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REACTION OF THE METHODIST TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT TO THE REPEAL OF PROHIBITION: THE SHIFTING NATURE OF AMERICAN MORALITY

JAMES FARGHER (CLA 2013)

The passage of national Prohibition was a triumph for the Methodist church, which had long campaigned for social abstinence from alcohol. The subsequent repeal nearly fourteen years later was an unmitigated disaster. This study examines the reaction of the Methodist temperance movement following the 21st Amendment and its significance in the American story. The remarkable difference between the passionate Prohibitionist crusaders of the late 1920's and their temperance-minded counterparts a mere thirty-five years later demands closer investigation. The change in attitude from Prohibitionism to temperance acknowledged an ongoing, profound moral realignment. This shift in values brought about by larger political and social forces is not unique in US history, and therefore serves as an example of changing moral trends within our own national consciousness.

The Methodists came from a long legacy of temperance and anti-alcohol campaigning throughout the nineteenth century. But as the possibility of national Prohibition became increasingly likely, the Methodist Episcopal Church (one of the precursors to the present-day United Methodist Church) formed the Board of Temperance in 1916 to lobby political leaders and to disseminate pro-Prohibition propaganda. The headquarters of the Board was located on Capitol Hill, an indication of the political power which it wielded. It was through this Board that the Methodist Episcopal Church conducted most of its political enterprises. Records of the Board's activities are accordingly a valuable glimpse into the vanguard of the church in its attack on alcohol.

The 1929 annual report to the Board of Temperance by then General Secretary Dr. Clarence Wilson revealed the ambitious excitement which the Methodists felt during the heyday of Prohibition. Wilson officially suggested that the supporters of temperance should have no scruples about "committing [the church's] interests, and influence, its popularity and its prospects,

to the Prohibition of all the liquor traffic in the United States and its announced program of extending it around the world,” (Wilson) indicating the determined effort of the movement to aggressively press its advantage still further onto a global scale. Their enthusiasm was not unfounded either, that same year Congress had confirmed its support of Prohibition by drastically increasing Federal penalties on liquor. (Mungler 141). This moment of triumph for the Methodists and Prohibitionism will serve as the starting point for this case study.

Even as the tide began to turn against the efforts of the temperance movement, Deets Pickett, an influential Prohibitionist leader at the time, brazenly reported to the Board of Temperance, “[W]e find nothing to support the contention of the opponents of Prohibition that the noble experiment is tottering upon the brink of repudiation” (Deets). In spite of Pickett’s defiant retort, his language tacitly admits that Prohibition was rapidly becoming unpopular, a defense of Prohibition implying a political counterattack which needed immediate redress. Michael Munger and Thomas Schaller of the University of North Carolina emphasize the impact of the stock market crash on Prohibition stating, “with the Depression growing worse and an increasing need for revenue to finance the incoming Roosevelt administration’s “New Deal” economic stimulus programs, all political will to maintain Prohibition had disappeared” (141). The widespread economic hardship of the Great Depression would dominate the public sphere as Prohibition increasingly came under attack, and renowned Prohibition expert Jack Blocker puts it best when he writes, “while unemployment spread and bread lines lengthened...insistence that Prohibition remained the most pressing issue made its cause ridiculous” (125). The economic collapse seemingly acted as a catalyst, speeding up an already shifting moral consciousness, and “what was thought impossible became certainty” (128) when in late 1933, the electorate resoundingly voted in favor of national repeal. The New York Times applauded Congress for, as they saw it, regaining political backbone when they scathingly announced “the Senate, to the general surprise, broke entirely loose from its old subservience to...the Methodist Board of Temperance.” The movement had failed its highest mission.

Stunned, the Methodist Episcopal Church attempted to contain this defeat as much as possible. “The death of Prohibition

was not the death of Prohibitionism,” (355) according to noted social researcher John Kobler, and the Board of Temperance scrambled to save Prohibition amongst individual state constitutions. Clarence Wilson, Board member, was quoted as saying, “Prohibition will come back, full powered,” and that the, “ultimate objective will be the winning of at least thirty-six states.” As state after state fell to the supporters of liquor, the Methodists found themselves “utterly without influence upon the politics of the nation and most states” (Blocker 139). The effort to stem the rising tide of anti-Prohibitionism failed, and by the end of 1933, temperance forces had lost numerous state referenda. The idea that “a person is either a Christian abstainer or pagan drunkard” (241), which had been promulgated by the church, according to academic William Phipps, had ceased to exist, and American society rejected the notion of alcohol being morally ruinous.

On Sunday, November 4, 1934, Reverend Charles Wesley Christman addressed his congregation in the Methodist Episcopal Church of Haines Falls, New York. His message was somber yet challenging in tone when he promised to continue the fight against liquor by saying, “all is not lost...it’s only the beginning, only the beginning.” He surprisingly admitted that Prohibition was “a social success and a political failure,” (Deets) which was a departure from the fiery optimism of temperance during the height of Prohibition, or even immediately afterward in the struggle to regain lost ground. One week later, in part two of his sermon, the Reverend Christman reminded his flock that he would “call upon each of you this morning...that you will do all in your power to further not necessarily Prohibition, but temperance.” This small call to arms in a sleepy, rural town deep in the Catskill Mountains is a perfect example of the new attack which the Methodist temperance movement took towards the evils of liquor.

James A. Morone of Brown University offers his explanation of this phenomenon, contending that the economic hardship of the Great Depression pushed Americans into fully embracing the shifting moral zeitgeist and that a sense of charity became the driving force behind national “cheering for the rising Social Gospel” (Christman). In other words, the crash of 1929 confirmed that American society would channel the same passion it had originally felt for temperance into charitable efforts, social gospel, and the spirit of the New Deal. Morone points out that the Methodist Episcopal Church began “urging clerics to tone down

their political enthusiasm” (353) due to this moral shift. A study done by David Fairbanks of the University of Houston seems to substantiate this trend by noting that in many cases, states which have changed ‘moral’ policies “have done so from active pressures arising from changes in the economic environment” (Fairbanks 411-417). Morone takes this idea even further by shrewdly noting that American Methodist leaders also had ulterior motives because they came to the realization that if they were to “keep applying religion to worldly problems...it [would] begin to lose its transcendence, its religiosity” (354). The Methodist temperance movement had found that wide-scale public support for Prohibition had evaporated, and therefore was compelled to reorganize its strategy into something more resembling a social outreach program.

On December 4, 1933, shortly after it became clear that Prohibition would be repealed, the *New York Times* reported that the new approach of the temperance campaign would be to “attack...alcohol through use of the radio and school textbooks” as well as having “an aggressive educational program to show the evils of alcohol and the benefits of temperance.” This switch “did not imply a rejection of temperance as an idea... [but] reform... was to appear in quite a different guise” (Blocker 129): the effort became to educate individual Americans to abstain from liquor.

That is not to say that the Methodists calmly accepted political defeat. President Roosevelt, concerned about the perception of his New Deal policies, asked clergy to send in their honest opinions of his administration. An analysis of these responses done by two historians reveals that 41% of Methodist clergy condemned repeal in their response to the President, “blaming the return of legalized alcohol for all manners of social problems” (Billington 166-175). Such an outcry indicates the continuing resistance to the 21st Amendment, and willingness to carry on the struggle against liquor with a set of newly-unveiled tactics.

An article written by three sociologists about this period in the Methodist temperance movement accurately reflects the shifting attitudes about alcohol as a result of their tactics of mass education. “Educational campaigns are oriented toward individual rather than societal action,” (Houghland 408-415) and accordingly the temperance movement shifted as a result of “a profound rethinking of the private and public spheres... [where] the state

pushed personal vices into the private sphere” (Morone 365). Although the passion to fight alcohol still burned brightly, public perception of morality emphasized the plight of the individual, thanks to the economic stress on working Americans, and individual rights. The New Deal, although concerned with social welfare, approached unemployment through a capitalist framework which paid homage to the great American tradition of individualism and self-reliance. The new approach to persuading rather than forcing citizens to abstain from drink was therefore a result of the moral shift, which was in turn a social aftershock following the stock market crash.

Returning to the Annual Reports of the Board of Temperance, it is clear that by 1940 this new strategy of education had become the centerpiece of the new temperance movement. Although Ernest H. Cherrington, the new General Secretary of the Board, stated the official position of the Methodist Church as, “total abstinence...we stand opposed to the continuation of the organized liquor traffic,” in reality the church’s attitude was very different. The Board celebrated its herculean efforts in disseminating anti-alcohol literature on a national level, putting on numerous morality plays in high schools, supplying military chaplains with temperance leaflets, and fighting beverage advertising in publishing corporations. However, whilst they congratulated themselves for “the work of education relative to the alcohol problem,” (Cherrington) the Board of Temperance regretfully noted that “it is unfortunate that so frequently in these days when temperance and reform work are seemingly so difficult, that so many of those who have strong convictions...regarding the evils of the liquor habit...too often become intolerant of any method that does not go the whole length and does not emphasize the necessity of eliminating the liquor evil branch and root forthwith” (Cherrington). Undoubtedly the Board of Temperance applauded political measures such as House Resolution 2475 that prevented the sale of liquor around army and navy establishments, but nevertheless clearly had unofficially and totally abandoned the idea of national Prohibition. In fact, there was obviously a conservative backlash in reaction to this policy rearrangement.

This is exactly the point Hougland, Woods, and Mueller made in their sociological article where they argue that the Board of Temperance changed its traditional goals to “control rather than

prohibit" (408-415) alcohol, while still maintaining a false veneer of Prohibitionism to appeal to their more conservative members. They write that "Methodist leaders increasingly camouflaged Methodist temperance activities while simultaneously making a deliberate effort not to alienate those numbers for whom temperance was important" (Hougland 408-415). This policy shift is conspicuously mirrored in Cherrington's insistence that national Prohibition was a goal of the Board of Temperance, while simultaneously criticizing Methodists who insisted that the Board campaign exclusively towards this end. "Organizations must sometimes 'change' goals without admitting a change has occurred," (408-415) and seemingly so had the Board of Temperance.

Following the Second World War, temperance faded into the political background. With the United States ostensibly fighting the Communist menace throughout the world and with the obligations of the Truman Doctrine, national Prohibition became increasingly obsolete as a political issue. In 1958 the Methodist Church commissioned a report to investigate awareness of the Board of Temperance and attitudes towards alcohol throughout the flock. The results were a shocking departure from the attitudes of the proponents of Prohibition. 38.5% of ministers in general never preached on temperance, a paltry 3.4% of ministers knew that 'temperance' (as in, the Board of Temperance) meant "Prohibition of the liquor traffic" and 30% did not even believe that alcohol abstinence should be required of faithful Methodists. (Tables 6, 12, 15). A typical sample comment of the laity read, "I think the Methodist Church should teach the desirability of Abstinence [sic] – and should not try to produce by legislation" (Anonymous Comment). A clergyman wrote in, "just for the record, I think our denominational 'temperance' (i.e., total abstinence) emphasis is a rather juvenile approach to a man-sized problem." This type of response was a clear rejection of the previous temperance crusaders; the Methodists were adopting a new moral code which did not include Prohibitionism.

One final example comes from a sermon delivered by the Reverend C. Willard Fetter in 1968 to his congregation in Dayton, Ohio. Titled "Seven Cardinal Virtues: Temperance," this was a seven-part piece given by the Reverend Fetter over a period of seven weeks. Fetter was actually a minister in the Evangelical United Brethren Church which was then about to merge with the

Methodist Church one month later to form the present-day United Methodist Church. His sermon represented the mood of the future united church, commenting, “happily, I think, the temperance movement has accepted the fact that alcohol will probably always be used and has broadened its scope” (Fetter). Instead, Fetter suggested, temperance was “the ability of a man to control one’s inner life and expression of that life” and that “temperance refers to the control of the emotions.” The Reverend Fetter was by no means a radical preacher on the fringes of theological thought. Educated at Bonebrake Seminary, a licensed pastor, and recipient of an honorary doctorate of divinity from Otterbein University, he was a respected Evangelical United Brethren minister. His sermon reveals the antipathy with which the Methodists would view their own cause. Temperance had become a vague, wholesome-sounding “state of mind,” a mere shadow of its former self. The last political campaign for national Prohibition occurred some four years later, winning a grand total of 13,000 votes from across four states, and ignored by the (then renamed) United Methodist Church, which had, incidentally, dissolved the Board of Temperance in 1968 upon its merger with the Evangelical United Brethren Church (Kobler 356).

The significance of this episode in American history is its legacy as a story of moral crusading. Born in the spirit of the “ancient Puritan mission: saving the world,” (Morone 366) the United States has very much always seen itself as the “City upon a Hill.” Joyce Chaplin of Harvard University defines this “American exceptionalism” as a force that “emphasizes the United States’...separation from the rest of the world and development of unprecedented forms of society and politics” (1431). Moreover, the respected American historian Michael McGiffert in his book, *Puritanism and the American Experience*, quoted a contemporary who remarked, “Puritanism...was firmly rooted in the American experience and in the emerging American mind...it has radiated into American civilization...from that day to this; and the end is not yet” (iv-v). Richard Schlatter of Rutgers University, whose essay is also included in McGiffert’s anthology, further notes that “the moral and religious tone of much...American criticism – economic, political, artistic, etc. – is partly Puritan in origin” (3). He also observes that “the sense that it is America’s mission to set an example to other nations is a part of America’s Puritan inheritance” (3). Accordingly, it would be a mistake to conclude a study of the Methodist temperance movement without speculating

upon the relationship between America's Puritan spirit and the ebbing moral crusades which have marked American history.

Reading the words of Clarence Wilson who predicted a worldwide campaign against alcohol led by the United States, one is reminded of Schlatter's argument that "saving the world" is part of American consciousness. If indeed the United States has been born of the Puritan crusading spirit, it would be reasonable to assume that while the issues may have changed, the driving force behind them has not. Seymour Lipset, the famed political sociologist, once remarked that scholars of American civilization have always "been attempting to explain various sorts of moral panics and symbolic crusades." Religious purity, republicanism, the civilizing mission of Manifest Destiny, temperance, democracy and anti-communism are all crusades which American society has embraced during its history.

Morone insists that they are all linked by the lingering Puritan mindset which pervades our national consciousness, seeing a shift from Prohibition to social gospel, charity, and the New Deal. The fact that the forces of temperance refrained from responding politically to the repeal of Prohibition and reformed themselves into a social outreach/education lobby is significant because it followed the larger social trend towards individualism, individual liberties and alms-giving, which was exacerbated by the economic hardship of the Great Depression. It is true that the Methodist temperance movement had suffered total defeat in the polling booth, but they reacted within the changing social code of values, which had been brewing in the previous decade and was cemented into public consciousness by the financial crash. Morone takes this idea further by saying that the new emphasis on the essence of the New Deal inspired increased respect for the individual, human rights, and FDR's Four Freedoms. The US then went on to take upon itself the mantle of leader of the free world, defender of democracy. The Soviet Union, the second superpower in the post-war world, became the antithesis to US freedom, and hence the target of the new moral crusade: different issues, same spirit.

Of course, this kind of speculation is vast in scope and merits further research. Nevertheless it is a fascinating point to consider and important to bear in mind whilst observing the collapse of temperance. With the fire of their cause slowly dying, the 1929 crash and eventual passage of the 21st Amendment, the

Methodists fell under the influence of other moral sensibilities. Their campaign became absorbed into a larger social current which was already revising the morality of previous generations. But as the Methodists drifted from their cause, they exemplified the shifting nature of the Puritan spirit. As swirling sand in a river shows the currents beneath the surface, the Methodist temperance movement is a perfect indicator to examine how the American soul drops and acquires new causes for which to fight, striving to build the city upon a hill.

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WHO PAINTED THE LION?: MISOGYNY AND THE WIFE OF BATH

ELIZABETH FERRARA (CLA 2011)

Geoffrey Chaucer's *Wife of Bath* addresses the issue of "auctoritee" within her prologue. She makes an argument for experience bringing authority in the very first line she speaks; "Experience, though noon auctoritee/Were in this world, is right ynogh for me/To speke of wo that is in mariage" (Chaucer WBP 1-3). This argument is not only the Wife self-appointing herself as an authority, it is her appointing herself as an authority on the subject of the woe experienced in marriage. One later line within *The Wife of Bath's Prologue* further addresses the issue of male versus female authority with the question "Who peyntede the leon, tel me who?" (Chaucer WBP 692). When the Wife asks "Who peyntede the leon, tel me who?" she is not just using texts to support her argument as she frequently does, she is once more questioning male authority and the misogynistic attitude which exists within medieval society.

The line "Who peyntede the leon, tel me who?" is a reference to one of Aesop's fables called "The Man and the Lion." This fable, though it exists in slightly differing accounts, involves a man and a lion looking at a painting of a man killing a lion. The fable "teaches that the 'truth' of any picture often has more to do with the prejudices and predilections of the painter than with the 'reality' of the subject" (Carruthers 209). The lion asks the question of who painted the lion in the piece of art. The point the lion makes is that the painting shows the man's perspective, not the lion's; had the lion painted the picture it would be very different. The Wife of Bath's allusion to this fable within her *Prologue* places her in the position of the lion. The question is introduced at the point during which she recounts how her fifth husband Jankyn would read to her from his book of wicked women. In this way, "the Aesopic lion's response to the proud man serves the Wife of Bath as a sardonic analogue to her discursive polemic against pictures of women drawn in misogynic writings" (Malvern 240). She is pointing out the unfair nature of men writing about women in a negative fashion as they do in Jankyn's book. In fact, in the medieval period, "there were, as the Wife points out, few women writers to give the 'lion's' point of view (Martin 11). The

Wife of Bath tells how “it is an impossible/That any clerk wol speke good of wyves” unless it is of the lives of female saints and then she poses the question of who painted the lion (Chaucer WBP 688-89). These accounts of women are all from the perspective of men; there is a literary tradition of men writing about women, particularly of men writing bad accounts of women. It is only men who “have written the books...been educated, their views have been heard” and so it is “no wonder that women have had a bad press” (Martin 5).

If women had the opportunity to write their own accounts, the stories would be very different. In one written account of the fable, the lion tells the man “Yf the lyon coude make pictour good and trewe/Hit had be herin paynted how the lyon had had vycторыe of the man” (Malvern 240). If the lion could paint pictures, it would depict itself having victory over the man, not the other way around as the man has painted. The Wife of Bath makes a direct argument for women writing historical accounts from their own perspective as well. In the lines that follow her question she says, “if wommen hadde writen stories,/As clerkes han withinne hire oratories,/They wolde han writen of men moore wikkednesse/Than al the mark of Adam may redresse” (Chaucer WBP 693-96). Men would suffer at the hands of female writers just as women have suffered at the hands of male writers. The fact that she brings up “the mark of Adam” is significant because the Genesis story of Adam and Eve acts as the first of many accounts of wicked women; Eve is really the very first “wicked woman.” Eve is written as being the downfall of man, the cause of original sin. Jankyn’s book includes this account of “Eva first, that for hir wikkednesse/Was al mankynde broght to wrecchednesse” (Chaucer WBP 715-16). The Wife argues that if women had been given the chance to write such stories, men would not come out looking so positive. In fact, they would never be able to make up for their own wicked acts. This also adds to the general argument that writers can only know their own perspective, because women do not have any more knowledge of the male experience than men do of the female experience.

The question of who gets to paint the lion brings up the issue of authority which is a primary concern of the Wife. The “moral of the fable expresses an aspect of that general concern with the relationship of ‘auctoritee’ to ‘experience’ which she announces in the first sentence of her prologue” (Carruthers 209).

The idea of experience bringing authority implies that it is the male versus the female experience which provides authority for speaking on the subject of the experience of marriage. The Wife is a figure of much experience but no real authority within society, whereas her husband Jankyn is a figure entirely of authority with no experience (Carruthers 216). It is figures such as Jankyn who misrepresent women in their writings; they have no idea of what the female experience is like but deem themselves an authority on it anyway.

However, the Wife recognizes that authorities do exist. She “does not deny authority when authority is true,” instead she “does insist...that authority make itself accountable to the realities of experience” (Carruthers 209). The man in the fable does not account for the fact that he cannot understand the lion’s experience; likewise male authors do not admit to their lack of understanding about women. As Chaucer writes, “The children of Mercurie and of Venus/Been in hir wirkyng ful contraries” (WBP 697-98). Scholars and lovers act contrarily towards one another. Yet at the same time, “Ech falleth in others exaltacioun” because of their “diverse disposicioun;” their oppositional nature is the very reason behind why they coexist (Chaucer WBP 702; 701). This connects back to the fable’s suggestion that “truthful art (and morality) must take account of [the] complexity [of their] mutual relationship” (Carruthers 209). Also, the characterization of the lovers as lovers of debauchery and extravagance connects to the stereotype of women put forth by the male writers that the Wife is arguing against. Therefore this discussion of Mercury and Venus may correspond to male versus female authority and experience.

But these writings go even further than simply misrepresenting women through lack of experience. Books such as the one Jankyn read were often written for “the purpose of dissuading young men from marriage and promoting ordination” and celibacy (Martin 6-7). The Wife directly addresses this, saying that “The clerk, whan he is oold, and may noght do/Of Venus werkes.../Thanne sit he doun, and writ in his dotage/That wommen kan nat kepe hir marriage!” (Chaucer WBP 707-10). Old scholars, bitter about their own inability to participate in the game of love any longer, intentionally write that women are unfaithful and that marriage is full of woe to dissuade others from entering into it. The purpose of such books also connects to the Wife’s extensive discourse on the subject of virginity early in her

Prologue. She poses another one of her many rhetorical questions “if ther were no seed ysowe,/Virginitee, thanne wherof sholde it grow,” when arguing against St. Paul’s writings which promote virginity (Chaucer WBP 71-2). The male authorities use their power to promote such messages, which are intentionally prejudiced for the purpose of persuasion.

The Wife uses such contradictions to her own advantage to defend her multiple marriages while also undoing male writing. The manmade tradition of “men vilifying women” is “not objective, any more than the picture of the lion represents the lion’s point of view” (Martin 7). These books are doubly unfair because they were written from male perspectives and were written to intentionally make women look bad. Of course, the Wife of Bath manages to show how ridiculous some of these writings are as she does with St. Paul. Jankyn cites the works of Jerome, who is a figure who opens himself up to ridicule because of the contradictory nature of his writings; while he was antifeminist he had many women disciples and encouraged them to be educated in a series of letters (Carruthers 211). This is not unlike the Wife herself, who attempts to undo men while also stating her intent to find a sixth husband.

The Wife of Bath clearly recognizes her position in society as the lion, but she also manages to undo and reverse this position. In the fable, the man uses the painting as a justification of man’s dominance over lions, since it “shows that man dominates even the most powerful and noble of the beasts” (Acheson 41). In the Wife’s use of the fable, this is the male justification of the mistreatments of women in literature, and in their mind they have the right to do so because they are dominant. The Wife says that “Stibourn I was as is a leonesse” with regard to her relationship with Jankyn (Chaucer WBP 637). She is playing the role of the lion, but she is doing it in her own way by maintaining her independent attitude. If she must be misrepresented and oppressed by men through their writings, she can at least live her life without male oppression. Before she uses this self-characterization, she mentions how Jankyn deafened her in one ear for ripping the page out of his book of wicked women. The connection between the male accounts of women and male authority through texts carries through to the rhetorical question from the fable, as well as to other lion imagery in the *Prologue*.

When the Wife of Bath can no longer handle hearing the accounts of wicked women, she tears out a page of the book as if she is attempting to undo the misogynistic tradition by attacking the body of male writing. She is trying to undo the male texts because they are not a fair representation; she “saugh he wolde nevere fyne/To redden on this cursed book al nyght” (Chaucer WBP 788-89). The misogynistic tradition will continue unless she acts. The Wife of Bath physically assaults his body after her attack on the body of male writings, which causes him to “up stirte as dooth a wood leoun” and hit her so hard as to deafen her in one ear (Chaucer WBP 794). Her act has made him into the lion; it is as if she wants him to see how it feels not to be allowed to have representation by trying to destroy the book of male writing. She “suffers ordeal by literature” but manages to “protest her intellectual force-feeding” by ripping the book (Martin 6). Her characterization of Jankyn as lion-like is different from her characterization of herself as a lion. She was a stubborn lioness, suggesting an inherent personality trait but also a conscious decision of how to act, and therefore it is a vaguely more intellectual moment. He acts like a crazy (“wood”) lion, springing forward to strike her in what appears to be a knee jerk type of reaction; therefore this moment is simply one of violence and primal rage. Being “stibourn” is a conscious course of action, whereas suddenly jumping up as if crazy does not require thought but is a simple reaction. She has become the intellectual figure and he has become the animal.

The actions which follow Jankyn beating his Wife are similar to what occurs in one version of the fable of the man and the lion. In Marie de France’s version, the lion threatens the man with physical violence and the man “begs for mercy and vows never again to mock lions” (Malvern 250-51). After the Wife of Bath appears to be dead from the beating, Jankyn is frightened so much that he almost flees the scene of the crime. The Wife eventually rises and accuses him of trying to kill her and “neer he cam, and kneled faire adoun” and promises never to hit her again, after which she hits him back (Chaucer WBP 803). She tells us that he has become humbled, not unlike the man in the fable. In addition to promising not to do her any more physical harm, he allows her to burn the book of wicked women. He lets her undo the accounts by destroying the book. He will no longer hurt her, and he will no longer hurt women through his continuous reading of the misogynistic accounts. The Wife manages to show Jankyn

that “‘truth’ is not to be found in a ‘fable,’ which is an ‘illusion,’ or in a ‘picture,’ which ‘resembles a dream,’ but in a ‘deed’...‘truth’ is best sought outside pictures of women found in misogynistic writings” (Malvern 251-52). Yet at the same time, it is questionable whether this is a true victory or not because of the doubt which surrounds the Wife’s own accounts of her life. This may simply be one way in which the Wife paints her own lion in an attempt to be a female authority.

Jankyn also brings in lion imagery during his lectures to the Wife. She retells his speech: “‘Bet is,’ quod he, ‘thyn habitacioun/Be with a leon or a foul dragoun,/Than with a womman usynge for to chide” (Chaucer WBP 775-77). This quotation is taken from Ecclesiastes (25: 16), but with the context of the Wife’s use of the Aesopic fable it takes on new meaning (Malvern 250). It becomes a source of humor, but it also has a serious side. Jankyn (via the Wife of Bath) is saying that men would be better off living with a lion over which they could claim mastery, as seen in the fable, than with a woman who has no purpose other than to reproach them. This is part of the woe of marriage. But because Jankyn himself is not present to give his account of what happened, it is the Wife of Bath’s version of the story and therefore becomes questionable. The Wife turns Jankyn into the lion by presenting her version of the story. This inherent questioning of her truthfulness is ironic since the Wife’s point is that women are not allowed to give their own accounts of history but instead are painted by men as unfaithful and not trustworthy.

It is uncertain how much of the Wife of Bath’s speech should be trusted, since she manages to twist around literary accounts to her own benefit. This may simply be another form of her making herself into a victim in order to win sympathy. She makes sure to include the “quod he” in order to put these words into his mouth, but it is still being told directly from her perspective and not his. The choice to take the lines from the Bible connects to the beginning of the *Prologue* when she interprets Biblical passages to her own advantage in order to prove her point about her marriages. Jankyn has become the lion, with the Wife painting him as she likes. This is a reminder that accounts told indirectly are questionable and that writing can contain prejudices. After all, her *Prologue* ends with her account of how she gained sovereignty over Jankyn and was faithful to him and how they lived happily (“After that day we hadden never debaat/...I was to

hym as kynde/As any wyf from Denmark unto Ynde” [Chaucer WBP 822-824]). Yet at the same time, it appears that she is a widow once again since she says she will “Welcome the sixte [husband], whan that evere he shal” (Chaucer WBP 45). She fully intends to keep on painting her own lion. It seems unlikely that a man half her age would have died before her of natural causes, especially since there is the suggestion that she had her fourth husband murdered (“blood bitokeneth gold” [Chaucer WBP 581]). Overall, the Wife is not always to be trusted at her word.

The direct use of the fable within the *Prologue* plays a role in undoing the misogynistic tradition through its very form. The question of who painted the lion “signals not only the ‘sentence’ which thematically unifies her discursive *Prologue* into a cogent satire but also the rhetorical devices which play necessary roles in her pungent diatribe against misogynistic attitudes present in Chaucer’s England” (Malvern 238-39). “Who peyntede the leon, tel me who?” is clearly a rhetorical question, and it manages to summarize the Wife’s arguments about authority and experience into one line. Rhetorical questions are not meant to be answered outright but instead are intended to promote thought on the part of the person who is being asked the question; in a sense they act as passive action. Here the Wife is addressing her fellow pilgrims and clearly her use of rhetorical questions throughout do in fact promote thought on their part, though it ends up being negative criticism aimed at the Wife. Her use of rhetorical questions, which are “device[s] of oratory put to satirical use and laden with innuendo,” throughout her *Prologue* “vitalizes the Wife of Bath’s elaboration upon antifeminism in her lengthy parody and of débat with the misogynic ‘clerkes’” (Malvern 243). Chaucer gives the Wife of Bath an educated appearance through such rhetorical skills, which she does not hesitate to use to her own advantage as seen before in her undoing of religious writings. The use of the rhetorical question shows that the question of who painted the lion matters not only to the person it is being asked of, but to the person who is asking it; it “matters to the lion, and not just to the man” (Acheson 43). The issue of who gets to tell the tales about women matters to the Wife, not just to the writers of the stories.

The Wife of Bath gets to paint her own lion through her *Prologue* and *Tale*, but in the end she is silenced by male authority. In her *Prologue* the Pardoner interrupts her initial discourse on marriage calling her “a noble prechour in this cas”

(Chaucer WBP 165). Clearly he is not serious when he calls her a noble preacher since it is followed by his lament that he was about to marry. He is a member of the religious estate and because the Wife crosses over into his realm by preaching he feels the need to silence her. At the end of the *Prologue* when the Wife announces that she will begin her actual *Tale*, the Friar says that “This is a long preamble of a tale” (Chaucer WBP 831). Again, a male member of the religious estate is fighting against her right to speak her own *Tale*. The Wife does not begin her *Tale* without asking if she has “licence of this worthy Frere” (Chaucer WBP 855). She still has to ask permission in order to speak, which she is allowed to do. But in the *Friar’s Prologue* the Friar tells the Wife that “Us nedeth nat to speken but of game,/And lete auctoritees, on Goddes name,/To prechying and to scoles of clerye” (Chaucer FP 1275-77). He is promoting the very attitude that the Wife was arguing against, that the painting of lions should be left to the men and not to the lions. Even though she is allowed to tell her *Tale*, she ends up being silenced once it is done. She has no written response to the Friar’s comments, and in fact, the text moves away from her altogether and she receives no further mention in *The Canterbury Tales*.

The painting that the Wife of Bath creates comes twofold, encompassing both her *Prologue* and her *Tale*. With regard to her *Prologue*, the Wife portrays herself in a manner not unlike the stereotype of women that the male writers created. This choice is intentional in that, “by hyperbolically sketching into her self-portrait character traits attributed to women in antifeminist writings, the Wife of Bath ridicules the portraits of stereotyped women drawn in....satires against marriage” (Malvern 241). The Wife of Bath is in fact a character type created by Chaucer and not meant to be a real person. The reader is not supposed to take her too seriously. This creates a problem: if the reader is not supposed to take her argument against the misogynistic writings seriously, then the tale is not a successful argument against misogyny. But the fact that Chaucer includes “Who peyntede the leon, tel me who?” within her *Prologue* demonstrates a deeper purpose than the creation of a simple stereotype.

