 12-year-old boys and girls. Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, and Peltonen (1988) asked 89 girls and 78 boys to rate themselves as well as what their classmates do when angry with another peer, and how frequently they are angry. One hundred and twenty-eight students rated their peers on the Friendship Questionnaire in order to determine if the different friendship patterns were connected to the use of indirect or direct aggression. Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, and Peltonen (1988) interviewed 15 girls and 14 boys in order to evaluate the duration of anger of their peers.

A factor analysis was conducted in order to determine which of the items discriminate best between the two genders. The three factors are indirect means of aggression, direct means of aggression, and peaceful means of solving conflicts. The results indicated that the indirect means and peaceful means were more typical of girls, whereas direct means were more typical of boys. The size of the friendship groups was slightly larger for boys than for girls. Boys tended to form loose groups, while the girls formed tighter groups, which made them more likely to use indirect aggression. The girls also believed their anger to last longer than did the boys. Positive correlations between self-ratings and peer ratings were insignificant for indirect means of aggression, whereas positive correlations between self-ratings and peer ratings for direct aggression were significant, especially for boys. It is often difficult to measure indirect aggression because the aggressor is able to disguise the aggression. Lagerspetz et al. (1988) suggested that the findings were similar to the conclusions of previous studies, that males are more aggressive than females. However, one cannot conclude that males are more aggressive, as males and females may exhibit different types of aggression.

In the past, questionnaires on aggression tended to include items on direct aggression and concluded that males are more aggressive than females. It is easier for boys to admit to using direct aggression because it agrees with the norms of male

behavior in our society. However, it may be difficult for girls to admit to using any form of aggression.

Similarly, Bjorkqvist, Lagerspetz, and Kaukiainen (1992) measured aggressive behavior in 45 eight-year-old girls and 40 eight-year-old boys. Bjorkqvist, Lagerspetz, and Kaukiainen (1992) asked the children to describe what they, as well as what their classmates did when angry with another peer and how frequently they are angry. Each child rated the friendships of the other students in the class. Bjorkqvist, Lagerspetz, and Kaukiainen (1992) distributed questionnaires to 64 15-year-old boys and 63 15-year-old girls measuring aggressive behavior and social relationships of their peers and themselves.

In the 8-year-old group the boys seemed to display more direct aggression and the girls seemed to display slight withdrawal and indirect aggression. There were no differences among friendship patterns between the genders. In the 15-year-old group, boys scored higher on physical aggression, while the girls scored higher on indirect aggression and withdrawal. On direct verbal aggression, there was no difference between the sexes. The girls tended to stay in pairs of friends more than the boys did. Indirect aggression is not fully developed at the age of 8. However, at age 15 it is more prevalent among girls. Indirect aggression is dependent on maturation of both verbal and social skills. Since girls develop verbally quicker than boys, it is possible that they develop indirect aggressive strategies earlier than boys. This would imply that as boys get older and become more verbal that they also employ more indirect or relational forms of aggression, which suggests that adults employ more relational forms of aggression. Future research should examine whether boys begin to employ indirect means of aggression as they get older.

Tisak, Lewis, and Janitowski (1997) showed videos to young children depicting bullying in the presence of bystanders. Participants viewed two videos of a bystander witnessing either a friend of theirs stealing from a victim or hitting a victim. Tisak, Lewis, and Janitowski (1997) interviewed participants about what they thought bystanders would do and what bystanders should do when they witness bullying. Students responded that what peers would do is different from what peers should do when witnessing bullying. Participants also said whether or not they would intervene and tell the bully that they should stop their behavior.

Results indicated that 46 percent of participants thought that the bystander should intervene when they viewed the video of a bully hitting a victim. However, when they viewed the video of a bully stealing from a victim, 76 percent of participants stated that the right thing for the bystander to do would be to intervene. Future research should

include a broader range of aggressive acts to ensure that a particular response to how bystanders should behave was not due to the type of aggression. Although many children in the study said that they felt that they should intervene in bullying situations, this does not mean that these students are likely to intervene when a situation actually arises.

Reports of conduct disorders among elementary school children are one of the strongest predictors of future maladjustment (White, Moffitt, Earls, Robins, & Silva, 1990). Intervention programs are being used to treat conduct disorder, aggression, and violence during adolescence. Aber, Jones, Brown, Chandry, and Samples (1998) assessed if children's exposure to each of the components of the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program and the total number of lessons given by trained teachers would slow the growth in children's aggressive fantasies, hostile attributional biases, and aggressive interpersonal negotiation strategies. The Resolving Conflict Creatively Program, developed by Lantieri and Roderick, showed children that they had many choices for dealing with conflict and helps them to develop skills to make those choices. Aber et al. (1998) evaluated 5053 children from grades two through six and 400 teachers at varying stages of the intervention.

Children whose teachers received a higher level of training and coaching of the intervention, but taught few lessons, showed a significantly faster growth in hostile attributional biases and their use of competent negotiation strategies over time. Children whose teachers received a moderate amount of training and coaching of the intervention, but taught many lessons, showed a significantly slower growth in hostile attributional biases. However, there was no significant decrease over time in their use of competent interpersonal negotiation strategies. Children's aggressive fantasies did not significantly increase over time for those children who received high levels of classroom instruction, whereas children who had received little or no classroom instruction had significant growth in aggressive fantasies.

Children who received high levels of classroom instruction showed no increase in risk over the school year. The effect of high levels of classroom instruction decreased for children in high-risk classrooms and neighborhoods. Children in classrooms where the norm was that the use of aggression was wrong reported lower levels of hostile attributional bias, aggressive strategies, aggressive fantasies, and higher levels of competent strategies. Future research should test whether an intervention would have an impact on children's normative beliefs about aggression.

In comparison, O'Connell and Craig (1999) examined 53 segments of videotape containing a peer group that view bullying on the school playground. Peers from grades one through six are coded for actively joining or passively reinforcing the bully, and for

actively intervening on behalf of the victim. They wanted to determine what percentage of the bullying interactions occur while in the presence of other students, the extent to which peers follow the bully's behavior and actively join the bully to victimize a peer, the extent to which peers passively watch bullying, and the extent to which peers behave in ways that support the victims.

Peers spent 54 percent of their time passively watching, 21 percent of their time actively modeling bullies' behavior, and 25 percent of their time intervening on behalf of victims. Older boys were more likely to actively join with the bully, girls were more likely to intervene on behalf of victims. The observational methodology used to gather data on relational aggression was limited because it was hard to observe such indirect bullying but allows for the identification of more direct forms of bullying. Gossip, for example, can be difficult to hear on the playground and this is precisely what researchers of relational aggression would want to observe. O'Connell and Craig (1999) required children to wear microphones in the schoolyard because it is hard to observe such discrete aggression. This may make the children self-conscious about things they are saying or doing because they know they are being monitored. The use of videotape also did not allow the researchers to identify all peers present during bullying episodes.

Similarly, Smith, Madsen, and Moodey (1999) examined what children believed bullying was, their experience of being bullied, if bullies are the same age, older or younger, and why children might get bullied less as they get older. In the first experiment 48 students from two schools were interviewed about their experiences with bullying. In the second experiment 159 students and adults were interviewed about what they believed to be the definition of bullying and to give examples of bullying.

Seventy-one percent of the students believed that children get bullied less as they get older because they may become physically stronger. One reason the children gave in response to why older children are bullied less was because they get more mature. Fifteen of the 48 children interviewed reported that they had experienced being bullied. Eighty-seven percent of the children who experienced being bullied answered that they would take only one form of action in response to the bullying. Sixty-five percent of the children replied that their definition of bullying when they were younger is the same as their definition now or that they didn't know what bullying was when they were younger.

Smith et al. (1999) asked the children questions that lead the children to give certain responses that would yield these results. One example of this was how they asked the students, "We've found that children get bullied less as they get older. Can you think of any possible reasons for this?" (273). This lead the students to think of reasons why this may happen even if they do not believe it to be true. However, Smith et al. (1999)

did not take into account that the majority of bullying seemed to come from children within the same class of the same ages.

In addition, Frey, Hirschstein, Snell, Van Schoiack Edstrom, MacKenzie, and Broderick (2005) used self-report measures to evaluate the effectiveness of an intervention on bullying as a function of grade, and gender, to determine if those in the intervention group would be less accepting of bullying, and whether or not the participant believed that bystanders were responsible to intervene in bullying. Self-reports are a limited source for obtaining information because it may generate socially desirable responses from students. The students' peer interaction skills were assessed using teacher reports. The use of teacher reports is also a limited way of measuring the effects of an intervention on relational aggression. It is likely that teachers can fail to observe such discrete bullying behaviors. Observations attempted to measure the amount of physical and verbal bullying among the students.

Frey et al. (2005) revealed relative decreases in bullying behavior, and acceptance of bullying for students who had received the intervention. The participants in the intervention schools also felt more responsibility to intervene, and reported greater adult responsiveness than did those in control schools. There is a slight decline in bystander encouragement of bullying among intervention students. Bullying, bystander encouragement, and aggression did not vary by grade level or gender. Boys in the intervention group tended to regard assertive responses as less difficult than boys in the control group. Students in the intervention group tended to report less victimization, and displayed decreases in argumentative behavior than did those in the control group.

Salmivalli, Kaukiainen, and Voeten (2005) evaluated the effects of an anti-bullying intervention and in particular to assess the Finnish intervention program (Salmivalli, Kaukiainen, Voeten, & Sinisammal, 2004). The aim of this intervention was to have students recognize the discrepancy between their attitudes and their actual behaviors in bullying situations. They used self-reports and peer-reports to assess the amount of observed and experienced bullying, attitudes related to bullying, and their role in bullying situations.

The intervention program had a positive impact on the frequencies of bullies and victims, observation and experiences of bullying, beliefs about bullying, and participant role behaviors, but none were statistically significant. The intervention program's effects were found more often in the fourth grade than in the fifth grade, and often only in schools with a high degree of implementation of the intervention. The impact of the intervention was only significant in the fourth grade, and was only shown in self-reports. The peer-reported victimization showed no change. Salmivalli et al. (2005) trained

teachers who volunteered to give the intervention. Training teachers is not sufficient if the teachers lack the motivation to implement the intervention. The researchers did not check throughout the duration of the intervention to see if the teachers were conducting the intervention properly.

A small percentage of students are usually involved in the bullying whereas, many students are bystanders during bullying. Rigby and Johnson (2006) showed videos to young children depicting bullying in the presence of bystanders and used questionnaires to examine the students' intentions as bystanders to intervene on behalf of victims of bullying and their attitudes towards victims, and expectations of parents, friends, and teachers. Forty-three percent of the students indicated that they were likely to help the victim. Having rarely or never bullied others, having previously intervened, positive attitude towards victims, and believing that parents and friends expected them to act to support victims were significant predictors of expressed intention to intervene. Rigby and Johnson (2006) indicated that many children felt that they should intervene in bullying situations, however, students may not actually intervene when a situation arises.

Many adolescents tend to disregard the views of teachers and often try to resolve conflicts on their own. This can explain why interventions implemented by the classroom teacher did not display statistically significant results. Rigby and Johnson (2006) suggested that teachers were unlikely to influence their students to become active bystanders while witnessing bullying simply by explaining their expectations to the students.

In contrast to the earlier findings, one study on the impact of an anti-bullying program on relational aggression, yielded insignificant results (Smith, Schneider, Smith, & Ananaiadou, 2004). Smith et al. (2004) suggested that there is a lack of monitoring the implementation of the program. Salmivalli et al. (2005) discovered that most reduction in bullying occurred in classrooms with high levels of teacher implementation. Teachers play a key role in bully prevention, they not only teach the curriculum but also reinforce the behaviors taught in those lessons on a daily basis.

For example, Hirschstein, Van Schoiack Edstrom, Frey, Snell, and MacKenzie(2007) examined the impact of the implementation of Steps to Respect (Committee for Children, 2001) on observations of playground behaviors and students' beliefs after one year. The goal of the Steps to Respect program (Committee for Children, 2001) was to reduce school bullying problems by increasing adult awareness and monitoring, enhancing support for pro-social behavior, and teaching social-emotional skills to children to support healthy relationships and counter bullying. Two hundred and ninety-three third through sixth grade students from 36 classrooms were observed on the

playground and completed surveys about their experiences and perceptions related to bullying. Teachers also rated students' social skills. Hirschstein et al. (2007) observed 36 teachers teaching lessons and examined how the coaching of individuals related to the observation of students' playground behavior, self-report, and peer social skills.

Lesson adherence was associated with higher teacher-rated peer social skills. Teacher support for bullying prevention skills related to fewer observations of playground aggression and less victimization among older students. Teacher coaching was associated with less encouragement of bullying, lower rates of victimization, and destructive bystander behavior. Observations of playground behavior did not relate to self-report variables. Teacher ratings of social skills did not relate to other measures. This study did not take into account to whom the teachers were directing their coaching. It is important for future research to report any differences in the amount of coaching for different groups of students and test if coaching affects bullies, victims, and bystanders differently. Older students had higher cognitive, emotional, and behavioral skills, which enabled them to generalize skills better than younger students. Future research should examine if older students execute skills learned through intervention programs more frequently.

It is important for an intervention to provide clear guidelines for responding to bullying and to give students the opportunity to practice responses to bullying. If bystanders intervene on bullying they can become the next target and are embarrassed if they misjudge the situation and overreact. An intervention can help students think of other ways in which bystanders can play an active role in putting a stop to bullying in ways that will help them to not become the targets of relational aggression. This can be done by encouraging bystanders to simply walk away when witnessing a bullying situation and not reinforce the bully's behavior. Many students indicated that the behavior of bullies is not acceptable. Students also indicated that the bystanders should show support for victims of bullying. However, past research has shown that most students do not intervene in bullying situations. Students should be made aware of the difference between their attitudes and their behavior in order for a change in bullying to take place. A crucial issue in order for interventions to be effective is for students to take what they learn and apply it to situations they face.

II. Discussion

One all girls' high school uses the intervention CASS: Creating a Safe School, which is a part of the Ophelia Project. The Ophelia Project helps girls to recognize and address relationally aggressive behaviors. This program not only teaches positive

behaviors but educators, parents, and other students also model these behaviors. The entire school including faculty, administrators, parents, and students make an agreement to work together to change the social culture in the school.

Sophomore, junior, and senior girls are trained as mentors in order to teach middle school girls about relational aggression. Older students, usually by senior girls, teach freshman girls the program curriculum in order to become more familiar on the topic to be able to become mentors for the next few years in high school. This intervention not only helps the girls learn about how their attitudes and beliefs about aggression can be hurtful, but also reminds the mentors that they should be modeling positive behavior for the girls that they are teaching. CASS: Creating a Safe School empowers the older girls as mentors as well as the younger girls.

This is currently the ninth year of the intervention in the high school. Before the school year began for the high school girls the faculty who facilitate the program gathered to review what they had learned in previous years. I was given the opportunity to attend the facilitator training as well as the mentor training given by the president and CEO of the Ophelia Project, Mary Baird. The director of training, Katie Allison, and the director of school programs and program development, Christina Linkie, assisted Mary for the two days of training. The high school pays a substantial amount to the Ophelia Project in order for them to train facilitators and mentors. The school also bought manuals for every facilitator and mentor. The mentor manuals include scripts for the lessons, instructional strategies, and learning activities. The facilitator manuals include ways to help mentors strengthen their communication skills, ways to help mentors build trusting relationships with the students, and help mentors to create effective lessons.

The first day the facilitators learned the “Five Critical Steps” which included: recognizing the behavior, naming the behavior, establishing positive norms, creating a pro-social learning environment, and finally creating a safe school environment. On the second day, the older high school mentors were trained to deliver the intervention to middle school students. The mentors undergo major positive changes as well as the positive changes of the middle school students. These changes include broadening the students' ideas about what constitutes aggression so that they are better able to name the behavior, change their own beliefs and behaviors, develop leadership skills, and become more aware of relational aggression.

During the facilitator training, the facilitators were able to share stories about problems they face when meeting with mentors. Many said that it is hard to find a time in which all the students as well as the facilitator were able to meet to discuss the next lesson. Others said that often times one of the mentors in the group is very shy and it is

hard for them to open up in order to teach the younger students. The facilitators who faced similar problems were able to offer solutions. One facilitator said that she meets with her group of mentors once a week over lunch, that way all the students in the group, as well as the facilitators, are available to meet. The president of the Ophelia Project, Mary Baird, said that it is important for the facilitators to recruit girls to act as mentors that they believe will be able to teach the intervention properly as well as act as good role models for the younger students.

On the second day, during the mentor training, the high school girls were able to practice some of the activities that they would be using in the classroom to teach the younger girls about relational aggression. They were able to share personal stories with the other girls about times when they were bullies or victims of relational aggression. Through this activity they were able to learn that by sharing personal stories, the younger students can learn to be more open to talking about the topic.

I had the opportunity to facilitate a small group to help them develop a role-play that they could use to give the younger students some examples of relational aggression. I asked the girls to think about some things that they may have seen happen in their school that they could use for a skit. One girl said, "Sometimes girls in a small group will gossip about another girl and when she walks by they all stare at her and laugh. Even though she might not know what was said, she knows that they were talking about her." I asked the other girls if they agreed that this is something they had seen and if they wanted to use this situation as their skit, and the girls agreed.

I asked the group to think about what some possible solutions to the situation. "You can tell the bully that's not nice. She's a really nice girl," one girl answered. I replied that it would be great if that really happens but I asked them if that is really what happens in these situations. The girls said that it was not what really happens because then that person would become the next "outcast" by the bully. I had the girls think of some more realistic solutions and they agreed that removing yourself from the gossip and being friendly to the victim to help them to not feel alone would be something helpful that would be easier for a bystander to do.

Unfortunately, I was not able to become a facilitator for a group of high school mentors throughout the semester because I was not available at the times that the mentors would conduct the lessons. However, each week I observed group sessions with the high school girls. There are different counselors for each grade. Students in the high school are required to meet with their guidance counselor once a week in group sessions. This allows the students to become more comfortable talking to the counselor and the student will be more likely to go to the counselor privately when important issues arise.

The counselors all have different topics that they discuss with the students. The freshman counselor discusses issues that the girls may have with adjusting to high school as well as dealing with relational aggression. The sophomore counselor examines issues with self-esteem. The junior counselor deals with the stressors and anxiety of the heavy course load in this year. The senior counselor advises students in preparation for college. The counselors allowed me to offer any input I thought would be helpful for the girls. The counselors would often ask me to answer the girls' questions. Since I am closer in age to the girls, the counselors felt that they would be better able to relate to me and therefore, would appreciate any information I gave them.

Although I was unable to observe the intervention within the school, I was able to watch the girls interact within the group sessions on topics that relate to relational aggression. One session with a group of freshman girls had to do with raising the self-esteem of the girls. This session also helped the girls look at positive aspects within their classmates in addition to themselves. The counselor began by letting the students know that she had noticed that many of the girls had been saying negative things about themselves. First, the counselor discussed with the students how it might be especially difficult for girls in high school to feel good about themselves.

The counselor explained that they were going to perform an activity that would help them to raise their self-esteem and remind them of their strengths and positive things about themselves. The counselor gave the students brown paper bags, crayons, and paper where they were to write 12 positive things that they liked about themselves. The girls responded to hearing this activity with groans and the counselor quickly informed the girls that she understood that this is something that may be difficult for them to write about. One girl replied, "If you asked me to write 12 things about myself that I don't like, it would be much easier." The girls in the group agreed and the counselor let them know that this was the exact reason they were engaging in this exercise.

The students were also asked to write one positive thing about the person to their right and one positive thing about the person to their left and to put it inside of their paper bags. On the bag they were to write "Brag Bag" in which they would put all of their positive statements. The counselor told them they could decorate the bags to make them more personal and that whenever they were feeling upset they could look in the bag and realize there were many good things about them. While the girls were working on coming up with positive things many of the girls were having trouble. The counselor told the girls positive things that she noticed about them and told them to think of compliments they received from others.

In another session with a group of freshman girls the counselor asked the girls to

define what they thought relational aggression means. One girl responded, "It's what girls do to each other like eye rolling and gossip." Another girl answered, "Boys fight things out and girls fight other ways." The counselor asked the girls, "Why do girls use relational aggression?" Some of the responses included that it is because girls can be bored, jealous of other girls, or that girls relational aggress in order to attain power and control. The counselor told them that sometimes relational aggression could escalate to the point that victims of relational aggression can become depressed or afraid to go to school.

The counselor asked the girls about how they thought technology played a role in this kind of bullying. "People are strong behind a computer," one girl replied. The girls agreed that technology only makes bullying worse and that many people say things that they normally would not say in person. One girl gave an example of how someone could leave a comment on another girl's webpage about someone else, knowing that they will be able to see it. The group discussed how anything that they say over the computer can be altered and sent very easily to many people. They talked about how this is a big issue because any kind of pictures that are put onto a website can be shown to anyone.