By playing into the stereotype set up for her by society, the Wife of Bath manages to argue against the stereotype. The Wife claims that the three gifts of “Deceite, wepyng, spynnyng God hath yive/To wommen kyndely, whil that they may lyve” (Chaucer

WBP 401-2). The nature (kynde) of women is given to deceit, weeping, and spinning, the last of which directly connects to the Wife because of her employment in the cloth trade; it is possible that she comments that men believe women are only good in these three areas because that is all they are permitted to do. She advises women to make use of these gifts that “overtly parody those given the stereotyped ‘wicked woman’” (Malvern 245). By painting her own lion in a manner which parodies the way in which men paint women, the Wife of Bath shows how damaging stereotypes can be. It is as if she is saying, “If that’s the way you think I am, then that’s the way I’ll act.” By alluding to the fable, she reminds her audience that this is the picture of women as created by men, not by women.

Within the *Prologue* the Wife also creates a picture of her first three husbands that plays into stereotypes. Through her discussion of these marriages, she “stages a farce in which she satirizes loveless marriages and the misogynistic attitudes that promote them” (Malvern 257). The Wife’s actions within these marriages are typical of what male writers say of women, since she would scold and berate them. She says her three husbands “loved me so wel.../That I ne tolde no deyntee of hir love” and that once they gave her their property and other valuable possessions “neded nat do lenger diligence/To wynne hir love” (Chaucer WBP 208; 205-6). She did not value their love in the least and once she got what she could out of them she saw no need to further be diligent to them. Her reasons for marrying appear to be financial on at least these three occasions. By telling her story of how she treated her three older husbands she manages to shame them. The fact that she does not even discuss them individually is important. They are not treated as individuals but instead all become the same type of person, “goode men, and riche, and olde” (Chaucer WBP 197). Clearly it is the last two attributes which make these husbands “goode.” By combining them together, the Wife is creating a stereotype of foolish old husbands with young unfaithful wives. She uses her *Prologue* to paint this lion just as the male writers paint stereotypical pictures of women in their writings. Just as she managed to put Jankyn into the position of the lion in the fable, here she manages to put three of her other former husbands into the same position.

Within her *Tale*, the Wife of Bath once more paints her own lion. The fairy tale setting she gives her story is marred by

interruptions such as the rape of the maiden. The Wife demonstrates “her shrewd understanding of both the delights and the limitations of lion painting” through this perfectly imperfect setting (Carruthers 209). The Wife’s choice of settings is significant because it is within the literary tradition men have created, the legends of King Arthur and his knights. Overall, “the Wife’s tale is not just a piece of special pleading” because “its real seriousness lies precisely in its refusal to succumb to the blandishments of ‘th’olde dayes of the King Arthour’” (Carruthers 218). By basing the entirety of her story around a rape, the Wife of Bath shows the problem with the misogynistic literary tradition. The tradition leaves no room for women to tell their own stories, and creates an atmosphere in which there is no respect for women because of its prejudiced accounts. She includes details, such as the rape, which undermine the ideal quality that has been set forth in such literature. Her opportunity of “painting her own lion becomes an occasion for her to reveal the sentimentality, the romance, involved in any idealistic painting;” the Wife’s *Tale* “gives full reign to the ideals of sentiments but never lets us forget that they exist exclusively” in the literary world of King Arthur (Carruthers 218; 216). By creating her own story the Wife shows that any story, or piece of art, can be overly idealized and therefore present an inaccurate portrayal of life. It is a part of “the delights and the limitations” involved in painting the lion.

The maiden the knight rapes is not given a voice in the *Tale*, and therefore is not allowed to paint her own lion. Instead she is spoken for, not by men but by “the queene and other ladyes mo” (Chaucer WBT 894). If the woman cannot speak for herself, at least other women can speak for her. At the same time, this idea of female unity is problematic. The knight is sent out to find what “wommen moost desiren,” but this request “presupposes that women are a unified category, defined by nothing more or less than their mysterious need for something they do not have” (Hansen 286). The varied responses the women give the knight are further evidence of this discrepancy. Even if the maiden is given a voice through this group of women, it is not her own individual voice. Women may have a better understanding of the female experience than male authors have, but this instance should not be about women in general but about this one girl. This is the same situation that male authors set up when they paint the lion. They present a one-sided view of women that does not

address them as individuals but instead fits them into a stereotype.

The figure of the loathly lady in the *Tale* is yet another painted lion. She hands the ability to paint herself over to the knight, asking him to choose if she should be “foul and old til that I deye,/And be to yow a trewe, humble wyf,/And nevere yow displese in al my lyf” or “ells ye wol han me yong and fair,/And take youre aventure of the repair/That shal be to youre hous by cause of me” (Chaucer WBT 1220-25). She presents him with the very choices the misogynistic writers set up; either a woman will be young, beautiful, and unfaithful, or she will be old, ugly, and faithful. Basically, as far as the literary tradition has been concerned, there are no other types of women. But when the knight allows the loathly lady to choose for herself, she decides to “be to yow bothe—/This is to seyn, ye, bothe fair and good” and “also good and trewe” (Chaucer WBT 1240-41; 1243). When a woman is allowed to paint her own self portrait, she does not limit herself to the extremes that the male authors confine themselves to, but shows that she can be both. When the knight gives his wife power over him, he is rewarded by gaining a wife who is both beautiful and faithful (Martin 60). If male writers would allow women to paint their own lions, a more moderate picture of women, rather than a typical stereotype, would be created. This is the “sovereynetee” which women desire and the “auctoritee” which the Wife of Bath argues for.

Of course, the *Tale* still keeps to the standard idea of female obedience to men. While the Wife states “I praye Jhesu shorte hir lyves/That noght wol be governed by hir wyves,” the loathly lady in her tale gives authority back to her husband when he allows her to choose and “obeyes hym in every thing” (Chaucer WBT 1261-62; 1255). The dynamic she sets up in her story is taken apart by her concluding statements. It is “the Wife’s cursing of men who will not be governed by their wives [which] seems to undercut both her romantic fantasy...and her ironically subversive silence” (Hansen 286). In this way the Wife, who is ultimately being painted by the male author Chaucer, is a contradictory female character. She is far from a typical woman, yet seems to share some of the common characteristics of women set forth in the literary tradition. The rhetorical discrepancies that exist within the Wife of Bath are evidence for a desire “to perpetuate a war between the sexes in which she pits herself as a quintessential

female against men, the enemy with whom she also wants to sleep” (Hansen 286). In a sense, the Wife can be both for and against men, just as the loathly lady can be both beautiful and faithful. Each appears to be a contradiction, but nevertheless can exist.

The Wife of Bath is a complex and contradictory character. Her use of the allusion to the fable of “A Lion and a Man” manages to “uncover a central issue for feminism” (Martin 5-6). This one line, “Who peyntede the leon, tel me who?,” represents the heart of the Wife’s entire argument. It summarizes the issue of male versus female authority, addressing “women’s inheritance of a predominately masculine literary tradition” (Martin 6). By challenging the male tradition, the Wife of Bath makes a step towards overturning the misogyny. However, in the end it seems that there is no real impact made, as she is silenced by male authorities. Her rhetorical question may remain unanswered, but it leaves its mark and manages to provoke thought.

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ACHIEVING THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS DIRECTLY RELATED TO HEALTH IN ERITREA: SUCCESSES AND NECESSARY IMPROVEMENTS

KRISTIN GERMINARIO (CLA 2010)

Introduction

The United Nations Millennium Declaration was signed by 189 countries in the year 2000, and this document subsequently became the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); the eight MDGs strive to reduce poverty and improve development and health globally by the year 2015. The MDGs contain eight distinct goals related to development and the eradication of poverty; three of these goals are directly related to health (Travis et al. 2004). Of these three health-related goals, Goal 4 is centered upon reducing child mortality, Goal 5 strives to improve maternal health, and Goal 6 encompasses prevention and control of HIV, malaria, and other infectious diseases (Travis et al 2004).

In developing countries, many regions will miss the health targets and will not accomplish them by 2015 (Wagstaff and Claeson 2004). One of the major reasons why these targets will not be achieved is the low use of existing, effective interventions, which are direct actions that lead to prevention or cure (Wagstaff and Claeson 2004). Effective interventions for all three health-related goals do exist, however, the poorest sectors of the population do not receive these necessary interventions; for instance, of the 6 million people in low- and middle-income countries who need antiretroviral therapy, only 300,000 receive it (Wagstaff and Claeson 2004). Within developing countries, if all possible interventions that exist were used effectively, the health MDGs could be achieved much more rapidly, and almost 6 million deaths could be avoided (Wagstaff and Claeson 2004).

During this study, the progress towards accomplishing each of the three health-related global targets in the developing country of Eritrea was researched and analyzed. This report specifically focuses on the following goals and targets:

- (1) GOAL 5: Improve maternal health. Target 1:** Reduce by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio

(2) GOAL 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases. Target 3: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases

Through this study it is recommended that maternal health become the primary focus for Eritrean health care, including improved pregnancy care at the postnatal level, improvement of community birthing facilities, and education of trained birth attendants. Additionally, Eritrea demonstrated tremendous success in reducing malaria incidence, and this should be utilized as an example for other struggling nations while being continually maintained and improved.

Eritrea: Profile, History, and Health Care System

Eritrea is a least-developed country located in the Horn of Africa (Graves 2004, UN-OHRLLS ... [updated June 2008]). The nation is divided into six administrative zones, called *zobas*, which are then additionally divided into *subzobas* (Graves 2004). The six *zobas* are Maekel, Debub, Gash Barka, Anseba, Northern Red Sea, and Southern Red Sea (Ceccato et al. 2007). In 1998, Eritrea had a Gross National Product (GNP) of approximately \$200 per capita, while in comparison the United States had a GNP of \$29,240 per capita (Gross National Product ... [updated 2006]). As of 2001, the population was estimated to be approximately 3.2 million individuals (EDHS 2002). Additionally, as of 2006 the net enrollment in primary education was 47.5%, the proportion of the population using improved sanitation facilities was 5%, and the proportion using improved drinking water sources was 60% (MDG Info 2008).

The under-five mortality for the 2001-03 time period was 93 per 1,000, and is projected to be 30 per 1,000 by 2015; this projection surpasses the MDG target for Goal 4 of 45 per 1,000 (State of Eritrea 2005). Therefore, Eritrea is on target to meet MDG Goal 4 at the current progression rate (State of Eritrea 2005). Additionally, the maternal mortality ratio for 2001-03 was 581 per 100,000, and the projected 2015 value is 246 per 100,000; although the maternal mortality ratio is high in Eritrea, this figure is on track with the MDG target of 246 per 100,000, so Eritrea has the ability to reach this MDG Goal 5 if its current programs continue and improve (State of Eritrea 2005). In 2001-2003, the proportion of people living with HIV was estimated at 2.4%, while in 2007 this figure was estimated at 1.3%; these

figures are only estimates and do not necessarily reflect the true HIV profile of the nation, but it can be ascertained from this data that the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate has at least stabilized (MDG Info 2008). Finally, Eritrea is on track to meet the 2015 target for malaria, since the number of malaria cases in 2001-03 was estimated at 36 per 1,000, which matches the 2015 target number of 36 per 1,000 (State of Eritrea 2005).

After a thirty-year war, Eritrea gained its independence from Ethiopia in 1993; however, a more recent war with Eritrea from 1998-2000 led to the displacement of over ten thousand individuals (EDHS 2002). This war also affected the economy and health within the nation and led to the destruction of villages, towns, and public and private buildings through planned aerial and artillery attacks (EDHS 2002). Additionally, border conflicts with Ethiopia are still in existence, and this current issue coupled with the recent war poses a need for even more reconstruction within the nation (Graves 2004).

In Eritrea, the Ministry of Health (MoH) is the main organization that oversees and attempts to improve the health status within the nation (EDHS 2002). Primary Health Care (PHC) is the main focus of health services in the nation, and these basic services are available to every citizen (EDHS 2002). Additionally, prevention is a major focus of this strategy, along with prevention and control of endemic diseases (EDHS 2002). In 2002, there were 330 health facilities present in Eritrea, and more have been established since (Graves 2004). Two-thirds of these health facilities are managed by the MoH, Christian missions, or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and the remainder are private or specialized facilities, or industry clinics (Graves 2004).

Goal 5: Improve Maternal Health

Target 1: Reduce by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio

In developing countries, many maternal health issues pertain to labor and delivery, and these issues can be prevented through antenatal, delivery, and postnatal care (EDHS 2002). In Eritrea, the MoH has made maternal health care one of its top priorities, along with child health (EDHS 2002). Eritrea, however, must improve many of its programs in order to successfully achieve the Goal 5 targets by 2015. Three-fourths of all MoH-run health centers in Eritrea provide preventive care for mothers,

including antenatal and delivery care, immunizations, growth monitoring, health education, and family planning (EDHS 2002). Overall, Eritrea is considered to have a very high maternal mortality ratio (EDHS 2002). In 1993-95 there were 985 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births, and in 2001-03 there was a decline to 581 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births; however, the 2001-03 data was for births at health facilities only, and therefore is estimated to be much higher and is not comparable to the 1993-95 data (EDHS 2002, State of Eritrea 2005).

Evidently, the maternal mortality ratio has declined over time. The projected 2015 maternal mortality is 246 deaths per 100,000 live births, the MDG target; however, that projection is based on deliveries at health facilities only. Clearly, strong improvement needs to be made in terms of maternal health in order to reach the 2015 target for Goal 5 (State of Eritrea 2005). According to the MDG 2005 Report for Eritrea, based on the 1993-95 data the projection for achieving the 2015 target seems doubtful due to the dramatic reduction that would need to be made in the maternal mortality ratio. The Eritrean government, however, has been focusing on training a large number of skilled birth attendants, which is one of the most important factors that could improve maternal health in Eritrea (State of Eritrea 2005).

According to the 2005 MDG Report for Eritrea, constraints preventing the maternal mortality ratio from being lowered include malnutrition, female illiteracy, shortage of trained birth attendants, a low contraceptive prevalence rate, preference for home delivery due to cultural and religious reasons, and low access to health facilities in rural areas (State of Eritrea 2005). These existing constraints involve national infrastructure, and these social, educational, and developmental aspects will also need to be addressed. In the report, necessary improvements for Eritrea include recruiting and training more skilled birth attendants, training traditional birth attendants, and educating women on health issues including child spacing, contraception, nutrition, and hygiene (State of Eritrea 2005).

An extremely important preventative measure for maternal mortality is pregnancy care. Pregnancy care can effectively prevent pregnancy and delivery complications, and it is comprised of antenatal, delivery, and postnatal care. Antenatal care includes early detection of risk factors and interventions when necessary (EDHS 2002). In Eritrea, 71% of women are given antenatal care,

and there are clear demographic differences correlated with which individuals receive care (EDHS 2002). For instance, urban women are five times more likely to receive antenatal care than rural women, and the most highly populated zoba Maekel has 89% coverage for antenatal care (EDHS 2002).

Although the majority of the population does receive antenatal care, this care is not always complete in many aspects and needs improvement. Only 33% of women who received antenatal care were informed about signs of pregnancy complications, and blood and urine samples are not a routine part of antenatal care; additionally, iron and multivitamin supplements and intermittent malaria treatment are only provided when deemed necessary (EDHS 2002). Furthermore, all women as part of antenatal care in this region should receive 2 doses minimum of the tetanus toxoid vaccine to prevent tetanus infection during delivery in unhygienic settings; in 1995 in Eritrea, only 35% of mothers received at least one dose of the vaccine (EDHS 2002). This number rose to 50% of mothers receiving at least one dose of the vaccine in 2002; however, despite the increase, these figures still indicate a very low immunization coverage in expectant mothers (EDHS 2002).

In terms of delivery care, a greater number of women have home births; only 26% of women deliver in health facilities, and 73% of women deliver in the home (EDHS 2002). Finally, postnatal care is especially important for women who give birth in their homes since it allows for detection of complications that otherwise would threaten survival of the mother (EDHS 2002). However, 92% of women who undergo noninstitutional births in Eritrea do not receive postnatal care (EDHS 2002). Home births carry great risks, and these risks must be targeted in order to prevent high levels of maternal mortality.

Many mothers do give birth in health care facilities, and these health centers were examined to determine the quality of facility-based care for mothers across Eritrea. The facilities range from smaller health stations to more complex health centers, and finally to the most advanced hospitals (Ghebrehwet et al. 2010). In 2008, a study was conducted at health facilities in Eritrea to determine the quality of maternal health care throughout the country in these settings (Ghebrehwet et al. 2010). In the study, it was concluded that all hospitals and health centers in Eritrea provide Basic Emergency Obstetric Care (bEmOC), while only 11

of the 18 hospitals examined provided Comprehensive Obstetric Emergency Care, which includes caesarian section (Ghebrehiwet et al. 2010). It was also determined that availability of facilities varies geographically (Ghebrehiwet et al. 2010). For instance, the more populated zoba Maekel was shown to have the most health facilities, whereas the Southern Red Sea zoba was shown to be the least populated zone with the least number of health facilities (Ghebrehiwet et al. 2010).

In Eritrea, routine deliveries typically are completed by nurse-midwives, nurses, and associate nurses, while caesarians are always carried out by obstetricians/gynecologists, physicians, or surgeons (Ghebrehiwet et al. 2010). Most health centers or health stations only take routine deliveries and promote basic EmOC; mothers or newborns with complications at these locations are referred to more well-equipped facilities (Ghebrehiwet et al. 2010). Types of EmOC, whether basic or comprehensive, include parenteral antibiotics, parenteral oxytocin, parenteral sedatives and anticonvulsants, manual removal of retained placenta, removal of retained products, assisted vaginal delivery, breech delivery, blood transfusion, caesarian section, magnesium sulfate, and neonatal resuscitation with a bag and mask (Ghebrehiwet et al. 2010). The difference in comprehensive care between health station and hospital is profound for some EmOC treatments; for instance, the percent of hospitals providing assisted vaginal delivery was 94.4% in the study, whereas in health stations the percent providing assisted vaginal delivery was 1.9% (Ghebrehiwet et al. 2010).

Additionally, in terms of essential equipment, it was found that most essential drugs were available at most hospitals; medical supplies including syringes, needles, suture materials, gloves, and soap were available at all health facilities; and it was concluded that health centers and stations were not equipped to the standard of the hospitals (Ghebrehiwet et al. 2010). However, one-third of hospitals did not have the proper equipment to perform complicated procedures, such as an operating table and anesthesia equipment (Ghebrehiwet et al. 2010). Also, all referral hospitals offered a proper and clean washroom for maternity patients; whereas only one-third of community hospitals and two-thirds of health centers and stations had this basic service available (Ghebrehiwet et al. 2010). Additionally, it was found that 54 percent of complications related to birth were treated at the

national referral hospital, and health centers and stations were not treating the correct proportion of these cases (Ghebrehiwet et al. 2010). When health facilities in Eritrea do provide the necessary services, they offer them at night, on weekends, and typically are open from 8:00 AM until 6:00 PM; outpatient care is available for at least 8 hours each day, and in-patient care is available at all times (Ghebrehiwet et al. 2010). Evidently, the smaller health stations lack certain necessary supplies, while hospitals are more properly equipped for expectant mothers.

Some strengths of maternity care identified in Eritrea include a high degree of compliance with standards of care and prevention of infection, sufficient numbers of drugs, supplies, and equipment, availability of staff at all hours, and a high level of patient follow-up and postpartum care (Ghebrehiwet et al. 2010). The study determined that constraints on human resources must be addressed at the health center and station level; the National and Zonal Referral Hospitals perform well but are overloaded with patients, while the lower-level facilities have a low rate of bed occupancy (Ghebrehiwet et al. 2010). Additionally, a shortage of clinical service providers is a major constraint towards effective maternity care and must be addressed (Ghebrehiwet et al 2010).

In addition to increasing service providers and human resources at local health centers and stations, training skilled birth attendants who assist in home births would also greatly reduce the maternal mortality ratio. Having trained birth attendants is especially important during the practice of female genital mutilation (FGM), which is practiced in Eritrea (Mengsteab 2006). FGM is often performed by untrained birth attendants, and complications therefore may result such as urine incontinence if the anterior wall is cut too deeply, or scarring through infibulations of the vagina (Mengsteab 2006). It is essential that birth attendants be trained properly and become skilled, especially in these situations. Typically, women do not choose to have skilled attendants when they have access to them because of the distance they live from health facilities, lack of transport, fees, time demands, literacy status, social factors including lack of decision-making ability in the household and personal assessment of the health facility and staff (Mengsteab 2006). At the community level, traditional birth attendants (TBAs) frequently handle births; however, they are not equipped to treat complications or refer women, and therefore cannot save the lives of women in many

instances (Mengsteab 2006). In a study examining TBAs, out of 26 TBAs interviewed, 20 of these women did not have any previous experience before beginning their profession, and these women therefore learned from their first delivery onwards (Mengsteab 2006). In terms of training, over one-half of the TBAs in the study had training since 1977, and between 1993 and 2003, 11 of the TBAs were given training by the MoH (Mengsteab 2006). Most of the TBAs additionally responded positively when asked about the need for additional training (Mengsteab 2006). Clearly, TBAs need to be properly and frequently trained if they are to continue helping women give birth at the community level, and many of them seem to be responsive to this training.

Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria, and Other Diseases

Target 3: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases

Eritrea has served as a model country in reducing malaria morbidity and mortality, and is clearly on target for accomplishing Target 3 of Goal 6 by 2015; between 1999 and 2003, there was a 63% reduction in malaria cases (Graves 2004). Additionally, during this period the mortality rate decreased from 13.3% to 3.9%, and insecticide-treated bed net (ITN) usage increased from 20% to 63% (Barat 2006). Malaria itself is an enormous economic and social burden to Eritrea (Nyarango et al. 2006). Infective episodes of malaria clearly impact the productivity of the labor force and thus slow overall development within the nation; for instance, each episode of malaria leads to approximately seven to twelve days of lost productivity (Nyarango et al. 2006). Additionally, the cost of treatment is significant financially for Eritrea; with a Gross National Product (GNP) less than 200 USD per capita, the mean expense for treatment of malaria ranges from 2.00 USD per normal case to 7.00 USD for virulent cases (Nyarango et al. 2006). A combination of these factors was a major incentive to reduce malaria incidence in Eritrea (Nyarango et al. 2006).

Previously, the geographic locations in Eritrea in which malaria was endemic included low-lying areas in zoba Gash Barka (Mufunda et al. 2007). Zones labeled as “unstable” included the Southern Red Sea in the eastern lowlands and Maekel in the highlands, and “stable” zones included zobas Anseba, Debub, and the Northern Red Sea (Mufunda et al. 2007). Malaria is most

frequently carried by the *Anopheles* mosquito, and the most virulent form of the malaria-causing protozoan parasite is *Plasmodium falciparum* (EHP 2002). A unique quality that Eritrea possesses in terms of malaria control is that it is mainly arid; therefore mosquito breeding sites are limited and can be more effectively controlled (EHP 2002). Typically, existing preventive measures for malaria include insecticide-treated bed nets (ITNs), which can reduce child mortality by almost 25%; intermittent presumptive treatment of pregnant women, which can reduce low birth weight in newborns and contribute to maternal health after birth; and artemisinin-based combination therapy (ACT) (Barat 2006). Major barriers that Eritrea needed to overcome in its malaria control efforts included insufficient financing, weak health infrastructure, limited skilled human capacity, and poor quality private sector services (Barat 2006).

In accordance with Target 3 of MDG Goal 6, several public health programs and initiatives have proven effective in reducing the morbidity and mortality rates of malaria in Eritrea (Nyarango et al. 2006). These initiatives include the global Roll Back Malaria (RBM) Program, the Abuja Declaration, the Mendefera Declaration, the Environmental Health Project (EHP), the HAMSET Program, and the National Malaria Control Program (NMCP). In 2000 the African Heads of State established the Abuja Declaration, in which the goal of reducing malaria mortality by 50% by 2010 was created (Mufunda et al. 2007). Additionally, the declaration targets specified that African countries under the Abuja Declaration must guarantee that 60% of malaria patients have access to treatment, 60% of individuals at risk for malaria receive periodic prophylaxis, and 60% of those in high-risk groups, including pregnant women and children under five years, be given ITNs by the year 2005 (Mufunda et al. 2007). Within this five-year period between 2000 and 2005, Eritrea successfully met the requirements of the Abuja Declaration by using strategies including vector-control methods, case management, and surveillance (Mufunda et al. 2007).

Additionally, within Eritrea itself, the more rigorous Mendefera Declaration was established by the Ministry of Health and included targets to reduce morbidity and mortality by at least 80% and increase the allocation of ITNs to at least 70% (Mufunda et al. 2007). The NMCP was in effect from 1999 to 2003 and implemented a Five-Year Plan; this plan was funded by partners

of the RBM including the World Health Organization (WHO), the World Bank, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Mufunda et al. 2007, EHP 2002). The EHP, funded by USAID, was established by the Ministry of Health in Eritrea and partnered with the NMCP in order to effectively implement the Five-Year Plan (Barat 2006, EHP 2002).

The NMCP enacted a combination of methods of control (Mufunda et al. 2007). The different control methods put into effect include vector control through ecological management, ITNs along with re-impregnation of the nets, IRS with malathion or dichlorodiphenyl-trichloro-ethane (DDT), and early diagnosis and effective case management (Mufunda et al. 2007). Although control methods were an extremely important facet of the program, the involvement of the community in terms of vector control and case management additionally allowed for the success of the program (Mufunda et al. 2007). Within communities, community health agents (CHAs) were hired and trained in the diagnosis and treatment of malaria, and health workers were re-trained on many levels and were notified of the new drug regimens (Mufunda et al. 2007). Another important aspect of the program was the monitoring of drug resistance, insecticide used for re-impregnation of ITNs, and insecticide used for IRS (Mufunda et al. 2007). Finally, annual reviews were established and were conducted for the NMCP throughout its five-year duration (Mufunda et al. 2007). Due to the efforts of NMCP, the Abuja targets were achieved in terms of both reduction of malaria morbidity and mortality, and ITN and IRS distribution and coverage (Mufunda et al. 2007).

In Eritrea, there was a large reduction in the incidence of malaria in all age groups from 1998 to 2003, with the incidence rate dropping from 6,000 new cases per 100,000 to 1,100 per 100,000 for those under age 5, and for those over age 5 the rate decreased from 5,500 per 100,000 to 1,050 per 100,000; overall, this indicates an 80% reduction in morbidity, which exceeds the 50% Abuja Declaration goal and matches the 80% Mendefera Declaration target (Mufunda et al. 2007). Additionally, the distribution of ITNs and their re-impregnation rose tremendously on an average of 70%, and by 2003 the percentage of households with ITN coverage was 85% in Anseba, 70% in Gash Barka, and 55.6% in Debub, while re-impregnation rates were 93% in Anseba, 76.4% in Gash Barka, and 66.4% in Debub (Mufunda et

al. 2007). The case fatality rate additionally declined between 1998 and 2003 for all age groups (Mufunda et al. 2007). The case fatality rate decreased by 30% in those over age 5 from 1998 to 2001, increased slightly in 2001, and returned to the 2000 levels by 2003; however, in the age group under 5 years, there was a decrease until 2002 where there was an upward spike in the case fatality rate, which may be due to the war with Ethiopia (Mufunda et al. 2007). Regardless, the case fatality rate for this age cohort subsequently dropped to the pre-2002 levels the following year in 2003 (Mufunda et al. 2007). Major factors contributing to the success of this program include political declarations and a strong political commitment by the government, the free distribution of ITNs, the training of CHAs and health workers, and community involvement with vector control (Mufunda et al. 2007).

The EHP played a major guiding role in implementing the NMCP; the EHP provided a staff that was available full-time and helped the NMCP with the identification, mobilization, and financing of technical and programmatic factors (Barat 2006). The EHP, a USAID funded project, founded pilot larval control programs in four villages (EHP 2002). These control programs require local staff members to map breeding sites within 1 km of the village, check the sites on a weekly basis, and use larvicides upon identifying the presence of larvae (EHP 2002). Additionally, EHP aided in the establishment of sentinel sites for surveillance and expanded the surveillance programs in Eritrea (EHP 2002). These programs focused on identifying geographic areas of higher malaria risk in which future surveillance sites could be established, developing models in which malaria transmission can be related to environmental or climatic conditions to forecast possible epidemics, and developing ongoing surveillance programs (EHP 2002). Finally, the EHP helped the MoH train public health technicians in a two-year program which was completed in 2004 (EHP 2002).

Additionally, the HAMSET Program played a large role in malaria control. HAMSET was established in 1999 by the MoH, and was funded with \$40 million provided by the World Bank to control HIV/AIDS, malaria, STIs, and tuberculosis (Barat 2006). The malaria objectives within HAMSET were to target IRS to the highest-risk areas, increase rapid diagnosis and treatment of fever cases, implement environmental management, promote use of ITNs, and strengthen disease surveillance and operational

research (Barat 2006). An important aspect of the program was its horizontal implementation at the zoba and sub-zoba levels; zobas were given finances based on approved annual work plans, and in a joint partnership the NMCP provided technical leadership, set policies and standards, obtained necessities, coordinated partners, and oversaw zoba-level staff (Barat 2006). The efforts of HAMSET in addition to its partner programs were integral to the decreased incidence rate seen in Eritrea in a short period of time.

According to a study conducted by Lawrence M. Barat of the Global Health, Population, and Nutrition Group Academy for Educational Development, many different factors played an important role in Eritrea's success in controlling malaria; these include country context, epidemiologic factors, technical approach, programmatic factors, partnership issues, financing, and world bank factors (Barat 2006). The Eritrean government recognized that malaria was an economic burden, primarily because it affects working-age adults in this region; therefore the highest levels of government gave immense support for malaria programs (Barat 2006). Before the incidence of malaria was lowered, the epidemiology of malaria in Eritrea ranged from moderate to low transmission with pockets of high transmission due to the climate and geography of the region (Barat 2006). In terms of logistics, original strategies such as IRS had focused on vector control and were unsuccessful, whereas new programs implemented a combination of case management and prevention with new strategies such as insecticide-treated bed nets (ITNs) (Barat 2006). Although advised to completely eliminate IRS in phases and adopt artemisinin-based combination therapy, Eritrea instead chose to improve their IRS treatment with chloroquine and sulfadoxine-pyrimethamine, and was able to achieve success through this tactic (Barat 2006).

Additionally, the decentralization of malaria control programs was paramount in allowing Eritrea to reduce its malaria incidence. Before implementing malaria prevention programs, strategies were managed both centrally and vertically, in which the NMCP paid village-level workers to focus primarily on malaria control. Changing its strategy to focus primarily at the zonal level, along with the continual support of the NMCP in providing ITNs, drugs, and insecticides and allocating logistical and technical support to different zones, made the malaria programs a success for Eritrea (Barat 2006). In addition, the program director was

highly skilled, and skilled technical staff members were placed in all zones. Although Eritrea has a much stronger public health infrastructure than other sub-Saharan African countries, those areas targeted by the programs in Eritrea had significantly weaker infrastructures (Barat 2006).

Evidently, Eritrea was successfully able to control the spread of malaria and reduce its incidence to target levels. One of the most important factors contributing to its success is the “full-scale implementation of rapid case management along with a mix of prevention strategies,” instead of focusing only on proper drugs or insecticides (Barat 2006). Additionally, Eritrea enhanced its technical approach by first improving its surveillance system by expanding laboratory capacity and by streamlining, integrating, and computerizing case reporting (Barat 2006). In terms of improving technology, at the sub-national level there was a push to make surveillance data interpretable at this level, and operational research was expanded and helped to update policies (Barat 2006). Partnerships with organization-funded projects such as the EHP played a major role in reducing malaria incidence and improving surveillance, and funding provided by organizations such as the World Bank made the improved and comprehensive malaria control programs successful (Barat 2006).

Eritrea is clearly a success story in terms of malaria incidence reduction; its political and governmental dedication along with its ability to effectively implement proper control programs at the horizontal and community level make it an example to be followed by other African countries struggling to reduce their malaria incidence.

Eritrea has reduced its malaria incidence tremendously; however, malaria has not been completely eliminated, particularly in the western lowlands of the country (The World Bank 2010). For the future, Eritrea should therefore consider more effective methods such as multiple vector control strategies and combining various data from economic and epidemiological sources to understand transmission more thoroughly, and to determine more effective, comprehensive strategies (The World Bank 2010). Additionally, in the future Eritrea needs to obtain longer-term financing to ensure that its effective programs continue the control methods and surveillance systems that have worked to reduce incidence rates (Meky 2008). Furthermore, Eritrea should include evidence-based eradication, spread its programs to other areas of

Africa willing to accept the implementation of the Eritrean model of malaria control, and employ further evaluation and research for continued and more effective eradication measures (Meky 2008).

Concluding Remarks

Overall, Eritrea has made great strides toward achieving the health MDGs by the target year of 2015. Multiple wars with Ethiopia and continued conflict create additional hardship for the nation in terms of development and control of health; considering Eritrea's extremely low GNP, the amount of improvement it has shown in terms of accomplishing the health MDGs demonstrates the dedication and commitment that Eritreans have toward improving the health status of their nation. For some goals, the targets will be met and even surpassed by 2015, while for others the goal targets may not be met if programs are not improved.

Of the three goals, Eritrea is the least accomplished for Goal 5, which encompasses reducing maternal mortality and ensuring access to reproductive services to all who need them. Eritrea has made progress towards this goal and maternal mortality has decreased over time, but much more needs to be done if Eritrea is to meet the 2015 targets and lower its very high maternal mortality ratio. Many factors, especially social factors and a lack of resources, contribute to the pregnancy and delivery issues that result in the majority of maternal deaths. Through this analysis it has been determined that the most important limiting factors for decreasing maternal mortality are a lack of properly trained birth attendants for those women who give birth in the home and a lack of proper obstetric care in health facilities for those women who give birth in institutions. Antenatal care is critical for mothers, and many women do not receive this care and are not educated on pregnancy complications; therefore, Eritrean women need to be properly cared for during pregnancy, especially through integrating antenatal care programs at the community level.

Since many women prefer to deliver at home and it will be quite difficult to change this cultural convention, it would be wise to improve the training of TBAs to match the standards of those birth attendants in the health facilities, and perhaps send attendants from these facilities to travel to villages in order to assist in live births. Many of the TBAs do not have proper experience in birth complications, and this inexperience results in life-or-death

situations; this issue must be addressed through rigorous training and provisions of the proper equipment to the villages that can be used in the home. Finally, postnatal care also must be increased since hardly any of the women giving birth in the home receive this life-saving care. Therefore, birth attendants must be trained, supplies must be increased at the community level, and all women must be given access to the proper antenatal, delivery, and postnatal care, if even at the most basic level. If these provisions are secured, maternal mortality will decrease at a much faster rate and thousands of lives will be saved.

Finally, for Goal 6, Eritrea has been extremely effective in surveillance development and prevention and control of malaria over a relatively short 8-year period. The major factor contributing to this success is the strong governmental and political commitment to lowering the incidence of malaria, which was motivated by the extreme economic burden that Eritrea faces during malaria epidemics. The combination control methods of ITNs, IRS, larvicides, and ecological control coupled with effective combination therapies served Eritrea well, and underneath the new horizontal, decentralized structure of the programs at the zoba level, the strategy was a success. Eritrea should continue to research more effective combinations of control and treatment since malaria has not been completely eradicated from the nation, and it is important to keep the existing incidence rates low to avoid drug resistance and any outbreaks.

With continued commitment to accomplishing the health MDGs, the future appears bright for Eritrea. For Goal 5 Eritrea should create new, effective programs as soon as possible over the next 5 years as the 2015 deadline approaches, and should especially focus on TBAs and providing women with antenatal, pregnancy, and postnatal care at the community level. For Goal 6, Eritrea should continue its current programs and should strive for new and more effective programs and prevention and treatment regimens.

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BARAKA'S *DUTCHMAN*: LIES IN WORDS AND TRUTH IN ACTION

GAELAN JOHNSON (CLA 2012)

Dutchman, by Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones), is a play deeply concerned with the societal construction of façade used to hide one's true self. Clay, the protagonist, and Lula, the antagonist, play their societal roles very well, as an up and coming young black man and a seductive and mysterious white woman. The dialogue between the two characters is forced and feels scripted, and it continues from the beginning of the play until Clay reaches his breaking point from Lula's unceasing and escalating insults and goading. Only until Clay allows his "holy madness" (Bigsby 9) to come out is anything honest said. Clay's sheer anger with white power, society and people is a true part of his "pure heart, the pumping black heart" (765). Though Clay speaks honestly, he doesn't act honestly, in that he doesn't kill Lula as he desires, but only allows himself to slap her so that she will stop talking so that he can speak. He doesn't have the ability to kill her. Therefore, Lula is the character that *acts* honestly in the play when she murders Clay, as this is her true desire. Both Clay and Lula put on "An act." (765), until their truths come out in words and action; they are scripted players. In his way, Jones (soon to be Baraka), makes his political stance that although words can be powerful (in the case of Clay's very moving monologue at the end), action is the truest way to end conflict (in the case of Lula murdering Clay). Only in anger and violence does the true self come out in the eyes of the playwright of *Dutchman*; anything else is a pretense that society has created in an attempt to keep order. The characters are playing the roles they were given in this play of life in New York City in the early 1960s. The play's message argues that until the black man stands up against white power with violence, he will continue to be reduced to stereotypes and in turn, be stifled and murdered by white power.

Dutchman begins with the image of a black man on a subway train looking up to see a white woman through the window, who smiles at him and he smiles back. This is a seemingly normal interaction, though the playwright's very specific stage direction and diction reveals much more than a normal interaction in a New York City subway station. Baraka writes in the

opening block of directions; "*The man looks idly up, until he sees a woman's face staring at him through the window; when it realizes that the man has noticed the face, it begins very premeditatedly to smile*"(756). Two things about this stage direction stick out. One is that the woman, or specifically the woman's face, is reduced to the objectified pronoun *it*. Second, the fact that the smile that appears on the woman's face is premeditated shows that the female character in this play has a goal to achieve. These two noticeable pieces of stage direction come together to portray Lula as a mere catalyst for action. By using the pronoun *it* to describe *her*, she turns into something less than human, which allows her to have less than human ways about her and less than normal human things to say. Overall, this block of stage direction introduces the idea that these characters are playing roles within the assumed reality of the world of the play. Clay's actions after those last directions are as follows; "*The man smiles too, for a moment, without a trace of self-consciousness. Almost an instinctive though undesirable response*" (756). Here Baraka is showing that Clay does not have much control over his action. He is mostly going off muscle memory when he smiles back at the white woman who was staring at him through the window. His response is "instinctive though undesirable," leaving the reader with a character who can't help but act in a way he doesn't want to. When Lula smiles premeditatedly, it causes Clay to smile instinctively. Lula from the start of this play tries to control Clay and his actions and we learn by the end of the play that Lula has in fact been in control of Clay the entire time. Clay plays off her words and actions like any good actor playing his role.

Krasner suggests in the chapter 'Reality and Illusion' in his book *American Drama 1945-2000* that "The play also follows the patterns of the theater of the absurd, calling attention to theatricality and artifice. Lula orchestrates Clay's behavior, instructing him on what to say and how to say it much like a director does with an actor" (69). This is in keeping with the stage directions at the opening and through the rest of the play. Each of Lula's actions and words is very calculated in order to produce a desired effect in Clay. Though the first lines of dialogue between the characters show that she is a coaxing and belittling person, Clay continues to play along in her mysterious game because she is intriguing. First, she accuses him of staring at her, though the reader knows it was indeed she (*it*) that was staring at him. She

then goes on to insult him with the line “Don’t you know what staring means?” (757), which in many situations would be taken as a demeaning slight that questions one’s intelligence. However, Clay doesn’t have a chance to take it that way because Lula is at the ready to follow it up with a sexual accusation: “[I] saw you staring through that window down in the vicinity of my ass and legs” (757). This flirtatious argumentative banter continues and Baraka lets the reader know that Clay “*takes her conversation as pure sex talk*” (757). Lula is able to veil her insults and belittlement of Clay beneath her sexuality and mystery.

Towards the end of Scene I Lula flat out states, “It’s your turn, and let those be your lines” (759). Baraka is finished with simply toying with the idea of Lula as the director. He clearly states it for the audience that Lula is directing Clay in asking her to the party, which in turn means asking her to bed. Clay is falling right into her trap; “she makes use of her sexuality and audacity to penetrate Clay’s defenses. She inveighs against Clay’s need for acceptance, using epithets and even racial slurs” (Krasner 69). Lula is trained in the art of seduction, but it is not the standard coquettishness of an everyday interaction. Her flirting comes in the form of insulting and stereotyping Clay. He certainly takes the bait, which is the basis for the entire play. But why does Clay allow himself to be insulted and why does he desire this strange woman on the subway?

The construction of a white woman and a black man in a sexual relationship is one that has been thought of throughout history as utterly taboo. The white woman is presented as the pure and untouchable, while the black man has been classically seen as an animalistic and virile figure. Baraka must have had cases in mind, like that of Emmett Till, when creating the plotline of *Dutchman*, in which the black man is murdered for interaction with a white woman. In 1955 two white men from Mississippi “beat and taunted him [Till] for several hours for daring to speak to a white woman” (Metress 88). Till was from Chicago and just fourteen years old, when after being beaten and belittled, he was murdered by these two white men (who faced no charges for the murder) for simply saying hello to a white woman. This tragic case happened not ten years before *Dutchman* premiered. The taboo of black men stealing the innocence of white women was alive and well at the time Baraka was writing. This is flipped on its head in *Dutchman*. As Bigsby points out in *Modern American Drama*,

“Given the history of black-white relations in America she [Lula] represents the sexual temptation once punishable by death” (286). Would not Clay be achieving something progressive by sleeping with this white woman and would that not explain his attraction to her? Would he not be asserting his masculinity and showing the white world the virility of black men? The simple answer to these questions is yes, but what is troubling is the way that Clay’s masculinity is presented.

Within the first few minutes of dialogue, Lula has already insulted Clay’s masculinity. After Lula accuses Clay of trying to pick her up and he responds “Is that the way I look?” (757), she bitingly responds, “You look like you been trying to grow a beard. That’s exactly what you look like. You look like you live in New Jersey with your parents and you are trying to grow a beard. That’s what” (757). Matthew Reborn asserts in his essay “Flaying Dutchman: Masochism, Minstrelsy, and the Gender Politics of Amiri Baraka’s *Dutchman*” that “For a paragon of manhood, Clay is easily infantilized and effeminized; his inability to grow a beard and his living with his parents point to a man, in Baraka’s terms, that is less than a man” (803). Clay is portrayed as a weak person, in that Lula asserts that he is less than a man, but also in the way that Baraka has him so passively respond. Clay is, according to the stage direction, “*embarrassed...but also intrigued by what the woman is saying,*” and he meekly replies “Really? I look like that?” (758). Clay is unable to respond to Lula with anything more than a pitiful inquiry of whether or not what she said was true. Lula highlights Clay’s inability to stand up for himself.

What is more is that when Lula asks Clay if she is exciting him, he replies, “Right. That’s not what’s supposed to happen?” (758). In fact, no, that is not what is supposed to happen in Baraka’s view of racist societal standards. Black men are not supposed to be excited by white women because they are not supposed to be involved with white women. Beyond the societal implications of that line, within the body of the play it reinforces that Lula is directing the actor Clay. He is basically asking what he should be doing by her standards. She answers with “How do I know?” (758). This is a very facetious answer, however, because she does know. She seems to know exactly how this interaction is supposed to play out. Following her claim that she doesn’t know whether or not Clay should be excited, she, like the original temptress Eve, offers him an apple. “Lula: You want this?/ Clay:

Sure.” (758). Clay takes the apple without hesitation, but the apple stands in for so much more than an apple. Of course the biblical imagery is pervasive and the idea that Clay’s taking the knowledge from Lula is the catalyst for his tragic downfall is obvious. Though these images are striking and interesting, that is not the focus of this inquiry. Instead I would focus on the apple simply showing that Clay is ready to take on what Lula wants to give him, whether it is an apple, her body, or more importantly, her opinions and beliefs about Clay as a person.

At this point in the play the reader or audience is privy to the fact that Lula is in complete control of this situation and that she is directing the way the conversation is going. Conversely, Clay is seen as an extremely passive character in the way that he allows Lula to lead him. He takes the bait; he takes the apple and his fate is virtually sealed. However, the power struggle between these characters is much deeper than just the action that occurs. Their dialogue is of great importance and the ways in which they speak clue the reader in to what lies beneath the surface of these characters. “Lula is aggressive, Clay is genteel. Because of an insidious design intrinsic in American society, Clay’s models are puritanical and Victorian, whereas Lula’s are whimsical and formless. What Baraka is saying here is that the freedom of whites is boundless, while Blacks are condemned to suffer the fury of that freedom” (Martin, 62). Truly, Clay’s manners and modes of speech are formal and polite, and not very hip at that. “Oh boy. Wow, now I admit I was looking in your direction,” (757) is a prime example of Clay’s manner of speech. He uses the phrase ‘oh boy’ like a surprised ‘50s sitcom character and the rest of the line is conciliatory and polite, while also making him sound fairly whitewashed. These are not the words of the black poet that Clay states he is, and Baraka shows us this poet later when Clay delivers his monologue. In keeping with his not so masculine tendencies, his diction is very polite. Lula tells him, “Everything you say is wrong. That’s what makes you attractive” (760). It seems that everything Clay says is wrong because he leaves himself open to her attacks. He does not defend himself and he allows her to continually belittle him. This is what Lula finds attractive; his unnecessary politeness and acquiescence to all of Lula’s whims make him desirable to this white woman. Even when she shockingly says “I bet you never once thought that you were a black nigger. A black Baudelaire,” Clay’s only response is “That’s right” (760). A two-word response is all that Clay can muster to the

most offensive, historically, politically and socially charged thing that Lula has said so far. In response to this Lula rescinds her previous statement and says, “Boy you are corny. I take back what I said before. Everything you say is not wrong, it’s perfect” (760). Clay does say the perfect thing in Lula’s aggressive eyes; he basically says nothing at all, which is exactly what she is looking for.

She is testing Clay for his acting skills, and he is passing with flying colors. He acts politely and does not put up a fight, as he should. Clay is not the only actor, though, because Lula, as noted before, has been acting this entire time. Lula admits, though in typical Lula fashion she takes it back a few breaths later, the reason she acts as if she’s on television: “That’s because I’m an actress” (760). Like an actress’ goals, Kumar says of the antagonist of *Dutchman* that “Lula is a strategist whose every word and move, in retrospect, are loaded with significance. Her strategies are concerned with, and belong to, the realm of looking, appearance, and representation of self and others” (275). What is most interesting in this claim is how concerned Lula is with the representation of others, not just herself. She tries to mold Clay (showing how appropriate Baraka’s name choice is) into the representation of the black man that she sees appropriate, which is that of the calm, acquiescent and polite black man. She tells him that she wants him to ask her to go to the party with her, but not only that, she tells him the exact phrase she wants him to use to ask her. When he repeats it slightly incorrectly, she corrects him, “say my name twice before you ask, and no huh’s” (760). Lula makes it so she is in complete control.

Though Lula stereotypes Clay throughout their dialogue and tries to shape his words and actions, she also knows (just as Baraka wants his audience to know) that Clay is so much more than that. “You’re a murderer Clay, and you know it” (761). The trouble and the conflict come from the fact that Clay does not know he is a murderer. If he did, then maybe he would have had the courage to murder Lula as he desired, but instead he returns to his acquiescent and polite self at the end of the play before he himself is murdered. Figuring out what keeps Clay from acting out as the murderer that he could be is what makes interpreting Baraka’s play so interesting. Why does Clay return to the black man that white society (Lula) has molded him into instead of taking action when he finally allows his passion to be apparent?

Words are very comforting to Clay. He uses them rather than action. "As Baraka has his black protagonist confess in *Dutchman*, there is a seductive quality in language. Words have a detachment from experience. They are not the thing itself. They stand in the place of action" (Bigsby 9). Rather than touching Lula back when she touches him, he talks to her. Clay attempts to rationalize everything that goes on between him and Lula, which stops him from acting out against her. "He never directly counterattacks. He acts as if he accepts the premises from which she conducts her attack" (Ceynowa 17). Though they are of different races, these two characters apparently come from the same social circles: they are both young New York City intellectuals and they both appear to be liberals. They are able to act out these scenes because, as Ceynowa points out, they "function on the same wave length" (17). They talk and pretend and lie and deceive together for most of the play. Clay is not willing to do much of anything to contradict Lula's stereotypes of his character. He says to her, "I thought you knew everything about me?" (760) and she begins to ignore him, and to draw her back in he says "You said you knew my type" (760). Lula responds "...I know you like the palm of my hand" (760). In order to gain back her attention, he concedes that she knows him. He is willing to sacrifice his integrity as a human being and a black man to continue his conversation with a woman who has done little more than reduce him to a racial stereotype. As Bigsby says, "there is a seductive quality in language," and Clay is drawn to it. He cannot seem to end his conversation with this white woman on the train. He is a poet feeding off of this banter that is somewhat offensive and clearly scripted. The scripted life continues into the second scene.

From the start of Scene II, Lula is plotting out exactly what will happen that evening. Most notably she tells Clay that once they arrive at her home "we'll sit and talk endlessly, endlessly" (762). Even in the fantasy that is being created, Clay is left to only talk and not physically do anything. After this description continues, Clay asks, "And is that all? The whole grand tour?" to which Lula replies, "Not at all. You'll say to me very close to my face, many, many times, you'll say, even whisper, that you love me" (762). Though Lula says that all they will talk about is his manhood, Clay doesn't even get to physically exhibit this manhood or even physically "love" Lula. All Clay gets to do is continually tell her that he loves her. Clay is reduced to an

immobile figure that can do nothing more than talk endlessly, and that is in fact most of what he does in *Dutchman*. The catalyst that drives Clay to do anything more than mildly suggest that what Lula says is incorrect, "Plantations didn't have any wire" (763), is when Lula has gotten up and starts to dance. The change from sitting and conversing to Lula dancing and singing drives Clay to protest more than he had before.

Though it is important to note that the shift from stillness to mobility on Lula's part is one of the causes for Clay's outburst of honesty, the fact that others are present on the train seems to embarrass Clay. He does not want to dance with her or "rub bellies" (763), especially in front of a train full of people. Lula does not stop prodding him about it until words are not enough and he grabs her. Bigsby explains, "They [words] have a coherent structure which may be at odds with the unregulated passion which generates them. To that extent they are a betrayal, representing a kind of sanity when a holy madness is required. In the case of Clay, in *Dutchman*, the safety that he seeks in word is finally only securable in action" (9). He wishes to hide in his words, in Lula's words, but when Lula moves beyond mere words Clay is forced to act in order to feel safety once again. His manner of speech drastically changes as well.

When Clay shouts...his speech has moved from a meek, passive tone, to a heated, aggressive one. Moreover, this change in tone is accompanied by a drastic change in rhetoric. While Clay addressed Lula as 'lady' and 'ma'am' at the beginning of the play, after he has lashed out at her he calls her a 'whore' twice... (Rebhorn 802).

He begins to change over from his "puritanical" diction when he is pushed by Lula. He screams at her in response to her screaming and he yells "Lula....you dumb bitch" (764). Clay has been driven out of his calmly, conversing comfort zone when Lula thrusts herself into the middle of the train and slings racial slurs at him. The phrase that really seems to push Clay over the edge is "Uncle Tom. Thomas Woolly-Head" (764).

Why, out of all the insults that she has slung at him, is this the one that puts Clay over the edge? Martin explains that:

The phrase 'Uncle Tom'... is an esoteric expression, a term for the exclusive use of Black folk; it connotes an alienation, a distinction in principles. But within the narrow

confines of that distinction comes a contingency. Essential in the word is the prior condition of community, a group or a person. Without that condition the word has no meaning at all. Thus, paradoxically, a Black person so designated, deservedly or not, is not only estranged from a people of whom he is one, but at the same time he is inextricably bound to them. (62)

Baraka presents Clay as perhaps deserving this title since Clay is obedient to the white character with whom he interacts. He is acquiescent and polite and he does little to defend himself. He sympathizes with whites because he is of the middle class, a predominately white part of society. Lula understands that Clay is attempting to be part of mainstream American culture through his acquisition of higher education. She, as a racist, thinks she knows Clay's type exactly, as we have seen before, and wishes to expose how whitewashed he is. Similarly, beginning in the 1960s and on, many conservative, white politicians believed that they could predict the way the rise of a black middle class would affect politics. "They [white conservatives] assumed the growth of the black middle class since the 1960s and the resulting schism between middle-class and lower-class African Americans undermined any possibility for a coherent black political agenda – or should have" (Brown 203). Conservatives were surprised to see trends at the polls that did not support their assumptions. Equally, Lula is testing her assumptions about Clay by calling him "Uncle Tom," testing to see if he is as whitewashed as she assumed and if his middle class background is enough to align him with a racist white woman. Clay does not pass the test because as Martin has explained, "Uncle Tom" is not a phrase for white people to use, and thus Lula has no right to call Clay such a name. Clay may be middle class, but he is still a black man first, a point that Baraka emphasizes in the following moments of the play.

After Lula calls him "Uncle Tom," Clay goes into his impassioned monologue about how Lula doesn't know him at all and that "Murder. Just murder! Would make us all sane" (765). But Clay does not murder Lula, or anyone for that matter, though it is clearly stated in his monologue that he would like to kill her. He is not able to do so because he is held back. He is held back by his poetic words. He thinks they are enough, but Baraka points out that words are not enough. Clay can either be an "Uncle Tom" figure and continue living in a world controlled by white people, or

he can take action and kill those who would kill him first. He does not commit to either of these roles and thusly must be murdered. Lula's tone, much like Clay's, drastically changes at the end of the play. She is far less wild and keeps her diction simple, "I've heard enough" (766), as if to say "okay, little boy, play time is over;" and it is. She murders Clay, and the other passengers, both white and black, assist her in throwing his body into the abyss of the subway tunnel. This chorus is comprised of both blacks and whites, as Baraka wants to show that all races can fall into playing their scripted roles. In this case, the chorus' role is to discard the body of a man who disrupted his own role of the acquiescent black man when he had an outburst of anger. They play their role of the assisting chorus, just as Clay and Lula have played theirs so well. Though Clay did slap Lula, he immediately desists from physical violence and uses his words to express his sentiment.

Abandoning both his disguise as would-be white man and the language which has been his protection, he strikes her. Right is in the act. But his own ambivalent loyalties draw him back to the word he has abandoned for action. There is, however, to be no such escape. She kills him... (Biggsby 286).

By the end of the play, Baraka leaves the reader and audience with the sense that there is no middle ground for the Black man in America. He must be violent or the violent will of those who wish to keep the status quo will get him first.

In conclusion, *Dutchman* is a play that has a great deal of conflict lurking beneath the surface. Clay's immobility and Lula's ability to murder show Baraka's emerging stance that black men must stand up and fight against whites or they will be killed. Lula, white power, dominates and directs the black character throughout the play. The playwright shows the way in which races play their roles in order to keep order, and how this can so easily break down. When it does, the black man has two choices: to acquiesce or to kill. Clay chooses neither and thusly he is killed. *Dutchman* is about falsehood in words and truth in action. Though Lula is presented as a devilish character, she is also presented as an honest character because she enacts what she desires. Clay does not, and he is left to rot in the tunnels underneath New York City. Within this one-act play, Baraka illustrates that relying on words to settle race relations is relying on lies and that truth will only prevail when the black man takes action.

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**A PRECIOUS TEXT: NEW PRIMARY EVIDENCE FOR THE MISSAL AS AN
INSTRUMENT OF LAY LITURGICAL UNDERSTANDING IN EARLY
MODERN CHRISTIAN EUROPE**

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Of paramount interest to religious historians of the early modern period has been the exact nature of the laity's relationship to the official ceremony of the Church—the liturgy. In particular, scholars question the manner in which the laity participated in the Mass and their understanding of the religious significance of the liturgy. Part of the mystery surrounding these questions arose from the dearth of primary evidence documenting the laity's perspective; few journals and personal accounts survived, and those that did, did not provide much insight into the average lay experience, having been written by members of the middling and upper classes. The relationship between the laity and the liturgy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was further obscured through the deliberate efforts of zealous adherents in both the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation camps to undermine the validity of their opponent's ideological arguments. Vicious attacks on the opposing ideology's capacity to elevate the spiritual understanding of the average layperson (irrespective of education, wealth, or social standing) abounded and ultimately led to questions of the need for the laity in Christian worship at all.

Thus, a historiographic tradition emphasizing the religious and liturgical ignorance of anyone outside the clerical realm emerged and came to dominate scholarship on the subject. Recently, though, a second school of historiography has developed challenging this interpretation. This new scholarship, spearheaded by historians such as Virginia Reinburg and Eamon Duffy, posits that the laity derived significance and meaning from the invocations and the rituals of the Mass, despite being granted a limited officially sanctioned role. Counter to the established historiography, the laity was capable of and did achieve an understanding of the liturgy, both within and without the confines of the church proper and independent of the clergy's influence. While a tantalizing and ultimately polarizing argument, at present there are two weaknesses that prevent this newer historiography from becoming as widely-accepted as the trenchant historical

interpretation. First, the written evidence on which it is currently based is limited in scope, consisting primarily of lay prayer books. Though these sources are of doubtless importance to the foundation of Reinburg's and Duffy's theses, the new historical interpretation would be significantly bolstered and perhaps achieve wider acceptance if it were not so dependent on a single type of primary written evidence. Thus, the discovery and analysis of alternative sources would not only represent a major advance in the field but also a major blow to the critics. Second, despite the profusion of extant prayer books, nevertheless there remains a distinct lack of primary evidence demonstrating that the laity not only read the official liturgy from the missal itself—without being filtered through the words and the perspective of the clergy as in the prayer books—but also were able to understand and to interpret it on their own.

Fortunately for the newer historiography, previously unknown primary evidence in the form of a 1594 *Missale Romanum* from the Drew University Maser Collection has recently been found that serves to at least mitigate the aforementioned deficiencies: filling the gaping hole in the evidential foundation by working in concert with the prayer books and, crucially, providing an example of the much sought evidence of at least a single layperson's direct interaction with the liturgy on a personal and intimate level without the interference of the dogmatic precepts of the rigid clerical framework.

In order to fully comprehend the importance of this new evidence, a fairly brief but thorough discussion and comparison of the two competing historiographies is necessary. Since the Reformation, the perception of the relationship between the liturgy and the laity has been dominated by the belief that the laity played no active role in the celebration of the Mass and were, in essence, non-essential spectators. This view is espoused by Senn and Kwatera in their article on the Roman Catholic liturgy for *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*:

Devotional practices on the part of clergy and laity alike reflected an understanding of the Mass not as the communal action of a gathered assembly celebrating God's marvelous deeds in Jesus Christ, but rather as a private ritual performed by the priest for the benefit of a passive audience. Similarly, the Divine Office (the church's official prayer marking the hours of the day and night) had

become the highly complex and exclusive preserve of clergy and [the] religious known as the 'breviary.' (Senn)

In this respect, Senn and Kwatera echo the general consensus of numerous religious historians; the priest was the true celebrant and the laity, confined beyond the choir screen and far-removed from the sanctity of the altar and the mysteries present upon it, were alien beings not fit to participate directly in the wonders of the liturgy. This physical and, consequently, spiritual separation of the congregants is also mentioned by Virginia Reinburg, one of the champions of the new historiography, in her article *Liturgy and the Laity in Late Medieval and Reformation France*: "The architectural setting alone suggests a great distance between the clergy on the altar and the laity in the nave of the church. Some parish churches had choir screens, stone or wood grilles that would have obstructed the laity's view of the priest's actions at the altar" (Reinburg, "Liturgy" 526-547). Churches, by their very design, have suggested to historians that the laity was segregated and alienated from the spiritual world of the Mass, a perception further reinforced by the official language of the Mass and the actions of the priest. As he describes it, "The mass was recited in Latin. The priest conducted most of the ritual with his back turned to the congregation," (Reinburg, 526-547). Considering all this evidence, it is certainly not surprising that both "sixteenth century critics and modern historians have seen a rift between clerical and lay experience of the late medieval mass" (Reinburg, "Liturgy" 526-547).

Yet, despite the perception that "even though the Mass was held to be the worship of the entire church, the solemn High Mass closely resembled the celebration by the priest alone," new evidence and scholarship has revealed a much different view of late medieval lay worship that demonstrates the high level of direct involvement and concern the typical parishioner had in his or her religious life (Reinburg, "Liturgy" 526-547). In fact, many of the same arguments that were formerly presented as evidence for the "impoverish[ment]" of the laity are now being interpreted as indicative not only of their desire for a richer religious experience but also of their concerted efforts to achieve it (Senn). For example, Eamon Duffy in his book *The Stripping of the Altars*, argues that,

The screen itself was both a barrier and no barrier. It was not a wall but rather a set of windows, a frame for the

liturgical drama, solid only to waist-height, pierced by a door wide enough for ministers and choir to pass through and which the laity themselves might penetrate on certain occasions... Even the screen's most solid section, the dado, might itself be pierced with squints, to allow the laity to pass visually into the sanctuary at the sacring. (Duffy 91-130)

Thus, the impediment of the rood screen can be considered to be no impediment at all. It was a physical barrier that could be and often was penetrated visually, physically, and spiritually. According to Duffy, "this penetration was a two-way process: if the laity sometimes passed through the screen to the mystery, the mystery sometimes moved out to meet them" (Duffy 91-130). When analyzed from this perspective, the architectural evidence supporting the older historiographic interpretation is irreparably undermined. In fact, examples of lay-centric and even lay-built architectural elements abound, such as the nave altars located in the various side chapels of the great churches. Rather than being removed from the congregants, these altars were intimate, personal structures to which individuals could relate directly. Often, "the laity controlled [and even] owned these altars" and "the liturgy celebrated at these altars reflected the greater degree of lay involvement possible at them" (Duffy 91-130).

Not only does the newer historiography refute the perceived physical and spiritual segregation of the laity, it also challenges the older historiography's view of the congregants as a herd of mindless sheep. This view was initiated by the heirs of the Reformation on both sides of the debate who wanted to separate themselves from the pre-Reformation church and did so by disparaging almost all aspects of it, including the role of the laity. According to Reinburg, "only from the point of view of the Protestant and Catholic reformers and their intellectual descendants does lay liturgical experience appear flawed" (Reinburg, "Liturgy" 526-547). Through lay prayer books and expositions of the Mass (all written in the vernacular), the laity created their own realm of religious comprehension that was parallel to the doctrinally-sanctioned liturgy and yet was simultaneously distinct and separate from it. This lay-generated liturgical understanding forms the crux of the new historiography. Reinburg argues that,

ceremonial elements of the mass closely resembled non-liturgical ceremonies even peasants and artisans would have known. The mass meant what it did to lay participants at least in part because it was conducted in a ritual language of gestures and symbols they knew from secular life. ("Liturgy" 526-547)

Perhaps the most prolific evidence in support of the new historiography is the multitude of lay prayer books that have survived. Though these texts are not of lay origin, their widespread popularity and longevity is still a testament to the laity's desire for a deeper understanding and relationship to the liturgy. According to Duffy, "texts to assist the devout laity to a fuller participation in the Mass were produced throughout the later Middle Ages" (Duffy 91-130). Based on the content of these prayer books, the new historiography suggests that "not only [did] priest and people focus attention on different parts of the liturgy; they also assign[ed] a very different meaning to those parts" (Reinburg, "Liturgy" 526-547). When viewed in these terms, "the mass [becomes] a series of collective devotions and ritual actions" that formed the core of the lay experience and interpretation of the liturgy (Reinburg, "Liturgy" 526-547). While the clergy focused primarily on those aspects of the mass that were given special attention in the liturgy (the Missal), "the laity's mass was less sacrifice and sacrament than a communal rite of greeting, sharing, giving, receiving, and making peace" (Reinburg, "Liturgy" 526-547). To the laity, the liturgy represented a framework, a stage on which social conventions and order could be played out and reinforced, thereby binding the community together and healing rifts that might have been formed during the course of their secular lives.