The counselor asked the girls if they thought that relational aggression was an issue within the school. The girls began to talk about how they felt that the sophomore girls were rude to them. Some girls said that they were pushed in the hallways and that the sophomore girls gave them mean looks. The counselor asked the girls if they could think of anything that could be done to prevent the bullying. One girl gave the response, "You can think before you act about how the victim would feel if you did something."

The counselor asked the students what they could do if they are the bystanders to a bullying situation. The girls gave the socially desirable answer that you can "stand up to the bully for the victim." The counselor said, "Sometimes it is hard to stand up to the bully because then you can become the target of the aggression." The girls could not think of anything else they could do in response to a bullying situation. One example the counselor offered was to empathize with the victim and to let them know how you feel and that you did not agree with what happened to them.

All of the girls were raising their hands to share stories with the group about a time when they were bullied or stories of others who were bullied. The counselor told the students, "It is often easier to recall stories from when you were the victim and forget stories when you were the bully." One girl told a story about a friend of hers who is jealous of the friendship that she has with another girl and so her friend makes up rumors about her. The girls also expressed that when they go to a parent or teacher for help that these issues are often seen as something that is unimportant and that they should not

worry about.

The sophomore counselor is also a facilitator for the student mentors. During lunch one day, the counselor allowed me to observe a meeting she was having with a group of peer mediators. This was a small group composed of mainly sophomore and junior girls however, during the peer mediations only one or two girls can conduct a mediation between two disputants at a time. The role of a peer mediator is to learn how to properly address problems in a dispute between peers so that they are able to conduct mediations from a neutral standpoint. It is the role of the counselor to prepare the peer mediator for the mediation and then find two disputants with a problem they would like to resolve and assign a time for them to meet with a peer mediator. The counselor gave the students a hand out in order to prepare them for peer mediations.

The counselor asked the students what they thought would be the best way to arrange a room for a peer mediation to take place. The students suggested that they should arrive at the room earlier and arrange the room properly before the disputants arrive. One girl answered, "They should face each other, but not be too close together." The counselor then asked, "Where should the mediator be?" "In between the disputants but further away, like a triangle, and if there are two peer mediators then more like a trapezoid." The girls giggle and the counselor agreed that this would be the best solution, but she also noted that they should also consider who should sit closest to the exit. The girls all agreed that the mediators should be near the exit in case something should happen where they need assistance they would be closer to where they can go to the counselor for help.

The students and the counselor then began to read the handout, which was about the first steps in peer mediation. The girls paired up in order to practice what they would say in their introductory speeches as mediators. One girl acted as the mediator and the other as the disputants and then they had to switch the roles. In the speech they were supposed to welcome the disputants, introduce themselves, define in their own words mediation, and explain the rules for mediation. The rules included that the mediator will remain neutral, that the mediation must remain confidential, the disputants must take turns listening and talking, and they must cooperate to solve the problem. The disputants then have to agree to the rules. The students were having some trouble rehearsing what they were going to say. The counselor let them know that the point of the exercise was that they would realize that it can be difficult to make these introductions, so they would have to write down what they want to say and practice it before they mediate.

In another meeting with the peer mediators, the counselor discussed anger and how it is important that the disputants and the mediator remain calm during a peer

mediation. In order to help the students better empathize with the disputants the counselor asked the students to think about a time where they were angry and what emotions they were feeling. Later, they talked about things that they do in order to calm themselves down when they are angry. One girl talked about how sometimes nothing can calm her down and it takes time before she is ready to talk about a fight. The counselor agreed that sometimes it may be too early to discuss what happened. One girl said, “When I’m angry the last thing I want to hear is ‘calm down’ because the other person does not know what I am going through.” The counselor discussed how it is important to reflect on what you would like to hear and not like to hear when angry because it can help during mediations.

The students also said that it is important when mediating to not say to the disputants, “I know how you feel” because it could make them more angry or feel that you are trivializing their anger. The counselor told the girls that it is important to process the disputants’ anger by being assertive. The mediators must remain neutral but still guide the mediation towards a resolution or a compromise. One girl added, “It is important to remind the disputants that they have agreed to come to resolve the issue and that being angry will help them to solve the problem.” Listening to the disputants and letting them know that you are listening by reframing what they have said is also an important part of mediation. They looked at some practice statements and practice reframing.

III. Conclusion

The Ophelia Project gives the students more knowledge on relational aggression, which allows them to be more aware of what they are observing in the school, and ways in which they could address relationally aggressive behaviors. This intervention not only teaches the students to empathize with the victims of relational aggression but also how important the role of the bystander is in bullying situations. Darley and Latane (1968), O’Connell and Craig (1999), Rigby and Johnson (2006), and Tisak et al., (1997) indicated that there are bystanders in bullying situations that have the responsibility to choose whether or not to intervene on behalf of the victim. The girls often told stories of being victimized in which there are many bystanders to the situations but they fail to intervene. One example involved bullying on the computer in which a negative comment left on someone’s webpage can be seen by many others and yet nothing was done in this particular situation to help the victim. It is difficult at times for students to apply what has been taught in the interventions to the actual situations in which they face. The intervention should allow the students to give examples of situations in which they

should intervene in addition to offering the students examples in which they should intervene. I believe that the intervention should allow the students to play a more active role in making changes in their school.

The girls in the high school where I was an intern still believed that relational aggression was a problem in their school even though, they have had the intervention, the Ophelia Project, in their school. When the high school allowed this program into their school all the parents, administrators, and teachers had to agree to be aware of these kinds of behaviors and the effect that it could have on the girls. One reason that the girls may have indicated being victims of relational aggression is that they told stories of how their teachers and parents often trivialize their stories of victimization related to relational aggression. It is often hard for teachers and parents to observe this kind of aggression because it involves such discrete behaviors. Bullies can disguise their use of relational aggression and bystanders may not be sure if they should take action because the behavior can be interpreted in different ways. Hirschstein et al. (2007) studied the impact of teacher implementation of an intervention. Another reason this intervention may not be working to its full potential is because the teachers are more concerned with preparing the girls for state tests and college rather than on reinforcing their positive behaviors associated with relational aggression. The amount of lessons can also influence the impact that the intervention has on relational aggression. The high school students presented the intervention lessons a few times a month and often they were unable to meet during these times.

Although there were signs of relational aggression in the high school after receiving the intervention, there may have been more incidents of relational aggression before the Ophelia Project began at the school. The school officials must have seen a difference in behavior because they still have the program in their school. They may be experiencing some difficulties with the program because they needed to have another training in the beginning of the year. However, I was able to notice the day of the mentor training that the girls are very knowledgeable about strategies they can employ to resolve bullying situations. Relational aggression is a problem that many schools face. Research from the literature on bullying shows that involvement in aggression is associated with poor outcomes for those who bully as well as for those who are victims of bullying or bystanders to bullying (Frey et al., 2005). In response to this the counselors often discussed and created lessons that helped boost the self-esteem of the girls.

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Section III: Critical Essays

Homosexuality and Gender Dissidence: Acting Out in Fin-de-Siècle Paris, Vienna and Berlin

Shane Courtney (Theater Performance and Speech)¹

Undoubtedly, the fin-de-siècle in Europe was a period of great change, not only in society but also in regards to the arts and the lives of artists who lived during this time. Societies of the fin-de-siècle, particularly those in Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, experienced a radical shift in the direction of modernization, which was naturally met with much resistance and rebellion. Those who chose to resist expressed their disapproval in numerous ways – some displayed it through artwork, some through the indulgence of their personal vices, and still others chose to act out against society in both subtle and overt ways. Oftentimes, this desire to act out against the changes manifested itself in sexual forms. One powerful effect of this was the rise of homosexuality's presence in society. It is no secret that homosexuality was indeed historically present before this period; however, with this emergence came an overtly feminine behavior of gay men and masculine behavior in lesbian women, which directly challenged what society judged as appropriate behavior in regards to one's gender. This distancing from one's gender was known as gender dissidence. The fin-de-siècle became a time in which homosexual behavior actually began to manifest itself in society as a tangible force; because of this, it not only reaped negativity from society but gave rise to themes of gender dissidence in art and society. Although homosexuality and other "gender-bending" perversities were viewed as symbols of indulgence and decadence to most of society, they became popular themes present in the arts as well as in the lives of the artists and intellectual figures of the period. In fact, fin-de-siècle writers and artists such as Gustav Klimt, Egon Schiele, and Thomas Mann often incorporated themes dealing with homosexuality and gender dissidence in their works. Others still, such as writers Arthur Rimbaud, Paul Verlaine, Charles Baudelaire, and Colette, not only expressed these themes in their works but also exhibited homosexual behavior in their personal lives.

The clear divide that materialized between heterosexuals and homosexuals of the fin-de-siècle can be attributed to many factors. Along industrialism and modernism came equally powerful social forces such as feminism, radical politics, the rise of popular

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journalism and moral purity, all of which have been referred to as “anarchy” by many critics (Cocks 526). Because of this, the *zeitgeist* of the fin-de-siècle was chaotic; people not only struggled to find their own personal niches but they were inspired by influences from innumerable different movements occurring within the same time period. From these influences emerged a new wave of sexuality in society, leading to scandals, the birth of sexology, and the emergence of gender modernity that deepened the gap between heterosexuals and homosexuals (Cocks 527). Additionally, the society of the time began to set strict limits to any sort of iconoclastic statements, especially those in relation to sexuality, and for this reason, homosexuals and other emerging groups began to act out (Berlanstein 340). Homosexuals and heterosexuals thus became two separate entities, with their own characteristics and qualities. The greatest distinction between the two social groups was that homosexuals often behaved in a manner that directly opposed society’s expectations, which most often extended to their speech, their mannerism, and their dress. Male homosexuals adopted effeminate approaches to everyday life while female homosexuals took on masculine ones. Though it was never certain whether gays and lesbians felt inherently feminine or masculine, such behaviors were taken to extremes in order to exact opposition against the changes in society. This practice, known as “sexual dissidence”, directly challenged society’s view on appropriate behavior by portraying the exact opposite of the way a healthy heterosexual was expected to behave (Cocks 531). Cross-dressing also became a popular means of self-expression among homosexuals and dandies alike; evolving out of the theater, cross-dressing soon became a method of social and political commentary (Berlanstein 341). With the aid of such behaviors, homosexuality and sexual dissidence became two embryonic forces in fin-de-siècle Europe, which, undoubtedly, sparked a plethora of reactions.

As with anything that deviated from the accepted social norms at the time, society had its own varying reactions to this new “sexual revolution”. To a large portion of society, homosexuality was the fuel for many social anxieties: “Historians have pointed to a number of developments to help explain these heightened anxieties, including the military defeat of 1870, the fear of depopulation, demands that civil and political rights be extended to women, and the increasing independence of women...” (Kselman 590).

Acting as a prominent inspiration to homosexuals, feminism appeared to be the cause of much controversy during the period. Radical feminist changes included the feminization of male avant-garde texts, the increasingly vocal nature of feminist demands, and the emergence of new roles for women, including female dandies, the “New Woman”, and the *femme fatale* (Felski 1094). These shifts challenged many prior masculine ideals and because much of homosexual culture was inspired by effeminacy,

homosexuals consequentially felt the brunt of society's resistance. One seemingly perpetual obstacle that hindered the advancement of homosexuals lied within the Catholic Church. In fact, any type of personal sexual knowledge was secularized during the time and the Church remained very watchful in regards to the changes of the sexual revolution (Kselman 590). In addition to the disapproval of the Church, popular opinion as well as the opinions of professionals discredited the emergence of alternate sexuality. In fact, even Sigmund Freud, when dealing with Little Hans, a young subject who had exhibited homosexual behavior, referred to homosexuality as a stage that needed to be overcome (Geller 366). Public opinion remained similar; homosexuality was directly associated with "degeneration", both in the social world and among the scientific community. The scientific world believed that homosexuality was the degeneration of the central nervous system while society regarded homosexuality as symptomatic of the degeneration of the era, of the same caliber as alcoholism, decadence, and genetic anomalies (Sengoopta 449). However, while most physicians at the time settled for this view on homosexuality, a select few physicians such as Magnus Hirschfeld of Berlin and Eugen Steinach of Vienna collaborated to find ways in which to emancipate homosexual culture through scientific research. Through their collective studies, these physicians claimed in 1897 that homosexuality was "neither a disease nor a vice but the consequence of a simple developmental error. No legal or moral guilt could attach to so involuntary a condition" (Sengoopta 448). Therefore, while many factors of society were working against the advancement of homosexual culture, others were working alongside it. Homosexual culture soon began to manifest itself in many aspects of society, despite the resistance it often encountered.

The one aspect of European fin-de-siècle society in which homosexuality had certainly found its niche was in the arts. Art, like the emergence of homosexuality in society, had very much become a form rebellion against the changes of the era. As society became more concerned with industrialism and moral preservation, the presence of naturalism and overt sexuality in art became the counterattack. With this in common, homosexuality and other examples of gender dissidence became very welcomed themes in fin-de-siècle art and literature.

In particular, Viennese artist Egon Schiele was quite fond of displaying homosexuality and gender dissidence in his works. Many of Schiele's watercolor paintings, such as *Friendship* (1913) and *Conversion* (1912) portrayed scenes of intimacy between two women. Although the word "friendship" implies a platonic intimacy between the two subjects, it is difficult for one to view the two women – nude and tightly embracing, with the more dominant woman's chin resting on her counterpart's shoulder – and believe them to be embracing out of friendship. *Conversion*, too, depicts two women

intimately touching. In this painting, the women are joined together like the pieces of a puzzle, complimenting one another's curves and contours. While many of Schiele's depictions of homosexuality were indeed tame, works like *Women Embracing* (1913) and *Two Friends of Tenderness* (1913) are explicit and raw. Both paintings portray two women in the middle of sexual acts – kissing, touching, embracing with intertwined limbs.

In addition to his depictions of homosexuality, Schiele bestowed upon many of his subjects gender-ambiguous qualities, such as androgyny. Schiele sketched many figures that included anatomical features of both genders, making it very difficult for one to determine the sex of his subjects. Even in many of Schiele's self-portraits and portraits of his mistress, Wally Neuzil, there are elements of androgyny. Particularly in *Wally in Red Blouse with Raised Knee* (1913) and *Self Portrait* (1912), one can perceive these elements. From the waist above, Wally is given a very subjective appearance – one can detect her masculine facial structure and mistake her for a man. In *Self Portrait*, Schiele feminizes his own facial features, giving himself higher cheekbones, fuller lips, and thin, raised eyebrows to mimic those of a woman.

Gustav Klimt, another Viennese artist of the period, showcased homosexuality and gender dissidence as well, although his works were a rendering of intimacy rather than of rawness. *Water Serpents* (1907), one of Klimt's most widely-recognized paintings, is the depiction of several nude women lying together in a mass, with their hair becoming meshed together. Additionally, the word "serpents" in the title also alludes to the Old Testament story of the snake of Eden, whose seductive nature brings up the gender dissident idea of the unity of the sexes, an idea plainly seen in Klimt's most famous work, *The Kiss* (1907-1908). The two figures embracing in this painting are fused into one and covered, making it impossible for the viewer to distinguish the man's body from the woman's. Additionally, the nature of this work is intimate and sexual. Klimt, like Schiele, also had several works portraying unambiguous depictions of female homosexuality. Klimt's appropriately-titled *Girl-Friends* (1916) is just one example. The work depicts two women – one nude – embracing one another lovingly in a prominently red background, a color that commonly alludes to passion. The title, in addition to the artist's rendering, directly associate the work with homosexuality.

Literature, too, was greatly affected by the heightened sexuality of the fin-de-siècle, and homosexuality found its place in many novels, poems and plays of the period. German novelist Thomas Mann and French poet Charles Baudelaire are two writers who explored the heightened attention given to homosexuality during the fin-de-siècle. The entire plot of Mann's novella *Death in Venice* surrounds the duality of passion, in which Aschenbach's infatuation with a young boy, Tadzio, becomes a double-edged sword; this

homosexual attraction, in addition to the beauty of the art he finds in Venice, restores the element of Aschenbach's life that he had been lacking, but also becomes his obsession and downfall. Baudelaire, too, writes of the downfall of homosexual passion in his poem "Lesbos". "Lesbos" describes the Greek island, a location of forbidden sexuality and the birthplace of Sappho. Sappho was an ancient Greek lyric poet whose writings symbolize the peak of eroticism and unconventional love (Balakian 275). Baudelaire describes Lesbos as a place in which "the kisses are like cascades" and where "Venus might rightly be jealous of Sappho". Throughout this lengthy poem, Baudelaire defends homosexual desire; he describes Sappho as "lovelier than Venus", refers to her downfall as "martyrdom", and describes the religious forces opposing her as "rite and established cult". Another one of Baudelaire's poems "Femmes Damnées", describes a forbidden passion between two female subjects, Delphine and Hippolyta. In this poem, Baudelaire makes an overt commentary on society's treatment of homosexual love. After a moment of passion, Hippolyta wonders, "Is there something strange in what we have done?" and later suggests that they "let [their] drawn curtains separate [them] from the world... damned, wandering, far from living people". These lines directly relate this moment of lesbian passion to the women's fear of society's reaction. This can be seen as a bold statement by Baudelaire in support of the emerging homosexual culture at the time.

As homosexuality was granted a more prominent role in the cultural life of the fin-de-siècle, it also found itself well-represented in the lives of many artists of the era. For example, Thomas Mann's Death in Venice is not only a portrayal of repressed homosexual desire, but contains elements that are autobiographical in nature. Biographers have claimed that the character of Gustav Aschenbach is the literary manifestation of Thomas Mann: discipline, desire and fervent artistic pursuit are mutual characteristics between Mann and Aschenbach (Kaufmann 15). Mann's own struggle with homosexuality was instilled in the character of Aschenbach, something that scholars had not realized until Mann's personal diaries were found and early works such as "Little Herr Friedemann", a camouflaged story of Mann's own homosexual desires, were analyzed (Mundt 5). Scholars also believe that Mann was inspired by his first homosexual love, a classmate by the name of Armin Martens, in his writing of *Tonio Kroger*, one of his earliest novels that follows a young man from childhood to adulthood (Mundt 5).

Although Mann never publicly acted on his homosexual desires, many artists of the period did, maintaining homosexual relationships and actively participating in homosexual affairs. Parisian poets Paul Verlaine and Arthur Rimbaud as well as the novelist Colette are some examples of artists who were open about their homosexual activity. Verlaine and Rimbaud engaged in an openly homosexual relationship; Rimbaud

even left his home in Paris to pursue his relationship with Verlaine (Guimon 89). This relationship had a profound effect on the works of both artists: Rimbaud and Verlaine often sketched one another, wrote poems about one another, and generally drew inspiration from each other (Buisine and Dobie 102). For example, in the poem “It Weeps in my Heart”, Verlaine pays homage to Rimbaud by inserting the words “it rains gently on the town”, a direct quote from one of Rimbaud’s works. There is evidence, too, that the relationship negatively affected both poets.

In [Rimbaud’s] self-idealization, he had played down the image of Verlaine, but when he found himself without him, he began to realize it was Verlaine who possessed the fine qualities he had attributed to himself, and this both humiliated and depressed him. He then began to write *A Season in Hell*.... One section “Deliria” is extremely significant in relation to Rimbaud’s psychological state, where he sets out the divergences between the mad virgin and the infernal husband – the first critics imagined that the former represented Verlaine and the latter represented Rimbaud (Guimon 89).

Regardless of whether the influences both writers had on one another were positive or negative, they were indeed a powerful force which fueled their creativity.

Sidonie-Gabrielle Colette was another influential figure during the fin-de-siècle who lived openly as a lesbian and also incorporated homosexual elements in her works. One of Colette’s most famous texts, The Pure and the Impure, deals largely with the shortcomings of lesbianism and sexual satisfaction, as the main character, Charlotte, finds frustration in the realization that she is not sexually satisfied by her man (Dranch and Colette 177). The story links lesbianism to Colette’s own life in the character of Charlotte, who is very much like Mann’s Aschenbach – a manifestation of the author in her own work. Colette and Charlotte share many similar characteristics and situations: both are former music-hall performers, both have been involved in scenarios which had them weigh sexual indulgence over self-control, both have androgynous names (Charlotte being the feminine form of Charles and Colette being her father’s surname), and both are vastly concerned with their personal sexual satisfaction (Dranch and Colette 178). Other aspects of Colette’s life are translated onto her literary characters as well. Colette felt oppressed by the masculine figures in her life; for example, Colette’s husband routinely locked her up in her room for hours and ordered her to write books that he would publish under his own name (Cohen 795). This patriarchal oppression is apparent in Colette’s *Gigi*, in which the characters Madame Alvarez and Alicia try to refine Gigi and prepare her for proper composure in the presence of a man (Cohen 796).