As evidenced by this analysis, the new historiographical interpretation not only is logical in its construction but also has a significant evidential foundation to support it, including architectural clues, lay prayer books, and expositions of the Mass, each of which serve to underscore a separate and unique lay understanding of the liturgy in which the laity was not a passive but an active participant. Proponents of the older historiographical interpretation, however, continue to attack the newer historiography, arguing that the distinct uniformity of the primary written evidence supporting the new interpretation, consisting almost exclusively of prayer books, is indicative of its limited

scope and applicability. Critics also argue that, while there certainly seems to be evidence for a type of lay understanding of the liturgy that was rooted in the laity's secular experiences, this is hardly indicative of lay comprehension or even awareness of the true religious meaning of the liturgy; what was presented in prayer books for lay consumption is often considered to be nothing more than doctrinal pabulum that was mechanically internalized with little reflection and which did nothing to ameliorate the "laity's malnutrition" in matters of religious/theological understanding (Senn).

Significantly, what neither critics nor proponents of the new historiography are aware of, however, is that in the Maser Collection of the Drew University Methodist Archives there exists a 1594 edition of the *Missale Romanum* that, in an admittedly limited but nonetheless significant capacity, supports the new historiographical interpretation and provides a serious challenge to the arguments against it. Through its physical characteristics and extensive evidence of readership, this volume provides a crucial example of a direct relationship between at least one (likely) lay person and the officially-sanctioned liturgy (in this case, the Tridentine Missal), and reveals the active study and interpretation of the meaning of the text by someone that was probably outside the realm of the clergy.

Translating the dedicatory inscription from the original Latin, this copy of the *Missale Romanum* is revealed to be "The Roman Missal, restored by the decrees of the Sacred Council of Trent, Edited by the command of Pius V, Pontifex Maximus with certain additions to the Sacred Offices from the precepts of our servant of God Pope Sixtus V. Antwerp From the Officina Plantiniana By the lesser John Moretus 1594 With permission/privilege of the Pontifex Maximus and the Catholic Kings" (*Missale Romanum*). While this dedication and the scriptural body of the work is typical of Roman Missals both of the period and the subsequent three hundred twenty six years ("there was no new edition of the Roman missal until 1920") ("Missals"), this particular volume is unique in almost every other respect. With its lavish decoration, size, and extensive evidence of readership, it is a testament to at least one person's desire to possess, study, and preserve the work for his or her personal edification and pleasure.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of this copy of the *Missale Romanum* is the enormous, and some may say extravagant, care and expense that was lavished on its binding, hardware and decoration. While the paper and ink used in the body of the book appear to be of a fairly typical grade, the covers are of high-quality vellum, closed with two gilt-bronze clasps, and embellished with exquisitely executed, full-color depictions of St. Michael (front cover) and St. George (back cover). Though the Drew University catalog lists both these images as “depicting St. George and the dragon” (*Missale Romanum*), if we examine Plates 108 and 109 from Duffy’s *The Stripping of the Altars* we find almost exact likenesses of these images, down to the minutest details such as the orientation of the figures and their dress, from the north and south altar screens at Ranworth that were painted sometime in the 1470s (Duffy 91-130). It is not surprising that these images should have been included on an object intended for personal devotion and study, since, as Duffy attests, these depictions represent “...a belief in the communion of the saints, the victory of good over evil, and a sense of being surrounded and assisted by the ‘whole company of heaven’” (91-130). For both the worshippers at Ranworth and the reader of this text, these images were a source of comfort and consolation.

Nevertheless, the identification of St. George and the similarities between these images and those at Ranworth presents an interesting historical conundrum. St. George is normally associated with the English Christian tradition. Yet, according to Theodore Low de Vinne in his *A Printer’s Paradise*, the founder of the Officina Plantiniana (the publisher of this edition), Christopher Plantin, was closely associated with the Catholic King of Spain who “commanded him to print new service books for the Church” (De Vinne). Plantin’s heirs, including Balthazar and John Moretus II The Younger, were “for more than two hundred years... the exclusive makers of the liturgical books used in Spain and its dependencies” (De Vinne). Furthermore, prominent architectural and art historians, such as Aymer Vallance in his landmark work *English Church Screens*, have suggested that the Ranworth St. Michael and St. George stand “absolutely alone and apart, belonging to no British [art] school whatever” (Vallance 59-60) Indeed,

the St. Michael, debonair and fantastic, as he strides jauntily amid the serpent’s coils, is unique in England. The

gaiety of his dancing draperies and the glitter of his dazzling gems are altogether of the south, Latin, and is unlike the bleak and staid austerity of English work as could well be. The prototype of the Ranworth St. Michael, however, is actually to be found in an altar-piece attributed to a Catalan master, Ramon de Mur, at Penafel, in the province of Barcleona. Not to mention minor features, the pose, though reversed, is identical in both cases, and another singular detail, the Hydra-headed monster, occurs in both. (Vallance 59-60)

Thus, even the work's decoration suggests a decidedly Catholic influence, both in its creation and perhaps in its ownership and use.

These facts, along with the 1594 date of publication, pose an interesting question: why was a Roman Catholic Missal, which was originally published and intended for distribution in the Catholic empire of Spain and featuring Catholic iconography, possibly residing and being used in post-Reformation England, long after the establishment of the staunchly Anglican reign of Elizabeth I? Was this book a recusant text, a symbolic touchstone of religious and political defiance, and therefore cherished and protected, thus ensuring its survival?

While the work's decoration may have simply been chosen for aesthetic reasons, especially considering the fame and recognition throughout England of the Ranworth screens, a definitive answer to these questions may never be known. Nonetheless, the importance of the decoration should not be underestimated. Though the Roman Missal was intended primarily for clerical use, the choice of a dark indigo ground for the illustrations on this particular copy is indicative of the wealth and social status of the individual or the society that ordered it or at least had it bound in this manner, a conclusion supported by the presence of a prominent heraldic shield, consisting of three bendlets of bright crimson, on the spine (*Missale Romanum*). It is unlikely that a Missal meant for use in a church, where it would undergo significant daily use and possibly abuse, would have had such pains taken to decorate it. Of course, further investigation of the bindings is required in order to ascertain whether they are contemporary to the publication, to place the artistic style of the illustrations more firmly in a single historical and regional context, and to determine the provenance of the piece including whether

the heraldic symbols are merely decorative or are associated with a family who may have owned this particular copy.

The second most-striking aspect of this Roman Missal is its compact size. Measuring approximately 2¼" x 4¾" x 8", it fits easily in the hand (*Missale Romanum*). The fact that it is so small is another, perhaps stronger, indicator that it likely was made for use as an object of personal study and devotion rather than as a presentation work for display on the lectern in a great church. The wear patterns on the back and spine of the book, along with the left front edge (*Missale Romanum*), seem to bear out this hypothesis as these areas would have received the greatest contact with the palm and fingers if the book was held by the hand in the typical manner, thus producing the observed degradation of the surface.

Lastly, and most importantly for the support of the new historiographic interpretation, there is significant evidence of readership present throughout the text. Aside from the wear present on the front cover resulting in flaking of the blue ground that was arrested via an application of varnish at some point during its lifetime, there is yellowing and wear on the lower right edge of most of the pages where they were turned, along with a wax burn on the right side through the first six pages. Rips and tears are present where most of the contact was made with the pages and several modern, conservation-grade reinforcements have been made. While these signs are all indicative that this copy has been used during its lifetime, the most important evidence are the inscriptions written in Latin throughout the work with a type of iron-gall ink and quill stylus. It is possible that at least two different readers could have marked this text. The first has a very heavy, yet fluid hand that splayed the tines of the quill nib, producing a characteristic parallel-line mark. The second is a much tighter, smaller, and more precise hand that delivered a firm, dark line with no breaks. The first hand appears only twice toward the beginning of the text in the "Calendaria." The remainder of the marks are in the second hand. Of course, it is possible that the two hands are actually the same and simply that a newly-sharpened quill with a different ink of higher iron content, thereby producing the darker lines, was used after the marks in the "Calendaria" were made. An analysis of the handwriting would be necessary to ascertain their relation to each other.

The inscriptions throughout the text consist primarily of labels attached to certain passages of text. For example, in the section headed “Dominica quarta de Adventi” on page 17 next to “Lectio Epistole beáti Pauli Apóstoli ad Corinthios” is written “1. Cor. 4.” (*Missale Romanum*). This indicates that the reader was identifying this particular passage of the Apostle Saint Paul’s Epistle to the Corinthians as coming from 1 Corinthians, verse 4. Most of the other notations, of which there are at least a hundred, are of this nature and suggest that the reader was, at most, analyzing the text and identifying religious/theological connections between the different elements of script and, at least, marking his or her favorite passages. In either case, these annotations show a concerted and conscientious effort on the part of the reader to understand and connect with the liturgy as presented in its fully-developed form in the Missal.

This connection between the reader and work is revealed most completely, however, in the inscriptions found at the end of the work. Far more than just simple reference marks, these are complete, multiple-line inscriptions that appear to be copies of various prayers that would have been familiar to the reader from his or her daily religious experiences. Judging from the frequent references to “Jesu Christii,” and the final “Pater noster. Ave Maria” (*Missale Romanum*), the first two inscriptions are certainly the “Our Father” and the “Hail Mary.” The final inscription references the “santa Romana ecclesia,” the Holy Roman Church, and the “curia militantia” (*Missale Romanum*), the militant or warlike court, and is probably a version of the Creed. Unfortunately, the handwriting, which seems to be a mixture of Roman and Greek lettering, is difficult to read and requires more study to discern the complete text of the prayers and to provide positive identifications.

Taken as a whole, the evidence of the 1594 copy of the *Missale Romanum* in the Drew University Maser Collection provides support for the modern interpretation of the lay-liturgy relationship and serves to counter several of the major criticisms of this new historiography. Its extensive decoration and manageable size are indicative of its intent and use as a tool for personal devotion and study and the numerous annotations and markings by one or several readers bear out this conclusion and provide crucial insights into the mindset of the readers and how they approached the liturgy in its unadulterated form. Admittedly

though, this edition of the *Missale Romanum* is not a perfect piece of primary evidence and therefore more of it cannot be made than is justified. First, the exact readership is still unknown. Considering the expense of the volume and that there is not only *written* evidence of readership, but that that evidence is also in Latin, this volume was probably owned by someone of significant means who possessed at least a rudimentary (and likely far more extensive) education. Thus, it cannot be considered indicative of the average lay experience. Second, there are unresolved issues of its provenance. Does it really possess an English heritage and, if so, how did it get to England and in what capacity was it used? For that matter, was it really owned by a member of the laity? Hopefully, further research into the heraldic symbolism can serve to answer some of these questions and future scholarship may help to reveal the origins of its distinctive decorations. Last, but certainly not least, this is but a single example; unless more Missals with copious written evidence of readership and traceable provenances are found, lay prayer books will continue to be the dominant source of primary evidence in support of the new historiography. Thus, while it is neither irrefutable nor devoid of flaws and shortcomings, the Drew copy of the 1594 *Missale Romanum* nevertheless represents a document of significant importance. Though it does not completely undermine the older historiography, with its unique place in the array of primary evidence and its extensive evidence of readership, this copy of the Roman Missal not only serves to bolster the modern perspective of a late medieval lay-liturgy relationship in which the laity were active, thinking participants, but also begins to counter the criticisms that the new historiography's primary evidence is limited in scope and lacking in examples of lay readership and analysis of the officially-sanctioned liturgy.

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ADVOCACY FOR FREDERICK M. ALEXANDER'S TECHNIQUE

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During the early part of the 20th century, an Australian actor, Frederick Mathias Alexander, developed the first and, arguably, the most influential technique for training the bodies and voices of actors. Initially, Alexander developed his technique as a means to eliminate vocal problems that plagued him during and after performances. Over time, study of the technique has become an alternative to traditional treatments of many ailments, including back ache, headaches, stiff necks, and respiratory problems ((McEvenue xviii, Gelb 2). The technique's roots in drama are fundamental, as the theatrical community has continually served as a leading promoter of the technique (McEvenue xx). To this day, the technique remains popular among theater artists and has become a staple of actor training in many of the leading modern drama schools including, but not limited to, The Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts, the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, and Juilliard (McEvenue xx).

Although Alexander's technique is held in high regard by many modern theatre practitioners, a handful of the leading contemporary acting instructors, namely Catherine Fitzmaurice, Arthur Lessac, Patsy Rodenburg and Kristin Linklater, have moved away from pure study of Alexander's technique and developed their own methods of training actors' bodies and voices. The four instructors pursue a common desire: to foster creativity and emotional freedom while working with an actor's body and voice. Alexander's technique never actively pursues this desire of contemporary instructors, leaving one to question if Alexander's technique is a dated training method, and whether or not it should be integrated into modern drama schools' curricula.

The purpose of this study is to examine the techniques developed by Alexander and the aforementioned individuals, with the intention to reveal how Alexander's technique does foster creativity and emotional freedom in an actor, although his technique does so indirectly. This examination will involve an analysis of the literature on the philosophies and practical applications of these techniques.

Frederick Mathias Alexander

Alexander began to develop his technique when it became apparent to him that the available remedies could only recover his voice after each performance, and were unable to entirely eliminate his vocal problems (McEvenue xviii). From continual observation and experimentation, Alexander concluded that his vocal issues came from a misuse of the body that interfered with the vocal apparatus, thus causing tension and strain on the voice (Alexander Use 27, McEvenue xix). He turned his attention to the moment of speaking and observed that it was possible to make a choice not to proceed with habitual responses (McEvenue xix). Alexander made these observations and experiments only as a means to remedy his vocal problems, but these were the first steps Alexander made towards developing his vocal technique.

Alexander's technique is primarily concerned with the misuse of the body attributed to the specific habits possessed by individuals, and the human ability to consciously rid ourselves of those habits. His technique is based on the belief that use and function are closely connected, and that it is impossible to separate "physical" and "mental" operations in the human organism; thus, the term "psycho-physical" should be used to indicate all human operations (Alexander Use 28, Constructive 5). For the most part, bad habits (or improper usage of the body) can create inefficient functioning of the voice and the body, and, in some cases, lead to health problems. Alexander attributes these negative habits to the changes in society. In his book *Constructive Conscious Control of the Individual*, Alexander claims that there have been three stages in man's development. In the first stage of development, or the "uncivilized stage," the "savage creature" relied on the subconscious (instinct) to use the body for methods of procuring food, drink, shelter, and the general preservation of life from possible enemies (Alexander Constructive 40). The nature of daily life was relatively unchanging, so subconscious guidance could satisfactorily meet the human's immediate needs and the human was unaware of the means with which it used its body to carry out activities (Alexander Constructive 40, 41). In the second stage of development, or the "early civilizing stage," the human made advances and changes in its environment, and developed a reasoning process, marking a differentiation between the primitive human and other animals (Alexander Constructive 44). The human could no longer rely on instinct to control activity

because instinct was born out of an almost entirely constant environment; thus, instinct could not effectively guide the human to master the activities in a new environment where change and growth occurred quite rapidly and sometimes unexpectedly (Alexander Constructive 44, 46, 48). The human creature had begun to utilize reason to make changes in its environment (creating crude weapons, which changed hunting methods); however, the human did not apply the reasoning process to address the use of the body in these new activities, and as a result, was unaware that instinct could be affected by the new environment and unable to properly meet the new demands (Alexander Constructive 44, 47). The process of civilizing had created an imbalance in the human because it “widen[ed] the scope” for “mental” activities and “narrow[ed] the scope” for “physical activities, leading to a deterioration of the “physical” (Alexander Constructive 52, 53). This unbalanced development marked the beginning of an interference with the coordinated use of the human body as a whole, particularly with the muscular operations that are essential to “physical” well-being (Alexander Constructive 53). Man’s continued reliance on instinct to determine coordination of the body caused interference with the proper use of the “psycho-physical mechanism,” which lowered the functioning standard of the body and human “sensory appreciation”: the ability to correctly feel the processes occurring in the body (Alexander Constructive 54). In the third stage of development, or the “later civilizing stage,” a psychological moment in human development occurred when an observant minority became aware of the deterioration, which they unfortunately only recognized as a physical deterioration, and sought to address the deterioration by the adoption of physical exercises (Alexander Constructive 4). Alexander finds himself in the third stage of development where he recognizes that the remedies employed have failed to get to the heart of the matter because they fail to address the improper use of the human organism as a whole.

The experiments and observations Alexander made when trying to address his personal vocal problems lead him to conclude that the humans of today are equipped with what he refers to as “a supreme inheritance,” for within the human mind lies the ability to consciously control ourselves so we can achieve a healthy mind and body (Alexander Man’s 11, 12). According to Alexander, “there is no function of the body that cannot be brought

under the control of the conscious will” (Alexander Man’s 56). In support of this theory, Alexander cites an event that occurred during his time, when an Indian Yogi allegedly stopped the beating of his own heart at will without suffering harmful consequences (Alexander Man’s 56). Alexander claims that humans are able to use their bodies effectively and efficiently once they determine the best use of themselves, and consciously control themselves at all times for all activities (Alexander Universal 215). This theory was revolutionary, as earlier methods sought to revert back to instinct and the subconscious as a means to remedy the issues of the contemporary human body (Alexander Man’s 53).

Alexander’s belief that the psycho-physical processes have deteriorated, including sensory appreciation, means that his technique cannot be approached through a book, and individuals must call upon a trained teacher to assist them with the technique (Alexander Use 17). Alexander never published detailed descriptions of the exercises one can implement in order to achieve full control and proper functioning of the human organism; however, he did publish a list of the four essential stages one will employ when performing any single muscular action using his technique:

- 1) The conception of the movement required;
- 2) The inhibition of erroneous preconceived ideas which subconsciously suggest the manner in which the movement or series of movements should be performed;
- 3) The new and conscious mental orders which will set in motion the muscular mechanism essential to the correct performance of the action;
- 4) The movements (contractions and expansions) of the muscles which carry out the mental orders.

(Alexander Man’s 200)

In a later book he adds that it is necessary to continue inhibition of the erroneous activities while instructing the new and conscious mental orders, because unreliable sensory appreciation will not let one know that the wrong action is being performed and “old habits” will creep in if they are not inhibited (Alexander Use 46). Every individual has a unique set of habits that hinder proper function, and these habits can only be discovered through personal observation of the body, as well as the observation of a

trained teacher. The teacher becomes responsible for guiding the pupil through the four stages while the pupil performs actions, so the pupil can deprogram bad habits and reprogram new habits. Together, they locate the position of “mechanical advantage,” where one is able to experience the proper use of all the body’s parts (Alexander Man’s 189, 190). It is through repeated experience of the position of “mechanical advantage” and the proper use of the organism when performing activities that the individual is able to reproduce the sensation and employ the proper usage in everyday activities (Alexander Man’s 190-191). A slow introduction to inhibition is necessary because many individuals have a faulty ability to inhibit, making re-education and coordination difficult (Alexander Man’s 24). For this reason, many teachers utilize simple actions, such as sitting and rising from a chair when working with a pupil (Alexander Universal 98, 99). Another important principle to keep in mind when undertaking re-education is that the pupil must focus on the “means whereby”, rather than on the “end.” When the pupil performs the action with the “end” (completed action) in mind, the action will be performed using the old habits (Alexander Man’s 189). When the pupil focuses on the tasks at hand (inhibiting the habits and projecting the new set of orders) the old habit will eventually be broken up so that the pupil can direct every muscular action of the activity until the new habits replace the old habits in the subconscious (189).

Alexander’s technique is most useful in teaching actors to use the vocal apparatus in the “best” and most efficient way. The shedding of bad habits allows an actor to breathe and speak more efficiently and effectively, even when an actor is faced with speaking to large audiences for hours at a time, six or seven days a week (McEvenue 88). Also, freedom from tension-causing habits eliminates the fatigue or stress that manifests when meeting the physical demands of performing and allows an actor to meet those demands without facing injury (McEvenue 10). When an actor uses the body and breath in an efficient manner, the actor is also able to maintain a sense of ease while carrying out fear-generating tasks, such as performing in front of a large audience on opening night (McEvenue 8, 9). Further, the general principles of Alexander’s technique can be applied to an actor’s stage work. The idea that one has the power to inhibit certain actions and make the choice to perform others allows actors to apply that principle to practical situations, such as inhibiting an original acting choice to embrace a new idea that might be

introduced into a scene (McEvenue 18). Also, Alexander's "end-gaining" principle can apply to stage work:

In a dramatic situation, you stand a better chance of getting somewhere valuable or valid if you do not try and decide intellectually what the end should be. You limit your exploration if you have decided where it will end. For then you have prescribed a journey that will consequently be dull for you and everybody else. (McEvenue 26)

When an actor focuses on their specific actions in a scene, they are able to maintain truthfulness from moment to moment, which makes for a much more interesting performance (McEvenue 103).

Catherine Fitzmaurice

Catherine Fitzmaurice weaves both Eastern and Western theories into her voicework. Her main sources of influence comprise (1) the traditional application of theater voice training, which includes the Alexander Technique, as given to her through training at the Central School of Drama in England, (2) bioenergetics, (3) yoga, and (4) shiatsu (Morgan Constructing 4, 24).

Bioenergetics, developed in 1956 by two students of Wilhelm Reich (Alexander Lowen and John Pierrakos), is a therapy technique that codifies Reichian principles into "dynamic physical postures" that help an individual restore the natural "mobility" of their body (Morgan Constructing 24). According to Lowen, "body motility is the basis of all spontaneity, which is the essential ingredient of both pleasure and creativity" (Pleasure 48). Fitzmaurice uses bioenergetics to free the "involuntary" or subconscious muscular movements that have consciously controlled manipulations imposed upon them by social order (Morgan Constructing 24, 27). The voicework's method for freeing the subconscious muscular movements is called "destructuring and restructuring" (Morgan Constructing 27). Destructuring is characterized by a series of exercises intended to bring the actor in contact with the autonomic nervous system and to dissolve muscular tension "that limits access to the actor's inner sources for creativity" (Morgan "Creative" 35, Constructing 36). The exercises release a flow of vibratory motion called "tremoring" in the body, which melts away muscle tension using subtle and large movements of the entire body, and allows breath and sound to flow through the body (Morgan Constructing 35-36, 38).

Vocalization of the tremor, a pre-verbal form of expression known as “fluffy sound,” allows an actor to access the source of their expression and “recover the spontaneity of expression at its source prior to shaping influence of consciousness” (Morgan Constructing 38, 42). Restructuring is revealed through destructuring as “the preferred pattern of a free torso when speakers are engaged in speaking from their own imagination,” and involves an awareness of a “focus line,” which helps actors move their attention from their own selves and their own vocal track to the points of communication (Fitzmaurice “Structured”).

Elements of yoga appeared in her work before she began to actively pursue the Eastern systems (Morgan Constructing 70). Fitzmaurice does not employ postures of yoga in the voicework; “[Yoga] already manifested in the synthesis inherited in her work through the dualities of destructuring and restructuring. These provide harmonic evocation of balance between opposites that fits with the very meaning of yoga” (Constructing 70).

Shiatsu, a Japanese method of point pressure applied to specific points on the body, appears in the voicework where Fitzmaurice uses therapeutic touch as a method to communicate with the interior of the body and release the free flow of energy in the body, thus channeling that energy into the voice (Morgan Constructing 118 - 119). Balance is at the heart of shiatsu and, like the voicework, the balance is achieved by engaging with the autonomic nervous system (Morgan Constructing 120).

Fitzmaurice has written very little about her technique; thus, a detailed description of the technique’s exercises does not exist. Most of the written information about Fitzmaurice’s technique comes from a few newsletter articles she has published and a professor of voice and speech who is primarily interested in the theories and ideology of her work.

Arthur Lessac

Arthur Lessac’s approach to voicework is centered on the concept of “kinesensic training,” a term he coined to describe “an intrinsic sensing process where energy qualities are physically felt and perceived, then tuned and used for creative expression” (Lessac Use 3, Syler 1). The process involves an individual becoming aware of the feelings and sensations that are organic to the body, specifically the sensation’s motion, essential feeling, the signal of its onset, and any familiarity to other sensations (Syler 1,

5). This approach is designed to personalize the exploration of the voice in order to encourage individual creativity and expression (Syler 5). In the approach there are four concepts that make up 'vocal life':

- (1) Body esthetics (as differentiated from body anesthetics),
- (2) Inner Harmonic Sensing,
- (3) Organic Instructions to the body,
- (4) The Familiar Event principle.

(Lessac Use 4)

A body esthetic is "anything that promotes sensitivity and induces awareness of sensation," and "anything that deadens sensitivity and lessens awareness or perception of sensation is an anesthetic" (Lessac Use 4). Inner Harmonic Sensing is the ability to reach beyond the five fundamental sense (see, smell, touch, taste, and hear) in order to discover and program the "inner harmonic feeling process," which provides an individual with "heightened sensitivity, perception, awareness, response, subtext, synergistic activity and research" (Lessac Use 5). Organic Instruction requires an individual to perceive the internal, physical experience of movement, so they can identify sensations and eventually train their self to use images and feelings as organic instructions to affect the body (Lessac Use 5). The Familiar Event principle expresses the existence of activities that are naturally performed, "pleasurably, gracefully, efficiently, and effectively," be they special talents, or actions that have been repeated constantly (Lessac Use 6). Lessac's intent is to free the body of the controls that stop it from functioning how it is naturally programmed to function, thus allowing actors to feel their own reactions, rather than create them or have them imposed upon them (Lessac Use 8-9). According to Lessac, his approach will allow an individual to use "[their] energy more efficiently, handle stress better, feel less fatigued, and discover reservoirs of strength (physical and emotional) [they] never knew [they] had" (Lessac Use 8).

The central belief in Lessac's work, that body awareness is achieved using the "feeling" sense to recognize the sensations in the body and to identify how the body wants to be used, makes Lessac's technique very personal for each participant and permits an individual to study the technique without the aid of a teacher.

In the book *The Use and Training of the Human Voice*, Lessac encourages a self-teaching method and includes several exercises from his voicework that individuals can perform on their own.

Patsy Rodenburg

Rodenburg, recognized worldwide as a leading voice and acting coach, does not maintain her own theories to explain vocal problems or the method of solving vocal problems; she simply utilizes any and every exercise from any technique that she believes will help an actor speak (“Patsy,” Rodenburg Actor xii). Although Rodenburg does not utilize theory or ideology in her approach to the voice, there are certain beliefs she holds that are at the heart of her work. First, Rodenburg firmly believes that the best approach in acting is working from the “purely physical and systematic aspects of their selves (the outside) towards the emotional and intellectual life (the inside)” (Morgan Constructing 14). Second, Rodenburg believes, “breath and voice actually power much of our acting system,” therefore, the voicework strives to develop a voice that is free of tension and supported by breath (Rodenburg Actor 5). Tension is the “fundamental foe” of all actors as it can diminish the quality of the voice, make it difficult for one to sustain the long run of a show, and prevent an actor from successfully getting through a performance; therefore, it must be controlled and eliminated so that the voice can be liberated (Rodenburg Actor 9-10). Rodenburg’s third belief is that the function and positioning of the body has great impact on the voice. She believes voicework should engage the whole body “from head to toe” to establish an awareness of the body and how it aids sound production (Rodenburg Actor 5, 8). Lastly, Rodenburg views the body and voice as instruments which actors must learn to “play” properly so they can accommodate the different characters and texts they encounter (Rodenburg Actor 4). In order to train actors’ “instruments,” Rodenburg includes exercises that can help an actor breathe, vocalize and speak text, and discover “the hidden intentions in a script that can only be revealed when you speak and fully commit to the words” (Rodenburg Actor 164). The exercises include, but are not limited to, exercises that make the pupil play with volume levels, word stress, rhythm, and length of thought.

Rodenburg’s book *The Actor Speaks* acts as practical guide for actors that can be picked up any time by an individual

looking for exercises that can aid them in performance or for advice when faced with a difficult situation in the rehearsal or performance hall. The actor is given a catalogue of several exercises ranging from those that help an actor find ease in the individual parts of the body to those that help an actor find the voice that the playwright had in mind when the text was written. Rodenburg also includes advice on very practical ways to confront some of the difficulties actors commonly face, including dealing with challenging performance spaces and preventing vocal damage.

Kristin Linklater

In Kristin Linklater's approach,

The basic assumption of the work is that everyone possesses a voice capable of expressing, through a two-to-four octave natural pitch range, whatever gamut of emotion, complexity of mood and subtlety of thought he or she experiences. The second assumption is that the tensions acquired through living in this world, as well as defenses, inhibitions and negative reactions to environmental influences, often diminish the efficiency of the natural voice to the point of distorted communication. (Linklater Freeing 1)

The goal of Linklater's approach is to remove blockages that prevent natural sound production and to allow actors to access "the fullest capacity of the...body, emotions, intellect, and imagination" (Linklater Freeing 1, "Thoughts" 7). To achieve vocal freedom, an individual must increase physical awareness of the body to become familiar with personal habits (habitual muscular controls and tension), and to remove those habits so that the involuntary processes of the nervous system can occur (Linklater Freeing 19, 25). All people have a natural breathing capacity that is capable of supplying the required capacity for sound and emotion when the body is free of blocking tensions (Linklater Freeing 45). When the blocking tensions are gone, the involuntary nervous system, guided by thoughts and feelings, is able to organically control the breathing process (Linklater Freeing 33). To increase awareness of the voice, Linklater aims to change the way an individual experiences the voice. She wants an individual to feel the vibrations of sound in the body, instead of listen to sound, because there is a conditioned split between the

ear and the heart; thus, listening to sound can censor emotion (Linklater Freeing 35). To achieve a louder sound, the individual encourages these vibrations to grow and amplify (Linklater Freeing 35).

In *Freeing the Natural Voice*, Linklater lists several exercises for the reader and guides the reader through a step by step process of working with the voice. The exercises primarily focus on freeing the body from the habits and tension that hinder involuntary processes and vocal freedom, and tapping into the physical and emotional sources of words (Linklater Freeing 175). Linklater believes that modern education in the West has created a divide between the body and the brain, which hinders inner life from being revealed through spoken word (Linklater Freeing 173). As a result, it has become essential for actors to mend this disconnect if they wish to create truthful and interesting work (Linklater Freeing 173). Linklater includes exercises to address the disconnect, including exercises that make an actor directly connect to the sensory and emotion storehouses of the body through the nerve endings in the mouth by playing with sound shapes, and exercises where an individual projects images into an imaginary inner center to generate a feeling response (Linklater Freeing 173-175). The voicework also includes exercises intended to strengthen and develop the breath and sound beyond its natural parameters; however, these exercises are introduced very late into the voicework because Linklater believes:

It is wise to postpone work that increases breath capacity and strengthens breathing musculature until it can be done with awareness and sensitivity to ensure that breath stays in touch with inner energy impulse what-ever the demand. (Linklater Freeing 121)

To keep the voice protected, one must first achieve complete vocal freedom before stretching the voice to meet great vocal demands (Linklater Freeing 84).

An Indirect Means to the Same End

The four contemporary instructors researched in this study incorporate direct methods of fostering creativity and emotional freedom in their voicework. Fitzmaurice does this when she brings the actor in contact with autonomic nervous system and allows the actor to access their inner sources of creativity. Further, Fitzmaurice's use of "fluffy sound" allows an actor to

explore emotional responses to sound, so that an actor can freely merge the emotions with their voices when they later employ spoken text. Creativity is present in Lessac's work when an actor trains their body to receive organic instructions from various images and feelings, which the actor later employs, using images and feelings of their choosing, to cultivate expression (Lessac Use 3, 5). Additionally, many of the exercises Lessac employs in his book encourage an actor to tune in to their personal reactions and emotions, so they can avoid manufacturing them or having them imposed upon them (Lessac Use 8). Rodenburg employs creative exercises, including coloring a text with different rhythms and investigations of how various characters speak, in pursuit of a practical goal: to develop actors with an interesting sound. Rodenburg's method also centers on cultivating free and open voices in her students because she believes that a free and open voice is essential for releasing acting impulses and emotions (Rodenburg Actor 5). Linklater employs exercises that allow actors to creatively explore the way words are shaped in the mouth, and how words and images can cultivate feeling and influence vocal quality. These exercises, intended to mend the disconnect between inner life and the way people communicate inner life, allow actors to explore their emotional capacity and utilize their imagination to elicit emotional responses.

In his writing, Alexander does not mention a desire to foster creativity and emotional freedom within pupils; however, dedicated study of the technique indirectly fulfills this desire of contemporary instructors. Kelly McEvenue, an Alexander teacher who primarily works with actors, goes into detail on the topic of the technique's usefulness for actors in her book *The Actor and The Alexander Technique* (xvii). Study of the technique, which heightens actors' awareness of their voice, body, and thoughts, allows an actor to experiment physically and access a wider range of choices or emotional responses from moment to moment, which allows them to easily discover the characters that they portray within their own voice, body, and thoughts (McEvenue 103). McEvenue believes the emotional life of each character portrayed onstage is realized through the body and voice of the actor; thus, the actor's heightened awareness "frees the actor to test and explore his physical and emotional range" (xvi, 102). In his book, McEvenue includes testimonies from performers who claim their experiences with the technique allowed them to think more clearly about their bodies and their work, become more

comfortable in their roles, and gain more access to their emotions (McEvenue 22, 107).

It is interesting to note that although all four instructors have moved away from Alexander's technique, aspects of Alexander's work appear within each of their techniques. Alexander, Fitzmaurice, Lessac, Rodegnburg and Linklater all attempt to find a more economical way to use the body, which allows for a safer and more economical means of producing voice. Also, the four contemporary instructors make use of Alexander's "semi-supine" position, a position characterized by a person lying on their back with their knees bent and their feet flat on the floor. Both Lessac and Alexander employ heightened awareness as a means to achieve their goals, although the similarity ends there, as Lessac believes that we achieve body awareness by using our "feeling" sense to recognize the sensations in the body and help us identify how the body wants to be used. Lessac's opinion of why individuals do not properly use their bodies seems to echo some of the ideas Alexander suggested in *Constructive Conscious Control of the Individual*. Lessac believes that the quick changes that occurred in contemporary society have caused "body time" and "social time" to fall out of sync and caused the constants of life to disappear from contemporary society; thus, people lose a sense of their own context in society and an imbalance is created in the body (Lessac "Beyond" 14). The similarity stops where Lessac states that the imbalance is the result of our current environment no longer requiring a healthy, instinctive, and reactive body; thus, we had to learn to live without our instinctive selves to obtain the advances in society, such as moral codes, and systems of law (Lessac "Beyond" 14). Rodenburg and Alexander share the belief that all people have bad habits unique to their own bodies, which manifest as either tension or improper alignment of the body and hinder the voice. Like Alexander, Rodenburg believes that the process of removing those habits is very difficult and requires an enormous amount of time and patience (Rodenburg *Actor* 11). Alexander's belief that the "mental" and "physical" processes cannot be separated seems to play a central roll in Linklater's work and Fitzmaurice's work. Also, Alexander, Fitzmaurice, and Linklater share a common goal: the body must rid itself of habits, which create unnecessary tension and block vocal production. Both Fitzmaurice and Linklater believe that efficiency of the vocal apparatus is determined by the alignment of the body and level of tension used to make it function, which is in

line with Alexander's belief that "use" and "function" are closely related (Linklater Freeing 20). Further, Alexander, Fitzmaurice, and Linklater all utilize conscious awareness of the body to help an actor rid their body of habits; however, Fitzmaurice and Linklater seek to remove the controls that hinder the involuntary processes of the body, instead of utilizing conscious order to control the processes in the body.

Although several contemporary acting vocal teachers have turned away from Alexander's technique to develop their own techniques, his technique remains a well-respected method for training actors' bodies and voices. Even after one hundred years have passed since the publication of Alexander's first book, many of the top western drama schools continue to incorporate Alexander's work into their curriculum. The reason Alexander's technique remains alive in drama programs is because the technique can successfully alter the way actors move and speak, and can make actors reconnect with their bodies so that they are free to easily access their emotions when performing. My experience working with many different vocal techniques has led me to recognize that different techniques can generate positive results in many different people. McEvenue states on the last page of *The Actor and The Alexander Technique*,

Drama is riddled with tension. It is the actor's job to experience the stories emotionally and therefore physically. Actors should welcome any technique or tools that release and free up their bodies from the tension and demands of theatre. (146)

Accordingly, I will not conclude that actors should only study Alexander's technique and be cautious of modern vocal techniques; however, this study does demonstrate that Alexander's technique is not dated and should remain integrated into modern drama schools' curricula because it proves beneficial to actors and acting vocal instructors who choose to work with it.

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**THE MALLEUS MALEFICARUM: A STUDY OF MARGINALIA AND
CULTURAL ATTITUDES IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE**

TRACY MEEHAN (CLA 2011)

The Malleus Maleficarum is a well-documented witchcraft handbook first published in Germany in 1487. A particularly infamous volume, the *Malleus* constructed a new form of witchcraft for inquisitors by defining sorcery. Initially published in Frankfurt, the *Malleus* facilitated the implementation of strict guidelines and definitions for heretical behavior while strengthening the argument that Satan's work existed through sorcery within the Holy Roman Empire and beyond. Historian Christopher Mackay notes that the timing of their message buttressed a new perception of Satan's hand as the most significant obstacle for spiritual unity and survival of the church in the face of the inevitable Apocalypse as detailed in Biblical texts (35). Ultimately becoming the "text-book of the Inquisition," the publication of the *Malleus* removed "the last impediment to the Inquisitorial witch hunters" whose early practitioners gained support of ecclesiastical and secular powers as they spread across early modern Europe (Nachman 328). During the period of *Malleus'* publication, judgment against heresy was measured by literature newly disseminated in the vernacular for inquisitors and the common people. By examining the marginalia within several early editions of the *Malleus*, what readers include and exclude, we can understand the changing import of the text over time.

Johannes Gutenberg invented the printing press forty years prior to the publication of the *Malleus* during the rise of the confessional state, a time of increasing anxiety over spiritual practice and social interaction. Moreover, witchcraft prosecution followed a fairly inconsistent path until the late 16th century. During this period, prosecution for witchcraft gradually left the hands of church authorities and fell into those of the emergent secular powers of early modern Europe. Inquisitors acted as an ecclesiastical entity yet were strengthened by secular judicial power. Christopher Mackay explains the unique intersection of ecclesiastic and secular spheres in the pursuit of spiritual perfection, "Disloyalty to God is equated with treason against a secular prince" (35). Governing the outcome of the witch trials

were variables explored by historians ranging from social anxiety over gender distinctions to the rise of the nation state. In the many cases considered by inquisitors, the questionable activities of rural women reinforced the corrosive effect of rumor or rising pressure for social conformity. The technological advance of the printing press quickly placed the inflammatory material in more hands than ever before. Whether secular or ecclesiastical, it appears as though many at the time had a reason to focus on witchcraft for the sake of self-preservation. From the small village to the imperial court, the idea of witchcraft could find no safe haven within early modern European culture.

Coinciding with the crisis within the Catholic Church stemming from the Reformation, the advent of the printing press more than sixty years before Martin Luther forever altered the nascent textual communities of early modern Europe. However, the textual communities changed over time with the rise of literacy according to Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia; “to focus on these texts at the moment of their creation does not necessarily provide insight into the subsequent life of these texts” (101). Remaining in print for two centuries confirmed the durability of the *Malleus*, yet how readers utilized the content varied over time. Tensions emanating from acceptable religious practice and a presumed need for social control under the auspices of regional leaders created an atmosphere for suspicion. Yet, that phenomenon was not realized in every region of Europe as local realities played an essential part in driving suspected evil from their communities. There was a significant role for provincial leaders in relation to the amount of witchcraft prosecution. Although some historians place accountability for the mounting persecution with the rise of the nation state, others have found evidence for the increased harassment in Germany and Scotland from a lack of centralized power. An indication of the pattern is found in the 1580 edition for study published in Frankfurt. The edition contains marginalia that clearly reflects inquisitorial use by the owner who noted his occupation as a “praedicator,” the Latin word for judge. The earliest editions of the *Malleus* were printed in Germany where inquisitors were free to operate within their local environs, exacting punishment on those who violated cultural norms of their small communities.

The renewed debate over witchcraft in early modern Europe coincided with growing anxiety of spiritual practice and

social interaction. The measured disappearance of traditional religion was replaced with the growing reliance on a standard for Christian behavior (Bailey 39). Michael D. Bailey describes the effect of clerical use of witchcraft to draw people to the Church:

Just as clerical authors had long been accustomed to employ tales of demonic power to demonstrate the consequences of weak faith and improper acts and to encourage proper belief and behavior, so now they might use accounts of the witchcraft as a power tool in an essentially reformist effort to encourage a spiritual renewal among the laity. (42)

The 1500 edition for study exhibits the most abundant amount of marginalia. Although the specifics of the marginalia will be discussed later, the notes represent more than the lack of printing innovation such as marginal notes. The marginalia suggest a thorough study of the text for identification and prosecution of witchcraft including the proper steps to dispose of the remains of an accused woman after immolation. In a sample entry to the 1500 edition, the reader writes, "Nota: de muliere sepulta cum linteamine," translating to "Note: about burial of cremated woman together with linen" (Muccigrosso). The distinct negative connotations associated with demonic possession and heresy that created by the *Malleus* further undermined traditional religion and magic.

A gradual, narrowing focus on acceptable religious practice coincided with the increasing concerns over witchcraft. Many came under scrutiny as the Church attempted to simplify and standardize traditional devotion. The resulting transition from acceptable piety to heretical behavior through sorcery began before the Reformation, yet the *Malleus* cemented certain views toward the subject at the time of the book's publication. It would be inaccurate to place the Reformation as the sole catalyst for the shift away from the practice of "superstitious" magic (Monter 199). Reform was already in the minds of church officials who sought to streamline and standardized religious practice. According to Michael D. Bailey, the concept of traditional religion with its overabundance of devotional practice became the focus of change before the Protestant upheaval; "In the century prior to the eruption of Protestantism, reformist impulses already animated many clerical authorities, feeding increased concern about proper religiosity, lay piety, and putative superstition" (385). Through the

effort to accomplish some uniformity within the Church, previously benign rites performed in villages of early modern Europe were categorized as superstitious, thereby opening the door for reinterpretation later by the *Malleus*.

The structure of government within the European confessional states was as dissimilar as the prosecution for witchcraft. This feature has been a crucial point for both sides of a debate about the relationship between witchcraft and the rise of the nation state. It would appear that a strengthened secular branch of government presented the largest obstacle for witchcraft through organization and implementation of law. Impressive as these large regional powers were, the flexibility and isolation of the small village provided another considerable opportunity for prosecution. Regardless of differences between their methods for prosecution, an expected degree of rivalry existed between nation states during this period as well. Religion was a common flashpoint due to the effects of the Reformation and the growing power of secular authorities and their appointed ecclesiastical leaders.

The later editions of the *Malleus* exhibited many features of the rising dominance of secular power in the spiritual battle. The 1669 editions for study were printed in Lyons under a Catholic king. From the title page listing the privilege of secular association, "cum privilegio regis," to the absence of the papal bull and official church authorization within, the 1669 editions denote a shift in authority over witchcraft prosecution. Moreover, central to the religious framework were those appointed by the emperor or king to fulfill a sanctioned role for the state church or face a charge of treason. The ideal for a pious life was personified not only by the goals of regional powers, but also through the presumed strength of local authorities. The newly streamlined religious organizations and their educated clergy deployed for a state-controlled church spread throughout early modern Europe to prosecute any deviant act. The manner and effectiveness of enforcement for the new church edicts could determine the overall power of one rival against another in the spiritual battle. Unlike the distinct simplicity of volumes in the early printing cycle of the *Malleus*, later editions were shaped by both secular authorities and changing witchcraft theory.

The majority of activity concerning witchcraft prosecution came from the bottom or the rural enclave where the unfettered

prosecution of witchcraft was permitted. The strength of rumor narratives also created an environment of intolerance for deviance regardless of merit. Charged with the spiritual health of the region, leaders also faced demands to prosecute witchcraft that threatened the balance of the community in general. A witchcraft accusation set in motion the persecution of those perceived as a threat within the tight confines of the village. The managerial nature of coalescing nation states placed power at the top, yet in some areas that very function distracted the upper levels of government from the actions from beneath. Yet, the cyclical pattern of witchcraft prosecution usually ended when patterns of abuse by local inquisitors were eventually identified by higher secular authority.

Marginalia are notations made by the reader on pages within a text. A function of marginalia is that it allows historians to see where the reader finds interest in a given time period. The study of marginalia within *The Malleus Maleficarum* reveals changing cultural attitudes toward the volume's use and witchcraft theory with each reprinting. Marginalia within the early editions may reveal a more accurate account of cultural and ecclesiastical attitudes toward its presumed use. The organization by the presumed reader may point to the intended interpretation and transmission of the contents. The text was initially utilized to eradicate witchcraft, yet closer scrutiny of the marginalia within several early editions of *The Malleus Maleficarum* provides a clearer context for the purpose of the volume with each reprinting. The pattern seen in the editions for this essay establishes that the marginal notations move across time from judicial, to liturgical, to scholarly, to critical analysis of the text. An early edition from 1580 notes a distinct inquisitorial use; notations in the 1669 edition critique the basis for the *Malleus* by an Enlightenment reader.

Through dating of the hand, another value of the marginalia can be seen. By establishing the date of the reader, the marginalia for study provides a clearer understanding of reception and a context for use of the text. The text is separated into three distinct chapters outlining the existence of a new form of sorcery, the identification thereof, and the judicial remedy if convicted. The location of marginalia within the three sections of the volume should indicate the concerns of the reader, yet will also be informed by period of use. A sample entry from the 1500 edition for study reflects religious tensions following the Reformation. The

reader notes, “Cocclusi Catholica esse maleficos,” which translates as “I concluded that the Catholic women are evil-doers” (Muccigrosso). An early influence for the volume’s use is the role of the Reformation. The text was a method to disseminate and reinforce new definitions of heresy during a period of reorganization for European churches. By examining the dated hand of an edition used during the Reformation period, such as the entry to the 1500 edition, we can understand the reader’s organization and thus, intended interpretation of the text more accurately.

The primary sources utilized for the study will include the 1500 edition from the Jacob Burns Law Library of George Washington University, the 1580 edition in the Black Collection of Drew University, the 1600 edition from the Burke Library of the Union Theological Seminary, and 1669 edition held by Butler Library at Columbia University. Fortunately, there is a recent English translation as well as a fully annotated edition of the Latin text by Christopher Mackay to reference for the study. Changing attitudes toward the text as well as its implementation for the Church will be seen through a comparison and contrasting of volumes with marginalia between the initial printing and beyond.

Through an examination of each edition, an analysis of letter and word formation as compared to handwriting examples of various time periods reveals a more accurate identification. Secretary hand and italic hand are the two main handwriting styles explored for this essay based on the time period of use for our editions. Secretary hand faded in use by 1650; replaced by italic hand. The handwriting samples for comparison within the four editions of the *Malleus* mainly fall within the time period following the established preference for italic hand which Giles E. Dawson places at 1650 (12). Additionally, the reader’s geographic location offers a regional contribution to reception. Two of the editions for study contain marginalia positioning them in Spain; the possible usage of the text will be determined by witchcraft theory in the region at the time of the reader. The marginalia is predominantly in Latin which complicates dating due to consistencies stemming from its entrenched use in education during the period of publication for our editions (16). In comparison, patterns for English handwriting during the period of the editions contained many spelling inconsistencies that would facilitate dating. Despite the difficulties presented by the use of Latin, those using it would

most likely be educated, an ecclesiastical member or jurist in our period of study.

Beginning with the 1500 edition, the title page is very spare of original printing with the exception of *Malleus Maleficarum* at the top center of the page. Surrounding the title are various names of owners, locations and numbers most likely associated with cataloging of the book (Appendix A). Placing a name on the cover page is a custom of marginalia, "Ownership marks are far and away the most common [sic] form of annotation" (Jackson 19). Additionally, there are a number of inks testifying to the durability of the book's history among many hands. Although there are numerous samples on the cover page, the handwriting placing the text with Library of the Incarnation is most similar to that of all other marginalia in the text and will be used for dating purposes. A comparison between the lettering of "Dela Libreria dela Incarnacion de Montilla" and the internal marginalia place both no earlier than the 15th century according to Adriano Capelli (87-89, 266). In light of the publication date, the notations may have features of a dying hand carried over to the 16th century before the complete disappearance of secretary hand. The writing is in italic with clear letter formation and minimal pen strokes (Appendix B). According to Dawson, "In the sixteenth century, and later, writers of secretary hand often used italic hand to set off certain elements, such as book titles, or to indicate emphasis. Most letters are formed with one penlift, some with two" (9, 11). Based on these findings, the 1500 edition was most likely annotated by a late 16th to early 17th century reader.

The 1580 edition contains the best example of handwriting contemporaneous with the publication date. Additionally, the text has the only solid illustration for any remnant of secretary hand which also dates the usage of the text close to publication. Secretary hand was replaced by italic hand by 1650. Although there are two names on the title page of the text, only one can be matched to the marginalia within the volume and will be utilized for this essay. In the third section of the text concerning sentencing and appeal by the accused, there are three words in Latin that display certain characteristics of secretary hand absent in the other two volumes (Appendix C). The first word has long strokes for the letter "s" with prominent descending minims indicating traces of secretary hand. The last word ends with another prominent descending minim that appears to be a "y." In viewing

the group of words, the characteristics of the two letters is striking in comparison with the other editions. Moreover, the length or severity of the descending minims as seen in the 1580 text lessened by the mid 16th century according to Dawson (40). On the title page of the text, the name of a presumed owner (Brunes Praedicator) is listed at the top containing similarities found on plate 24 of Brown, dating it as early 17th century (Brown 71). The first letter of the name “B” is mainly upright with mild decoration and is also found in a 1618 handwriting example from the National Archives of England (Appendix D). In light of the evidence of secretary hand combined with the nature of inquisitorial use by our reader, the marginalia within the 1580 edition is most likely from the early 17th century or closer to the date of publication.

A lengthy handwritten note in the 1600 edition contains the date 1709 and serves as a terminus post quem. Nonetheless, writing habits are fluid in nature with certain practices carrying over from other periods of handwriting. Although the note is dated, it also contains many features described by Dawson as typical of the mid 17th century that should be noted. Dawson finds that writers between 1500 and 1650 used most of the punctuation seen today except “semicolons will be met with only rarely, colons far more than today” (18). The note contains three colons, no semicolons, and one question mark. The significance of the question mark is its position following a colon in a sentence appearing to be filled with outrage, “Quius unqua Catholicaroe hoc asseruit?” (Muccigrosso) (Appendix E). Dawson describes the use of question marks as similar to present use, yet “they were used where we use exclamation points” (18). Another punctuation lending to date is the recurring use of the hyphen in the note where the writer adds words between lines. Dawson describes the exact use of hyphens in the 1600 note, “when placed at the end of a line to indicate a break they are usually double, = (like an equal sign), often slanted, sometimes placed below the base line” (18) (Appendix E). Lastly, the note contains various numbers regarding cross referencing works by Martin Delrio. A period is found in between each number throughout the note, a pattern described by Dawson, “Numerals, both roman and Arabic, will often be found to both preceded and followed by periods” (18). It is quite possible that the marginalia and note date very close to 1709 or early 18th century if Dawson is to be considered taking

into account that the sample appears to be from a disappearing handwriting style.

The 1669 edition contains more symbols than handwriting, yet the cover page lists the name of a library in Spain, “Libro de los Padres [Jain.os] [Deic.os] de Madrid” (Noguera) (Appendex F). The writing style is fluid and elegant, with most letters joined within individual words. There are several word contractions most likely used to accommodate the name in the space allotted on the page. The capitol “L” and “P” are 18th century according to Cappelli (207, 266). In further discussion with Professors Nancy Noguera of Drew University and Susan Boynton of Columbia University, the handwriting is Spanish and mostly 18th century containing remnants of 17th century handwriting style. The blended nature of handwriting styles is noted by Dawson, “a style of handwriting is not born; it emerges” (11). Another entry later in the text, “La Pucelle d’Orleans,” lacks all characteristics of the library name and is in a book hand (Appendix G). Comparison of the two handwriting styles is difficult due to marked changed in style and use, yet the ink coloration is similar. A later discussion of the written entry will further identify the hand and reception of the edition.

In order to further understand the reception and import of the *Malleus* by our readers, the following analysis of each edition will be chronological, based on the date of the hand as previously noted. This method will show an arc of usage as the *Malleus* is received over time independent of publication date. Moreover, any pattern for reception can be recognized when the editions are viewed as a group later in the essay. The structure of the *Malleus* is also noteworthy for analysis. The structure of the *Malleus* is based on the medieval scholastic method of dialogue; a question sets up the issue and an answer is supported by reason and logic (Mackay 17). Reader notations can point toward an individual word, yet many entries highlight entire sections lending to a larger issue of concern. Although each edition maintains a particular set of marginalia, all the readers begin with the section on a new definition of sorcery and warnings against disbelief in its existence. Armed with that information, readers proceeded according to the context of usage, as well as their role in relation to witchcraft theory in their time period.

The 1580 edition contains the least amount of marginalia, yet the time of use indicates an inquisitorial function. Notations in

the 1580 edition begin by establishing the correct definition of sorcery in the first chapter. Mostly symbols, the marginalia also underscores the sections of the *Malleus* describing responsibility of both demon and sorcerer for the crime of sorcery. The apparent rise in number of sorcerers stems from an enhanced form of cooperation between demons and sorcerers, yet the will of God remains the final component for the relationship to move forward. In the eyes of the Church, the omnipotence of God is paramount to the existence of sorcery as the ecclesiastical leader. Lastly, three brackets note those who may be protected from sorcerers along with physical remnants of traditional religion such as holy water, salt and candles. It is important to note that the inclusion of these features of traditional religion also date usage of the book closer to the date of publication. Previously accepted devotional practice was based on the value of numerous physical items utilized in the church or at home. In the period following the Reformation, Church officials attempted to retreat from the reliance on and abundance of consecrated items as well as the unrestrained ability to access the holy. Additionally, religious objects were essential to encountering the sacred in the absence of formal textual instruments such as the Bible. By gaining control of the process, the Church streamlined liturgical rites thereby focusing more on God than relics or objects. The reader of this edition continues to place value upon these practices indicating a time period before implementation of the new church ideology. The time frame and nature of annotation reflect an inquisitorial use of the volume.

The 1500 edition contains numerous marginalia denoting ownership and organization of the text for the reader. The lack of printed marginal notes seen in later editions also explains the need to annotate the edition beginning with “questio prima,” translated as “first question.” Marginal notations support use of the text as a reference for liturgical study. The marginalia reflects a thorough study of the text including the definition and documented reality of sorcery, the necessity of demon, sorcerer, and the will of God for an effect, to the refutation of any early examples of magic that may undermine the new premise for witchcraft. Numerous sections are noted for “remedia,” or “remedies,” for demonic behavior such as the evil eye and procreation with demons (although only possible with human semen). In the opinion of the church, the will of God is paramount to the ability of demons to interact with humans through a natural order of the world with God

at the top. The natural function of the heavenly bodies cannot affect events on earth and any belief in astrology is dismissed as a direct violation of faith in God. Susceptibility to demons clearly falls on women through either poor intellect or control of passion. The remaining marginalia notes various biblical interpretations of evil supported by mythological entities and church authors. From the sign of the cross and recitation of the Paternoster, the reader notes the effects of exorcism and the proper method for burial of the remains of an accused woman, “nota: de muliere sepulta linteamine,” (dressed in linen).

Additionally, there is an interesting marginal note referencing the local cult of the Virgin Mary by the reader; “pessimi Demones vocat; muliere mettensam: beatissima Virgine Mariam,” translated as, “the worst demons refer to their women as the most Blessed Virgin Mary” (Muccigrosso) (Appendix B). The edition was held by the Church of the Incarnation in Montilla, Spain, at the time of use according to the handwriting analysis. The church is still in existence and currently a pilgrimage site in a region is known for devotion to Virgin Mary. The reader notes the demonic attack on the regional cult as an example of heretical behavior.

The Papal Bull of Innocent VIII, absent from later editions, is cited by the reader in support of actions taken against the rising number of sorcerers. The *Malleus* initially gained authority in part from inclusion of the papal bull and community anxiety over witchcraft was assuaged through the new handbook. The reader comments, “Unde malefici dicti maleficia,” translated as, “Whence they are called evil-doers from evil-doing,” in the section reinforcing the existence of a new form of sorcery and the necessity of the papal bull (Muccigrosso). The authorization signified by the Bull in this edition remains a paramount concern for the reader of the text. The Bull states in part, “in Our times in particular the Catholic Faith should be strengthened and flourish, and that every form of heretical depravity should be driven far from the borders of the faithful” (Mackay 32). Although the text contains significant marginal notations that appear to organize the text, its use may remain more juridical than liturgical for the reader based on the inclusion of the Papal Bull. The reader of this edition continues to rely on the authorization designated by the Bull in the earliest editions of the *Malleus*.

The most prominent feature of the marginalia in the 1600 edition is the inclusion of a subsequent witchcraft treatise by the

reader through various notations. A recurring pattern of “vide Delrio Disq. Magic,” translated as, “see Delrio Investigations into Magic,” reflecting another form of reception with the additional areas of marginalia. The Spanish Jesuit Martin Del Rio published *Disquisitiones magicarum* in 1603, thereby becoming “the most widely cited defense of the prosecution of the crime of witchcraft in the seventeenth century, displacing *The Malleus Maleficarum*” (Kors 331). Cross referencing another author outside of the *Malleus* is an additional level of commentary not seen in other editions. A handwritten note “Item Delrio,” translated as, “also Delrio,” adds his name to the list of other treatises attached to the *Malleus* by the reader as well. Although Del Rio is used to comment on the *Malleus*, similar areas of concern as seen in other editions are noted by the reader. Demons cannot achieve the pact with the sorcerer without the will of God, nor can they affect the heavenly bodies. Weather can be directly affected by demons and regeneration is possible yet the progeny of copulation with a demon is strictly human. The church could not allow the existence of a child born of a demonic relationship as that would undermine the supremacy of God as the sole creator of life.

An additional, if not unusual, form of marginalia is a large, handwritten, black band drawn along the exterior of the book aligning the correct pages used for exorcism at a glance. The texts usage for the study of exorcism is supported by this mark with interior marginalia also noting the duty, apparel and knowledge necessary for the rite. Lastly, a lengthy handwritten note by the same reader titled, “Notitiae De Scriptoribus Praesentius Mallei”, translated as, “Notes on the Writers of the Present *Malleus*,” serves as a summation of the reader’s opinion on filtering the *Malleus* through Del Rio regarding mainly regeneration (Muccigrosso) (Appendix H). The knowledge of the topic and focus on exorcism places this edition for scholarly study or liturgical use over judicial use. The *Malleus* became the focus of study for subsequent witchcraft theorists who added to the text due to growing complications with the text’s original message. Based on changing church practices toward witchcraft, the role of inquisitors was eventually replaced by clergy who performed the rite of exorcism.

The 1669 edition contains mainly symbols to organize the text, yet follows patterns established by the other readers for this

study with the exception of a heightened interest in the punishment for the accused. Marginalia on the cover page, which are difficult to translate, appear to be the name of a library in Madrid. In the opinion of Professor Noguera, the line reads, "Libreria... de los Predicadores Jacobinos Dominicanos de Madrid." The reader, who is presumably a clerical member, focuses on the definition of sorcery provided by the text followed by markings around any and all activity considered heretical. The marginalia notes unacceptable behavior in any form that would appear to reject the church position on sorcery constructed by the text. The remaining symbols within the text highlight two sections regarding torture with the entire question regarding strategies for questioning by a judge bracketed. A symbol related to those identified by Capelli as an "asteriscus" lists how the accused should enter the courtroom (backward) after her body is shaved (412).

The initial interest in the juridical nature of the *Malleus* from the marginalia of the reader could be incidental to the harsh realities of punishment described in the text. Part three of the *Malleus* "is meant to be a guide for secular judges," thereby joining church doctrine with the increasing secular authority (Mackay 11). Moreover, the Jacobinos were the French body of the Dominican Order, therefore part of the initial inquisitorial branch to investigate sorcery with the *Malleus* (Noguera). Legal documents from France reveal witchcraft cases were commonly tried together with "incest, adultery, sodomy, and infanticide" (Larner 175). The role of rumor narratives came to the forefront when new rules of evidence relaxed the merit of witness testimony allowing more "to make accusations with impunity" (Larner 174). The inherent nature of witchcraft as exceptional to all other crimes loosened legal boundaries to allow the use of torture and admission of questionable evidence within the emerging nation state. Although the volume resided in Madrid, the import by the Jacobinos is to be considered as the Dominican Order was charged by the Church with the responsibility of identifying sorcery, as were the original authors of the *Malleus*. Based on the notation by the Jacobinos, the volume was held at one time by a religious order which focused on the Church-sanctioned reality of sorcery and the punitive remedies if properly identified.

Ironically, the most unique notation in the edition suggests the book's use by more than one reader and points to another reason behind the focus on these sections of the text. Plainly

written in French on the title page of an addendum to the *Malleus* are the words “La Pucelle d’Orleans.” Appearing on the cover page of Johann Nider’s witchcraft treatise, the translation is “Joan of Arc,” the French martyr and Christian icon. Nider’s early writings associated the death of Joan of Arc with her possession by an evil spirit thereby justifying her immolation (Bailey 120-134). An indication for the date of the reader, the name is also a satiric poem by Voltaire published in 1730. The reader comments on the legend of Joan of Arc through his notation bringing attention to her barbaric treatment by religious fanatics. Viewing the marginalia with this in mind, the reader clearly notes the most extreme examples of torture in the *Malleus* to underscore the folly presented by the text to Enlightenment thinkers. The strong convictions of the reader, who is presumably an Enlightenment theorist, are revealed by marginalia connecting the *Malleus* to a philosophical ideology that moved away from religious fanaticism.