Colette, along with other figures of the time such as French poet Charles Baudelaire and German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, are often credited as practicing

another type of gender-ambiguous art popular during the fin-de-siècle: dandyism. Dandyism was very much a product of the emerging homosexual culture in which men and women would dress, act, or speak in a fashion similar to what society would expect from the opposite gender. For instance, upon meeting Baudelaire, Nietzsche commented mainly on the poet's behavior, alluding to decadence and effeminacy, even though many of Nietzsche's colleagues had noticed homosexual undercurrents of his own appearance (Waite 25). These "undercurrents" found in dandyism resulted from the rising overtly effeminate nature of homosexuals and the masculine nature of lesbians. This became an inspiration to dandies in that these mannerisms became symbols of rebellion in society. Dandyism served two main purposes; on one hand, it became a form of political rebellion in which the behavior of dandies was a direct reaction to the dominance of modernist, industrialist, and capitalist changes occurring in Europe (Glick 131). On the other hand, it focused on artistic and aesthetic beauty, style, and artifice, and became a retreat from the society and politics of the fin-de-siècle into commodity and artistic self-expression (Glick 130). Dandyism, instead, became a way to ruffle society's feathers by evoking the gender-ambiguous quality of homosexuality that society disapproved of the most. In fact, both Baudelaire and Nietzsche identified as heterosexuals and carried on heterosexual relationships, and Colette identified herself as bisexual. As heterosexuals began to become inspired by the homosexual community, the first bonds of unification between the two cultures had been formed. It can be argued, then, that dandyism was the stitch that began to repair the divide between homosexuals and heterosexuals. This, too, could also suggest that because dandyism focused much on style and commodity, this ideal remains intact in the modern-day gay male, who is stereotypically materialistic, feminine, and obsessed with the "gym body", or external beautification (Glick 130). The fact that the fin-de siècle dandy still remains a pertinent influence in modern-day homosexual culture speaks volumes of the influence of the sexual revolution at the turn of the century.

The emerging homosexual culture of fin-de-siècle Europe was a greatly influential force in both society and the world of art and literature. This "sexual revolution", during which society saw the rise of homosexuality and other sexually dissident behaviors, sparked controversy, distaste, and hostility from many different culture groups but also stimulated the interest of many others. The medical field as well as the art world benefited greatly from homosexual culture, with new findings and studies being conducted in medicine as well as new depictions and ideas being worked into art, for the purpose of both aestheticism and political rebellion. Homosexuality and gender dissidence found their place in many different types of art; this included the sketches of Egon Schiele, the paintings of Gustav Klimt, the poems of Baudelaire, and the novels of Colette and Mann. Homosexual culture also became a catalyst for other types of social

change. It perpetuated the rise of dandyism, which became a powerful force both in society and in relation to modern-day times. Overall, homosexuality and other gender-bending “perversities” were strong influential elements in the artistic communities of Paris, Vienna, and Berlin during the fin-de-siècle.

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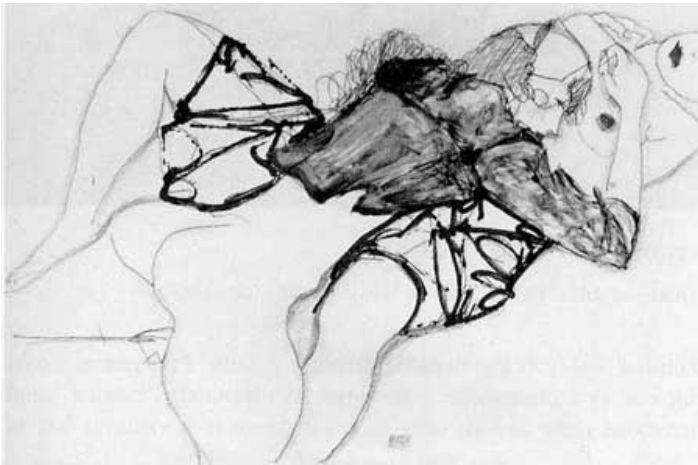
Egon Schiele, Friendship, 1913



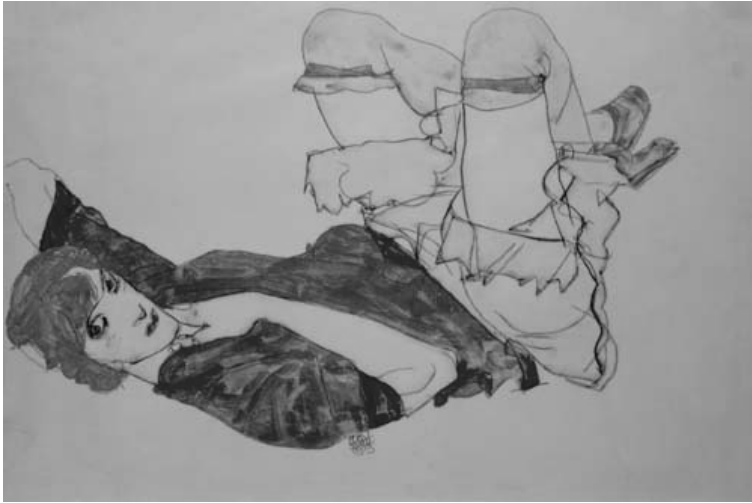
Egon Schiele, Women Embracing, 1913



Egon Schiele, Conversion, 1912



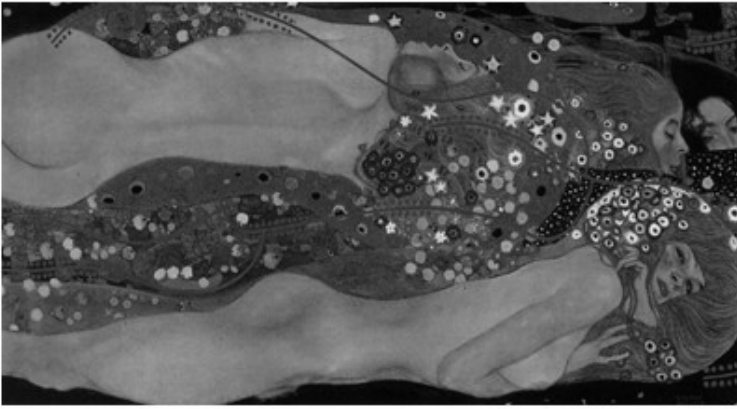
Egon Schiele, Two Friends of Tenderness, 1913



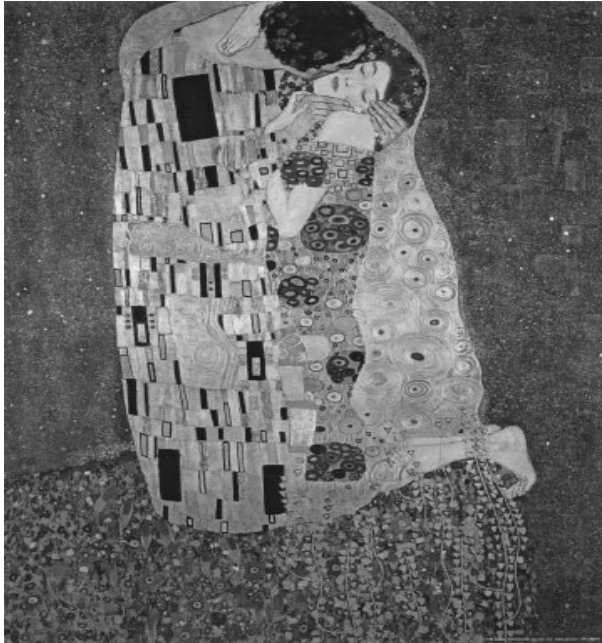
Egon Schiele, Wally Neuzil in Red Blouse with Raised Knees, 1913



Egon Schiele, Self-Portrait, 1912



Gustav Klimt, Water Serpents, 1907



Gustav Klimt, The Kiss, 1907



Gustav Klimt, Girl-Friends, 1916

Vesalius and Renaissance Anatomy

Amanda Gland (History)¹

Renaissance Italy, 1300-1600



“The Creation of the Tangible Human Body”

The Renaissance in Italy was a fascinating time, full of discoveries and new information about the world. During the Renaissance, the idea of humanism developed. This was essentially the study of the human removed from god. In other words, although they believed that God created the human, they chose to focus on how humans used what God had given them. This idea became a school curriculum leading to the modern day liberal arts. It arose the reading of the classic authors from Greece and Rome. The emphasis on the human body led to many new forms of art and transformed the way people thought about themselves. In painting, subjects became more lifelike, both in body and in the space that they occupied. In architecture, the classical style made a

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Alison Smith (History) for the honors course History 362: *Renaissance Italy*.

comeback, but the way it was done distinguished it from the ancients. In medicine, old ideas of the human body were revived, and then changed to go along with the more modern discoveries made by Renaissance anatomists. In 1543, Andreas Vesalius published *De humani corporis fabrica* (or *On the Composition of the Human Body*)², which is considered the first modern medical text. With the advent of a renewed interest in the classics, and the humanist interest in the human person, the dissections of Vesalius furthered the understanding of the human body, and therefore of the human itself.

The human body was one of the greatest mysteries in the world, and people had been working on it since the ancient times. However, much of this work was done by observation, and much of the same information was still being used hundreds of years later. One of the most important of the early figures was Hippocrates, who lived from 460 BC to 377 BC³. Working in the time of Pericles, he is considered the father of modern medicine due to the founding of the Hippocratic School of Medicine. This was an intellectual school that helped in the formation of medicine as its own profession. Before Hippocrates, medicine was considered linked with theology and philosophy. Today, very little is known about what Hippocrates actually thought or wrote, but more information could have been available in the Renaissance⁴. Galen, who lived in Rome (129-200 AD), built upon the idea of medicine as a separate profession. He “emphasized the importance of direct observation, experimentation and dissection in improving anatomical and medical knowledge,” which was something that a lot of the medical schools began to follow in the Renaissance.⁵ While serving as physician to Rome’s most famous rulers, Galen performed dissections on animals and made many observations on how certain parts of the body worked. However, Galen never performed any dissections on humans, and instead allowed observations of animals to make up the majority of his work.⁶ With the revival of the classics in the Renaissance, Galen’s teachings became very important, especially to Vesalius. However, Vesalius went beyond this ancient authority to prove some of Galen’s work to be incorrect.

² Margaret L. King, *The Renaissance in Europe*, 1st ed. (McGraw-Hill Humanities/Social Sciences/Languages, 2003), 338.

³ “Hippocrates,” University of Adelaide Library, <http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/h/hippocrates> (accessed November 9, 2008).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Hugh Cahill, “Greek Medicine from Galen to Aetius,” King’s College London, <http://www.kcl.ac.uk> (accessed November 9, 2008).

⁶ Glenn Harcourt, “Andreas Vesalius and the Anatomy of Antique Sculpture,” *Representations*, no. 17 (Winter 1987): 13.

Another humanist writing about dissections was the artist Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519). Leonardo was very interested in the world around him, and he was one of the great minds of the Italian Renaissance. Not only did he invent many things, he used both his talent for art and his curiosity of the world to examine the human body. He also performed dissections on the human body, and he drew what he saw. Leonardo recommended that all medical students perform at least 16 dissections before they were given a degree⁷. The idea of performing dissections was used in medical school, but the student themselves did not perform these. They were instead lectured on what they were seeing while an assistant performed the procedure. Leonardo da Vinci can be considered a huge influence on Vesalius, along with Galen, whose teachings he followed. The dissections were attempts to discover more about the human body. These dissections were also very similar to the autopsies that were being performed in order to determine causes of death. These autopsies were being performed all over Italy, starting as early as the 1300's,⁸ such as the case of Chiara of Montefalco. These procedures were done by comparing an “ideal” body to the one examined and then noting the differences⁹. This was an imperfect science at best, since chances are that neither of the bodies was in perfect shape. However, with the advent of more information on the inner working of the body, these procedures became more significant. Also, as they became popular, people began to request them simply to discover what was wrong with them. This was done, in theory, so that future generations could protect themselves from harmful illnesses¹⁰.

Andreas Vesalius was born in Brussels on December 31, 1514, to a father that was the personal apothecary to Charles V.¹¹ However, this position meant that his father was never around due to travelling with the king. He also had a younger brother named Franciscus¹². Despite this, Vesalius took to school, studying first in the local schools, and then travelled to Louvian in 1529. While at the Castle school, he took classes in Greek,

⁷ Nancy G. Siraisi, “Vesalius and Human Diversity in *De humani corporis fabrica*,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1994): 10.

⁸ Katharine Park, “The Criminal and the Saintly Body: Autopsy and Dissection in Renaissance Italy,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 5.

⁹ *Ibid*, 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 9.

¹¹ Andreas Vesalius, *The Epitome of Andreas Vesalius* (Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1969) xvii.

¹² Charles Donald O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, 1514-1564* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964) 29.

Latin, philosophy, and rhetoric¹³. He also attended lessons outside of school in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew¹⁴ in order to improve in these areas, and these eventually became important aspects to his later schooling. All of these were things that the true Renaissance student was expected to have knowledge of, and was also part of the humanist theory of the Renaissance. Vesalius left this school in August of 1533 in order to attend medical school in Paris.¹⁵ Here he studied under Jacobus Sylvius and Johannes Guinterius, both of whom were Galenists in doctrine and advocated his methods in their classrooms¹⁶. They believed that the human body should be taught through actual observations and experimentations that contributed to the learning experiences. He later ended up thanking both of these people in subsequent publications, especially Sylvius, who introduced him to dissection¹⁷. His time in Paris was short lived, however, due to the outbreak of war in 1536 where France attacked Milan, which caused Vesalius to return to Louvian.¹⁸ It was on this trip that he performed a dissection on a young girl in Brussels, which is formally considered his first¹⁹. On his return to the school, he was given permission by the school's administration to perform anatomical demonstrations, which appears to have attracted spectators from all over the school, not just from the medical program²⁰. Despite his special permission to perform these dissections without a medical degree, he left for the University of Padua, one of the foremost universities during the Renaissance.

The University of Padua was founded in 1220. When Vesalius arrived in 1537, he was asked to join the faculty after passing his examinations with the college²¹. He completed them on December 5th, and took over as the chair of surgery and anatomy the very next day at age 23²². One of the ideas that Vesalius changed about teaching anatomy was that he actually performed the dissections himself,²³ which went back to his

¹³ Ibid, 31.

¹⁴ Ibid, 33.

¹⁵ Ibid, 34.

¹⁶ Vesalius, *The Epitome of Andreas Vesalius*, xvii.

¹⁷ O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, 1514-1564*, 50.

¹⁸ Ibid, 62.

¹⁹ Ibid, 63.

²⁰ Ibid, 69.

²¹ Ibid, 75.

²² Ibid, 77.

²³ Ibid, 80.

Galenist teachings. It used to be a surgeon or a barber that did this while the doctor lectured, but Vesalius always talked about how this situation did not teach him the best while he was in school. It was here that Vesalius first made an impact on the study of anatomy, in much the same way that Leonardo da Vinci made his mark. The difference lay in the fact that Vesalius was drawing for other men in the medical profession to learn and it was considered “the first pictorial exposition of the Galenic physiological system²⁴.” It was also during the time while he was working on these drawings that he changed from being a strict Galenist, mostly due to the fact that his own research was proving Galen to be wrong on several accounts²⁵. Here was the beginning of what was to become his greatest masterpiece, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem (On the Fabric of the Human Body)*.

His book was published when he was only 28 years old, which was a total of about five years of work²⁶. In the end, the entirety of the book was divided into five different sections; the bones and cartilages, the ligaments and the muscles, the veins and arteries, the nerves, and the organisms of nutrition and generation (also known as the organs). The publication of this book also marked the beginning of anatomy as a modern descriptive science, as well as the “representation of the Renaissance in science²⁷.” In the writing of this book, Vesalius took for granted that Galen would have been read as well, either in accompaniment to it or before²⁸. This was important because as already mentioned, Vesalius believed himself to be a Galenist, and yet his findings were proving many of Galen’s ideas wrong. He would even entitle special sections within the *Fabrica* with names such as “Refutation of Galen²⁹,” where he proves that Galen was wrong and that he had observed something new. He would often disagree with Galen, especially about how certain parts joined together and what they were made out of³⁰. Throughout the book, Vesalius began to follow a method that involved direct observation in anatomical dissections³¹.

²⁴ Ibid, 84.

²⁵ Ibid, 87.

²⁶ Vesalius, *The Epitome of Andreas Vesalius*, xviii.

²⁷ Harcourt, “Andreas Vesalius and the Anatomy of Antique Sculpture,” 1.

²⁸ Siraisi, “Vesalius and Human Diversity in *De humani corporis fabrica*,” 6.

²⁹ Andreas Vesalius, *On the fabric of the human body. a translation of De humani corporis fabrica libri septem Book I, The bones and cartilages*, Norman anatomy series, no. 1 (San Francisco: Norman Pub., 1998), 265.

³⁰ Ibid, 39.

³¹ King, *The Renaissance in Europe*, 338.

Book 1 is entitled *The Bones and Cartilages*. In this book, Vesalius decided to start at the top of the body and work his way down. Significantly, each bone was given a drawing (called a plate) of what it looked like. These images were of utmost importance because one of the main purposes of the book was to be a “practical manual of dissection” to students and other doctors so they could dissect a body themselves. This was done by providing step-by-step instructions³². Many people now believe that not only were the images included as part of the teaching function, but they were also a contribution to Renaissance art by Vesalius³³. Many of the bodies were drawn in a very artistic way, with backgrounds and poses. Many people believe that Vesalius wanted these to function as art, as well as teaching aids. Not only did the book serve as an instruction manual, but it was also a dictionary of professional terms and a detailed narrative about human body which could be used by anyone who wished to read it.³⁴ One of the most gruesome examples of the book as instructive text is in chapter 39 of Book One, which begins with a discussion on how to boil the body³⁵. This was done strictly in the case of studying the bones because all of the other parts were unimportant at that particular time. This was then followed by instructions on how to perform the dissection the exact same way that Vesalius would have done. The same is true of chapter 6 in Book Two, which has instructions on how to perform a dissection of the muscles and skin³⁶. This chapter also contains an interesting illustration of all the tools required to perform dissections, followed by a description of what they are all used for³⁷. It is also of interest that Vesalius chose to label all of the figures in his book in Greek letters, rather than in Italian. This goes back to the Renaissance revival of the classics and Vesalius’ position as a Galenist. Greek was the language that all of the early scholars would have written in, and by labeling in this way, he was putting himself at the same level of those that came before him.

³² Harcourt, “Andreas Vesalius and the Anatomy of Antique Sculpture,” 8.

³³ Ibid, 5.

³⁴ Siraisi, “Vesalius and Human Diversity in *De humani corporis fabrica*,” 5.

³⁵ Vesalius, *On the fabric of the human body. a translation of De humani corporis fabrica libri septem Book I, The bones and cartilages*, 371-372. This book also has helpful charts that show the name that Vesalius used and then the modern day name for the same part. An example can be found on pg 235.

³⁶ Andreas Vesalius, William Frank. Richardson, and John Burd. Carman, *On the fabric of the human body. Book II, The ligaments and muscles*, Norman anatomy series, no. 2 (San Francisco: Norman Pub., 1999), 146-147.

³⁷ Ibid, 148, 150-153.

When Vesalius performed his dissections, he had an ideal candidate in mind for the type of body that he wanted. Originally, he wanted perfect bodies, but since perfect specimens of bodies were almost impossible to come by, he changed his mind and required that the bodies simply be “free from disease and monstrous things³⁸.” Interestingly enough, the condition of the body was of great concern to him, but he rarely made comparisons between the two sexes. It would have been expected that the two sexes would have been compared in relative mass, size, and proportions in terms of the bones or muscles, but this was simply not the case in the *Fabric*.³⁹ However, it should be noted that he did notice the difference between the male and female reproductive system and the shape of the hip bones⁴⁰. One of the things that he does choose to pay attention to is the difference in bones due to age. He noticed that not only are they a different size, but children had smooth, separated, cartilaginous bones⁴¹ and adults did not. Another difference that he noticed among people was a difference in skull size⁴². This also went against the Galenist view that all human skulls should be the same size and shape⁴³. He went so far as to dissect the skull bones themselves to delve deeper into why they were different⁴⁴. It should also be noted that despite the apparent lack of concern for the differences between males and females, book one does show an interest in the different characteristics of the body at different stages in life⁴⁵.

Vesalius not only uses the book to teach other students how to perform dissections, but also analyzes why the body is the way it is. An example of this can be found in book one, when he discusses the fingers. The section is labeled *Five is the Right Number of Fingers* and it states that “if there were fewer, many actions would be less perfectly performed; and there is no purpose for which we need more.⁴⁶” Not only was he writing down what he actually saw, but he is also making guesses as to why the body

³⁸ Siraisi, “Vesalius and Human Diversity in *De humani corporis fabrica*,” 12-13.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 18.

⁴⁰ Vesalius, *On the fabric of the human body. a translation of De humani corporis fabrica libri septem Book I, The bones and cartilages*, chapter 29.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 63.

⁴² *Ibid*, 45.

⁴³ Siraisi, “Vesalius and Human Diversity in *De humani corporis fabrica*,” 25.

⁴⁴ Vesalius, *On the fabric of the human body. a translation of De humani corporis fabrica libri septem Book I, The bones and cartilages*, 118.