A study of marginalia within four early editions of the *Malleus* presents an image contrary to the presumed reputation of the book at its conception. The text is perceived by historians Christina Lerner and Stuart Clark as the hallmark for control and Christianization by fostering anxiety through a misogynistic polemic. The structure of the *Malleus* was intentionally (and selectively) based upon prior texts in order to formulate a rational foundation to prosecute sorcery. The perspective of the authors of the *Malleus* should also be considered; “Earlier writers began by discussing God, Pliny or their patron, secure in the knowledge that their genre was mainstream, safe, approved of” (Gibson 352). With each notation, the readers of the editions for this essay place a new definition on a use for the *Malleus* at the time of reception through marginal notes, “from the user’s rather than the producer’s perspective” (Sherman 7).

The location of the reader also offers the regional contribution to the text’s reception. Printed in Germany, the inquisitorial nature of the 1580 edition supports the historiography of events at the time of use. During that period, tensions emanating from acceptable religious practice and a presumed need for social control under the auspices of regional leaders created an atmosphere for suspicion. Yet, that phenomenon was not realized in every region of Europe as local realities played an essential part in driving suspected evil from their communities (Levak 187). There was a significant role for provincial leaders in

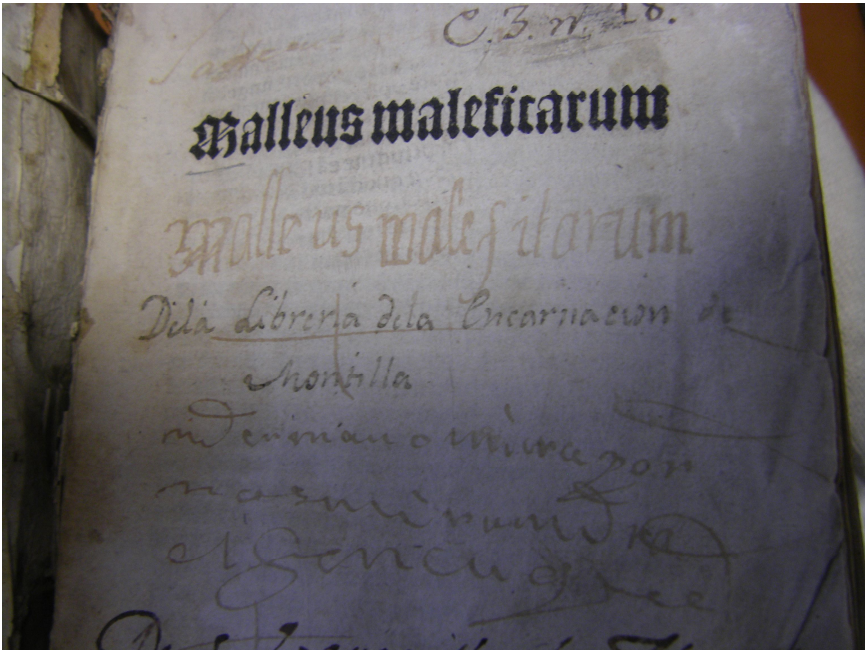
relation to the amount of witchcraft prosecution. Although some historians place accountability for the mounting persecution with the rise of the nation state, others have found evidence for the increased harassment in Germany from a lack of centralized power. The provenance of Drew's volume situates the text chronologically and geographically at the increase of witchcraft trials in that region.

The two Spanish readers of the 1500 and 1669 editions highlight another facet of regional interpretation of the text. The role of marginalia in the editions shows that similarity of interest does not necessarily mean the same purpose. Although each edition resided in Spanish hands, the text was received by ideological opponents. In the 1500 edition, it is assumed that the notations are religious in nature wherein historians find that ecclesiastical marginalia can be an indicator "to back up a doctrinally correct reading with a refutation of erroneous ones, thereby publicizing error in the name of orthodoxy" (Jackson 52). Attacks on the Virgin Mary in a region known for reverence of her, as well as severity of punishment, are indicators of local ecclesiastical attitudes toward heresy in the volume from this Spanish reader. Marginalia serves many purposes in the life of a book, a pattern that can be seen across academic disciplines; "One finds comments of a personal nature: readers adduce lived experience to parallel that described in the book or interject objections, criticisms or praise, engaging in a kind of personal dialogue with the book as both text and object" (Blair 423-4). The later edition is notated by an Enlightenment reader who marks sections that underscore the disparity between the *Malleus* and the tenets of his ideology.

The study of marginalia with *The Malleus Maleficarum* reveals changing cultural attitudes toward the volume's use and witchcraft theory over time. The reality and eradication of witchcraft became the focus of liturgical study and marks a shift in the book's use. The *Malleus'* notorious reputation is slowly eroded by the subsequent collision of intellectuals and the pious. Notations made from a reader during the Enlightenment stand in stark contrast to that of a presumed inquisitor more than a century before. The change in reception is also seen in the transformation of the book through printing innovations and modifications for the intended audience. The numerous reprinting of *The Malleus Maleficarum* lends to durability, yet marginalia centuries later may

indicate “the battle” to wrest control of the text (Tribble 10). Historical retrieval of this nature provides an uncertain glimpse into attitudes and behavior, yet even one notation may convey reform or the tenacity not to consider religion at all. The timing of our readers is significant in the opinion of marginalia scholars as well; “the early modern period has yet to disentangle authority from authorities, origin from originality, the autonomous author from his social, poetic, and theological guarantors” (160). The arc of readership for *The Malleus Maleficarum* began with inquisitors who put forth a concerted effort to promote a new definition of sorcery. Two hundred years later, notations by theologians and others may indicate the futility of their endeavor.

Appendix A

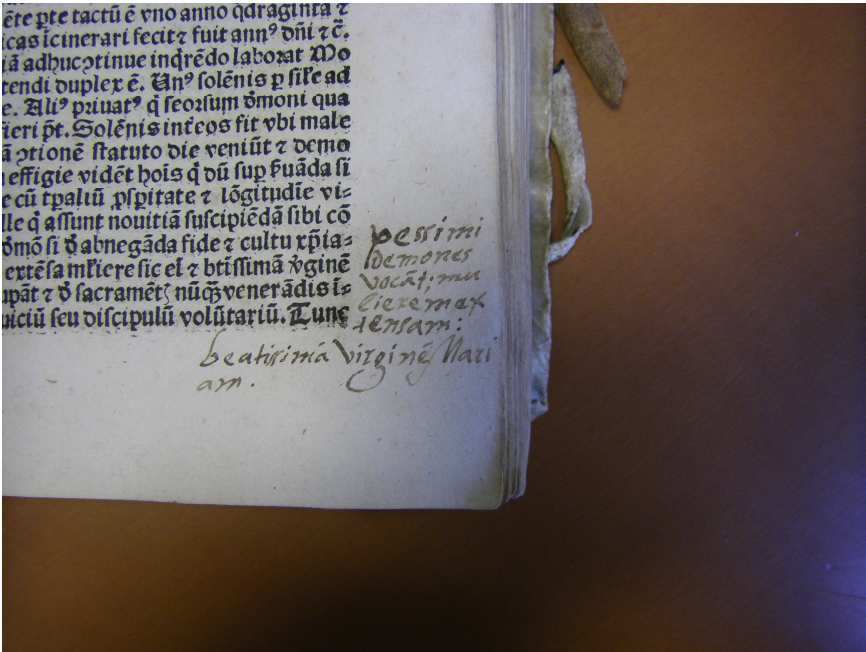


1500 edition

Jacob Burns Law Library

George Washington University

Appendix B

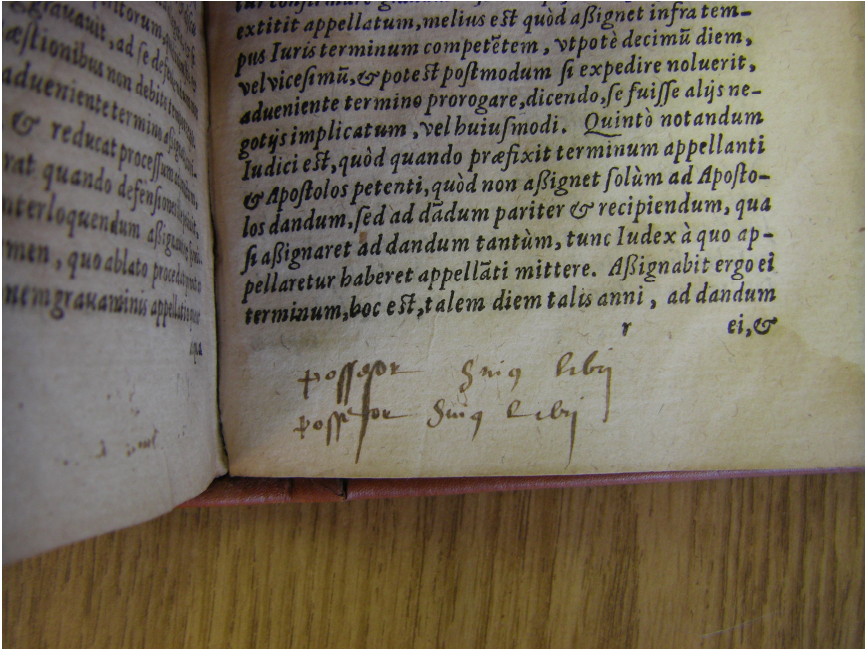


1500 edition

Jacob Burns Law Library

George Washington University

Appendix C



1580 edition

Black Collection

Drew University

Appendix D

1 Manerium de Seere et h¹
 2 penally in Corn pembro²

3 The Survey of the Maner of Seere and penally granted by the
 4 possession of the right Excellent Prince Charles Prince of Wales
 5 in the Month of August 1535 and in the name of the said Prince
 6 and King James of England France and Ireland by Sir John Stappell Knight
 7 his son and heire in the name and substitution of Sir John Stappell Knight
 8 and Thomas Lenthall Esquire Chancery Clerk in his absence from the said
 9 shire for the shire of the said Maner and by appointment of a Justice
 10 of the Peace Justice of the said Maner first named and Justice of the Peace
 11 first named Thomas for a Justice of the said Maner for the
 12 said Maner at present for the shire of the said Maner first named
 13 The maner of the said Maner

14	John Overton	John Overton	14
15	John Overton	John Overton	15
16	John Overton	John Overton	16
17	John Overton	John Overton	17
18	John Overton	John Overton	18
19	John Overton	John Overton	19
20	John Overton	John Overton	20
21	John Overton	John Overton	21
22	John Overton	John Overton	22

23 The Site and Boundes of the said Maner³³

24 In printe the said Maner of Seere and Penally is bounded by
 25 the right and left hand of the said Maner and by the right and left
 26 hand of the said Maner and by the right and left hand of the said Maner
 27 and by the right and left hand of the said Maner and by the right and left
 28 hand of the said Maner and by the right and left hand of the said Maner
 29 and by the right and left hand of the said Maner and by the right and left
 30 hand of the said Maner and by the right and left hand of the said Maner

31 Manerbere husbandrie 31

32 Frances Pearce Esquire husbandrie by the Maner of Seere 32
 33 part of land by the Maner of Seere and by the Maner of Seere 33

34 Husbandrie of land of the Maner of Seere 34

35 Nicholas Tidman husbandrie and Messuages by the Maner of Seere 35
 36 husbandrie of the Maner of Seere and by the Maner of Seere 36

37 Husbandrie of land of the Maner of Seere 37
 38 Husbandrie of land of the Maner of Seere 38
 39 Husbandrie of land of the Maner of Seere 39

40 Eleanor Nord husbandrie and Messuages by the Maner of Seere 40
 41 husbandrie of the Maner of Seere and by the Maner of Seere 41

42 Husbandrie of land of the Maner of Seere 42

43 David Robben husbandrie and Messuages by the Maner of Seere 43
 44 husbandrie of the Maner of Seere and by the Maner of Seere 44

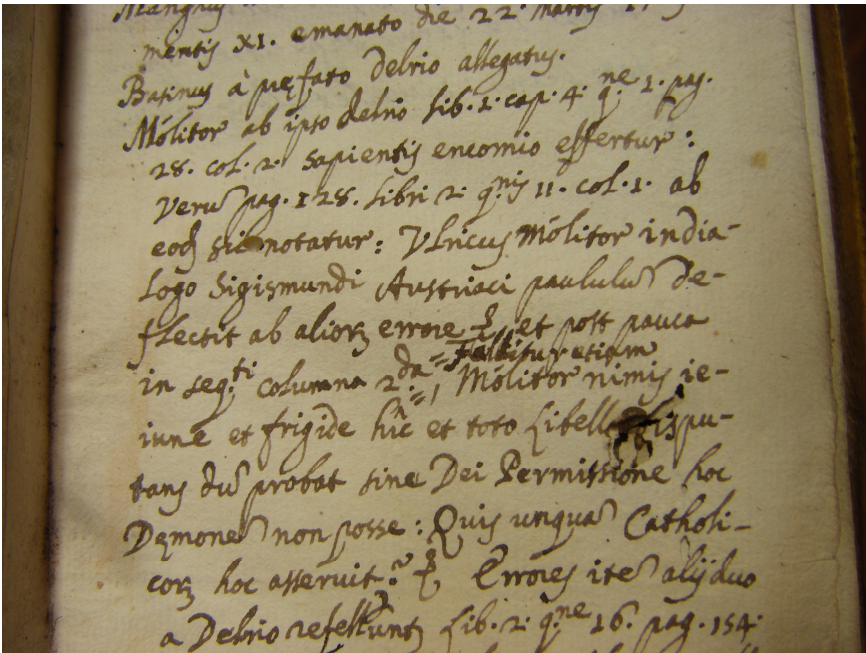
45 Husbandrie of land of the Maner of Seere 45
 46 Husbandrie of land of the Maner of Seere 46
 47 Husbandrie of land of the Maner of Seere 47
 48 Husbandrie of land of the Maner of Seere 48

49 George White husbandrie and Messuages by the Maner of Seere 49
 50 husbandrie of the Maner of Seere and by the Maner of Seere 50

51 Husbandrie of land of the Maner of Seere 51
 52 Husbandrie of land of the Maner of Seere 52
 53 Husbandrie of land of the Maner of Seere 53

The National Archive (UK) manorial survey, August, 1618

Appendix E

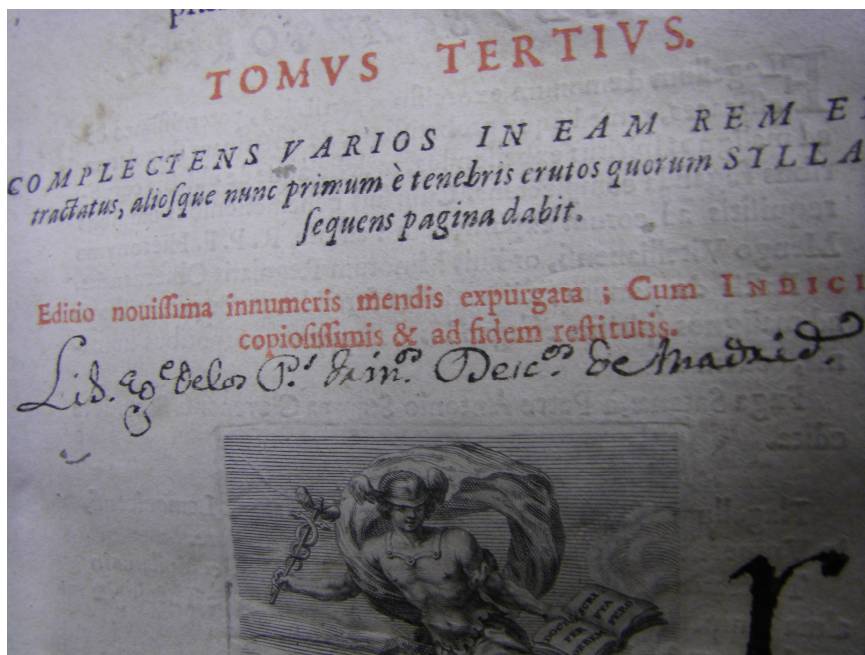


1600 edition

Burke Library

Union Theological Seminary

Appendix F

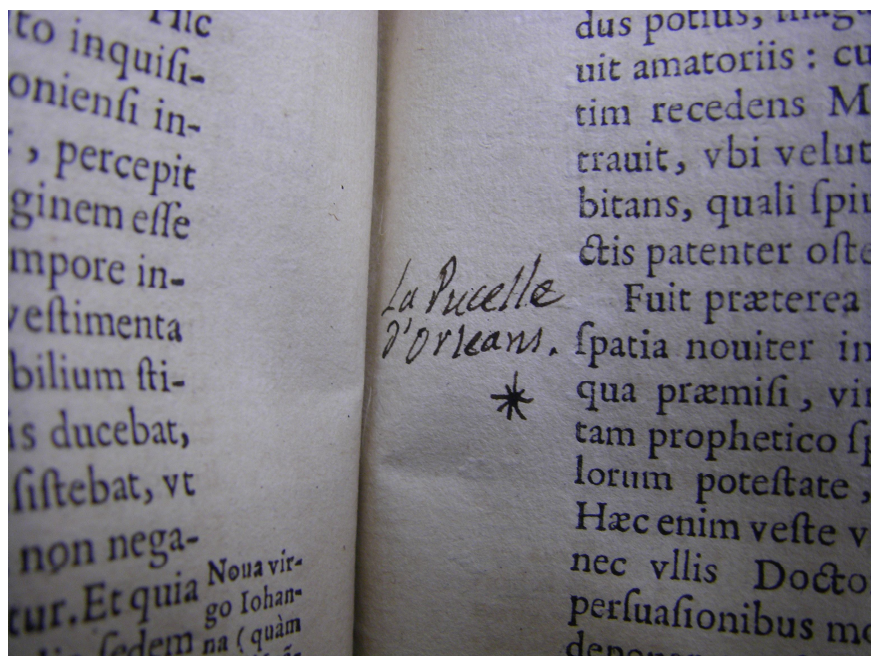


1669 edition

Butler Library

Columbia University

Appendix G



1669 edition

Butler Library

Columbia University

Appendix H

1600 edition Union Theological Seminary

Notes

On the writers

Of the present Malleus

Sprenger is often cited by Delrio *Disquisitionum magicarum* – with one Henricus Institoris his colleague and fellow inquisitor - Nider too.

Manghus in the line of the damned from the decree emanating from Clement XI day 22 March 1709.

Basinus was deputed by the aforementioned Delrio.

Molitor by Delrio himself book 2 chapter 4 question 2 page 28 column 2. Delrio brings out by his wise speech (praising) : (Verus?) page 128 book 2 question 11 column 1 by the same Delrio this is noted: Ulrich Molitor moves away from the dialogue of Sigismund of Austria and the errors of others, he also makes a mistake here and the whole of the book disputing while his disapproves whoever without the permission of God this demons cannot do: who ever of Catholics asserted this? Two other errors likewise are made by Delrio created in his refuting can read and regeneration can be found here book 2 question 16 page 154 column 2 and page 161 column 2. Some [literally “not-no”] other things are refuted on the topic of the generation of may be read as refuted there book 2 question 15 page 250 column 2.

The most learned Gerson is cited by Delrio in his book. Murner in accordance on the lineage of the damned classes.

Malleolus by the same Delrio whose book 3 page 2 question 4 section 8 and 9 page 83 on the superstitions of this learned man hits the nail on the head, refutes by de Spina and Spineas, on Strigibus, and against Ponzinibus De Lamiis is often cited by Delrio, as also Ponzinibus.

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TRANSCRIPTIONAL REGULATION OF MANNITOL SUGAR UPTAKE BY MTLR IN VIBRIO CHOLERA

LISA MARIA MUSTACHIO (CLA 2011)

Abstract

Vibrio cholerae is currently a major public health concern world-wide (Reidl and Klose 2002). To be successful in different environments, *V. cholerae* must be able to rapidly respond to different niches by using a variety of carbon sources for energy to ensure cellular survival. Rapid cellular changes in bacteria are often controlled by small RNAs (sRNAs) which are functional, non-coding ribonucleic acids that are generally transcribed but not translated into protein (Majdalani et al. 2005). Our lab has identified a specific sRNA termed MtlS in *V. cholerae* that may have the ability to control the expression of mtlA mRNA which is associated with mannitol sugar regulation (Liu et al. 2009). To understand this complex system, we began to investigate regulators that may be involved in this process. Our main hypothesis is that the transcriptional regulator MtlR plays a role in the expression of MtlA protein by positively regulating MtlS sRNA expression. To test this hypothesis MtlS expression was compared in both mutant mtlR and wild type strains with the use of biochemical techniques. Preliminary results suggest that expression of MtlS is not influenced by MtlR. Additional experiments will be conducted to further elucidate MtlR's role in mannitol metabolism.

Introduction

For centuries, the water-borne bacterial pathogen that causes cholera has posed a threat to developed populations of Asia, North America, and Europe (Reidl and Klose 2002). It was not until the late 19th century that *Vibrio cholerae* was identified as the causative agent of this disease, which resulted in a total of seven major pandemics occurring world-wide since the early 1800s (Reeves and Lan 1998). *V. cholerae* is a motile, Gram-negative, rod-shaped bacterium belonging to the family Vibrionaceae which resides naturally in aquatic ecosystems (Reidl

and Klose 2002; Garay et al. 1985). In freshwater aquatic environments, such as streams, rivers, or estuaries, *V. cholerae* attach to plants, green algae, zooplankton, crustaceans and insects (Reidl and Klose 2002). The infectious cycle of cholera commences with the ingestion of marine organisms or water contaminated with *V. cholerae* by a human host (**Figure 1**). After passing and surviving through the esophagus and gastric acid barrier of the stomach, *V. cholerae* attaches and colonizes the mucous lining of small intestine's epithelial cells (Reidl and Klose 2002). This is where the bacteria secrete the cholera toxin (CT) responsible for large amounts of water loss through diarrhea that can lead to hypotensive shock without proper medical interventions (Reidl and Klose 2002). Such findings have led to improved sanitary practices in developed countries, contributing to the decreased incidence of *V. cholerae*. In contrast, cholera is still a major public health concern in third world countries or regions that have recently experienced war or natural disasters (Reidl and Klose 2002). In such cases, it is difficult to maintain sanitary

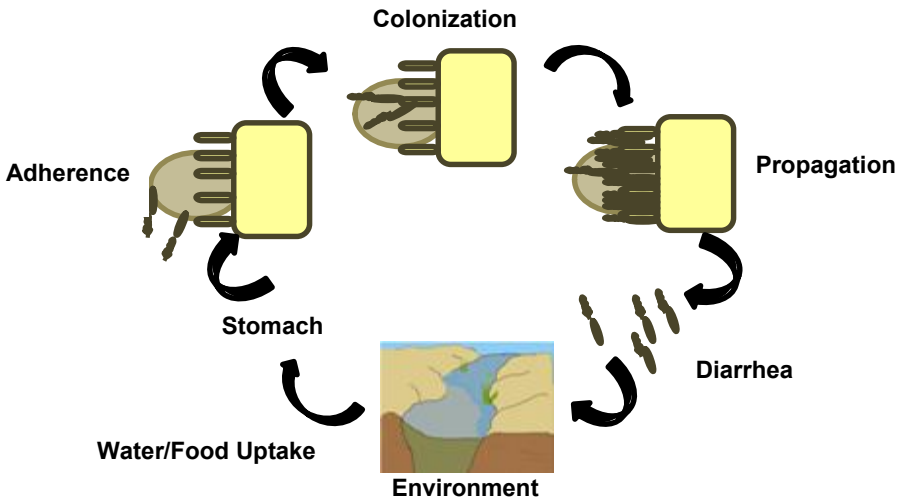
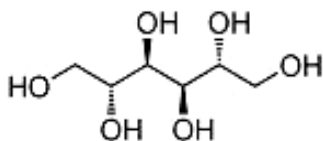


Figure 1. *Vibrio cholerae*'s infectious cycle (1). The bacteria *Vibrio cholerae* thrives in aquatic environments. Upon ingestion, *V. cholerae* adheres, colonizes, and propagates in the human small intestine where it releases CT, the toxin that causes the extensive loss of bodily fluids characteristics of cholera. In unsanitary conditions, *V. cholerae* finds its way back into the environment to repeat cholera's infectious cycle.

environments due to a lack of an organized and proper sewage system. Usually, third world countries contain dense populations living in crowded conditions, all which contribute to the prime conditions for a cholera outbreak (Reidl and Klose 2002). The 2010 earthquake in Haiti, for example, led to increased unsanitary conditions and homelessness, resulting in a major cholera outbreak that has killed over 900 individuals in six out of ten Haitian provinces (Butler 2010). Despite the existence of numerous modern medical techniques available to combat cholera, new variants of bacterial pathogens evolve quickly, making it necessary to continue to identify new therapeutic strategies to successfully control disease (Reidl and Klose 2002). To begin combating this bacteria, one must understand how *V. cholerae* adapts to temperature, osmolarity, pH, and carbon source changes while switching from freshwater environments to the human small intestine (Reidl and Klose 2002). In understanding the mechanisms *V. cholerae* use for survival, novel therapies can be developed to take advantage of these processes to ultimately prevent or cure cholera.

Studies suggest that bacteria in the animal gut adapt to changes in nutrient availability based on what carbohydrates are present in their environment (Lin 2009). Mannitol, a six-carbon sugar, is found naturally in fruits and can accumulate in the human small intestine after a person eats mannitol-containing fruit (Southgate 1995) (**Figure 2**). It is possible that *V. cholerae* uses mannitol sugar as an energy source while colonizing and propagating in the small intestine. In aquatic environments, *V. cholerae* may use glucose sugar, (**Figure 2**), as a main sugar source since studies have shown that glucose sugar is highly abundant in freshwater ecosystems (Rai 1979).

A.



B.

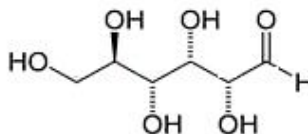


Figure 2. Chemical structures of mannitol and glucose sugars. Mannitol is a six carbon sugar alcohol (A) Glucose is a six carbon sugar alcohol chain with a terminating aldehyde group (B).

In many different bacterial species, including *V. cholerae*, D-mannitol is transported into the cell through the phosphoenolpyruvate-dependent phosphotransferase system (PTS) (Berkowitz 1971). Ultimately, this system converts mannitol sugar into a derivative that can be used in the glycolysis pathway (Berkowitz 1971). When mannitol is present in the bacteria's environment, it will be influxed into cells through the mannitol-specific transporter protein (MtlA) that is encoded by the *mtlA* gene located in the mannitol operon (**Figure 3**) (Berkowitz 1971; Lin 2009). After mannitol sugar is brought into the cell, it is phosphorylated with a phosphate group from phosphoenol pyruvate (PEP) and then converted from D-mannitol-1-phosphate into D-fructose-6-phosphate in an oxidation reaction by the mannitol-1-phosphate dehydrogenase (MtlD) encoded by the *mtlD* gene of the mannitol operon (Berkowitz 1971). The conversion of D-mannitol into D-fructose-6-phosphate, a sugar involved in glycolysis, allows the sugar to be used in the glycolysis pathway as an energy source (Berkowitz 1971). In addition to *mtlA* and *mtlD*, the mannitol operon in *V. cholerae* also contains another gene, *mtlR*, which encodes a putative transcriptional regulator (Figge et al. 1994).

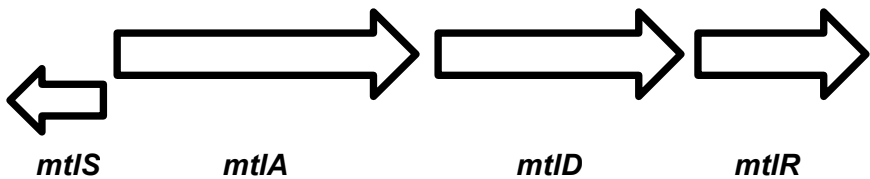


Figure 3. The mannitol operon controlling mannitol metabolism in *Vibrio cholerae*. The mannitol operon contains genes for the sRNA MtlS, the protein MtlA, the protein MtlD, and the protein MtlR, a potential transcriptional regulator involved in mannitol metabolism.

In the 1960s, scientists conducted studies to characterize genes encoding catabolic enzymes associated with hexitol catabolism in *Escherichia coli* and *Salmonella typhimurium* (Figge et al. 1994). This led to the discovery of three hexitol catabolic operons including an operon for mannitol, glucitol and galactitol sugars (Figge et al. 1994). In investigating the glucitol operon, scientists revealed three transcriptional regulator genes in addition to genes for other enzymes needed in catabolism (Boyd et al. 2000; Figge et al. 1994). The *mtlR* gene, first discovered in the

mannitol operon of *E. coli*, has the ability to regulate mannitol metabolism by repressing MtlA protein directly (Figge et al. 1994). Figge et al. revealed that activities of MtlD and MtlA in a wild-type *E. coli* strain were increased by about 10-fold when mannitol was used as a growth medium (1994). The Δ mtlR strain exhibited a 20-fold increase in both MtlD and MtlA activities (Figge et al. 1994). It was concluded that the loss of a functional mtlR gene leads to increased activities of the mannitol operon (Figge et al. 1994). However, in other species of bacteria, such as *Bacillus stearothermophilus* or *Bacillus subtilis*, MtlR activates MtlA expression when mannitol sugar is present in the environment (Henstra et al. 1996). Studies conducted by Henstra et al. suggest that the binding of MtlR upstream of the mannitol promoter activates the expression of the mannitol operon as indicated by expression differences in cells grown in mannitol and glucose (1996). Thus, MtlR has the ability to either promote or repress mannitol sugar uptake, depending on the bacteria. Phosphoenolpyruvate-dependent phosphotransferase systems are very complex and still require extensive studying to fully understand their capabilities (Lin 2009). To further investigate mannitol metabolism in *V. cholerae*, we are studying a sRNA termed mannitol operon sRNA (MtlS) that was identified as being a part of the mannitol operon (**Figure 3**) and may have the ability to control the expression of mtlA mRNA (Liu et al. 2009).

The very first non-coding RNA was first discovered in the 1960s by Holley et al. who analyzed an alanine transfer RNA (tRNA) found in yeast (Hillet et al. 1965; Holley 1965). Since then, many small-regulatory RNAs (sRNAs) have been identified in a wide range of organisms, playing significant roles in the regulation of gene expression (Majdalani et al. 2005). These sRNAs often respond to harsh environmental conditions to adjust gene expression for survival accordingly, and are often involved in rapid cellular changes (Majdalani et al. 2005; Gripenland et al. 2010). Present in both prokaryotes and eukaryotes, sRNAs have been shown to modify protein activity, mRNA stability, and mRNA translation (Majdalani et al. 2005; Gottesman 2005). Small-RNA responses are very complex and may include multifunctional regulatory systems that work together to control protein expression (Repoila and Gottesman 2001). Most characterized sRNAs have been shown to regulate gene expression post-transcriptionally by altering mRNA stability or by base-pairing to target mRNA to inhibit ribosomal binding sites (Majdalani et al.

2005, Storz et al. 2006) (**Figure 4**). However, some sRNAs have been shown to regulate transcription by competing for DNA binding of RNA polymerase or by base-pairing interactions with sequences in the mRNA (Storz et al. 2006). In *E. coli*, the 6S RNA was shown to be involved in regulating transcription by forming a complex with RNA polymerase leading to down-regulation of transcription at several promoters (Storz et al. 2006). Small RNAs have also been shown to regulate transcription through base-pairing in Streptococcal species. In Streptococcal bacteria, two sRNAs termed RNAI and RNAII are encoded on the strand opposite of the *repC* mRNA and can base-pair with *repC*, which codes for a protein that acts as a positive replication regulator of a plasmid involved in resistance, resulting in the formation of a secondary structure that leads to the termination of transcription (Storz et al. 2006).