⁴⁵ Siraisi, “Vesalius and Human Diversity in *De humani corporis fabrica*,” 15.

⁴⁶ Vesalius, *On the fabric of the human body. a translation of De humani corporis fabrica libri septem Book I, The bones and cartilages*, 293.

looked the way it did. This was certainly a step in the direction of the scientific revolution, which followed the Renaissance. He worked within the Humanist framework, which was a curiosity about the body that God made and how it worked. Another interesting teaching technique that Vesalius chose to use was to make drawings of the body as he dissected it. These plates open Book Two, and they show the front and the back of the body as muscles are slowly removed, and they are done in table form to label all of the different muscles⁴⁷. This is done to show the muscles that lie underneath the first layer. Another interesting section is the one entitled *the Substance of the Skin*, in which he discusses what actually makes skin⁴⁸. Since Galen performed dissections on dogs and other animals, Vesalius also includes certain sections where he does compare the human body to that of an ape or a dog⁴⁹. This happened because as mentioned before, Vesalius thought himself a Galenist in theory, at least in the beginning of his career. This was in a sense comparing his work to that of Galen.

Beyond their role as instructive texts to future and current doctors, the publication helped to promote the usage of dissection throughout the community. It slowly became more socially accepted. An example of this is the permanent anatomy theatres that were built in Padua in the 1590's. These were done in the spirit of the Renaissance and demonstrate Vesalius's impact on the community. It was here during the winter months that dissections were performed for public audiences, and these were strictly for show⁵⁰. The dissections that were used for public showcases were not used as teaching opportunities for students. When the dissections were done in private, students could dispute with their professors more, but also learn more techniques and not have to worry about an audience⁵¹. It was also these theatres that helped to solidify the difference between anatomy and surgery in the Renaissance⁵². It was not long before dissection was considered a major part of a medical education⁵³, and it became essential to getting a

⁴⁷ Vesalius, Richardson, and Carman, *On the fabric of the human body. Book II, The ligaments and muscles*, 4, 12, 20, 27, 35, 42, 49. Pages listed are some examples of the plates mentioned.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 140.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 227.

⁵⁰ Cynthia Klestinec, "Civility, Comportment, and the Anatomy Theater: Girolamo Fabrici and His Medical Students in Renaissance Padua," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2007): 4.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 6.

⁵² *Ibid*, 4.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 16.

degree. Before Vesalius, it was shocking how little medical professionals actually knew about the human body⁵⁴.

The writings of Vesalius also made their way through the medical community in other areas as well. His dissections of the body and the instructive texts which he printed led to other sorts of study. When Isabella Della Volpe died in 1545, she was pregnant with her first child. Her husband was a local physician, and most likely would have been familiar with the caesarean section, which was performed on her body. This was done to determine whether the child was still alive, and could therefore claim an inheritance⁵⁵. In this case, the father of the child would lose the inheritance of a large sum if the child was not alive. It was also the case that the child, if alive, needed to be baptized in order to save it from eternal damnation⁵⁶. In order to perform this operation, the fetus had to be allowed to get air, so the mother's mouth was propped open. The incision was then made and the child was removed with four witnesses, all of whom testified later that the child was alive when it was removed⁵⁷. Although the child was determined to be alive and the father could receive his inheritance, without the work that Vesalius had done on the human body, this sort of procedure would have never gained the prominence that it did in the later years of the Renaissance. This example is an important use of medical knowledge in a court case.

Dissection was also used for religious purposes as well. In the case of Chiara of Montefalco, an autopsy was performed on her body to determine whether she qualified for sainthood or not⁵⁸. This was a very serious task was performed by the church in order to decide if a person deserved these honors. All of the persons present for this particular autopsy said that she had a cross in her heart and that automatically qualified her for a position as a saint⁵⁹. Despite the fact that many of the dissections or autopsies performed did have a specific purpose, many of the bodies that these procedures were performed on did not give permission. One of the awful consequences of Vesalius' work was grave robbing. Due to the quest for bodies to dissect, a law was written in 1550 in Venice that

⁵⁴ Harcourt, "Andreas Vesalius and the Anatomy of Antique Sculpture," 8.

⁵⁵ Katharine Park, "The Death of Isabella della Volpe: Four Eyewitness Accounts of a Postmortem Caesarean Section in 1545," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82, no. 1 (2008): 170.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 172-173.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 175.

⁵⁸ Park, "The Criminal and the Saintly Body," 1.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 2.

made stealing a body from a grave a crime⁶⁰. Vesalius was actually someone who started this by stealing bodies from graveyards in order to use them for dissections. In fact, Vesalius made some revisions to his 1555 edition that left out a lot of the passages that mentioned where the bodies came from⁶¹. There is also evidence that in the case of execution, people such as Vesalius, who wanted the body for dissection purposes, would often perform the execution themselves with the permission of the judge⁶². Although this did remove the stealing aspect of it, it meant that the prisoner might not be receiving a fair trial, or the sentenced punishment was not being carried out.

Overall, Vesalius was an important influence not only on the doctors of the Renaissance, but on modern day ones as well. He is given the most credit in the field of anatomy, which he helped to define as its own separate field. Many doctors today still refer to the *Fabric*, as well as his drawings. Not only were his findings important to the field of medicine, but to others as well. Some examples include law and religion, where dissections of bodies were used to prove certain points or make things true. Many ideas also came from his work, such as the anatomy theatres in medical schools located around Italy in the later part of the Renaissance. Overall, Vesalius was one of the people that helped to bring about the scientific revolution, and he made some of the most important contributions to early medicine.

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⁶⁰ Ibid, 18.

⁶¹ Ibid, 18.

⁶² Ibid, 20.

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The Women of *Heart of Darkness*

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Heart of Darkness by Joseph Conrad has been both lauded and criticized since its publication. Though it is a short novella, the extremely dense content paints a vivid picture of the harsh realities of imperialism, for corruption and greed are manifest within the colonizers and spill out into atrocities. While a great amount of attention should be paid to the post-colonial elements of Conrad's tale, focusing a critical eye on the portrayal of women illuminates the often overlooked patriarchal elements of the text. Throughout the story, protagonist Marlow discounts the women as either stereotypical or indescribable and not worthy of description. Thus, by trying to discredit and diminish the women's power, it becomes evident that Marlow is truly afraid of the power the women hold, for he does not understand it and does not want his masculine world to be threatened. Overall, the women of *Heart of Darkness* have powerful influence within the text, and Marlow's demeaning representation of and response to these women stems from his fear and anxiety of feminine power and therefore represents a patriarchal desire to constrain women by either assimilating them or dismissing them all together.

From an initial reading of *Heart of Darkness*, the supposed inferiority of the female characters is obvious. As Gabrielle McIntire reminds the reader in her essay, "The Women Do Not Travel: Gender, Difference, and Incommensurability in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*," "Not a single woman has a name, women scarcely speak, and when they do they are misunderstood, deliberately misled, or represented as profoundly lacking a comprehensive understanding of the events in which they participate" (265). Despite their portrayal as ignorant and unimportant, it becomes apparent that the women of the text are powerful, for it is their influence that commences and furthers the males' African journeys, especially Marlow's. As literary critic Rita Bode explains, "powerful women seem to control his [Marlow's] destiny at every turn. They seduce and propel him into the heart of darkness; they receive and encompass him once he is there" (23). Clearly, there is a conflict between the women's actual power and Marlow's debasing interpretation of the women.

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Marlow's aunt is the woman who enables his journey. Marlow's childhood fascination with travel continues into his adulthood, and when he realizes there is a Swedish trading company with which he could travel, he begins to seek out a means to join. Success in this endeavor comes through the help of his aunt. As McIntire explains, "his aunt is, quite significantly, partly responsible for originating his story" (265). While "the men said, 'My dear fellow,' and did nothing" (Conrad 8) to help Marlow in his quest, his aunt is more than willing to help, for she has connections with, "the wife of a very high personage in the Administration and also a man who has lots of influence" (8). These connections ultimately get Marlow the job; Marlow explains that, "I got my appointment-of course; and I got it very quick" (9). Without his aunt, Marlow would perhaps never have obtained his job on the river steamer with the trading company.

Not only does his aunt's influence propel him into the heart of darkness, but it also establishes a powerful reputation for him before he has even arrived in Africa. When Marlow meets the bricklayer of the Company's Central Station and discusses the mysterious character of Kurtz, the corrupt chief of the Company's Inner Station in the Congo, the bricklayer expresses his anxiety over Kurtz's power and Marlow's potential power, stating, "The same people who sent him specially also recommended you. Oh, don't say no. I've my own eyes to trust" (25). At this point, Marlow realizes that his, "dear aunt's influential acquaintances were producing an unexpected effect upon that young man" (25). Therefore, through her powerful connections, Marlow's aunt enables him to acquire his desired occupation, and her praise creates a reputation that grants him privilege and power within his new surroundings.

Despite her obvious influence on the course of Marlow's life, Marlow nonetheless denies, and seeks to suppress, her power. Before he even admits that his aunt got him the job after his attempts to receive help from men fail, Marlow qualifies his admittance with a statement that he reveals his embarrassment and anxiety over asking a woman for help. In an unconvincing attempt to take the situation in jest, he confesses to his audience, "Then-would you believe it-I tried the women. I, Charlie Marlow, set the women to work-to get a job! Heavens!" (8). Though his audience has remained silent throughout his storytelling, allowing Marlow to freely speak his mind, Marlow nevertheless feels the need to explain and make light of his decision to ask his aunt for help. Thus, it becomes obvious that this statement is an outpouring of anxiety and discomfort over putting a woman in a position of power. As McIntire explains, "Here he must not only repeat the personal pronoun, 'I,' but he feels compelled to name himself to the others in order to stress his own astonishment, to perform his alienation from ostensibly unusual behavior" (265). His self-declaration, "I, Charlie Marlow," when set

in opposition to the women, clearly represents an assumption of male superiority, and his incredulity over the possibility of a woman being capable of the same accomplishments of a man is, for him, frightening.

Furthermore, Marlow uses his aunt as an example of feminine ignorance. After his aunt expresses her belief in a missionary vision of his journey to Africa, Marlow mockingly comments,

It's queer how out of touch with truth the women are! They live in a world of their own and there had never been anything like it and never can be. It is too beautiful altogether, and if they were to set it up it would go to pieces before the first sunset. Some confounded fact we men have been living contentedly with ever since the day of creation would start up and knock the whole thing over (13).

Though his aunt may indeed be naïve to the true, corrupt nature of the colonialist effort in Africa, her ignorance is a direct product of the patriarchal suppression imposed on women by men to ensure that the women stay within a “world of their own” that the men can easily dominate. As Peter Hyland explains in his essay, “The Little Women in *Heart of Darkness*,” “this idea that women cannot survive outside ‘civilization’ is a self-protective male view that allows men to evade a genuine appraisal of feminine need” (5). Because Marlow uses feminine power to attain his desired occupation, his confidence in his masculine power wavers. Thus, to reestablish his power, he dismisses all women as ignorant beings who are unable to survive without men in order to make his aunt’s ability to get him a job seem unimportant. Moreover, he robs his aunt of an identity, using her as a general representation of feminine ignorance; by doing so, Marlow is able to remedy the obvious anxiety and fear he experiences as a result of the profound impact his aunt has upon his life by dismissing this impact entirely. Indeed, Marlow seems to be “living contentedly” with his decision to categorize his aunt as an ignorant woman rather than accepting her ability to wield more power than men.

Although Marlow is easily able to dismiss his aunt’s power, he is unable to make sense of the power of the two knitting women in the Company’s office headquarters, and therefore describes them in an otherworldly manner that evokes fear. When Marlow travels to the Company headquarters to sign his contract, two female secretaries are the first people Marlow comes upon, and they are the ones to send Marlow on his journey. Interwoven in Marlow’s interpretation of these women is a sense of unknowable power. They are significantly described as “knitting black wool feverishly” (10), which is reminiscent of the fates of Greek myth who weave and unweave destinies regardless of individual wishes (McIntire 271). Indeed, these women are perceived as

being privy to the true, dismal fate of the young men who sign with the Company. Marlow describes his observations of the older knitting woman, stating, “Two youths with foolish cherry countenances were being piloted over and she threw at them the same quick glance of unconcerned wisdom. She seemed to know all about them and me too” (11). Unlike with his aunt, Marlow cannot deny that these women are privilege to truth and the power of knowledge.

His recognition of the women’s wisdom and knowledge weighs heavily on his mind. Though he never exchanges words with them, the effect of their interaction lingers. Marlow admits that, “Often far away there I thought of these two, guarding the door of Darkness, knitting black wool as a warm pall, one introducing, introducing continuously to the unknown, the other scrutinizing the cheery and foolish faces with unconcerned eyes” (11). Marlow links these women to images of death and fate, and he is incapable of dismissing these images as he dismissed his aunt. Even as Marlow approaches his discovery of the infamous Kurtz, the old knitting woman comes to his mind: “The old knitting woman with the cat intruded herself upon my memory as a most improper person to be sitting at the other end of such an affair” (64). Just as with his aunt, the impact of his encounter with the knitting women is manifest when he reaches Africa, revealing a feminine influence that both initiates and permeates Marlow’s story.

Essentially, the power these women possess is their connection with truth and knowledge. As evident through his opinions about his aunt, Marlow equates women with ignorance and men with truth. Thus, the two knitting women are on the same plane as the men. As McIntire explains, the women’s, “‘fateful’ knowledge momentarily links them with the community of men” (273). Marlow’s description of the women in response to his recognition of their knowledge reveals his fear of the possibility of women of being within an assumed male sphere of truth.

To remove them from his male sphere of truth, Marlow interprets these women not only as puzzling but as otherworldly, for they are essentially depicted as witches. Bode reminds the reader that, “They [the knitting women] wear black; they are mysterious and inscrutable; the fat one looks like a witch complete with a wart and cat, the usual familiar of witches” (24). Bode goes further to point out that, in sailor folklore, “witches have power over the natural elements on which sailors are so dependent” (24). The women’s witch-like portrayal, then, seems to correlate with the power they hold over the male characters as a result of their knowledge. Furthermore, just as witches cannot be trusted, neither does Marlow trust these women. Far from bringing him comfort, he is fearful of the knitting women and does not know what to expect from them; they give him an “eerie feeling” (11) and are linked to sinister images of darkness and death. By

describing the women in an otherworldly and witch-like manner, it becomes clear that, “In their unpredictability, they cannot be trusted, and hence, are feared” (Bode 24). Marlow is unable to contemplate the implications of the fact that not all women are ignorant to the truth of the world and can, in fact, be aware of truths that men are not. Therefore, he interprets them as symbolic and supernatural, distancing them from their femininity in order to keep his world of masculine power and knowledge unthreatened.

In addition to the knitting women, the African woman, assumed to be Kurtz’s mistress, is another powerful feminine enigma that Marlow renders otherworldly in order to soothe his anxieties. Certainly, “she seems to be a collaborator with the knitting women, fulfilling their ominous warnings that there is no return” (Bode 25). Marlow is immediately struck by, and fearful of, her, for when she appears he explains that, “She was savage and superb, wild-eyed and magnificent; there was something ominous and stately in her deliberate progress” (60). Marlow’s interpretation of her as ominous stems from the obvious power she holds among the natives. When she comes face to face with Marlow and his fellow travelers on the steamer, Marlow describes that, “Suddenly she opened her bared arms and threw them up rigid above her head as though in an uncontrollable desire to touch the sky, and at the same time the swift shadows darted out on the earth, swept around on the river, gathering the steamer in a shadowy embrace” (61). With the shadows as referring to the other Congo natives, it becomes clear that this is not the patriarchal society that Marlow is used to because the natives obey female command. Bode explains that, not only is her power as mysterious to Marlow as the Congo itself, but she “also exercises control over it [the jungle]. She possesses the ability to change the face of the landscape itself” (25). In other words, she has the power to dictate the actions of the natives and overtake the African landscape.

In fact, even her colonizer, Kurtz, seems to be at the mercy of her power. When Marlow and the others finally arrive to take Kurtz away, it is the African woman who leads the attempt to ensure Kurtz remains. According to Bode, “She is the leader of her people, standing fearless when others run in fear, initiating their cries and shouts” (25). When Marlow asks Kurtz if he understands their “breathless utterance” (67), he describes that,

He [Kurtz] kept on looking out past me with fiery, longing eyes, with a mingled expression of wistfulness and hate. He made no answer, but I saw a smile, a smile of indefinable meaning, appear on his colorless lips that a moment after twitched convulsively. ‘Do I not?’ he said slowly, gasping, as if the words had been torn out of him by a supernatural power (67).

Analogously to the two knitting women, the supernatural is evoked. Though some may claim that Kurtz's "longing eyes" express a yearning not to be separated from his position in the Inner Station, it is perhaps more likely that his longing to stay is intertwined with his longing for the African woman, for her powerful position is intriguing and consuming. As Bode argues, "Kurtz's longing to remain a part of the mysterious jungle life seems inextricably linked to his longing for her" (25). Indeed, Marlow's explanation of Kurtz's "gasping, as if the words had been torn out of him by a supernatural power," reveals his awareness of Kurtz's longing for the African woman. Because he utilizes the same explanation of supernatural power when describing the two knitting women, his use of it when explaining Kurtz's reaction represents an attempt to eliminate female power by interpreting it as otherworldly.

Because the African woman has such profound influence, even affecting Kurtz, Marlow must employ various tactics to diminish her frightening power in addition to rendering her otherworldly. For example, any recognition of her femininity is a stereotypical connection in order to ease the fear that she awakens. Hyland explains that, "What Marlow attempts to do is neutralize this (to him) terrifying vision [of the African woman] into something closer to his stereotype of a submissive, patient, suffering woman" (8). Indeed, Marlow finds comfort in describing her as a woman afflicted by the loss of her male love, powerless to prevent Kurtz from being taken away. Though Marlow is initially taken aback by her "magnificent" and "ominous" appearance, he quickly changes his tune, explaining that, "Her face had a tragic and fierce aspect of wild sorrow and dumb pain mingled with the fear of some struggling, half-shaped resolve" (61). By quickly explaining her as "tragic" and filled with "sorrow and dumb pain," Marlow assimilates her into his mental construct of a typical, powerless woman in order to contain his fear and anxiety.

Even though the African woman is the only native to who does not run away from, or seem afraid of, the whistle that Marlow blows to scare away the natives as Kurtz is being taken away, Marlow disregards her strength by clinging to the tragic vision of her that he has created. He explains that, "Only the barbarous and superb woman did not so much as flinch and stretched tragically her bare arms after us" (67). Marlow recognizes her ability to be unaffected by the whistle as merely a product of her "tragic" dedication to Kurtz; in Marlow's mind, she derives strength only through the power of her love for a man, not from a greater inner strength. Overall, Marlow's repetitious description of this obviously powerful and strong woman as "tragic" is yet another attempt to control his anxiety.

An additional method that Marlow uses to placate his fear is to deny the African woman full humanity by interpreting her through physical, sexual terms. Marlow goes into great detail describing the appearance of the African woman, detailing her appearance from head to toe. He describes how, “She carried her head high, her hair was done in the shape of a helmet, she had brass leggings to the knees, brass wire gauntlets to the elbow, a crimson spot on her tawny cheek...” (60). These physical characteristics are the only tools available to define the African woman, for, as Jeremy Hawthorn explains in his essay, “The Women of Heart of Darkness,” “the reader is never allowed to witness her [the African woman’s] speech or her thoughts” (411). Such a depiction parallels that of the two knitting women, for they too are denied speech. The distinction, however, is that while the description of the two knitting women intertwines physicality and ominous wisdom, the description of the African woman is the physical bound with the sexual. As Marlow explains, she is covered in, “innumerable necklaces of glass beads on her neck, bizarre things, charms, gifts of witch-men, that hung about her...She must have had the value of several elephant tusks upon her” (60). Essentially, the woman’s body has become a shrine for worship. Though such a display could be the natives’ expression of paying homage to her superiority, the reader, only offered Marlow’s lens through which to view the woman, can only view her physically. Overall, Marlow’s attention to her physical appearance and movements is an attempt to force the reader to view her as a solely physical, sexual object.

The idea that the African woman is denied her humanity becomes even more apparent when she is compared to Kurtz’s Intended. The African woman seems to be full of life, for Marlow explains that, “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” (60). Such a description presents her as the physical embodiment of the fruitfulness of nature and life. If the image of the African woman mirrors an image fertile life, the image of the Intended mirrors that of death. When Marlow finally meets the Intended upon his return to Britain, he describes how, “She came forward all in black with a pale head, floating towards me in the dusk...This fair hair, this pale visage, this pure brow, seemed surrounded by an ashy halo from which the dark eyes looked out at me” (73-74). Her “ashy halo” and paleness coupled with “dark eyes” evokes angelic and deathlike images. Thus, from their physical descriptions alone, the two females are set in opposition to one another. As Hawthorn explains, “where the Intended has the odour of death about her, she [the African woman] is the personification of life; where the Intended is a thing of black and white, she is ablaze with color; where the Intended is refined to the point of etiolation, she is ‘savage

and superb” (408). Clearly, the African woman and the Intended are portrayed in stark opposition.