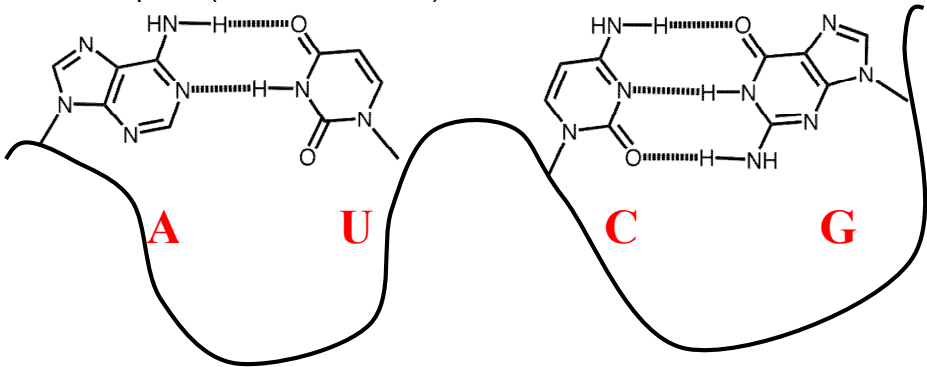


Figure 4. Representation of base-pairing between nucleobases. In RNA base-pairing, the nucleobase adenine forms a complementary base-pair of two hydrogen bonds with the nucleobase uracil (thymine in DNA). Nucleobase cytosine forms a complementary base-pair of three hydrogen bonds with nucleobase guanine. These interactions occur between sRNAs and mRNA or DNA.

In addition to transcriptional regulation, researchers at the University of Illinois have contributed to discoveries that emphasize sRNA regulation at the posttranscriptional level (Wadler and Vanderpool 2007). Wadler and Vanderpool have shown that under conditions of glucose stress in *E. coli*, when there is a great accumulation of glucose-6-phosphate intracellularly, a sRNA, SgrS, is transcribed and represses the translation of *ptsG* encoding a glucose-transporter protein, by

base-pairing to the ptsG mRNA, causing its degradation (2007). Another example of a bacterial sRNA that works at the level of translation is the sRNA OxyS which is induced in response to oxidative stress in *E. coli* (Altuvia et al. 1998). This sRNA represses fhIA translation, which encodes a transcription factor for formate metabolism, by pairing with a short sequence that blocks ribosomal binding and translation (Altuvia et al. 1998). In *V. cholerae*, Song et al. have shown that VrrA sRNA acts in response to membrane protein folding stress that can be a result of oxidation, cold, heat or osmotic shock (Song et al. 2008). Once transcribed, VrrA base-pairs to ompA mRNA, which codes for a protein necessary for colonization used by cells to adhere to epithelial cells of the small intestine, leading to a down-regulation of OmpA protein expressed in the cellular membrane by blocking ribosomal binding sites (Song et al. 2008).

Similar to these systems, we believe that sRNA MtlS regulates MtlA expression post-transcriptionally when cells are grown in a sugar source other than mannitol. Preliminary studies suggest that when *V. cholerae* are exposed to surroundings containing sugars other than mannitol, the sRNA MtlS represses the translation of mtlA mRNA into MtlA, the mannitol transporter (**Figure 5**). When *V. cholerae* are switched from a mannitol to a glucose-rich environment, MtlS and MtlA expression gradually increases and decreases overtime, respectively. These results suggest that there is an inverse relationship between the sRNA MtlS and the protein MtlA. Thus, our major hypothesis states that the MtlS sRNA negatively regulates MtlA protein expression when *V. cholerae* is in sugars other than mannitol, affecting mannitol uptake by the bacteria. The objective of this research is to analyze MtlS sRNA, which may regulate gene expression associated with energy utilization and to help understand how *Vibrio* adapts to different environments.

We will begin to uncover the molecular mechanism of this system by focusing on the affect MtlR has on mannitol uptake in *V. cholerae*. The putative transcription regulator MtlR may have an indirect or direct influence on the regulation of MtlA protein in *Vibrio cholerae*. Specifically, we hypothesize that MtlR plays a role in repressing the expression of MtlA protein by positively regulating MtlS sRNA when cells are exposed to a sugar source other than mannitol (**Figure 6**). We believe this since MtlR is part of the same operon as mtlS and mtlA and many operons contain

cis-regulators that work to regulate the expression of genes located on the same molecule of DNA (Liu 2009). Preliminary studies have also shown that $\Delta mtlR$ cells grown in glucose and switched to mannitol adapt to mannitol quicker than the wild-type suggesting that MtlA protein was being produced even when mannitol was not present in the environment (Liu 2009). A strain over-expressing MtlR has had difficulty growing in mannitol medium (Liu 2009). Lastly, since studies done in *E. coli* have revealed MtlR's role in repressing expression of the MtlA protein, we believe this may occur in *V. cholerae* as well (Figge et al. 1994). Such evidence indicates that MtlR either activates MtlS or directly represses MtlA, ultimately stopping the production of MtlA protein.

To properly support or refute this hypothesis, biochemical techniques were used to analyze the relationship between MtlR

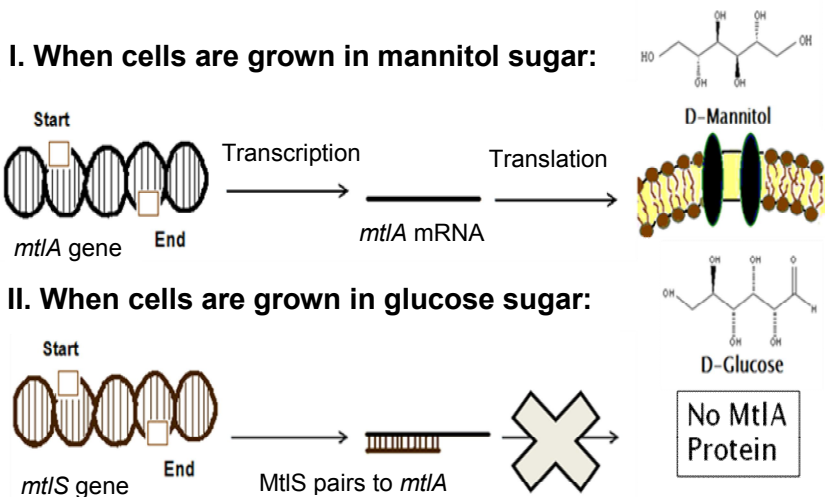


Figure 5. Hypothesis of MtlS sRNA regulation of MtlA protein. When *Vibrio* are grown in an environment containing mannitol sugar, the *mtlA* gene is transcribed into *mtlA* mRNA which is then translated into MtlA. This transporter is embedded into the cellular membrane to allow mannitol to be influxed inside the cell (I). We hypothesize that when cells are grown in an environment containing a sugar other than mannitol (i.e. glucose sugar), the *mtlS* gene is transcribed into the MtlS sRNA which may then base-pair with *mtlA* mRNA (or contribute to its instability) to repress its translation into MtlA protein (II).

and MtlS expression. If MtlR does play a role in activating MtlS, we expected to see little to no MtlS expression in Δ mtlR cells grown in glucose medium. However, an equal expression of MtlS in both wild-type and mutant strains would have suggested that MtlR in *V. cholerae* does not regulate MtlA expression through the sRNA MtlS but has a direct influence on MtlA as seen in *E. coli* and *B. subtilis* (Boyd et al. 2000; Henstra et al. 1996).

This research project is not only significant because it can aid in the production of new therapeutics against *V. cholerae* by taking advantage of the mechanisms these cells use in stress responses to promote bacterial survival and virulence, but also help contribute to the molecular understanding of small-RNAs and their regulation of processes vital to any living cell. In addition, this research can be applied to other bacterial diseases and can contribute to the development of therapeutics to fight resistant infections.

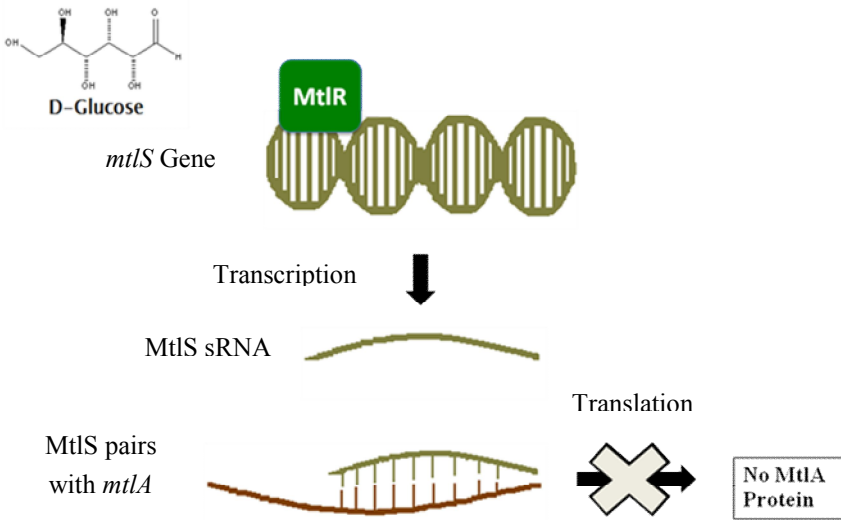


Figure 6. Hypothesis of MtlR protein positively regulating MtlS sRNA. Our hypothesis states that when *V. cholerae* are grown in a glucose enriched environment, the transcriptional regulator MtlR binds to the *mtlS* gene to positively regulate its transcription into the MtlS sRNA. We believe that the sRNA may then base-pair with *mtlA* mRNA to repress its translation into MtlA protein.

Results

We hypothesized that in *V. cholerae*, MtlR is a transcriptional regulator that represses the expression of MtlA protein indirectly by activating mtlS when cells are grown in sugars other than mannitol. We further hypothesized that MtlR affects mannitol metabolism in *V. cholerae* by positively regulating MtlS sRNA. We first constructed a Δ mtlR strain and compared its growth to wild-type in mannitol and glucose medium. Then, we set out to test the relationship between MtlR and MtlS by isolating total RNA from wild-type and Δ mtlR strains grown in glucose and mannitol medium. Using these samples, we tested whether MtlR is necessary for MtlS expression by analyzing MtlS levels in the two different strains.

Δ mtlR and wild-type growth are similar in glucose but different in mannitol

We wanted to know how a mtlR deletion affects bacteria grown in glucose and mannitol. *V. cholerae* Δ mtlR and wild-type strains grown in glucose and mannitol medium showed differences in growth when placed in a mannitol medium only (**Figure 7**). In glucose, both Δ mtlR and wild-type strains grew similarly over a seven hour period; however, when grown in

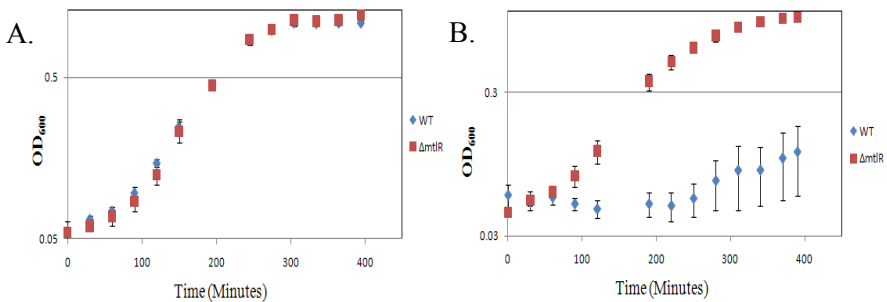


Figure 7. *Vibrio cholerae* wild-type and Δ mtlR strains grew differently in mannitol medium. Growth of strains JL1 WT (N16961 Δ tcpA) and JL24 Δ mtlR (N16961 Δ tcpA Δ mtlR) at 37 °C in M9 medium with 0.4% glucose over 7 hour period (A). Growth of strains JL1 WT (N16961 Δ tcpA) and JL24 Δ mtlR (N16961 Δ tcpA Δ mtlR) at 37 °C in M9 medium with 0.4% mannitol over 7 hour period (B). Error bars represent standard deviations of three independent trials.

mannitol sugar, the Δ mtlR strain reached exponential and stationary phases much quicker than wild-type over a seven hour period. MtlR does have a specific role in mannitol metabolism.

MtIS sRNA expression in both Δ mtlR and wild-type is equal

We wanted to know how a deletion of mtlR alters levels of MtIS sRNA in *V. cholerae*. A northern blot analysis of *V. cholerae* wild-type and Δ mtlR strains grown in either mannitol or glucose revealed no difference in MtIS sRNA expression (**Figure 8**). Our results indicated that the MtIS sRNA was expressed in both wild-type and mutant cells when they were grown in glucose. When either strain was grown in mannitol, MtIS sRNA was not expressed. The same blot probed for the 5S rRNA control qualitatively revealed that approximately equal amounts of total RNA was indeed loaded into each lane. MtlR does not seem to regulate MtIS directly.

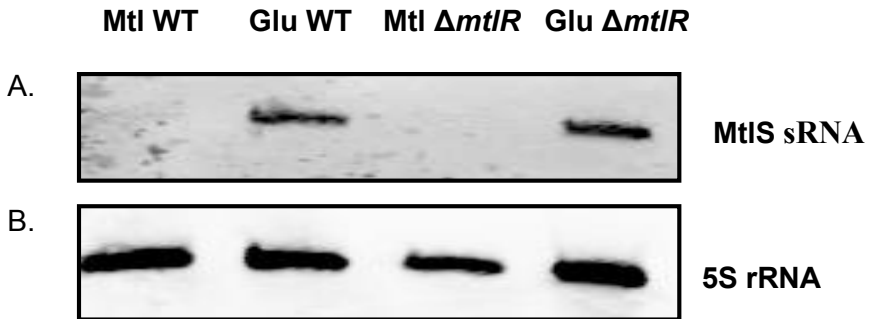


Figure 8. MtIS sRNA was expressed in wild type and Δ mtlR in equal amounts while grown in glucose medium. Blot probed for MtIS sRNA (1 μ g) in wild type (N16961 Δ tcpA) and Δ mtlR (N16961 Δ tcpA Δ mtlR) strains grown in 0.4 % M9 + glucose or M9 + 0.4 % mannitol until mid-log, OD₆₀₀ ~0.3. From left to right: lane 1 WT in glucose, lane 2 WT in mannitol, lane 3 Δ mtlR in glucose, lane 4 Δ mtlR in mannitol. Distinct bands probed with MtIS-specific riboprobe were present in wild type and mutant lanes containing cells grown in glucose. Bands were not present in lanes containing both strains grown in mannitol (A). The same blot was probed for 5S rRNA. Bands were present in each lane indicating that RNA was successfully loaded in approximately equal amounts (B).

Future work will consist of a kinetics experiment measuring MtlS sRNA expression in Δ mtlR strain grown in mannitol and then switched to a glucose medium. In addition, a northern blot measuring mtlA mRNA levels and a western blot measuring MtlA protein levels will be done for Δ mtlR strain grown in glucose and mannitol medium.

Discussion

Vibrio cholerae, the bacteria that causes the disease cholera, is still a major concern in third world countries and regions experiencing war or natural disasters (Reidl and Klose 2002). *V. cholerae* has the ability to thrive in freshwater aquatic environments and the human small intestine; two niches with completely different conditions (Reidl and Klose 2002). Previous studies have indicated that small RNAs, RNAs that are transcribed but not translated into protein, are involved in bacterial stress responses by aiding in rapid changes in gene expression to provide proper physiology (Majdalani et al. 2005; Gripenland et al. 2010).

We previously discovered a sRNA termed MtlS which may be involved in regulating carbon metabolism in *V. cholerae* when cells transition from one environment to the next (Liu et al. 2009). Mannitol sugar is found in many fruits and can accumulate in the small intestine if these fruits are ingested by a human host (Southgate 1995). This sRNA may have evolved *V. cholerae* to aid in providing a proper carbon source when cells are introduced to the environmental conditions of the small intestine. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first sRNA involved in carbon metabolism to be discovered in *V. cholerae* (Liu 2009). Additionally, this sRNA is a new component to the mannitol operon found in other bacterial species including *E. coli* and *B. subtilis* (Liu 2009; Figge et al. 1994; Henstra et al. 1996). In understanding sRNAs and their regulation in response to environmental stresses, (i.e. carbon source changes, oxidative stress, pH fluctuations, etc.), therapeutics can be produced altering the processes these cells use for survival.

Specifically, our lab set out to elucidate the mechanism behind the sRNA MtlS's regulation of mannitol metabolism in *V. cholerae*. Our major hypothesis is that the sRNA MtlS represses MtlA protein when *V. cholerae* are exposed to a sugar source other than mannitol medium. We believe that MtlS base-pairs with

mtlA mRNA to block its binding to the ribosome. Preliminary results support this hypothesis, suggesting that there is an inverse relationship between the sRNA MtlS and MtlA protein. Results also suggest that MtlS works post-transcriptionally in its repression. We are currently investigating the molecular mechanism behind MtlS's regulation of MtlA which is very complex and consists of a great deal of questions that must be answered.

This work focused on elucidating transcriptional regulators that may be involved in this process. Specifically, we asked what is MtlR's role in mannitol metabolism in *V. cholerae*. The transcriptional regulator MtlR is part of the mannitol operon and may be involved in MtlA's repression as indicated by previous studies (Liu 2009; Figge et al. 1994; Henstra et al. 1996; Joyet et al. 2010). Our MtlR hypothesis states that when cells are grown in a sugar other than mannitol, the transcriptional regulator MtlR binds to the mtlS gene to positively regulate its transcription into the MtlS sRNA. Once transcribed, the sRNA can work to repress the expression of MtlA protein. If MtlR positively regulates MtlS, we would expect to see decreased MtlS expression in cells with a mutant MtlR gene. To begin testing our hypothesis, growth curves were constructed for Δ mtlR and wild type strains grown in either mannitol or glucose medium. Our results suggests that when mutant cells are switched from LB, a nutritionally rich medium, to mannitol medium, MtlA protein is already expressed in these cells which are able to adapt to an environment consisting of mannitol sugar only more quickly than cells with a mtlR gene. Altogether, this suggests that MtlR may be involved in repressing MtlA protein. After growing both Δ mtlR and wild type strains in either glucose or mannitol medium, a northern blot analysis of MtlS sRNA was performed. The results from this experiment suggest that there is no significant difference between MtlS levels in cells with and without MtlR (**Figure 8**). Three northern blot trials were conducted, successfully replicating these results. From these results, it seems that MtlR does not affect MtlA expression by positively regulating MtlS sRNA. Even when the mtlR gene is deleted, MtlS is expressed at levels comparable to wild type, suggesting that MtlS does not rely on MtlR for transcriptional activation. These results also suggest that MtlR is not a repressor of MtlS; if MtlR was a sRNA repressor, we would see MtlS expression in mutant cells grown in mannitol.

The experiments conducted thus far contain steady state levels of MtlS sRNA in cells grown over night (~16 hours) with an additional four hours in either mannitol or glucose medium. Perhaps, if samples of mutant cells, originally grown in mannitol and then switched to glucose, are taken throughout an hour after cells are grown in glucose rather than 20 plus hours of growing in this medium, we may be able to further identify whether MtlR influences MtlS expression. If MtlR is involved in the positive regulation of the sRNA, we would expect to see a slower induction of MtlS sRNA in mutant cells in comparison to wild-type. If these results also suggest little to no difference between MtlS expression in wild-type and mutant strains, northern blot and western blot analyses of mtlA mRNA and MtlA protein levels in wild-type and mutant cells grown in either mannitol or glucose will be carried out. It is possible that MtlR directly regulates MtlA expression transcriptionally or post-transcriptionally as seen in other bacterial species (Figge et al. 1994; Henstra et al. 1996; Joyet et al. 2010). We do believe, however, that MtlR's regulation of the mannitol operon, at any level, is involved in the repression of the mannitol specific protein, similarly in *E. coli*, as supported by growth curve results (**Figure 7**) (Figge et al. 1994). Preliminary data involving a mtlR plasmid strain also suggests that cells have trouble growing in mannitol medium when mtlR is over expressed (Liu 2009). It is possible, however, that other regulators, such as CRP, may be involved in the transcriptional regulation of *V. cholerae*'s mannitol operon (Figge et al. 1994).

Studies will be considered in the future to further contribute to our understanding of mannitol metabolism in *V. cholerae*. Not only will this research contribute to understanding sRNA regulation in *V. cholerae*, it can also be applied to sRNA regulation in other organisms and aids in our understanding of the central dogma of molecular biology which may be more complex than originally thought to be.

Materials and Methods

Bacterial strains and growth conditions

Bacterial strains used in this study are listed in **Table 1**. Strains were struck for single colonies on Luria-Bertani agar and incubated overnight at 37 °C. *V. cholerae* cultures were grown at 37 °C with aeration in M9 minimal media supplemented with trace metals (1 mL/L of 5 % MgSO₄, 0.5% MnCl₂·4H₂O, 0.5% FeCl₃,

0.4% trinitrioloacetic acid) and either 0.4% glucose or 0.4% mannitol. Antibiotics were added at the following concentrations: 100 µg/mL streptomycin.

Table 1. Bacterial strains and characteristics

Strain	Characteristics
JL1	N16961 ΔtcpA (Sm^R)
JL24	N16961 ΔtcpA ΔmtlR (Sm^R)

RNA extraction

Total RNA was isolated from bacteria grown to mid-log phase (OD₆₀₀ 0.3) using the hot phenol method, with modifications (27). Briefly, 4 mL of culture were centrifuged (4 °C, 6,000 x g, 5 minutes), and the pellet was resuspended in 500 µL 1 x M9 salts. To the resuspended cells, 75 µL lysis solution (320 mM NaAcetate (pH 5.0), 8 % SDS, 16 mM EDTA) and 570 µL acid phenol chloroform (Ambion) were added. This mixture was incubated at 65 °C for 5 minutes, vortexing every minute. After centrifugation (> 12,000 – 16,000 x g, 10 minutes), the mixture and an equal volume of chloroform were added to a 2.0 mL pre-spun (16,000 x g, 1-2 minutes) phase-lock gel tube (Eppendorf). After an additional spin (16,000 x g, 5 minutes), the supernatant was poured into a 1.5 mL Eppendorf with 1/10 volume 3 M NaAcetate (pH 5.2 – 5.6), 5 µL glycogen, and an equal volume of room temperature isopropanol. After centrifugation (12,000 x g, 4 °C, 20 minutes), the pellet was rinsed with 200 µL of 70 % ethanol and centrifuged (2 – 3 minutes, 12,000 x g). This step was repeated a second time before air drying pellet for 10 minutes. The pellet was resuspended in 100 µL of water treated with diethyl pyrocarbonate (DEPC). RNA concentrations were quantitated spectroscopically using absorbance at 260 and 280 nm (OD₆₀₀ of 1 = 40 µg/mL; 260:280 ratio should be between 1.8 and 2.0). Samples were stored at -15 °C.

Northern blot analysis

Northern blots were performed with MtlS RNA probes transcribed from PCR-derived templates with T7 promoters using biotin-16-UTP (Roche) and T7 polymerase (Promega) according to the manufacturer's instructions. To probe for 5S rRNA,

hybridizations were performed with DNA oligonucleotides 5'-end-labeled with IRDye-700 (IDT). A total of 1 µg RNA, with an equal volume of loading buffer (contains small amounts of bromophenol blue), was loaded into each lane of a 10% TBE-Urea gel to separate RNA by size. The RNA on the gel was transferred to a positively charged nylon membrane (Amersham) in 1x TBE using the Mini Trans-Blot Cell apparatus (Bio-Rad) according to the manufacturer's instructions. RNA was cross-linked to the membrane and the blots were prehybridized with ULTRAhyb-Oligo (Ambion) at 55°C and hybridized with both MtlS and 5S probes, overnight at 55 °C. The following day, blots were washed with Low and High Stringency Washes (Ambion). Blots were blocked for 30 minutes with Odyssey Blocking Buffer plus 1% SDS (LI-COR Biosciences) and then incubated for 30 min with Streptavidin IRDye 800 conjugate in blocking buffer plus 1% SDS (LI-COR Biosciences). Blots were washed three times with 1x PBST, once with 1x PBS, and then scanned on an Odyssey IR Imaging System (LI-COR Biosciences).

Future Considerations

Experimentation thus far has suggested that MtlR has no affect on MtlS sRNA. To further identify MtlR's role in *Vibrio cholerae*'s *mtl* operon, a series of studies will be conducted:

1. MtlR kinetics experiment. The Δ mtlR will be grown over night in mannitol medium and then grown to mid-log in mannitol medium the following day. Cells will then be switched from mannitol to glucose. Cell samples will be taken about every 10 minutes after cells are switched to glucose until an hour has passed. Analysis of MtlS sRNA will proceed. If MtlR does influence MtlS, we would most likely see a different in MtlS's induction in mutant versus wild type strains.
2. Measurement of *mtlA* mRNA in mutant strain grown in glucose. Analysis of *mtlA* mRNA will be done for cells grown in mannitol and glucose medium.
3. Measurement of MtlA protein in mutant strain grown in glucose. Analysis of MtlA protein will be done for cells grown in mannitol and glucose medium.

These experiments will contribute to a better understanding of at what level MtlR regulates MtlA expression.

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**“YOU TAUGHT ME LANGUAGE”:
GABBLE, CURSES, AND LYRICISM IN CALIBAN’S POSTCOLONIAL
VOICE**

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The relationship of *The Tempest* to individuals from the postcolony hinges on the representation and perception of Caliban. Revisionist readings and adaptations nearly always focus on Caliban as a character and his role in relation to Prospero. Increased sensitivity toward the plight of “others” has led to a reexamination of the power dynamics in place in *The Tempest*. In his interpretive history, Caliban has taken on the preoccupations of the era in which he was performed, as monster, missing link, African, and, currently, the oppressed. In this most recent manifestation, Caliban has his own power and strength. And, his ambiguous identity allows him to represent individuals from a variety of nations—including but not limited to India, Africa, South America, and the Caribbean. This character, who was once no more than a curiosity and a comedic slave, has come to stand for much more. Despite some undesirable character traits, he has become not only a portrayal of the oppressed but a site for subversion and a symbol of the casualties of imperialism. Caliban is a vehicle for commenting on the postcolonial condition.

Although for many, Shakespeare still connotes almost exclusively English themes, Caliban’s existence in the canon challenges these common associations. His role, his language, and his presence create an opportunity for subversion both within the play and outside the fiction. Caliban moves off the page and the stage with his current relationship to postcolonial authors. He comes with a legitimacy and a language that has made him a prime symbol of colonialism and a character from which to write back. His European-crafted tongue gives voice to words and experiences all his own. Though his utterances may be called a great many terms, ranging in tone from gibberish to poetry, by different characters, scholars, and readers, the fact remains that Caliban’s voice is unique both in the context of the play and in the life his voice takes on in its comparison to postcolonial authors. Caliban’s relationship to the English language emerges as a

strong connection between the written character and his living counterparts.

Shakespeare's text provides little information on Caliban. He is "a savage and deformed slave" in the description of characters. Additional observations are made solely on his interactions with other characters in the play. Prospero, the exiled but rightful Duke of Milan, calls him "A freckled whelp, hag-born" whose presence has "not honored [the island] with / Human shape" (1.2.283-284). He is called "moon-calf" and "monster" repeatedly by Stephano and Trinculo, two bumbling servants to the king of Naples. Caliban's appearance as something non-European makes him a figure of interest in postcolonialism. Throughout the play, Caliban comes off as not only non-European but at times non-human, a trait that is characteristic of the European imagined "other." His "otherness" makes him appealing to those operating from the periphery, who share this chronic misrepresentation in Eurocentric texts. Caliban has a racelessness that makes him an applicable figure to peoples of various races and ethnicities. Because nothing in the text indicates Caliban's race, he is allowed a space in which context determines his race. Writers, readers, and directors ascribe Caliban a race only when they either cast him or claim him as one of their own.

The scant details on Caliban make him ready material for exploration. What began at the level of sub-human and pure otherness became the peoples of the periphery—those overlooked and elbowed out of country, home, and history. His role in this reading provides an ideal space in which to recognize the colonial subject. *The Tempest* and Caliban appear in the works of Indian authors Salman Rushdie and Arundhati Roy; Caribbean authors George Lamming and Elizabeth Nunez; and British-Jamaican author Zadie Smith, to name a few. While each incorporates Caliban or *The Tempest* into their work in a unique way, all acknowledge the play's and the character's link to colonialism in some way. Even when the play is mentioned and Caliban's name is omitted, as is the case in some works, Caliban is at the center of the association. The copious references and allusions to Caliban in the literature of postcolonial writers demonstrate the deep connection—purely symbolic or not—the character has with colonialism.

Caliban's difference does not end with his physical appearance. He does not behave like the Europeans and, before their arrival, he did not speak like them. What "civilized" qualities he possesses, most significantly language, are attributed to Miranda and Prospero. Although perceptions of Caliban are decidedly more favorable currently, the less than desirable actions of the character cannot be ignored, and thus, Caliban's suitability as a representation of so vast an array of peoples has come with some resistance. Caliban admits to, and even boasts about, the attempted rape of Miranda; he gets drunk; he plots against Prospero. These actions can only be explained, rationalized, or downplayed. His own failings as a character and the fact that "he originally was a European construct – the product of an English imagination" (Vaughan and Vaughan 162) means that Caliban is not an adequate or appropriate representative figure for the oppressed for some postcolonial writers (Loomba, *Colonialism* 165). All of these issues depend on perspective. It is possible to reason that since Caliban was a creation of a European mind his use as a symbol can be viewed as an even more powerful means of subversion.

Though Caliban is not flawless or purely good, and cannot be read as such, he does encounter experiences faced by individuals from postcolonial nations. While some reject him, others, aware of his flaws embrace him:

as Caribbean novelist George Lamming pointed out, if his reading of *The Tempest* as a play that celebrates Caliban was a mistake, it was 'a mistake, lived, and felt by millions of men like me.' These responses remind us that beyond critical battles, plays like *Othello* and *The Tempest* have spoken about race to an audience whose lives have been, and continue to be, enormously affected by the racial question. (Loomba, *Colonialism* 5)

Loomba's quotation of George Lamming, author of *The Pleasures of Exile* and *Water with Berries*, two books that invoke *The Tempest*, supports the influence of the ideological force located within the play. Readers from non-Western backgrounds repeatedly echo Lamming's interpretation. Caliban's representation as a "figure opposed to dominant ideologies" (Vaughan and Vaughan xvi) has created an alternate ideology: one that steers the entire play in a different direction. While in *Othello* the title character does everything he can to assimilate

into European culture and earns accolades for these actions, Caliban's experiences in *The Tempest* show what occurs when Europeans move outside Europe. Caliban's position is a defensive one that requires skills to oppose dominant ideologies as well as the ability to conform to European standards enough to survive. He must grapple with an imposed language, deal with a rejection of his right to territory, and utilize subtle acts of defiance. His European encounters closely resemble real issues faced by colonized peoples.

Within the play, Caliban's use of language and his relationship to language place him in a unique position in the Shakespearean canon. It is this position that has made him dear to writers such as Lamming and so interesting to audiences and critics alike. Postcolonialists have been accused "of missing poetry for ideology, language and form for politics" (Loomba, "Postcolonial Tempest" par. 4), but Caliban is a site for exploring the convergence of these two foci of interpretation. Caliban's individual voice in relation to the other characters in the play, particularly Stephano and Trinculo, combined with the underlying colonial forces that go into the creation of his voice meet in the inherently political nature of language.

Language acts as both a point of difference and commonality in the play. Communication between Caliban and the Europeans is possible because they speak a common language, yet Caliban's acquisition and use of the language is problematic. The play would be very different and rather un-Shakespearean if Caliban were allowed to use his first language, literally his mother-tongue. Whatever Caliban speaks or tells his audiences comes through a lingual filter crafted by his European teachers.