Indeed, while Marlow is enraptured solely by the physical appearance of the African woman, he focuses only on the devoted and chaste nature of the Intended. This creates the distinct binary in Marlow’s narrative of a woman as physical and sexual versus a woman as strictly moral. Hawthorn illuminates this opposition as a function of patriarchal suppression, explaining that, “in juxtaposing the two women the narrative of *Heart of Darkness* draws attention to the process whereby women are dehumanized by being divided into spirit and body and are denied the full humanity that requires possession of both” (409). By perceiving one as wholly physical and one as wholly spiritual, Marlow robs them of their humanity in order to ease his anxiety, restraining the power he perceives in them by rendering them inferior.

The Intended’s power, especially, is overwhelming for Marlow. For example, while Marlow only mentions in passing that, “her [the Intended’s] engagement with Kurtz had been disapproved by her people. He wasn’t rich enough or something...it was his impatience of comparative poverty that drove him out there” (75), the implications of this statement are staggering. It would seem that, in fact, it was not the desire for money itself that led Kurtz to take a job in the ivory trade but rather it was the ultimate goal of gaining money to be considered worthy of the Intended. By expressing such a revealing fact about the true nature of Kurtz’s decision to work in Africa without paying any heed to its obvious implications, Marlow clearly tries to repress the stifling notion that Kurtz’s actions were ultimately the result of female influence. Overall, just as Marlow gains access to the Company through the influence of his aunt, the Intended is the driving force behind Kurtz’s venture into the Congo.

Another key aspect of the Intended’s power is that she, unlike the African woman, is granted speech, enhancing the idea of a division between the physical and the mental. Just as Marlow is overwhelmed by the physical appearance of the African woman, he is also overwhelmed by the Intended’s words. Her ability to speak leaves him completely speechless, for he only responds through imitation. When Marlow visits her at the end of the novella and they discuss Kurtz, Marlow’s ability to speak breaks down, and the Intended controls the conversation. When she claims that, “of his [Kurtz’s] noble heart nothing remains-nothing but a memory,” Marlow replies “hastily,” “We shall always remember him” (75), but when the Intended exclaims, “No! It is impossible that all this should be lost...something must remain. His words at least have not died,” Marlow responds, “His words will remain” (76). Clearly, Marlow is extremely eager to agree and is only able to mimic her words. When the Intended speaks of the moral

example Kurtz set, Marlow instantly responds, "True, his example too. Yes, his example, I forgot that" (76). Though Marlow knows the true, corrupt nature of Kurtz, he is befuddled and powerless to express himself. More than the Intended's ability to get Marlow to say what she wants, Bode explains that their conversation, "suggests a deeper activity- the submission of his will to hers. Marlow seems to lose the ability to initiate his own thoughts, to create his own words. He becomes a mere mimic" (28). Essentially, the Intended has the power to rob Marlow of his words.

Marlow's bewilderment stems from the breakdown of his stereotypical view of women. Before he meets the Intended, Marlow sees a picture of her and thinks, "she had a beautiful expression. . . She seemed ready to listen without mental reservation, without suspicion, without a thought for herself" (72). Yet Marlow's idea of what a meeting with the Intended would be like is contradicted in reality; rather than the Intended submissively listening to Marlow vent, Marlow is the one silenced and incapable of expression or independent thought. Hyland explains that Marlow's initial impression of the Intended is a "reductive image that coheres with his masculine view of women that prevents him from apprehending her as an individual" (7). Thus, when she asserts the power of her individuality through her words, Marlow's comforting concept of her as a passive, mechanical being is destroyed, resulting in anxiety and fear.

To cope with this anxiety, Marlow stifles her power through a denial of truth. When the Intended asks to know Kurtz's last words, rather than telling her that his last utterance was "The horror! The horror!" (69), he deceitfully claims, "The last word he pronounced was-your name" (76). Though this lie may initially seem to be a kind gesture, enabling the Intended to retain an untainted memory of the man she loved, it is truly a selfish tactic to keep her in an ignorant world of her own, restoring Marlow's power by withholding knowledge. According to Hyland, "His lie is, in the end, an act of self-protection. It has no effect on the woman, because it leaves her exactly as she was before his interview with her: selfless, patient, suffering, idealistic" (10). Though the Intended clearly demonstrates her capacity for autonomy through her domination of conversation, Marlow denies her the ability to receive and accept truth, leaving her as idealistic as Marlow first perceives her to be.

Marlow clings to this idealistic vision of the Intended, and women in general, for when he first speaks of the Intended to his fellow travelers, he tempers his mentioning her, abruptly stating, "Did I mention a girl? Oh, she is out of it-completely. They- the women I mean- are out of it- should be out of it. We must help them to stay in that beautiful world of their own lest ours gets worse" (48). In language echoing his interpretation of women expressed earlier when thinking about his aunt, Marlow

outwardly admits that not only are women in a world of their own, but men must work to keep them constrained within that world. Essentially, Marlow believes “that women’s inability to see reality is a deficiency that should not be remedied...the precarious balance of the man’s world depends on the women’s remaining in that [ignorant] state” (Hyland 7). Therefore, Marlow’s lie to the Intended is one of the many examples of attempted suppression that he utilizes in response to the women in order to remove any threat against male power.

While Marlow clings to the patriarchal belief of women as submissive and passive, the women of *Heart of Darkness* consistently shatter his conviction. His aunt’s ability to get him a job, the two knitting women’s knowledge, the African woman’s social superiority and the Intended’s influence contradicts Marlow’s theory of women as ignorant and therefore powerless. The idea of women as powerful challenges the notion of ultimate male superiority, resulting in Marlow’s fear and anxiety. Thus, Marlow is a vehicle through which patriarchal values are imposed on women due to the fear of a loss of power. By rendering the women as otherworldly, and therefore non-human, dehumanizing them through a division of mind and body, and denying them truth, Marlow attempts to contain the women in “a world of their own.” However, the women’s profound influence on Marlow makes it clear that any inferior qualities are not derived from their true nature but are rather forced on them by Marlow’s perceptions. Overall, the ways in which Marlow interprets the women serve as prime examples of a larger, patriarchal fear feminine power and attempts to stifle that power.

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The Role of Quotidian Women in the French Revolution: 1789-1795 (English Summary)

Nicole Mahoney (French and History)¹

As ideas of the Enlightenment and the American Revolution stirred European social and political thought in the late 18th century, the French monarchy almost set itself up for insurgency. Outrageous national debt, disastrous harvests, devastating famine, combined with extravagant spending and the lavish lifestyle of the royal family enraged French citizens. Amidst such political, social, and economic upheaval, talk of the natural rights of men, the equality of all citizens, and a just government propelled the French towards rebellion. However, within this discussion, one must ask to whom these rights and liberties apply. When the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* claimed that man and citizen are born with natural rights that government must uphold, where did quotidian women fit into this argument? Furthermore, where did these everyday women find themselves in the larger French Revolution as well as in the larger sociopolitical debates of the late 18th century?

More than previously, women established themselves at the heart of the political core of France during the revolution. Some scholars, notably Dominique Godineau, argue that an entirely separate, unequal, and disconnected women's revolution occurred against the backdrop of the purely masculine French Revolution. However, as the following selection of critical events and the stories of five revolutionary women demonstrates, they were very much a crucial element of the revolutionary movement. On October 5, 1789, more than 7,000 common, working and middle class Parisian women marched more than twelve miles in the rain to Versailles. They demanded the king and his family return to Paris for negotiations, which they did the very same day- a political victory for both men and women. In response to the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, women, led by Olympe de Gouges, published *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne*, a feminine version of the document. The formation of bourgeois political and social women's clubs furthered women's revolutionary thinking, political participation and respect amongst the revolutionary movement. Individual

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women like Olympe de Gouges, Madame Roland, and Charlotte Corday were guillotined for their political activities and were later celebrated as great martyrs of the revolution.

A brief, yet comprehensive look into the revolutionary lives of prominent quotidian women proves they were as much a part of the revolution as men. These women marched next to the men, protested next to the men, fought next to the men and died next to the men. Applying pressure to the king, the government, the men, and the philosophy of the revolution, they proved themselves to be true revolutionaries. At a time when nobody knew or understood their place in society, women defined themselves.

Le Rôle des Femmes Quotidiennes pendant la Révolution française : 1789-1795

Nicole Mahoney (French and History)¹

Pendant l'histoire, les hommes ont souvent remis en question les libertés et les égalités, ou les inégalités, entre eux. Si un gouvernement ne protègent pas la liberté ou ne garantissent pas l'égalité, les citoyens ont la responsabilité de reformer le gouvernement. Cela est le fondement de la *Déclaration d'Indépendance des Etats-Unis d'Amérique*. Les idées de la liberté, de l'égalité, de la justice et l'inspiration de lutter pour ces droits des Américains a apparu également en France. Ce document a encouragé les révolutionnaires français à remettre en question leur gouvernement. Au milieu d'une période de bouleversement politique, économique, et social, ces idées progressistes ont créé un sentiment de rébellion. Les citoyens ont défié le gouvernement qui privait ses peuples des droits indéniables et incontestables, selon la *Déclaration d'Indépendance des Etats-Unis*. Mélangées avec l'agitation sociale et politique en France, ces idées, parmi d'autres, ont conduit les Français à la rébellion. Fondés sur les théories des lumières, les principes parlent des droits des hommes, mais on doit demander qui sont ces hommes. Quand on discute des droits de l'homme comme un citoyen, on ne peut pas ignorer le rôle des femmes.

Pour comprendre l'influence des femmes dans la révolution française, on doit connaître la révolution elle-même. Tandis qu'on peut suivre les causes de la révolution depuis sept siècles, les événements de 1787 en 1789 et le trouble de la France pendant cette période prévoient clairement une révolution.² Après la mort de Louis XV en 1774, Louis XVI est devenu roi, mais son père lui avait laissé la France en désordre. Tout d'abord, Louis XVI était confronté à plusieurs problèmes économiques. La France avait des dettes nationales énormes à cause des guerres en Europe et aux Etats-Unis, des mauvaises récoltes, la famine, et la façon dont la monarchie a gaspillé l'argent. De plus, la bourgeoisie était indignée par les privilèges de la monarchie, de la noblesse, et du clergé. Le roi a essayé d'imposer des impôts mais la noblesse a refusé de les payer. Il et

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² Philip Dawson, ed. *The French Revolution* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), 5.

ses conseillers n'ont pas suffisamment adressé ces problèmes. Par conséquent, Louis XVI a convoqué les Etats généraux car il ne savait pas quoi faire pour réparer l'économie.

Unifiés pour la première fois depuis 1614, les Etats généraux se sont retrouvés en mai 1789. À la réunion, la bourgeoisie a demandé qu'elles aient plus de représentants parce que le tiers état représentait la plupart de la population. Puis, le 20 juin 1789, le tiers état a prêté le serment du Jeu de paume et a déclaré qu'il ne se séparera pas sans une constitution française. Ils s'appelaient l'Assemblée constituante, avec l'aide de quelques-uns de la noblesse et du clergé.³ Ça, cela est le début de la révolution française du peuple.

Ensuite, une série d'événements sociaux et politiques a suivi qui a attaqué l'Ancien Régime. La nouvelle assemblée, qui s'appelait la Constituante, a remplacé les Etats généraux et elle a essayé de créer une constitution pour la France et de gouverner avec le roi. Le 14 juillet, la Bastille, un symbole de la tyrannie de la monarchie, est tombée dans les mains des révolutionnaires. Les peuples ont demandé « liberté, égalité, et fraternité » de leur gouvernement. Puis, le 4 août, l'Assemblée nationale constituante a aboli le système féodal et ensuite, le 26 août, elle a publié la *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*. Ce document a infusé la population avec les idées de la révolution : la démocratie, la justice, et l'égalité.⁴ Le 5 octobre, autant que deux milles femmes ont fait une marche de protestation à Versailles parce qu'elles étaient mécontentes avec le gouvernement, plus spécifiquement, avec le roi.⁵

Puis, il existait une modification du pouvoir en France. En 1791, sous une nouvelle constitution de la Constituante qui a créé une monarchie constitutionnelle, Louis XVI a essayé d'échapper de la France. « La fuite de Varennes » a marqué la fin de la monarchie constitutionnelle. Ainsi, la Constituante a été renommée la Convention nationale, a enlevé le pouvoir du roi, a aboli la monarchie et a déclaré la 1er République. La 1er République a provoqué une période de patriotisme et de nationalisme avec un nouveau drapeau, le système métrique, un nouveau calendrier, et un hymne national. Mais, la Convention était divisée en deux factions : les Girondins modérés et les Montagnards rebelles. Certains des Montagnards, comme Robespierre et Danton, ont fait entrer la Grande Terreur (1793-1794) qui a attaqué ceux qui étaient contre le régime. Ils

³ Ross Steele, Susan St. Onge, and Ronald St. Onge, *La civilisation française en évolution I: Institutions et culture avant la Ve République* (United States : Heinle, 1996), 124.

⁴ Steele, *La révolution française*, 130-131.

⁵ Olwen H. Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 6, 12.

ont déclaré que tout le monde qui était un ennemi de l'état devait mourir. Il est estimé que plus de 40,000 personnes étaient exécutés pendant la Grande Terreur, y compris Louis XVI en janvier 1793 et Marie Antoinette en octobre 1793.⁶

Entre 1795 et 1799, une nouvelle constitution a créé le Directoire. Ce gouvernement avait deux corps législatifs, pour la première fois pendant l'histoire de France. Il existait un groupe de 500 représentants, le Conseil des Cinq-cents, et un groupe de 250 sénateurs, le Conseil des Anciens qui avaient le pouvoir législatif. Cinq directeurs, qui étaient choisis par les représentants, avaient le pouvoir exécutif. Napoléon Bonaparte, qui était le général populaire de l'armée, a organisé le coup d'état du 18 Brumaire (le 9 novembre 1799) quand il a installé le Consulat et par conséquent, a mis fin à la révolution. Ce gouvernement, qui a duré de 1799 à 1804, a permis à Napoléon de prendre le pouvoir exécutif.⁷ Il a poussé Napoléon à devenir l'empereur du Premier Empire en 1804.⁸

Dans ce contexte de la révolution française, les femmes quotidiennes jouaient un rôle critique. Elles ont maintenu les rôles importants et décisifs dans le mouvement en plus de leurs rôles à la maison.⁹ La participation des femmes était indispensable au succès de la révolution. Elles ont fait pression sur le gouvernement pour régler l'économie, préserver la nouvelle république, et maintenir l'ordre.¹⁰ De la marche de protestation à Versailles à la *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* à l'organisation des femmes dans les clubs et avec l'aide des chefs féministes, les femmes sont devenues les citoyennes actives, politiquement et économiquement.¹¹ Les femmes devaient lutter contre le gouvernement avec les hommes pour une nouvelle société basée sur les droits de « liberté, égalité, et fraternité. » Cependant, au même temps elles devaient lutter contre les hommes pour leurs droits elles-mêmes.¹² Néanmoins, les femmes ont produit un effet indéniable sur le mouvement révolutionnaire. Olympe de Gouges, Madame Roland, Charlotte Corday, et Théroigne de Méricourt ressortaient

⁶ Steele, *La révolution française*, 131-132.

⁷ Steele, *La révolution française*, 132-133.

⁸ Steele, *La révolution française*, 139.

⁹ William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 420.

¹⁰ Sarah Melzer and Leslie Rabine, ed. *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 5.

¹¹ Darlene G. Levy, Harriet B. Applewhite, and Mary D. Johnson. *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1795*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 3-4, 12.

¹² Melzer, *Rebel Daughters*, 5.

comme les chefs des femmes.¹³ Malgré l'exclusion des femmes dans les yeux des hommes, elles étaient participantes actives et cruciales à la révolution française.

En octobre 1789, les tensions entre le peuple et le gouvernement avaient atteint un niveau maximum à Paris. Le 5 octobre, des femmes parisiennes se sont rassemblées à l'Hôtel de ville pour demander du pain du roi et l'Assemblée nationale.¹⁴ Ces femmes sont le menu peuple- les femmes des pêcheurs, des commerçantes, des femmes au foyer, des femmes ordinaires- qui se sont montrées à la hauteur de la situation.¹⁵ Protestant contre le prix augmenté du pain, plus de 7,000 marcheuses ont fait une marche de douze miles à Versailles dans la pluie. Les femmes étaient armées de manches à balai, des fourches, des épées, et des revolvers. Toutes les femmes, et quelques hommes, sont restés à Versailles. Le matin d'après, des milliers de peuples sont entrés par effraction dans le château de la famille royale. Ils ont demandé que le roi et sa famille retournent à Paris et s'assurent que le peuple aient de la nourriture. Le même jour, Louis XIV est revenu à Paris, guidé par le boulanger et sa femme.¹⁶ La rentrée était un accomplissement extraordinaire pour le mouvement révolutionnaire et pour les femmes.¹⁷

Les femmes ont reçu tout l'honneur pour la marche de protestation à Versailles. Il n'existe pas de question que les femmes ont mérité le succès de l'événement. Pour les hommes et les femmes politiques, la rentrée était une grande victoire politique sur le roi. Pour les femmes révolutionnaires, c'était une déclaration de leur influence, de leur aptitude, et de leur pouvoir comme un groupe.¹⁸ Ces femmes ont fracassé l'autorité traditionnelle du roi et elles ont démontré le pouvoir souverain du peuple avec une force armée. Cet événement a marqué un moment critique dans l'identification des révolutionnaires françaises.¹⁹

Répondant à la *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, publiée en 1789, les femmes, plus spécifiquement Olympe de Gouges, ont publié la *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* en septembre 1791. La *Déclaration* de de Gouges,

¹³ Doyle, *Oxford History*, 420.

¹⁴ Levy, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 15.

¹⁵ Darlene G. Levy, and Harriet B. Applewhite, "Women and Militant Citizenship in Revolutionary Paris," in *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1795*, ed. Sara E. Melzer and Leslie W. Rabine (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 83.

¹⁶ Jack R. Censer and Lynn Hunt. *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*. (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 57-59.

¹⁷ Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship*, 12.

¹⁸ Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship*, 12, 18.

¹⁹ Levy and Applewhite, "Women and Militant Citizenship," 85.

un document féministe rare, a attaqué la *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* parce qu'elle a ignoré complètement les droits des femmes. Cette discussion était une dénégation forte et courageuse contre le gouvernement.²⁰ Le document a copié le style de la première déclaration, mais elle avait ajouté les femmes et les droits des citoyennes à tous les articles. Elle a proclamé que l'égalité naturelle ne pouvait pas être réalisée parce que les hommes ont ignoré l'égalité de sexe et de race. De Gouges a insisté sur les droits naturels, indéniables et égaux des femmes. Elle a écrit, « Toutes les citoyennes et tous les citoyens étant égaux à ses yeux doivent être également admis à toutes les dignités, places et emplois publics selon leurs capacités et sans aucune distinction que celle de leurs vertus et de leurs talents. »²¹ Elle a proposé une assemblée nationale seulement pour les femmes de la nation. Aussi, elle a suggéré l'éducation nationale, le rétablissement des morales, la protection des enfants naturels, la liberté de la parole et de l'assemblée et la division égale de la richesse avec les divorces.²² Puis, elle a attaqué l'institution de mariage comme l'inégalité institutionnalisée. Avec le mariage, les hommes peuvent tyranniser les femmes éternellement. De Gouges a recommandé de remplacer le mariage pour un contrat social pour le rendre une union volontaire.²³

Bien que la *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* soit un argument fort contre les inégalités et le manque de reconnaissance des femmes, elle n'était pas un grand succès. En termes du succès politique, le document n'a pas gagné les droits des femmes. Les idées de mariage, des femmes, et de la nature des droits étaient ignorées par le gouvernement et ceux qui tenaient le pouvoir. Ils pensaient que ces recommandations étaient choquantes et monstrueuses plutôt que sérieuses et intelligentes.²⁴ Plus de cent cinquante ans après la publication de la *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* les femmes ont reçu les droits égaux aux hommes sous la IV^e République (1946).²⁵ Malgré le manque de succès pendant la révolution française, la *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* a inspiré les défis

²⁰ Levy, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 64-65.

²¹ Steele, *La civilisation française*, 220

²² Joan B. Landes. *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 125-126.

²³ Joan W. Scott, "A Woman Who Has Only Paradoxes to Offer: Olympe de Gouges Claims Rights for Women," in *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1795*, ed. Sara E. Melzer and Leslie W. Rabine (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 110-111.

²⁴ Scott, "Olympe de Gouges," 115.

²⁵ Steele, *La civilisation française*, 218.

féministes durant la XIX^e et la XX^e siècles.²⁶ Par exemple, en 1848 un groupe de féministes ont organisé une convention à New York pour déclarer ses droits et elles ont copié la *Déclaration d'Indépendance des Etats-Unis d'Amérique*, mais elles ont ajouté « les femmes » à tous les articles, exactement comme de Gouge.

Plus que n'importe quoi d'autre, les femmes ont voulu être les citoyens féminins: citoyennes. Elles vivaient dans une société où elles n'avaient pas les droits des citoyens. Elles étaient des citoyennes sans citoyenneté. Pour ces féministes, la meilleure façon de faire un changement était la collaboration les unes avec les autres.²⁷ Depuis l'été 1791, elles ont assisté aux assemblées, le corps législatif national, et des sociétés radicales avec les hommes.²⁸ En plus de leur participation aux clubs des hommes comme les Jacobins et les Cordeliers, les femmes se sont organisées ensemble dans les clubs seulement pour les femmes.²⁹ La plupart des femmes est venue de la bourgeoisie et la majorité des clubs n'avait que soixante membres. Entre 1789-1793, en réponse aux clubs des hommes, il existait environ trente clubs des femmes, la majorité desquels était dans le sud-ouest de la France.³⁰ Les clubs féminins sont basés sur les problèmes politiques généraux comme la nourriture, l'activité révolutionnaire, et le travail de la charité.³¹ Pourtant, l'influence de ces clubs est limitée à cause de l'assistance basse et l'incapacité des femmes de parler à la majorité des femmes dans les termes qu'elles peuvent comprendre. Par exemples, elles parlaient de la pauvreté et du manque de nourriture mais dans un sens philanthropique pour les femmes qui avaient les moyens d'acheter le pain pour elles-mêmes.³²

Tandis qu'on ne peut pas considérer tous les clubs comme très influents, il existait des exceptions. Le club des citoyennes républicaines révolutionnaires, fondé en mai 1793, était le club le plus actif et le plus radical composé totalement de femmes.³³ Elles se sont engagées à la destruction de la faction des Girondins et à une grande réserve du pain.³⁴ Après seulement les toutes premières semaines, le club est devenu très

²⁶ Scott, "Olypme de Gouges," 115.

²⁷ Dominique Godineau, *The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution*, trans. Katherine Streip (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 101.

²⁸ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 117.

²⁹ Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*, 59.

³⁰ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 101-103.

³¹ Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*, 59.

³² Hufton, *Limits of Citizenship*, 24.

³³ Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*, 72; Hufton, *Limits of Citizenship*, 25.

respectable et il a publié une pétition avec le club des Cordeliers qui a demandé que le gouvernement punisse les ennemis de la République.³⁵ Ce club a posé un vrai menaçon pour les dirigeants Jacobins parce qu'elles pouvaient faire des liaisons entre les femmes de la classe ouvrière et les femmes de la bourgeoisie.³⁶ Ainsi, le 30 octobre 1793, dans la Convention Nationale, Jean-Baptiste Amar a proposé une proposition officielle qui a interdit les femmes de joindre ensemble dans les clubs politiques et populaires. Il a maintenu que les femmes ne sont pas capables de comprendre des concepts sérieux et compliqués dans la révolution.³⁷

Dans ce mouvement révolutionnaire, quelques femmes ressortissent comme les chefs féministes et les inspirations aux autres. Au début, Olympe de Gouges était une femme qui luttait fort pour les droits égaux pour les citoyennes. Plus célèbre pour la *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne*, elle représente les voix des femmes pendant la révolution. De Gouges était la fille d'un boucher et elle a instruit elle-même. Quand elle avait seize ans, elle s'est mariée avec un homme qui était plus âgé qu'elle. Elle a eu un fils et bientôt, son mari est mort.³⁸ Avant la révolution, de Gouges a écrit des pièces de théâtre, plusieurs desquelles étaient publiées et jouées.³⁹ Plus que l'écriture, elle aimait parler et elle a souvent dicté ses textes. Quand la révolution est arrivée, elle a utilisé ses talents comme une citoyenne active pour défendre beaucoup de causes. Elle était en faveur de la liberté pour les esclaves, la création d'un théâtre national pour les dramaturges féminins, les rues propres, les hôpitaux de la maternité, le divorce, et la reconnaissance des droits des enfants illégitimes et les mères qui ne sont pas mariées. De Gouges a tellement assisté aux assemblées politiques qu'elle a souvent loué l'hébergement près de leurs sièges. Ses proclamations ont couvert les murs de Paris, une de laquelle était « Le Cri du Sage : par une femme. » En lançant un appel aux femmes, elle a constaté que l'égalité, pas des privilèges spéciaux, était la seule façon dont les femmes peuvent avoir la liberté.⁴⁰ En juillet 1793, de Gouges a été arrêtée et emprisonnée parce qu'elle a publié un document qui a critiqué la Terreur.⁴¹ Puis, quand elle est montée à la guillotine le 3 novembre 1793, un officiel parisien l'a dénoncée pour

³⁴ Hufton, *Limits of Citizenship*, 29.

³⁵ Levy, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 150.

³⁶ Hufton, *Limits of Citizenship*, 26.

³⁷ Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*, 82-83.

³⁸ Scott, "Olympe de Gouges," 107.

³⁹ Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*, 59.

⁴⁰ Scott, "Olympe de Gouges," 108-109.

⁴¹ Levy, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 254.

être un « femme-homme, » un mélange d'un homme et une femme qui refuse de pratiquer ses rôles féminins.⁴²

Sur l'échafaud à côté de de Gouges était Madame Roland, un autre chef parmi les femmes révolutionnaires.⁴³ Marie-Jeanne Philpon est née à Paris en 1754, la fille d'un graveur.⁴⁴ Mme Roland n'a reçu qu'un peu d'éducation formelle, mais elle a beaucoup lu et elle est restée bien informée. En 1780, quand elle avait vingt-sept ans, elle s'est mariée avec Jean-Maire Roland qui était inspecteur à Lyon et qui était vingt ans plus âgé qu'elle. Les deux étaient très ambitieux ensemble tellement que Mme Roland a écrit des articles pour un journal sous le nom de son mari.⁴⁵ Avant la révolution, Mme Roland est restée à La Platière, près de Lyon, pour étudier, lire et écrire seule. Puis, quand la révolution est arrivée, M. Roland était nommé au ministre de l'intérieur et elle est allée à Paris en 1791, très informée, très passionnée et elle était prête à jouer un très grand rôle.⁴⁶ Immédiatement déçue par le manque de coopération entre les forces libérales, Mme Roland a eu beaucoup de salons chez elle, dans quelques chambres à l'Hôtel Britannique près du Pont-Neuf.⁴⁷ Les Girondins, y compris les chefs du mouvement révolutionnaire comme Brissot, Pétion, Buzot, Condorcet, et Barbaroux, se sont retrouvés là quatre fois par semaine.⁴⁸ Par conséquence, le douze juin, 1793, la police a convoqué Mme Roland pour être interrogés. Pendant l'interrogation, elle n'a jamais révélé les identités de ses amis et elle n'a rien dit que la vérité. Enfin, les allégations contre Mme Roland sont la conspiration et la culpabilité par association avec les Girondins.⁴⁹ Après son procès, le juge l'a condamnée à mort par la guillotine le même jour, le 8 novembre 1793.⁵⁰

Pendant que Mme Roland et Olympe de Gouges utilisaient leurs voix et leurs stylos pour montrer leur soutien à la révolution, Charlotte Corday a utilisé le couteau. Elle est née le 27 juillet, 1768 à Mesnil-Imbert, mais quand elle avait dix ans, son père l'a

⁴² Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*, 90.

⁴³ Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*, 90.

⁴⁴ Gita May, *Madame Roland and the Age of Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), v, 3.

⁴⁵ Christopher Hibbert, *The Days of the French Revolution* (New York: Quill, 1980), 139-140.

⁴⁶ Henri Béraud, *Twelve Portraits of the French Revolution*, trans. Madeleine Boyd (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, Inc., 1968), 219.

⁴⁷ May, *Madame Roland*, 178, 187; Béraud, *Twelve Portraits*, 219.

⁴⁸ Béraud, *Twelve Portraits*, 219-220.

⁴⁹ May, *Madame Roland*, 269-270.

⁵⁰ May, *Madame Roland*, 284.

envoyée au couvent Abbaye-aux-Dames à Caen. Là, elle a lu les livres des philosophes comme Voltaire et Rousseau qui parlent de la liberté et l'égalité.⁵¹ En 1790 avec la révolution, les couvents étaient supprimés et alors, Charlotte est revenue à Mesnil-Imbert avec son père où elle a suivi la révolution de près, spécialement à Paris.⁵² Après la chute des Girondins à Paris, plusieurs membres se sont échappés à Caen. Charlotte a entendu parler de Jean-Paul Marat, un journaliste radical qui avait publié *L'Ami du peuple*, qui a attaqué tout le monde y compris l'Assemblée, les Feuillants, la famille royale, les Ministres, et il a recommandé la mort de deux cent mille personnes.⁵³ Après avoir entendu ça, elle a décidé de tuer Marat.⁵⁴ Ensuite, Charlotte est partie de sa maison le 9 juillet, 1793 et elle est arrivée à Paris le 11 juillet. Le 13 juillet, avec un couteau sous sa robe, elle est allée à la maison de Marat, 18 Rue d'École de Médecine. Quand elle est entrée, Marat était dans la baignoire mais il a accepté sa visiteuse. Au milieu d'une conversation, Charlotte l'a poignardé dans le cœur et dans quelques minutes, il est mort.⁵⁵ Sans essayant d'échapper ou d'éviter la situation, Charlotte était emprisonnée et peu après, elle était sur l'échafaud sous la guillotine.⁵⁶ Elle a considéré le meurtre son devoir patriotique aux Français et il les a sauvés de la terreur que Marat avait recommandé.⁵⁷ La mort de Charlotte Corday a représenté la glorification de la mort en général et le danger des Girondins.⁵⁸ Aussi, à cause de son meurtre, Marat était célébré comme un grand martyr de la révolution.⁵⁹

Les grandes histoires de la révolution française souvent oublient d'inclure les femmes. Elles parlent de la chute de la Bastille, de la *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, et de Robespierre mais pas de la marche des femmes à Versailles, de la *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne*, ou de Charlotte Corday. Cependant, on peut voir que le mouvement révolutionnaire des femmes avait un impact décisif sur le plus grand mouvement révolutionnaire. Elles ont fait pression sur le

⁵¹ Marie Cher, *Charlotte Corday and Certain Men of the Revolutionary Torment* (New York: AMS Press, Inc, 1970), 4-5; Béraud, *Twelve Portraits*, 222.

⁵² Cher, *Charlotte Corday*, 5.

⁵³ Hibbert, *The Days of the French Revolution*, 212, 140.

⁵⁴ Hibbert, *The Days of the French Revolution*, 212.

⁵⁵ Béraud, *Twelve Portraits*, 224-226.

⁵⁶ Hibbert, *The Days of the French Revolution*, 213; Béraud, *Twelve Portraits*, 225-226.

⁵⁷ Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*, 97; Levy, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 172.

⁵⁸ Béraud, *Twelve Portraits*, 229; Levy, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 172.

⁵⁹ Censer and Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*, 97.

gouvernement, le roi, les hommes, et la philosophie de la révolution. Les femmes ont protesté à côté des hommes, les femmes ont lutté à côté des hommes, et les femmes sont mortes à côté des hommes. Elles étaient une partie de la révolution et elles ont démontré tout aussi que les hommes. Les femmes de la révolution ont fait elles-mêmes les citoyennes entendues, respectables et puissantes. Dans une période où personne ne savait leur place dans la société, elles se sont définies.

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Malcolm X: The Man and the Myth

Justina Licata (History)¹

A Race War is a war in which children are destroyed, in which children are mutilated, in which children face the same destructive wrath that grownups face. A Race War is the worse war that you can conceive. And this war that is coming upon the head of the white man is something he is bringing down upon himself. The entire country is on the verge of erupting into violence and bloodshed simply because twenty million ex-slaves are demanding freedom, justice and equality here in America from their former slave master.²

I have found nothing but love, friendship, hospitality and true brotherhood where ever I have gone among Muslims, because Islam is the religion of true brotherhood, a religion in which Allah has made all who accept Him look upon all of our fellow humans as brothers and sisters.³

Malcolm X was the prophet of black rage primarily because of his great love for black people. His love was neither abstract nor ephemeral. Rather, it was a concrete connection with a degraded and devalued people in need of psychic conversion.—Cornel West⁴

¹ Written under the direction of Drs. Chinnaiah Jangam (History) and Rita Reynolds (History) in partial fulfillment of the Senior Program requirements (abbreviated version of the original thesis).

² “Race War in America.” *The Best of Speeches: Malcolm X*. MP3 Download. 7 August 2007.

³ Malcolm X, a private journal entry (Notebook #6), Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. New York Public Library 515 Malcolm X Boulevard New York, NY 10037-1801.

⁴ West, Cornel. *Race Matters*. New York: Vintage Books: A Division of Random House, Inc., 1993, p. 136.

Malcolm X was unique among Civil Rights activists working to change America. His philosophy underwent an unprecedented transformation from his early career within the Nation of Islam to his religious pilgrimage to Mecca, the holiest city Islam. During Malcolm's years under the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, he used what has been called "black rage," as in the first quote above, to motivate African-Americans to fight for social and economic equality. The second quote demonstrates the beginning of his second religious conversion when he implemented the Muslim religion into his everyday life in a global framework. As Cornel West argues in the final quote, taken from *Race Matters*, Malcolm X's teachings are often misunderstood. Malcolm X has been marked as the violent leader of the United States' Civil Rights Movement during the late 1950s and 1960s in direct opposition to the non-violence preached by Martin Luther King Jr. Unlike King, Malcolm X expressed anger to mobilize African-American followers, which caused the majority of white Americans to fear him and his words. Thus, Malcolm X became a target for hostile propaganda during his life and even after his assassination on February 21, 1965. He became a symbol for the Black Power Movement after his death due to his belief that individuals should fight for proper rights "by any means necessary." This ownership over his legacy may have reinforced the one-dimensional image of Malcolm X.⁵

This paper will revisit Malcolm X's adult life, notably the events that led him to become the iconic representative of the extremist force within the Civil Rights Movement. In his youth, he supported himself as a hustler in Harlem. His first transition came while in jail when he gained an education and discovered the teaching of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. A second shift came in the last 50 weeks of his life following his self-removal from the Nation of Islam and the start of his own personal campaigns. This paper will also scrutinize the many misconceptions that have tainted Malcolm X's legacy, such as being falsely accused of attempting to incite violence. It will challenge these misconceptions by investigating specific events that shaped his philosophies and correcting the inaccurate portrayal of his private and public life.

After being arrested at the age of twenty-one, Malcolm was sentenced to ten years in jail and he served seven of these years.⁶ Initially Malcolm was confrontational when dealing with the jail guards and other prisoners. When he would provoke disagreements, the jail guards typically placed him into solitary confinement. Malcolm

⁵ Dyson, Michael Eric. *Making Malcolm: The Myth and Meaning of Malcolm X*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p. xxi.

⁶ Haley, Alex and Malcolm X. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1964, p.155-156.

said, “I preferred the solitary that this behavior brought me. I would pace for hours like a caged leopard, viciously cursing aloud to myself. And my favorite targets were the Bible and God...Eventually, the men in the cellblock had a name for me: ‘Satan.’ Because of my antireligious attitude.”⁷ This outrageous behavior did not last an extended amount of time because Malcolm met an inspirational inmate named Bimbi. Bimbi was an “old time burglar.”⁸ Malcolm was impressed with Bimbi for several reasons but mostly because he could command respect with simply his words. Bimbi took a liking to Malcolm and expressed great hope in him and his intelligence. He encouraged Malcolm to utilize his time in jail to become educated.⁹ Malcolm’s friendship with Bimbi aided him in the religious conversion he was moving toward. In 1948, two years into his sentence, Malcolm received a letter from his brother Philbert. Within this letter, Philbert informed Malcolm that “he had discovered the ‘natural religion for the black man,’” and it was called the “Nation of Islam.”¹⁰ Malcolm’s siblings had all converted to this controversial religion, and they hoped that Malcolm would also begin to worship Allah under the guidance of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

At first, Malcolm was very skeptical of the religion and the idea of joining it, but he became intrigued after he received a specific letter from his brother, Reginald. In this letter Reginald writes, “Malcolm, don’t eat any more pork, and don’t smoke any more cigarettes. I’ll show you how to get out of prison.”¹¹ After receiving this letter Malcolm finished the last pack of cigarettes, he would never smoke again, and decided to refuse to eat any pork.¹² This early dedication was based completely in his intrigue and desire to get out of prison, but the devotion would grow into a life long commitment to the Muslim religion and the worshiping of Allah. Malcolm X wrote, “Later I would learn...that, unconsciously, my first pre-Islamic submission had been manifested. I had experienced, for the first time, the Muslim teaching, ‘If you will take one step toward Allah-Allah will take two steps toward you.’”¹³ Soon after his first movement toward conversion, Ella, Malcolm’s step-sister had arranged Malcolm to be transferred to Norfolk, Massachusetts, Prison Colony. This facility was meant for rehabilitation and was geared to produce well

⁷ Ibid., 156.

⁸ Ibid., 156.

⁹ Ibid., 157.

¹⁰ Ibid., 158.

¹¹ Ibid., 158.

¹² Ibid., 159.

¹³ Ibid., 159

rounded and educated citizens.¹⁴ At this prison, Malcolm spent much of his time in their excellent library. He remarks that while in Norfolk he, for the first time, read with a purpose rather than without direction.¹⁵

As he continued to learn about the teaching of the Nation of Islam and he was introduced to the lead figure within the religion, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, who claimed to be Allah’s messenger. Elijah Muhammad preached that the “white man was the devil, and the devil’s time was up, foreshadowing the downfall of their dominance within society.”¹⁶ Initially, Malcolm was confused by these philosophies. Throughout his adolescent years he had been taught that the “white man” was more significant to society, and he had participated in activities which he hoped would give him status within their culture, such as conking his hair and dating a white woman. On one specific occasion, Malcolm’s brother, Reginald, asked him if any one white individual had every truly assisted. This question triggered Malcolm examination of his past and his relations with white individuals,

After Reginald left, I thought. I thought. Thought.
I couldn’t make of it head, or tail, or middle.
The white people I had known marched before my mind’s eye. From the start of my life. The state white people always in our house after the other whites I didn’t know had killed my father...the white people who kept calling my mother ‘crazy’ to her face and before me and my brothers and sisters, until she finally was taken off by white people to the Kalamazoo asylum...the white judge and other who had split up the children...the Swerlins, the other whites around Mason...white youngsters I was in school there with, and the teacher-the one who told me in the eighth grade to ‘be a carpenter’ because thinking of being a lawyer was foolish for a Negro...
My head swam with the parading faces of white people. The ones in Boston, in the white –only dances at the Roseland Ballroom where I shined their shoes...at the Parker House where I took their dirty plates back to the kitchen...the railroad crewmen and passengers...Sophia...
The whites in New York City-the cops, the white criminals I’d dealt with...the whites who piled into the Negro speakeasies for a taste of

¹⁴ Ibid., 160.

¹⁵ Ibid., 161.

¹⁶ Ibid, 162.

Negro *soul*...the white woman who wanted Negro men...the men I'd steered to the black 'specialty sex' they wanted...

The fence back in Boston, and his ex-con representative...Boston cops...Sophia's husband's friend. And her husband, whom I'd never seen, but knew so much about...Sophia's sister...the Jew jeweler who's helped trap me...the social workers...the Middlesex Country Court people...the judge who gave me ten years...the prisoners I'd known, the guards and the officials...¹⁷

Malcolm later called this stream of conscience "some of the first serious thought I had ever had in my life."¹⁸ For the first time in Malcolm X's life he believed he had found the reason as to why he had become a failure. He believed without any doubt, that the common denominator connecting of all his troubles was clearly the "white man." This central idea would shape much of his career; it would also be directly related to the one dimensional image most people associate with Malcolm.

After Malcolm was released from prison, he moved up quickly within the rankings of the Nation of Islam. His popularity amongst Black Americans especially in Harlem also began to increase rapidly. Malcolm preached hatred toward what he referred to as the blue-eyed devils. He voiced to the hundreds of African Americans attending his rallies, the problems within their society and how the white man could in some way be blamed for each of these issues. Malcolm X's speeches were unlike any other leaders from this period. He did not speak with tranquility, but instead surged his speeches with intense emotions; often screaming the words at his audience. Malcolm X's powerful and aggressive speaking style caused his followers to be energized and to feel empowered as well as frighten the rest of American society.

Malcolm quickly became famous for his outrageous speeches dedicated to blaming the American white race for society's wrongs against African Americans. This style of speaking would later be referred to as Black Rage; and many individuals would claim that Malcolm was one of the founders of the technique, which was later utilized by Black Power groups like the Black Panthers. Here is an excerpt from a Malcolm X speech he completed when he was a reverend for the Nation.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that as it was the evil sin of slavery that caused the downfall and destruction of ancient Egypt

¹⁷ Haley, Alex and Malcolm X. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1964, p. 162-163.

¹⁸ Ibid., 164.

and Babylon, and of ancient Greece...It is only a matter of time before White America too will be utterly destroyed by her own sins, and all traces of her former glory will be removed from the planet forever...Just as ancient nations paid for their sins against humanity, White America must now pay for her sins against twenty-two million ‘Negros.’...But before God set up his new world, the Muslim world, or world of Islam, which will be established on the principle of truth, peace, and brotherhood, God himself must first destroy this evil Western world, the white world...a wicked world, ruled by a race of devils that preaches falsehood, practice slavery, and thrives on indecency and immorality...The time is past when the white world can exercise unilateral authority and control over the dark world. The independence and power of the dark world is on the increase; the dark world is rising in wealth, power, prestige, and influence. It is the rise of the dark world that is causing the fall of the white world.¹⁹

This speech which is entitled “God’s Judgment of White America” was given by Malcolm in 1963 shortly after the assassination of President Kennedy. This passage captured reoccurring themes from many of Malcolm’s speeches at this time. He began by recognizing his teacher and savior, “the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.” This emphasized that his speeches are not his words only, but rather the words of a being higher than himself. Malcolm showed honor to the man he had immortalized through his mind. He then went on to speak about the history of the black race and the many crimes against them; he usually emphasized slavery as being the utmost exploitation of his race. Malcolm ended by looking into the dark future, often times claiming that the end of the white race was coming soon. When Malcolm conducted these speeches in front of a few hundred people in Harlem, he did not simply read these lines into a microphone. Malcolm captivated crowds, confidently stating his beliefs. His speaking skills were not that of an ex-convict that never even entered high school, they exemplified his self education and his pure intelligence. Malcolm had transformed himself into a well spoken

¹⁹ Howard-Pitney, David. Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, and the Civil Rights Struggle of the 1950s and 1960s: A Brief History with Documents. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2004, p. 113-115.

individual who seemed to be born to ignite excitement within others. Michael Eric Dyson once remarked, “Malcolm blessed our rage by releasing it.”²⁰

While Malcolm was empowering his fellow African Americans he caused fear amongst the white race. This fear was mostly extended by the media’s coverage of Malcolm X’s speeches as well as the governmental perception of him. The general public was being exposed to a one-sided portrayal of Malcolm through quotes such as “There’s no such thing as a nonviolent revolution... Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution... overturns and destroys everything that gets in its way.”²¹ At the time Malcolm was fully aware of the reputation he had earned amongst the white American public. Unlike King he did not attempt to gain their respect or approval even if it would aid his cause. Why would Malcolm refuse to go against his pride to acquire the white man’s endorsement? Many influential people have contemplated this question. In fact Dr. Cornel West, a professor of African American studies at Harvard University, dedicated an entire chapter of his celebrated book, *Race Matters*, to Malcolm. He intended to create a better understanding of this complicated man. Dr. West explained that Malcolm used harsh words within his speeches to create self-respect within the Black race in America. Cornel West eloquently states,

Malcolm X was the prophet of black rage primarily because of his great love for black people. His love was neither abstract nor ephemeral. Rather, it was a concrete connection with a degraded and devalued people in need of psychic conversion. This is why Malcolm X’s articulation of black rage was not directed first and foremost at white America. Rather, Malcolm believed that if black people felt the love that motivated that rage, the love would produce a psychic conversion of black people; they would affirm themselves as human beings, no longer view their bodies, minds, and souls through white lenses, and believing themselves capable of taking control of their own destinies.²²

This quote shows that Malcolm understood that in order for the black race to earn equal rights under the law, they had to first feel as if they deserved these rights. They had to

²⁰ Dyson, Michael Eric. *Making Malcolm: The Myth and Meaning of Malcolm X*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p. xv.

²¹ Howard-Pitney, David. *Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, and the Civil Rights Struggle of the 1950s and 1960s: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2004, p. 73.

²² West, Cornel. *Race Matters*, p. 136.

increase their self-respect and their respect for their fellow African Americans. Malcolm loved his people, and he called his angry words “love teaching.” Malcolm told his people, “You know they call this hate teaching. This is not hate teaching, this is love teaching. If I didn’t love you I would not tell you what I am telling you...This is love talk...We recognize you as our brother.”²³ Before Malcolm X went to jail he too lacked this self love. After he was “saved” by the Nation of Islam and the Honorable Elijah Muhammad he reflected upon the time in which he was a hustler in Harlem with shame and continued to blame the white race for crimes occurring within American city’s ghettos. He believed that white Americans were causing the initial transgressions within black communities. Malcolm explained,

Many of our people [black Americans] turn to crime: stealing, gambling, prostitution, organized crime. Crime that is organized here in Harlem by the white man...He is the one who controls it. He is the master criminal. He is the arch enemy. He gets you drunk then locks you up for being drunk...He sells you a deck of cards and then locks you up when he catches you using them. You are dealing with nothing but a blue-eyed devil walking around here on this earth who will lead to nowhere but hell as long as you follow him. [Long pause] I hope I don’t frighten anyone. [Long pause] When many of us turn to crime, and I had plenty of experience of it right out here in Harlem. I know what it is all about...we allow ourselves to be used by the white overlords downtown. To bring their dope back up here in Harlem and push it among our poor, innocent, unsuspecting young people.

Why we let the white man use us to make drug addicts out of children...We let the white man use us to bring their poison up here in Harlem and stick it into the veins of our people. You take it down town and give it to some white people and see how long you walk the streets as a free man. No, the only time he lets you get away with it is when you are giving it to your own kind, when you are poisoning your own kind...I know what I am talking about. I used to be used by that blue eyed white man for the same thing...He knows that I know it...

²³ “Crime by Blacks.” *The Best of Speeches: Malcolm X*. MP3 Download. 7 August 2007.

He breaks your wings and then calls you a cripple... You are dealing with nothing but a walking talking blue eyed devil and the day you realize it you won't look to him for any solution to your problems.²⁴

This speech emphasizes the self-respect Malcolm hoped to build within his community through the use of black rage. He first admits that within ghettos throughout the nation, an excess number of crimes were occurring. He continues by explaining that these crimes are caused by white Americans because they supply the African Americans with drugs, alcohol, etc. Malcolm encouraged Blacks to remove themselves from this vicious cycle and improve their lives. He promoted complete segregation from the white society to end these circumstances and to recover the black community.

Mainstream Americans saw Malcolm's angry speeches as a threat to their way of life, rather than his method of persuading African Americans to take control and eventually advance their lives. This use of black rage also forced the Black middle class within America to honor Malcolm X secretly. Although these individuals often believed and agreed with Malcolm's ideology, they were required to publicly oppose his philosophies in order to keep their social status within society.²⁵ Their middle class's white peers were then able to openly disagree with Malcolm's message without opposition. It was less problematic to criticize Malcolm than agree with him, and his sentiment has continued into modern society.

In 1964, Malcolm X split from Honorable Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam, a significant and difficult decision. Following this split, Malcolm felt the need to take a pilgrimage to Mecca. He visited his very reliable sister Ella in Boston who, without any hesitation, simply asked him how much money he would need.²⁶ During this pilgrimage, Malcolm underwent his second intellectual and spiritual transformation. At the beginning of his journey, Malcolm admits to being nervous.²⁷ Within his autobiography, he also mentions that he was not supposed to be able to get on a plane from Cairo to Mecca due to the great number of people who were making the same journey. But because Malcolm was an American Muslim some "strings were pulled" allowing him onto the plane. He makes note of this kindness and expresses his

²⁴ "Crime in Harlem." *The Best of Speeches: Malcolm X*. MP3 Download. 7 August 2007.

²⁵ West, Cornel. *Race Matters*, p.138.

²⁶ Haley, Alex and Malcolm X. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. p. 324.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 329.

gratitude.²⁸ The other pilgrims were mesmerized by Malcolm because it was so rare to meet an American Muslim. Even the captain of his plane made time to meet Malcolm in person.²⁹ When he exited the plane, Malcolm noticed that the pilgrims were of many different races, and despite this they all treated one another with respect.³⁰

Throughout Malcolm’s pilgrimage he encountered Muslims of all colors and he consistently seemed to be shocked by the warmth shown towards him. He later reflects, “Each of them embraced me as though I were a long-lost child. I had never seen these men before in my life, and they treated me so good! I am going to tell you that I had never been so honored in my life, nor had I ever received such true hospitality.”³¹ During Malcolm’s journey, he kept a journal writing his own personal feeling and experiences. These journal entries show the great conversion Malcolm was experiencing as well as articulate the immense change in his ideology. At the very top of a specific entry Malcolm states, “In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.” He then continues with,

I am proud and thankful to Allah for blessing me to be a Muslim. Ever since I first heard about Islam and accepted it as my religion Allah has blessed me in many ways, and with friends in all works of life. But this gathering of brothers here at the Shuban al Muslims tonight, in my honor, is indeed one of the greatest blessings of all.

Since becoming a Muslim I have traveled much throughout the world, to many lands and places, but I have never entered a Muslim country and felt like I was a stranger, nor that the people of the land were strangers.

I have found nothing but love, friendship, hospitality and true brotherhood where ever I have gone among Muslims, because Islam is the religion of true brotherhood, a religion in which Allah has made all who accept Him look upon all of our fellow humans as brothers and sisters.

One of the greatest blessings a man can have is a true friend, a true brother. Islam, Allah makes all of us true friends and brothers to each other. As Muslims, we want for our brothers the same things we

²⁸ Ibid., 330.

²⁹ Ibid., 330-331.

³⁰ Ibid., 331.

³¹ Ibid., 339.

want for ourselves. The well-being of our brother becomes our well-being...his happiness is our happiness, his security is our security, also his pain and sorrow, his problems becomes our problems.

Because Islam has us feel and want for other brothers all over the world, the same that we feel and want for ourselves, Islam is the only force capable of being about the spirit of unselfish concern for our brothers and sisters all over the world, and thereby creating the much needed world brotherhood.

In my humble opinion, President Gomal Nasser reflects an excellent example of the type of unselfish fighting-spirit needed by true Muslims in this modern world today. His concept of Islam does not keep him a militant leader in the struggle against oppression... He had dedicated all of his time and energy to restore freedom and human dignity, not only to the people of the United Arab Republic, but also to oppressed Arabs, Africans, Muslims, as well as non-Muslims everywhere on this earth.

His concept of Islam forces him to fight for the liberation of all oppressed people whether they are Muslims or otherwise, because Islam teaches us that all of humanity comes from Allah, and all of humanity has the God-given right to freedom, justice, equality – life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.³²

This journal entry emphasizes Malcolm's long contemplation of the Islamic teachings. He is especially drawn to the idea of equality and brotherhood. As Malcolm stated Muslim's are all concerned for their brothers and their brothers' lives equally to their own. He found that this ideology was a way of life for Muslims of the east. Individuals like President Nasser, the Arab Nationalist who Malcolm mentioned within this passage, work tirelessly to, not only live by these principles, but also to aid others throughout the world to fight for political and social equality.

It is very interesting to see that Malcolm concludes this passage with a direct quote from the American Declaration of Independence, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Here Malcolm is foreshadowing his second conversion which began during

³² Malcolm X, a private journal entry (Notebook #6), Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. New York Public Library 515 Malcolm X Boulevard New York, NY 10037-1801.

this spiritual journey. Prior to this, Malcolm had no trust in the American government or the American way of life, but with his use of this infamous phrase, he is recognizing that the utopia, the American Founding Father's hoped to build a base for, includes equality amongst all people. It also infers that he believes the American society may have the ability to achieve this state some time in the future through its own spiritual conversion. This pilgrimage had a tremendous effect upon Malcolm X, especially following his recent split from the Nation of Islam and his unstable relationship with his mentor, Elijah Muhammad. He considers the Muslim world to be colorblind which allows their society to progress without any concern for race.³³

Near the end of this journey to Mecca, Malcolm composes a letter to his wife, Betty Shabazz, his sister, Ella, and a few others explaining the great impact the pilgrimage had upon his life and philosophy.³⁴ He begins by once again stressing the colorblind society that existed in this Holy Land; stating that the pilgrims he shared this experience with were of all colors and yet they were able to live together in peace and with mutual respect. Malcolm admitted this shocked him because of his past experiences in America.³⁵ He continues by expressing his hope that Americans, no matter their race, can learn and understand the Islamic religion. Malcolm believes that this would erase their prejudiced state of mind.³⁶ He writes,

During the past eleven days here in the Muslim world, I have eaten from the same plate, drank from the same glass, and slept in the same bed (or on the same rug) – while praying to the *same God* – with fellow Muslims, whose eyes were the bluest of blue, whose hair was the blondest of blond, and whose skin was whitest of white. And in the *word* and the *actions* and in the *deeds* of the ‘white’ Muslims, I felt the same sincerity that I felt among the black African Muslims of Nigeria, Sudan, and Ghana. We were *truly* all the same (brothers) – because their belief in one God had removed the ‘white’ from their *minds*, the ‘white’ from their *behavior*, and the ‘white’ from their *attitude*.³⁷

This statement is a true testament to Malcolm's second conversion. A man who once commonly referred to the white race as “blue-eyed devils” now looked at them as

³³ Haley, Alex and Malcolm X. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X.*, 345.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 346.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 346-347.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 347.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 347.

individuals and as equals. These eleven days changed him in ways he could not envision for himself. Malcolm finished the letter by examining the completion of his pilgrimage and how his transformation has supplied him with new knowledge that will aid him in his fight for racial equality in America. “Each hour I am here in the Holy Land enables me to have great spiritual insights into the happenings in American between the black and the white.”³⁸

Unlike his past speeches and lectures, he professes optimism for the future generations. “But as racism leads America up to the suicide path, I do believe, from experiences that I have had with them, that the whites of the younger generation, in the colleges and universities will see the handwriting on the wall and many of them will turn to the spiritual path of truth – the only way left in America to ward off the disaster that racism inevitably must lead to.”³⁹ This declaration may be directly related to a situation that occurred several years prior, while Malcolm was a member of the Nation of Islam. Following a speech he gave at a New England college, a young white student tracked him down in a Harlem restaurant. She confronted Malcolm, proclaiming that not all white Americans were bad people and she pleaded with him to allow her to help him in his quest for equality, asking Malcolm plainly, “What can I do?” Malcolm replied with an unhesitant “Nothing.”⁴⁰ When he later reflected upon this incident Malcolm stated that he had never encountered another human being more affected by his words than this young woman.⁴¹ Thanks to his pilgrimage, Malcolm was now able to see how this action was unnecessary and that not all white individuals were “devils.”

When Malcolm returned to the United States on May 21, 1964, two days after he turned thirty-nine, Malcolm began his work as a new leader within the Civil Rights Movement.⁴² Malcolm continued to work diligently leading the Muslim Mosque Inc. and the OAAU. He always understood the danger in speaking out, but he also felt that it was his duty. He explains this feeling in the final passage of his autobiography, “I have cherished my ‘demagogue’ role. I know that societies often have killed the people who have helped change those societies. And if I can die having brought any light, having exposed any meaningful truth that will help to destroy the racist cancer that is malignant in the body of America – then, all of the credit is due to Allah. Only the mistakes have

³⁸ Ibid., 348.

³⁹ Ibid., 348.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 292.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., 367.

been mine.”⁴³ Despite Malcolm’s optimism for the future, the Nation of Islam under the lead of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad would not allow it. In fact, he continued to speak out against Malcolm X and his new organizations, and the conflict between them continued to develop and even became dangerous. At approximately 2:45 am on February 15, 1965, Malcolm’s personal home in East Elmhurst, Queens was attacked with a firebomb while he, his wife, and four daughters were in the home. Although there was not enough hard evidence to prove it, many people believed this attack was committed by the Nation of Islam.⁴⁴ This violent act caused great damage to the Shabazz’s home as well as produced fear because the attack was not only against Malcolm but his entire family. The Nation of Islam viewed Malcolm to be a traitor and there is only one proper punishment for a traitor, death.⁴⁵

On February 21, 1965 the OAAU had planned a public forum featuring the speaker Reverend Milton Galamison who was very involved in the desegregation movement within New York City. This forum was set to take place at the Audubon Ballroom which is located at West 166 St and Broadway in what then was referred to as Harlem but now is considered to be Washington Heights.⁴⁶ Unlike other OAAU sponsored events, on this particular day the NYPD did not assign police officers to the building.⁴⁷ About 300 to 400 individuals attended this seminar which was planned to begin at 2pm, but not until around 3:10pm did the speaker, Rev. Galamison’s secretary phone James Shabazz, one of the OAAU’s personnel who planned that afternoon’s event, to inform him that the reverend would not be able to appear that day. The organization’s leaders made the decision to run the program despite this news. At this point, Malcolm took the stage at the Audubon Ballroom to “enthusiastic applause.”⁴⁸ His wife and daughters were sitting in the audience that day, which is unusual because Betty, Malcolm’s wife, did not attend many functions. After Malcolm greeted the audience, there was a disturbance in the audience. A man stood up and yelled, “Take your hands

⁴³ Ibid, 389.

⁴⁴ Handler, M. S. “Malcolm X Flees Firebomb Attack.” *New York Times*, 15 February 1965.

⁴⁵ Aalmuhammed, Jeffri and Jack Baxter. *Brother Minister: The Assassination of Malcolm X*. DVD, Urban Swami: 1994.

⁴⁶ Marable, Manning. “The Assassination of Malcolm X.” *Harlem Digital Archive: Harlem’s Heritage*. Columbia University. 16 July 2008, track 12.

⁴⁷ Ibid..

⁴⁸ Marable, Manning. “The Assassination of Malcolm X.” *Harlem Digital Archive: Harlem’s Heritage*. Columbia University. 16 July 2008, track 12.

out of my pocket.”⁴⁹ This causes the security staffers positioned throughout the ballroom to move toward the men causing the interruption. Malcolm said into the microphone, “Hold it, hold it, don’t get excited. Let’s cool it brothers.”⁵⁰ At this point two or three men sitting in the front row began to move toward the podium. A man with the shotgun is assumed to have fired the first shot approximately fifteen feet from Malcolm. This shot hit Malcolm X in the center of his chest and entered his heart. It caused him to fall backward hitting the stage. This is when the other gunmen rushed his body and shot him several additional times with .45 and .38 caliber handguns.⁵¹ Days later the medical examiner released a statement which explained that there were thirteen separate wounds counted, some in his chest and heart as well his thighs and legs. Also the tip of his middle finger on his left hand was blown off. After Malcolm was shot, chaos ensued, and all but one of the gunmen escaped. The crowds caught Thomas Hagan, a 22 year old African American, before he was able to flee the auditorium.⁵² He was shot in the left leg by Ruben Francis the only OAAU security personnel armed that afternoon. The NYPD, who were passing by the Audubon Ballroom inadvertently, arrested Hagan after an angry crowd shuffled him out of the auditorium.⁵³ Some witnesses of the shooting rushed to Columbia University’s Hospital, just a few blocks from the Audubon Ballroom, to return with a stretcher. After placing Malcolm’s blood drenched body onto the stretcher they wheeled him back to the hospital where he was pronounced dead. Malcolm X was just thirty nine years old...

Malcolm X’s, or El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz’s, life and work was cut short and his followers felt his loss as a defeat for a better future. At his funeral the famous actor Ossie Davis was asked to give Malcolm X’s eulogy. Mr. Davis formulated a message that represents Malcolm X and what he believed with truthful eloquence.

“Many will ask what Harlem finds to honor in this storm, controversial young captain? We will smile. They will say he is of hate, a fanatic, a racist, and we will answer: Did you ever talk to Brother Malcolm? Did you ever touch him or have him talk you? Did you ever really listen to

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Kihss, Peter. “Malcolm X Shot to Death at Rally Here.” *New York Times*, 22 February 1965.

⁵³ Marable, Manning. “The Assassination of Malcolm X.” *Harlem Digital Archive: Harlem’s Heritage*. Columbia University. 16 July 2008, track 12.

him? Did he ever do a mean thing? Was he ever himself associated with violence or any public disturbance? For if you did you would know him. Malcolm was our manhood. This was his meaning to our people. And in honoring him we honor the best in ourselves. And we will know if then for what he was and is, a prince, our own black shining prince. Who did not hesitate to die because he loved us so.”⁵⁴

These words and this “image framed Malcolm from that moment to this day.”⁵⁵ As Ossie Davis noted, with better education related to Malcolm X and his philosophy, his legacy would be treated with great honor and respect. Malcolm was able to transform throughout his life always progressing in a positive manner. He endangered his own well-being to fight for what he believed to be right. Yet he was feared and considered to be a “fanatic” and a “radical,” but with a closer look it is understood that in reality he was simply a man who recognized the nightmare and also lived for a dream.

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⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵ibid.

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Religion and Aestheticism in Joyce's Portrait: Truth in Beauty

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Stephen Dedalus, the main character of James Joyce's autobiographical *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, is a boy just trying to make sense of the world and how he fits into it. In the first chapters of the book, where Stephen is still a child, he believes that the only way he can achieve understanding is through God, because that is what he was always taught. As the story progresses, Stephen's worship of God and belief in the Catholic Church fades, but he finds a new phenomenon to worship: beauty. In his later years, he attempts to achieve understanding through his art, rather than organized religion. The transition from his belief in a divine power to his belief in beauty and aestheticism is a fascinating process. By the end of the novel, after many trials and tribulations, Stephen Dedalus succeeds in creating a kind of religion of beauty, but it is revealed to be an elaborate, albeit eloquent and lovely, escape from reality. The question is whether or not he will be able to reconcile life and art in the new religion of beauty that he has created.

Stephen's actions throughout most of the novel are governed by the strict laws of the Catholic Church. It is not until the end of Part IV (the book contains five parts) that he has an epiphany which causes him to reject the commandments of the institution. As a child in a strict Irish Catholic home and a Catholic school, he has no choice but to observe Catholicism. He does not question the idea that God will lead him to understanding and knowledge. But when he attempts to imagine God's supreme power, it makes "him feel his head very big" (Joyce 13). He considers the universe and its vastness and comes to the conclusion that "It was very big to think about everything and everywhere. Only God could do that" (Joyce 13). But while he recognizes the supremacy, he goes on to say, that even imagining such immensity makes his head spin. He acknowledges the existence and influence of God, but even as a child he begins to realize that he cannot understand it.

He also is shown the controversy and politics involved with organized religion at a young age. When he returns home from school for the Christmas holidays, his father

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and the characters Dante and Mr. Casey engage in an explosive argument over Christmas dinner over the death of a well known Irish politician, Charles Parnell. Mr. Casey and Mr. Dedalus mourn the death of the great leader, while Dante scorns him as a heretic and adulterer. The height of the argument scene is both frightening and awe-inspiring. It also shows the enormous importance placed on religion in Ireland at the time and the enormous political controversy that surrounded and began to overpower it:

“- God and religion before everything! Dante cried. God and religion before the world!

Mr. Casey raised his clenched fist and brought it down on the table with a crash.

- Very well, then, he shouted hoarsely, if it comes to that, no God for Ireland!” (Joyce 38)

The passion and intensity in this passage exemplifies the massive magnitude of the hold of Catholicism over Ireland. Dante, a strict Irish Catholic, can barely listen to such blasphemy for fear of sinning, while Mr. Casey and Mr. Dedalus, nationalists before devout Christians, feel that there must be a separation of church and state. Stephen does not quite understand the exact subject that is being discussed, nor can he grasp the issue at hand. He does, however, understand the fervor with which the topic is being discussed. At the end of the argument, he is both terrified and amazed by the effect that the argument has on his elders: “Stephen, raising his terrorstricken face, saw that his father’s eyes were full of tears” (Joyce 39).

So, considering the incredible influence that Catholicism had over Stephen Dedalus’s life, how does he fall into a world of vice and sin? For as he grows older and his family moves to the city of Dublin, he begins to explore and perform actions that would certainly be frowned upon by the Church. Masturbation, sex, and desire will begin to consume him. What is the driving force behind the adolescent Stephen’s unholy expeditions? The shift is due to the combination of his quest for beauty and his family’s fall from economic prosperity, argues James Naremore in his essay entitled “Consciousness and Society in Joyce’s *Portrait*.” Naremore states that Stephen “longs for a beauty which ‘has not yet come into the world,’ but his longing has a clear basis in the gentlemanly prosperity of his childhood” (Naremore 118). But Stephen himself cannot clearly identify this desire, although he would very much like to satisfy it: “he burned to appease the fierce longings of his heart before which everything else was idle and alien. He cared little that he was in mortal sin...” (Joyce 105). He tries to satisfy the longing

through lust and sex, and his encounter with a young Dublin prostitute is the turning point from his quest for understanding through sin and his return to religion.

After his rebellious teenage endeavors, Stephen truly repents his moral crimes. He is overcome with a sense of guilt, brought on by the strict laws of Catholicism which he has so blatantly broken. His sins seem to build on top of one another and increase. They become a chain from which he cannot seem to escape:

“From the evil seed of lust all other deadly sins had sprung forth: pride in himself and contempt of others, covetousness in using money for the purchase of unlawful pleasure, envy of those whose vices he could not reach to and calumnious murmuring against the pious, gluttonous enjoyment of food, the dull glowering anger amid which he brooded upon his longing, the swamp of spiritual and bodily sloth in which his whole being had sunk” (Joyce 113).

His first sin had a snowball effect. Lust was followed by the rest of the seven deadly sins, at least in his own mind, and he cannot be at rest until he atones for his mistakes through confession and penance. This is just a further example of the influence that Catholicism has on him; he cannot be pure and whole until he is purged of all that the Catholic Church deems unholy. This is impressed on him both by his own conscience and by the Church itself; following his sinful acts, he attends several sermons about the fires of hell and tortures that await him should he continue on his “evil” path.

Joyce’s hell-fire sermons could be considered a fusion of religion and beauty simply in the style in which they are written, and indeed, it is possible that the passion and eloquence of the sermons lead Stephen to find the beauty in his faith. Joyce seems to have drawn on an actual sermon with the title *Hell Opened* by Father Giovanni Pietro Pinamonti, according to an article by Elizabeth F. Boyd entitled “Joyce’s Hell-Fire Sermons.” She states that the passage in the novel “constitutes an effective attack by Joyce, all the more so because he denies himself any ostentatious caricature, sneering, or facetiousness, maintaining instead a dignified solemnity, which is in keeping with Stephen’s honest experience, and above all using an actual Jesuit document” (Boyd 571). The serious and solemn nature in which the piece is written increases its effect on the reader, and the fact that it is drawn from a real religious document lends it that much more power and impact.

A particularly beautiful part of the hell-fire sermons which bears a striking resemblance to *Hell Opened* discusses the question of light in hell. The Joyce version, the sermon that Stephen hears, is as follows:

“For, remember, the fire of hell gives forth no light. As, at the command of God, the fire of the Babylonian furnace lost its heat but not its light so, at the command of God, the fire of hell, while retaining the intensity of its heat, burns eternally in darkness. It is a neverending storm of darkness, dark flames and dark smoke of burning brimstone...” (Joyce 129).

The Pinamonti text has phrases which are nearly identical to this passage; “...there will be fire but deprived of light...;” “...what was wrought in the Babylonian furnace...;” “But in hell the fire will lose its light but not its heat” (Boyd 564). Joyce’s imagery and repetition, however, lend a certain amount of passion and terrifying beauty that the original sermon could not quite achieve. For example, the repetition of the word “dark” in Joyce’s sermon gives the idea of darkness in hell perfect “clarity and emphasis” (Boyd 565). As a result of this dramatic and zealous sermon, Stephen is left in awe and utter fear. It is this sermon that makes him fear the punishment of hell so deeply that he fervently embarks on his path of reconciliation.

Once Stephen confesses his many sins to a priest, he is overcome with a feeling of peace and tranquility. He believed that “His soul was made fair and holy once more, holy and happy” (Joyce 157). Now that the guilt of sin is gone from him, he begins to see such beauty in his life. He appreciates little things that he seems to have never noticed before, and this is described with detailed and fervent imagery:

“Till that moment he had not known how beautiful and peaceful life could be. The green square of paper pinned round the lamp cast down a tender shade. On the dresser was a plate of sausages and white puddings and on the shelf there were eggs... How simple and beautiful was life after all! And life lay all before him” (Joyce 158).

Although Stephen may now recognize that one of his passions and desires is beauty, it is not quite yet time for his complete turn to his religion of beauty that comes in later in the novel. After his encounter with the prostitute, religion and beauty begin to coincide; in his penance for his deeds, he finds beauty in his faith. He must seek understanding through “the only means left open to him – childhood fantasy, religion, and aestheticism” (Naremore 118). He begins to feel that there is beauty in the church itself, and that religious beauty has the ability to save the soul from Hell: “For a while Stephen believes the Church will spare him the torments of hell, leading him upward to a prosperous, aestheticized heaven” (Naremore 120). With his return to a strict Catholic school, he throws himself wholeheartedly into the rituals and procedures of the religion in

order to atone. He believes after a few months of intense reconciliation that he is a new man. "I have amended my life, have I not? he asked himself" (Joyce 166).

Indeed, the changes in his demeanor and the enthusiasm with which he throws himself into his religious endeavors catch the eyes of the priests at the institution, and it is suggested to Stephen that he consider joining the priesthood. He confesses that he has imagined himself as a priest and has entertained the idea before it was suggested to him. To have the idea recommended to him by one already of the order is a great honor to Stephen, and he feels great pride. The priest warns him that he must be absolutely sure that he has a calling before he agrees to begin the necessary rituals to become a priest, and he leaves the chapel with the priest and slowly walks around, imagining himself as a reverend, hearing confession, wondering which room of the Jesuit house he would occupy, thinking about how he would feel on his first day as an ordained priest.

However, at the same time that these images are passing through Stephen's mind, he begins to feel resistance to the idea that he has given such great thought to. In thinking of the strict order and pomp of that life, he wonders if that is his purpose and if it is what he truly desires, for as the priest says, "Once a priest always a priest" (Joyce 173). The thought that the priesthood would be wrong for him occurs to him quite suddenly: "Some instinct, waking at these memories, stronger than education or piety, quickened within him at every near approach to that life, an instinct subtle and hostile, and armed him against acquiescence" (Joyce 174). Although he has considered priesthood in his mind, once the idea is voiced, he begins to understand that his purpose in life is not a religious one, even considering the influence that Catholicism has had on his life. The longer he dwells on the thought, the more resistant he is to the idea, until finally, he rejects it outright: "His destiny was to be elusive of social or religious orders... He was destined to learn his own wisdom apart from others or to learn the wisdom of others himself wandering among the snares of the word" (Joyce 175).

Stephen is coming ever closer to his complete transition from organized religion to his religion of beauty. He now begins to explore his interest in the power of words and the beauty of literature. He contemplates the rhythm and colors of words and the beauty of language:

"Words. Was it their colours? ... No, it was not their colours: it was the poise and balance of the period itself. Did he then love the rhythmic rise and fall of words better than their associations of legend and colour? Or was it that... he drew less pleasure from the reflection of the glowing sensible world through the prism of a language manycoloured and richly storied than from the

contemplation of an inner world of individual emotions mirrored perfectly in a lucid supple periodic prose?" (Joyce 181).

Finding the beauty in such a simple concept as language further pushes Stephen on his path to self-discovery. He begins to use language and writing as an escape: "He thinks of himself as an artist-aristocrat, using imagination to free himself from the twentieth century Dublin" (Naremore 121). From the moment he loses his fear of eternal punishment and his childlike innocence and blind pursuit of salvation, he wants nothing more than to discover and create beauty, and he feels that the city of Dublin impedes this quest.

Finally, Stephen reaches that moment where the transition is complete, and he worships beauty above all other deities. It begins, simply, with the sound of his name. Somehow, when he hears someone calling his name: "now, as never before, his strange name seemed to him a prophecy... This was the call of life to his soul not the dull gross voice of the world of duties and despair, not the inhuman voice that had called him to the pale service of the altar" (Joyce 183-184). He connects his name to the mythical Icarus, son of *Daedalus*, who flew too near the sun and melted his wax wings that were so carefully crafted by his father. He hears in this name his calling to his true purpose: to craft out of words something unique and striking. If he errs or falls, as is inevitable, he will learn from his mistakes and carry on with his art. He draws inspiration not only from the successes, but the failures of Icarus as well. Stephen Dedalus breaks away from the church as a new man, ready to fulfill his desires and satisfy his passions: "He would create proudly out of the freedom and power of his soul, as the great artificer whose name he bore, a living thing, new and soaring and beautiful, impalpable, imperishable" (Joyce 184).

Soon after this he experiences an epiphany which brings his faith in his new religion of beauty full circle. He sees a girl standing alone in the water, calmly and peacefully. Her skirts are gathered around her legs and her hair trails down her back elegantly. She makes eye contact with Stephen for a prolonged amount of time, and when she finally breaks her gaze, he is overcome with an experience of utter and complete bliss: "Heavenly God! cried Stephen's soul, in an outburst of profane joy" (Joyce 186). She is beautiful, and she inspires Stephen as no one ever has. She almost becomes his muse, in that the image of her as Stephen will always remember her will inspire him to create and preserve beauty:

"Her image had passed into his soul for ever and no word had broken the holy silence of his ecstasy... To live, to err, to fall, to triumph, to recreate

life out of life! A wild angel had appeared to him, the angel of mortal youth and beauty, an envoy from the fair courts of life, to throw open before him in an instant of ecstasy the gates of all the ways of error and glory” (Joyce 186).

Apart from stirring his passion to create, the appearance of the girl somehow reconciles some of the evils of sin. He realizes that trial and error is an acceptable way to learn and grow, that to fall is to discover. But he still fears, in an almost subconscious way, that which the Catholic Church sees as sinful. In order to create the art that he envisions, Stephen must learn to put aside his resistance to emotional attachment and sexuality that has stayed with him even with his departure from the Church. He still feels some aversion to sexuality and sexual desire, believing that truly beautiful images are pure and sexless. Still, the appearance of the girl and his epiphany marks the final turning point between religion and aestheticism for Stephen.

Stephen feels that up to this point, the church had been stifling him, holding him back from fulfilling his true desires. However, his ideals of beauty and his new “religion” still bear some striking resemblances to those of Christianity. According to *The Conscience of James Joyce* by Darcy O’Brien, “Joyce reminds the reader of the passionless, mystical nature of Stephen’s ideal of beauty by interweaving religious imagery with the bird imagery” (O’Brien 7). He then goes on to describe some eerie similarities between the girl herself and the Christian female idol, the Virgin Mary; the primary colors mentioned in the description of the girl are “ivory flesh, blue skirts, ‘fair’ yellow hair...” (O’Brien 7). These are the colors commonly associated with the Virgin Mary. In addition, Stephen’s only verbal reaction to his encounter with the girl is “Heavenly God!” an exclamation which immediately precedes the reference to the girl as an angel. He is still apart from the Church, but certain aspects of it have followed him and made their way into his new ideals and ambitions: “Even after Stephen has left the Church, even after he has determined that the Church is too restrictive for him to remain within it, he continues in precisely the same way to attempt to erect barriers against the sordid and ineluctable tides of life” (O’Brien 25).

Still, beauty takes precedence over faith for Stephen, because by the end of the novel, that is his faith. Stephen’s idea of beauty is that it is a divine being in itself: “To him the word beauty connotes all of the otherworldliness, indeed all of the escapism of his youthful quest for an unsubstantial image” (O’Brien 14). Not only is beauty the deity which Stephen worships, it is the force that drives him and gives him strength. Passionate and concentrated, “Stephen’s devotion to beauty frees him from weakness and timidity, aids him in his flight from the Church, and is therefore essential to his development as an

artist” (O’Brien 21). His quest gives him confidence and allows him to pursue a talent that would have been smothered under the scrutinizing gaze of the Catholic Church.

More than anything else, Stephen’s religion of beauty is his attempt to escape sexual desire and impurity. He attempts to separate his mind from his body. His creator Joyce, however, “understands, as Stephen does not, that art cannot be disassociated from the human passions that inspire it” (Naremore 126). Joyce also realizes, as Stephen cannot, that “the priesthood of art, the pure aestheticism which Stephen embraces after he has forsaken the church, functions as yet another means of rejecting the body” (Naremore 126). Although he has progressed significantly from the start of the novel, Stephen is still childlike in his aversion to sexuality and denial of physical desire, even as he rejects the church and accepts sin to an extent. Stephen “hopes to escape into the free, pure air of art; but until he recognizes that no life is completely isolate, until he learns to accept and properly criticize his actual experience, he cannot be a poet or even a mature individual” (Naremore 127).

The separation of art from life is both the most important and most flawed aspect of Stephen’s aesthetic theory. There is much that he still must learn, and he still must let go of some ideals that have stayed with him even after his deviation from the Catholic Church:

“Though a rebel from the Church, Stephen is really following with religious fervor a tendency marked in him since childhood... He constructs an aesthetic theory which would exclude from art the loathsome aspects of existence. If his art is to comprehend life, Stephen must confront the motley nature of reality...” (O’Brien 32).

In other words, to produce art that is a reflection of life as Stephen hopes to do, he must learn to face some of the unpleasant aspects of true life that he would rather avoid. Beauty should encompass the “aesthetic whole” (O’Brien 33), combining that which truly is beautiful and some of that which is perhaps objectionable. But Stephen apparently feels differently: “Clearly [he] means by beauty both an absence of moral content and the showing forth of a loveliness as ethereal as that of the Virgin” (O’Brien 33).

Stephen’s efforts to separate art and reality are futile: he cannot create true beauty without the life experience to back it up. His attempts become nothing more than an elaborate lie:

“The position of one who tries to protect his ideals from contamination by unpleasant reality is always precarious: reality eventually persuades the

idealist either to modify his ideals or lie to himself. Thus Stephen Dedalus, indulging in something close to self-deception, discourses upon aesthetics to the boorish Lynch, turns erotic dreams into religious hymns, and finally tries to elude the sordid tides of life by escaping from Ireland altogether” (O’Brien 40).

In the final chapter of *Portrait*, the “elaborate defense mechanism” (Naremore 121) really takes shape. His attempt to escape, as discussed above, is not only an escape from Ireland physically, but mentally and emotionally as well. But, as it is stated time and time again, if he is to be a true artist, Stephen must learn to accept that which he would rather change. His work cannot be complete if it does not take all aspects of life into account. Indeed, even as he verbalizes a desire to keep the two separate, he cannot help combining life and his art. He combines the Catholic ideals with which he was raised with the ideals of beauty he now possesses: “A break from the authority of the Church did not mean a purging of characteristic Catholic habits of mind” (O’Brien 39). He resists, resists, resists; but always he returns to his roots and creates art that is a reflection of life.

Again, Joyce is wiser than his protagonist; he knows that there must be balance and harmony. He is aware of his transition between Catholicism and aestheticism, and the impact which both had on his life and his work: “he was quite conscious of the kinship between his abandoned formal religion and his succeeding spirituality... he was able to say to his wife, ‘You have been to my young manhood what the idea of the Blessed Virgin was to my boyhood’” (O’Brien 40). The reader gets a sense that Joyce is observing his protagonist with a smirk, having already lived Stephen’s life and learned the lessons which Stephen has yet to experience. He “leaves Stephen at the end of the *Portrait* on the brink of disillusion, a disillusion foreshadowed by Stephen’s own self-doubts and by Joyce’s subtle criticisms of his protagonist” (O’Brien 32). One can assume that Stephen will learn in time, as Joyce did, that beauty encompasses more than that which is pure and flawless.

The last few pages of Part V of *Portrait* are the only ones where it is possible to imagine that Stephen may be beginning to accept some form of reality. Quite different from the rest of the third-person novel, these last few pages are written in the form of journal entries. It is jolted, fragmented, following a stream of consciousness in bits of sentences that, while incomplete, somehow make perfect sense. They seem to be Stephen’s musings about his day to day observations and activities, and have quite a different effect than the rest of the novel. Whereas the previous chapters are consistent and flowing (except for the childlike beginning of the novel), the diary entries are almost

a test of his literary ability, a place for him to write possible bits of poems or stories: “Faintly, under the heavy night, through the silence of the city which has turned from dreams to dreamless sleep as a weary lover whom no caresses move, the sound of hoofs upon the road” (Joyce 274). The following entry is his wondering whether “she” will like what he has written, if it will impress “her.” He is writing with a purpose now, perfecting his skill, becoming a true artist. More importantly, he is writing about things he has seen, things that are real.

The journal entries also mention his departure from the Church through the means of a conversation with his mother. In discussing the Virgin Mary with his mother, he comments that the story of the Trinity is more in line with Catholic beliefs than the story of the Holy Family – that is, the family that includes Mary. His mother responds kindly, blaming this theory on his “queer mind” (Joyce 271) and an overdose of reading. She then tells him that he “would come back to faith because [he] had a restless mind. This means to leave church by the backdoor of sin and reenter through the skylight of repentance” (Joyce 271). But Stephen, rejecting the Church as he has, cannot and will not repent. Perhaps he is refusing to repent due to stubborn rebellion; however, it seems more likely at this point in the text that Stephen is finally starting to reconcile art and reality, and to repent and return to the Church would mean a rejection of his new “priesthood of art.” After coming so far in his journey, Stephen is finally on the path to achieving his ultimate goal: to become a true artist.

So, has Stephen, by the end of the novel, managed to bring together his life and his art fully and truly create a new order? It would appear that if he has not completely accepted it yet, he almost certainly will, and is already on the path towards that achievement. The reader can assume that Stephen will become an artist in the true sense of the word, and that his art will imitate life. Indeed, the success of James Joyce, the inspiration for Stephen’s character, could be quite a hint. And if nothing else, the second to last line of the novel almost definitely confirms Stephen’s religion of beauty as a legitimate source of inspiration for an artist: “Welcome, O life! I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race” (Joyce 276).

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