Prior to the action of the play, Caliban is taught Language by Miranda and Prospero. I capitalize "Language" here to represent the privileged status of the language of the colonizers. Rather than adopt the language of the native people, colonialism comes with its own Language. The privileged language is just that—privileged, and it becomes a necessary skill for education, employment, and advancement. While it is true that these characters would most likely be speaking Italian, as Prospero is the former Duke of Milan, the language that the text supports is clearly English. This Language will be the one that comes with

the British Empire and will take Shakespeare around the world, far from Europe.

Miranda appears to have been Caliban's primary teacher. Under her tutelage, he will gain Language. She tells him, "I pitied thee," and:

Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
One thing or other. When thou didst not (savage)
Know thine own meaning, but woudst gabble like
A thing most brutish, I endowed thy purposes
With words that made them known. (1.2.352-357)

Caliban has been taught more than the Language of the Europeans. Miranda sees what she has done as giving Caliban a means to express himself and to speak. The ability to speak, to Miranda, is not only a lingual gift. "Thine own meaning" suggests that Caliban has gained his significance, his identity through her teachings of language. Now that he can speak her language, he can have a "meaning" and understand words, thoughts, and fundamentally, self. Any noises that he made before were not language, they were merely sounds, the sounds of a "thing most brutish." Miranda's words confirm her belief that, though Caliban already spoke a language before she taught him hers, she has given him the gift of Language. She does not acknowledge that what he spoke before was also a language. It was merely "gabble."

The word "gabble," now fallen out of usage, provides a clue to Miranda's perception of the language of the native. *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines "gabble" as "To talk volubly, inarticulately and incoherently; to chatter, jabber, prattle. Also, to read so fast as to be unintelligible" (OED). Miranda's description of Caliban's original language likens it to the lowest, least intelligible forms of English. Caliban's "gabble" is a kind of broken English, a babble. His language had an element of fragility that her teachings would work to lessen and eventually eradicate. Her understanding of the speech of the native cannot entertain the notion of a language that is not English that could not be considered "gabble."

Though he may have once enjoyed a mutual relationship of showing the Europeans the island and being taught by Miranda, Caliban has different ideas about what he has reaped from these cross-cultural interactions. He spoke about when they first

arrived, and how Prospero and Miranda would “teach him how to name the bigger light, and how the less, / That burn by day and night” (1.2.334-336). In exchange, he taught them about the island. Now, this civility has passed. Despite Caliban’s new distrust and dislike for the Europeans, their language and therefore their knowledge are a part of his reality. He continues to use their words to explain himself, but the tone has changed. Caliban’s response to the “gift of language” is: “You taught me language, and my profit on’t / Is, I know how to curse. The Red plague rid you / For learning me your language!” (1.2.362-364). Caliban no longer sees the value in this language. “Gabble” gives way to curses, and thereby “gabble” and “curse” become two sides of the same coin. He uses language against the Europeans, now though his curses do not move beyond empty threats. He has been given a weapon by Miranda and Prospero and knows that through this very tongue he can retaliate. Yet, he is aware that the weapon of language may only spawn more words, a prettier gabble, a foreign curse, and not his longed for autonomy.

He does not view this new language as a gift, as all Caliban has reaped from it is the ability to curse, and the language brought with it the need to curse. These lines suggest that cursing was not something he had need of before Prospero and Miranda landed on his island. Additionally, Caliban can only curse at them in this language. Even if Caliban rebels, “he must voice this in a curse in the language of civility, representing himself as a subject of what he so accurately describes as ‘*your language*’” [emphasis in original] (Brown 61). His ability to curse in the language of the colonizer creates something of a linguistic trap. His very use of the language is part of the containment of colonialism, because “Whatever Caliban does with this gift announces capture by it” (Brown 61). Furthermore, he may now realize that his first language may be better suited to his personal expression. This new Language actually mutes Caliban by preventing him to express himself in his mother-tongue. Everything he speaks, even curses, comes to him via the European language. Caliban’s journey from “gabble” to speech is steeped in perceptions of natives and ideas about the value of some languages over others.

Perceived lack of language and linguistic inferiority are long-standing indicators of “others.” The characteristics of the medieval wild man, one of Caliban’s possible representations, focused “on his inability to speak” as “incoherence or muteness, or

linguistic confusion, remained essential attributes of those on the fringes of civilization” (White qtd in Loomba, “Cultural Difference” 172). Caliban’s lack of what was deemed a viable language acted as a major indicator of his inferiority and sub-human qualities. As Miranda “endowed thy purposes / With words” and made sense of Caliban’s “gabble,” she made assumptions about cultural superiority and operated under the belief that her tutelage tamed him, made him better, and, in being better, he was more like her. Although she gives him the ability to be understood by Europeans, she also limits his expression. His words and experiences must now be expressed only in the Language she has taught him.

In addition to improving the status of the native, Miranda and Prospero believed they were entering into a kind of pact. The gift of Language, which will enable Caliban to converse with Englishmen, should indebt Caliban to them. If they teach Caliban and give him language, he will never turn against them. Perhaps, they also suspected this was the best way to gain Caliban’s superior knowledge of the island in addition to preventing betrayal. A disobedient action would be too much like biting the hand that feeds. Caliban describes that when the Europeans first arrived, “Thou strok’st me and made much of me” (1.2.333), and in return, Caliban “loved thee / And showed thee all the qualities o’ th’ isle” (1.2.336-337). Miranda teaches Caliban language, and Prospero “lodged thee / In mine own cell” (1.2.346-347) until Caliban attempts to rape Miranda. The “good” treatment and gifts of the Europeans should have dissuaded Caliban from doing any harm.

Miranda’s teaching of Caliban is the root of all power over Caliban. It is this exchange of knowledge that gives Caliban cause to give up his “qualities o’ th’ isle.” Not only do these images in the play relay some justification for the prescribed education of colonial subjects, but also “Theatrical images of converted Jews, Turks, blacks, and Indians, of Othellos and Calibans who must learn the languages of Venice and Milan, allay the fears of Englishmen going native” (Loomba, *Colonialism* 19). The act of being the teacher of language, culture, and proper behavior eases the European mind regarding who is in control of the exchange. While education does not necessarily civilize the native, as Caliban proves, it does provide a sense of security and superiority for the Europeans. Prospero and Miranda remain “civil” among natives. Prospero knows that their future depends upon it. The darker side of retaining their civility depends on

controlling Caliban. Caliban's sexual advances must be kept in check as Miranda is Prospero's conduit for his royal progeny. A loss of control of the "native" could entirely thwart Prospero's plans for the future.

Despite Caliban's threat to the Europeans, they thoroughly limit his effects on them. Miranda and Prospero are able to keep all of their cultural trappings of language, dress, and behavior, despite their lengthy stay on the island, and only take from the native what they choose and select as valuable. Caliban, on the other hand, receives knowledge and a language that he must take up in place of, rather than in addition to, his own language. What's more, Caliban's knowledge of English does not really advance his status on the island, while teaching Prospero and Miranda about the island makes them equipped to rule over it.

The culture of the native is contained by the European language. As well as ensuring that Miranda and Prospero maintain the purity of their European ideals, including Miranda's physical purity, the images of this intellectual transaction reveal some of the assumptions associated with colonialism. These scenes of educating the native "are not merely images of containment; rather, they encode the violence as well as malleability of early cross-cultural encounters" (Loomba, *Colonialism* 19). What may have begun as a mutual relationship has now ceased to be so. Caliban is no longer eagerly seeking to learn from the Europeans. He has, instead, learned a much harder lesson, and one from which his only profit is the knowledge of how to curse.

Though they do learn about the island from Caliban, it is unthinkable to imagine Miranda and Prospero taking pains to learn the language of the native. The Europeans never "go native." Nothing about the island or its inhabitant sticks to the Europeans. Each can leave the island without being changed by it. The absurdity of this image and a "key to the invasion of Caliban's place by Prospero's language" function with the "assumption that Caliban, a creature so racially inferior that he was less than human, did not *have* a place but was a part of, a *feature* of, the place" [emphasis in original] (Ashcroft 75). Caliban is a part of the island, such as a tree or a kind of animal. Never at any point does it occur to Prospero that the native has any legitimate claim to the island. Caliban does not live on the island as its ruler. He is more in tune with nature as demonstrated by his ability to appreciate the

island's beauty and bounty without exploiting the land; this is not the kind of position that Prospero can respect. Prospero has other ideas about the way the island should be run. By teaching him their language, the Europeans gain privileged knowledge of the land while also carving out a place for the native in their new system of governing the island.

Yet Caliban does not loyally follow his master and mistress, worship them, or remain in the mold they made efforts to set. He betrays the trust of the Europeans, causing them vexation and disgust. His attempted rape of Miranda makes him "A devil, a born devil, on whose nature / Nurture can never stick" (2.1.188-189) and a "thing of darkness" (5.1.275). Though Caliban is clearly able to learn, his moral failures are used to represent an inherent evil that needs constant guidance, even surveillance, in order to curb the darkness. The portrayal of "Caliban as a creature who could learn language but had no developed moral sense... could also be appropriated to justify European tutelage of 'underdeveloped' (that is, black) natives in colonial territories" (Griffiths 135). To portray Caliban in this way means that the native needed Prospero to come into his world and teach him right from wrong. A deficient sense of morality becomes associated with blackness and otherness. These representations of the natives as immoral, and in the best of cases, amoral creatures in need of European guidance are coded into the justification of colonialism. Language is a product of this justification and charts the interactions between cultures.

What transpires between the Europeans and Caliban is a case of linguistic incompatibility, even if they are speaking the same language. Shakespeare uses language to signify suitability. Characters who can follow each other's puns and continue the same metaphor often end up together. Linguistic cleverness and elegance are signs of intelligence, class, and potential. Understanding is an essential component of both intimacy and suitability in much of Shakespeare. *The Tempest* sets itself apart from other plays, as "Linguistic compatibility, seen in other Shakespearean couples such as Romeo and Juliet and Beatrice and Benedick as a mere sign of sexual compatibility, takes on racial overtones in that racial and cultural difference are tied to rhetorical skill" (Hall 148). The relationship between language, sexuality, and race emerges in the interactions between Miranda and her two "suitors."

Miranda and Caliban, though they have little contact during the play, speak to each other with great hostility. Miranda's words to him, "Abhorred slave, / Which any print of goodness wilt not take" (1.2.350-351), were considered so harsh that they were previously attributed to Prospero; editors of the text assumed that the folio contained an error. Jonathan Goldberg seizes on the phrase "print of goodness" to describe this moment as one of a pedagogical transference, successful from Prospero to Miranda, but faulty from Miranda to Caliban. Miranda treats "pedagogy as inscription, as if [Caliban] were a slate to be inscribed, printed" with "goodness" (Goldberg 124). This exchange marks the point where Caliban's inability to accept the Western imprint of social and sexual conduct contrasts with his skill at learning language. In this moment of failed teaching, language and sexuality function analogously: "Pedagogy here is thereby a means for reproduction, cultural reproduction that nonetheless, in its very metaphors of printing, suggests sexual reproduction as well" (Goldberg 124). Caliban and Miranda, though they now speak the same language, still do not communicate on the same level. They speak to one another sharply and Miranda dwells on Caliban's prior linguistic inadequacies. His linguistic history indicates that he is not a match for her sexually.

The interaction between Caliban and Miranda sharply contrasts with the meeting between Miranda and Ferdinand. The meeting between his daughter and the prince of Naples is long awaited and carefully orchestrated by Prospero. The appropriateness of the pair's courtship is expressed through their likeness. Ferdinand's wonder at this maid, kindled by her beauty, is further inflamed because she speaks his language: "My language? Heavens! / I am the best of them that speak this speech, / Were I but where 'tis spoken" (1.2.426-428). Miranda has discovered a male whom she does not have to teach. They communicate without effort and she does not have to contend with "gabble."

Prospero and Caliban never converse on an equal level. Caliban converses with Stephano and Trinculo with some familiarity and equality, though by the end of the play he sorely regrets it, realizing these men were a "drunkard" and a "dull fool" (5.1.196, 297). Language fails Caliban in many ways. As he follows the drunk Stephano and Trinculo around, when they offer him the bottle, they tell Caliban to "kiss the Book" (2.2.137). They

offer him a liquid text that dulls his senses and leads him to further disgrace. His new language continues to lead him into trouble; its benefits are sullied by its dishonor. Even though Caliban now possesses language, he does not employ it in a way that cooperates with the Europeans. By giving him language, they also give him the ability to refuse them. His ability to curse and to talk back is the only benefit of his new father-tongue. Caliban does not have a linguistic equal, a person who understands him in the play—another sign of his otherness and difference.

Miranda may have initially called Caliban's speech "gabble," and it may have been harsh on her European ears, but Caliban becomes a master of his new language. He has linguistic expertise that comes out in his ability to interpret the island's sounds. The native may not see the use or "profit" in his new way of speaking, yet he is given some of the most beautiful lines in the play. In addition to lyricism, Caliban also, despite his lost first language, possesses a unique voice. Shakespeare is well known for giving each of his characters a distinctive voice. No two of his kings "talk" in quite the same way, just as no two commoners will. Shakespeare also controls the formal aspects of each character's speech. Some characters will speak in verse while others speak in prose. This formal distinction is made to indicate a number of characteristics—class, intelligence, and importance. Although Caliban may be merely "a savage and deformed slave," he speaks in verse. The unusualness of his style of speaking is most obvious in comparison to Trinculo and Stephano, who both speak in prose. The jester and the butler, while certainly of a lower class than the nobility, are given less status, indicated by the form, than Caliban the slave.

Though he may hate it and only want to curse, this attitude is not reflected in Caliban's proficiency in his new language. While he drunkenly plots with Stephano and Trinculo, Caliban out of nowhere speaks of the supernatural characteristics of the island:

Be not afeard: the isle is full of noises,
Sounds, and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not.
Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
Will hum about mine ears; and sometimes voices,
That, if I then had waked after long sleep,
Will make me sleep again; and then, in dreaming
The clouds methought would open and show riches

Ready to drop upon me, that, when I waked,
I cried to dream again. (3.2.133-141)

These lines are oft-quoted as a site of resistance in the play, though it is true that “Caliban’s eloquence is after all ‘your language,’ the language of the colonizer” (Brown 66). Regardless of whose language Caliban is speaking, he still says what Prospero cannot and attempts to describe the indescribable. He speaks of a nameless need, a world beyond the tangible, beyond signifying.

This lyricism endears Caliban to postcolonial-English speakers who note his unique observations and expressions. This is a moment in the play that suggests the author and an astute reader may be able to find something of merit in Caliban that is not seen by the other characters. When Caliban lapses into a description of the island, he stops speaking merely to the other characters. His words transcend the play, and it is the brief glimpse of another Caliban that has called out to postcolonial audiences and readers. Caliban sees and experiences the island in a way vastly different, and arguably superior, to that of the Europeans. He is then able to take these experiences and admirably attempts to ascribe words to them—something no European in the play comes close to matching.

The beauty and sadness in Caliban’s lines is completely lost on Trinculo and Stephano. They continue on as though Caliban had done little more than sneeze. The only language Stephano and Trinculo teach or understand is that which can be poured from the bottle. Stephano mentions language when he offers Caliban liquor: “Open your mouth: here is that which will give language to you, cat” (2.2.78-79). Stephano does have a little something to teach Caliban. Stephano and Trinculo succeed in getting Caliban drunk, which results in both a highly comic scene and a lesson that Caliban will not be quick to forget. He calls himself “a thrice-double ass” (5.1.295) for following those men. He learns that not all Europeans are of equal caliber, but he probably realizes they are all equally untrustworthy.

Caliban’s lines regarding the sounds of the island also act as the counterpart to his knowledge of curses. Though he may know how to curse, he also knows how to compose poetry. The event of Miranda’s teaching Caliban language is part of “the play’s generic resemblances to, and rehearsals of, contemporary reports

of colonial encounters” (Cartelli 99), but it doubles as a place where the narrative begins to unravel. Caliban is not just a puppet of his European masters. Caliban is celebrated because he “verbally refuses Prospero’s attempts to construct a seamless colonial narrative and critical attempts to construct a unified play of forgiveness and restoration” (Hall 152). Caliban’s eloquent speech operates outside Prospero’s linguistic realm. Caliban accesses the aesthetic beauty of the island which is inaccessible to the Europeans. The goal of the imperialist is to make the native speak like him, and Caliban proves that he does not speak exactly like the colonizer. Caliban’s presence in the play creates multiple instances that prevent a unified reading of the play, which is precisely what Prospero would need to tie up his story once and for all. Though Prospero may get what he desires most in the end, the remnants of his master plan remain alive: his language in the mouth of the native.

Due to the ambiguity of the play’s ending, Caliban’s future is unknown. No matter what becomes him, Caliban and his descendants are forever changed. If, as Miranda suggests, that it is only through her gift of language that Caliban has been able to “Know thine own meaning,” or fully understand himself as a speaker and as an individual, his identity will always be split between this new self and the one that used to “gabble.” The decision to speak in one’s native tongue or use the language of privilege becomes more than a choice between “gabble,” curses, and lyricism. Instead, language will be political choice and one that has meaning. The text is unclear as to whether Caliban is integrated into European society or left alone on his island at the conclusion. In either situation, Caliban is left to command his new language as best he sees fit, whether that be as a curse or a poem.

Caliban’s skillful use of language is one of his most interesting characteristics. This is also a trait that would make him accessible to postcolonial authors, who face a linguistic dilemma reminiscent of Caliban’s own experience: the choice between a mother-tongue and a father-tongue. The sheer “frequency and poignancy with which Caliban has been invoked...and the variety of authors who have enlisted him in ideological causes suggest that” Caliban “met exceptionally well the needs of Third World authors and readers” (Vaughan and Vaughan 171). The symbolic use of Caliban does not end with authors and readers. Bill

Ashcroft's *Caliban's Voice* is not a study of the character of Caliban, rather it is a study of postcolonial authors. This critic uses Caliban to stand for all postcolonial authors. Though this inclusive use of Caliban's name may not be entirely appropriate, it does signify the broader contextual implications encoded in this character and the play. Ashcroft explores some of the connections between postcolonial authors and Caliban:

In most colonial and post-colonial countries, education, as a mode of instruction, a body of texts and ideology, or a discourse of aspiration, has been overwhelmingly monolingual, with a complete disregard for the home spoken pidgin, creole, dialect, vernacular, regional variant or first language (including the home spoken accents), which are invariably constituted as 'vulgar' or 'crude.' (46)

Caliban's own loss of his first language, called "gabble" by his teacher, is not so different than what would go on in the education systems of colonial, and later postcolonial, nations. Many postcolonial writers, particularly those who have international fame, write in English, a language that is traditionally the language of the colonizer. Caliban's ability to represent a variety of peoples from postcolonial nations stems from the lingual encounter. Language links them.

While Caliban may not meet the needs of postcolonial authors and readers "exceptionally well," the lack of any other suitable character in Shakespeare, coupled with the significant presence of Shakespeare in the majority of education systems controlled by the British, has made locating oneself in Shakespeare a necessary act. Though use of Caliban may be a "derivative discourse" that is "dependent upon the colonizer's gift of language/ideas" (Loomba, "Issues of Race" 146), Shakespeare's cultural privilege makes using him and subverting him all the more powerful. For people who are taught to believe that, "As Lord Macaulay put it in his infamous Minute to Parliament..., knowing English gives anyone access to a 'vast intellectual wealth,' a literature that is intrinsically more valuable than any other" (Ashcroft 33), the ability to resist and destabilize these ideas provides a much needed outlet. This outlet also functions as a point of unity. Because "there is a special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests – above all in the form of poetry and songs" (Anderson 145), postcolonial writers are able to use a colonial narrative, alter it and

form a different community—one which both includes and threatens that which informs it. What goes on in postcolonial readings of Caliban and ideological use of *The Tempest* allows critics, readers, and authors to reexamine a familiar story from a fresh angle and either engage in a new kind of reading strategy or write their way out from under the thumb of a set ideology rooted in colonialism.

The shift from *The Tempest* as a play about the aims of the colonizer to its current focus on the goals of the native creates a space where Caliban can represent an Indian, an African, a Caribbean native, and a variety of other races and peoples. In response to this space, writers, such as Salman Rushdie and Arundhati Roy, incorporate references of *The Tempest* in their widely successful, Man Booker prize-winning novels. Postcolonial authors tend to use the play not exactly as what it is, but as what it has come to represent. Even without naming Caliban, they can allude to and thereby insert his associations into their own stories. *The Tempest* has resonance with what they do in their own work at textual and contextual levels.

The language of the postcolonial author adds to, alters, and reclaims the language of the colonizer. Whether this learned language takes form as curses or poetry, the English of the postcolony takes on a subversive and political poignancy. The examination of Caliban's voice in the play and its similarities to real struggles created through colonialism leads to a more complex way of reading Shakespeare and a deeper understanding of the ways in which Anglophone literature carves out a space for itself both because of and in spite of English canonical literature. This transformation of "gabble" into curses or lyricism marks, or creates, an ideological and historical significance for both *The Tempest* and those who seek an opportunity to form their own narratives.

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THE EFFECTS OF PERSONAL NAMES ON LIFE OUTCOMES

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Personal names are a topic of great intrigue: they carry social sentiment, such as connotations of race, geniality, competence, intelligence, and cultural identity (McCaskill 2010, Copley and Brownlow 1995), yet the specific effects a name might have on one's life outcomes are a subject of some debate. At the heart of this debate lies an unsettling conundrum: the idea that one's name could result in negative consequences—or, perhaps, *any* consequences—is unsettling at best in the supposed meritocracy of the United States, but people generally seem to “know” what a name means (for example, a “White” or “Black” name). This conundrum is compounded by the fact that the available research on the topic is limited in important ways; the vast majority focuses only on racially-charged names (largely ignoring gender and class differences), surnames are nearly always controlled for (leaving knowledge only about the effects of forenames), and the body of research on this relatively nascent topic is still somewhat small. In spite of these admitted limitations, I aim to consolidate what research has been done in order to present what appears to be a valid conclusion: forenames can certainly have an effect on life outcomes. I stratify the findings into four categories: racially-charged names, unique/unpopular names, undesirable/unattractive names, and misgendered/androgynous names, the last of which is more limited in its research and findings. Although overlap does exist among these groups, the pattern of research is best segmented in this general manner.

The Importance of Names

A name is a first impression and a lasting identity. It offers a way for others to immediately acquire a wealth of information about a person, or perhaps for that person to take on a certain role. Names have implications for race, class, status, and gender, and they have throughout history. Verstraten (2006: 43), going back to the 1100s and 1200s in Ireland, finds that “a link can be established between the first occurrence of an Anglo-Norman name in an Irish family and an Anglo-Norman magnate with the same name in the same region.”

One's first name is a symbol and communicative tool of enormous importance. From the earliest age, children attempt to interpret the meaning of the world around them, and they develop an understanding of and associate meaning with names quite soon. For example, many preschoolers cannot recognize or sound out common words, but they "learn quite early about certain language-specific features in the domain of personal names," such as letter shapes (Treiman et al. 2007:1470). Their ability to identify and analyze names is granted even greater importance by their mode of analysis, as "many young children do not seem to understand that writing symbolizes language, believing instead that it represents meaning directly" (1470). In addition, McDavid and Harari (1966: 457) found that fourth- and fifth-graders demonstrate a tendency to conflate "the *label* (name) with the *thing* (person)." With this knowledge in mind, the early and lasting inculcation of value judgments, prejudices, and stereotypes regarding certain names is not surprising, nor is the fact that it is so widespread.

In addition to the meanings attached to our own or others' names, a name can influence behavior on its own merit. Chamary (2009) writes that "we're all unconsciously attracted to things which remind us of ourselves—including the letters in our names." This concept is called "implicit egotism," and its subconscious effect appears to be significant. For example, the entirety of a name can have an influence, as women named "Georgia" disproportionately move to the state of Georgia, but even something as subtle as the combination of letters in a name can affect one's outcomes: all else being equal, more women named "Sheryl" than "Cheryl" own seashell shops. This effect has implications for career paths and social and psychological development, and demonstrates that a name goes beyond a benign label—it can help define a person.

Finally, names often reflect one's cultural identity (or that of his or her parents). As I shall later discuss in greater detail, the emergence of distinctly African-American names coincided with the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements of the 1960s. These names "represent an identity that was created after everything was taken from African people" (McCaskill 2010:A4); that is, they were an attempt to recreate a culture separate from that which had defined African-Americans as inferior to Caucasians. Further, forenames can serve as excellent barometers of the extent of

acculturation. For example, as Latino immigrants move into the United States, they often give their children names which they believe will help them to be more accepted, such as “Daniel” or “David” (Sue and Telles 2007: 1409).

Humans across the globe seem to harbor an obsession with names. Certain countries have notoriously strict naming laws, ranging from gender-specific mandates in Germany to a list of 7,000 approved names from which parents must choose in Denmark (O’Keefe and Anderson 2010), Sweden disallows surnames to be used as forenames (Dacey-Fondelius 2007), and New Zealand disallows names which “would offend a child” (Hart 2008: 19). For a people unsure of the effects of names, quite a bit of legislation has been passed to control them.

While not all of the aforementioned examples speak directly to the research which I shall present, they do serve to demonstrate that the general notion that a name carries importance is not illusory. Regardless of the causes of that importance, be a name consciously chosen to elicit certain attitudes or merely chosen for aesthetic reasons, nobody can escape the meanings ascribed to his or her name. Further, and perhaps most important, these examples, along with those which I shall discuss later, demonstrate that many, if not most of the effects of names are subtle or subconscious in nature. People very rarely make a conscious attempt to seek out people with similar names and discriminate against those with dissimilar names, but they nevertheless end up engaging in such actions. Ideas regarding names (in terms of race, popularity, and attractiveness) and what they imply may, therefore, have effects even without overt discriminatory attitudes.

Throughout the following, when I refer to racially-charged names or names with racial connotations, I am referring to names which have a connotation of non-Whiteness. Examples of such names can be found in Levitt and Dubner (2005a); as I shall explain in greater detail below, I am guided by a theoretical orientation which suggests that names typically thought of as non-Caucasian will be looked down upon, in contrast to Caucasian names.

Theoretical Orientation

Two theories guided my research and conclusions: Symbolic Interactionism (SI) and Critical Race Theory. According

to Symbolic Interactionists, social action is predicated on the meanings assigned to things: people act according to their definitions of themselves, others, and the surrounding world. As Killian (2006: 220) explains, “this is not just a matter of how you view yourself, but how others view you.” A key tenet of SI is that if one defines something as real, it will be real in its consequences. For example, as names go, “having an unusual name...leads to unfavorable reactions in others, which then leads to unfavorable evaluations of the self” (Kalist and Lee 2009: 40). SI is a useful orientation by which to analyze the research on names because it acknowledges that the meaning inherent to any symbol is in fact socially constructed, and that those constructions, even if they are ultimately arbitrary, can have serious effects.

Delgado and Stefancic (2001: 7) explain that Critical Race Theory (CRT) holds, among other tenets, that “racism is ordinary, not aberrational.” In applying this to names, we can understand that an actor’s motives need not be outwardly or intentionally racist to result in racist outcomes. The fact that names are racially-defined and we act upon that information is *normal*; racism does not require “racists.” Of course, “race and races are products of social thought and relations” (7), so perhaps racism is best thought of as *normalized*, since it is decidedly unnatural: no name is naturally racially-charged, unusual, or unattractive. A name is defined as belonging to one or more of those categories through social action, and those best able to effect such action are those in power. Therefore, names can be used as racial tools to perpetuate the power of those who already have it (Caucasians) while keeping it from those who do not (minorities), through the pejorative connotations of the names of the latter group.

Effects of Racially-Charged Names

Research points almost invariably toward the conclusion that names which are seen as pertaining to a certain race (see Appendix A) can have ill effects. First, they can lead to blocked opportunities, particularly in the labor market. Possibly the most influential study in the area was conducted by Marianne Bertrand and Sendhil Mullainathan (2004), in which they sent fictitious résumés in response to help-wanted advertisements in Chicago and Boston newspapers. The researchers found that people with Caucasian-sounding names “receive 50 percent more callbacks for interviews” (991). The study was very rigorous in controlling for perceived status (i.e. “upper-class” and “lower-class” names),

geographic location, and quality of résumé. In fact, African-American résumés of the highest quality did not receive a statistically significantly greater number of callbacks than those of the lowest quality, whereas the difference between the best and worst Caucasian résumés yielded a statistically significant difference (1000-1001), implying a definite effect of name in employers' selection of job candidates.

A similar audit study by Kenney and Wissoker (1994) found that in the job search process, getting an interview is the most important step, because the tendency to discriminate based on one's name diminishes once additional information is presented. In their study, "Anglo auditors received job offers 62 percent of the time, while the Hispanic auditors received job offers 54 percent of the time," but those with Anglo names received 30 percent more interview opportunities than their Hispanic counterparts; the significant discriminatory effect was found before the interview stage began, lending further significance to Bertrand and Mullainathan's findings. In addition, Carpusor and Loges (2006) used similar methodology in inquiring about apartment listings, finding that inquiries signed with a distinctly Caucasian name (Patrick McDougall) received significantly more positive responses than those signed with a distinctly Arab name (Said Al-Rahman), which in turn received more positive responses than those signed with a distinctly African-American name (Tyrell Jackson).

Anecdotal evidence adds to these findings. Killian (2006: 220) writes of a North African French woman who explains, "There's racism by Arab first names; it's very hard to find work." Further, Rubén Moreno quotes a UCLA researcher who explains that the phenomenon has a long history in the Latino community in the U.S.: "[it] dates to the '40s and '50s when if you put your name in English, even though you were Hispanic, you would have more possibilities to work or get an interview" (2006).

Also, names with racial connotations can affect self-esteem and motivation, often profoundly influencing emotional development at a key time in a child's life. Students as young as 4 and 5 years of age seem to have already developed ideas that racially-charged names signal something negative, and many teachers do nothing to dispel this notion, occasionally going so far as to encourage it. For example, Daniel and Daniel (1998) conducted a study of young children in which the participants were

asked a series of questions regarding positive and negative situations, and attaching a name to those situations. For example, students were asked things like “Guess who looks the nicest?” or “Someone stole a bite of your sandwich—guess who it was?” (479). Each situation then offered two sets of two choices each: an African-American and Caucasian male name, and an African-American and Caucasian female name, to control for the effects of gender. Their findings were consistent with those of most of their peers, in that “White children selected African American names more often for negative than for positive situations” (482). Whereas African-American children did not yet seem to have internalized pejorative (or any) views of their names, Caucasians both recognized the racial difference and ascribed a value judgment to it. Several striking studies may offer an answer as to why—teachers often harbor the same views. The list is lengthy: in a British study, “a third of teachers claimed they could spot trouble in names like Callum, Crystal and Chardonnay” (Chamary 2009); elementary school teachers in Dallas assessed the same description of a student the most negatively when the only thing that changed was the Blackness of his name (Anderson-Clark et al. 2008); and several teachers were found with similar attitudes to the one who convinced a second-grader he should change his name from Luíz to Lewis because “Lewis was a name for ‘smart boys’” (Souto-Manning 2007: 1).

Whether they directly lead to blocked opportunities or otherwise present difficulties in development, the research suggests that those with names typically reserved for minorities face greater challenges than those who do not. These effects are shared somewhat with those people who have unique or unpopular names, but the research points to a distinction between a name associated with a minority race and a name which is merely uncommon. The fact that teachers seem to help perpetuate students’ perceptions of these names is especially pertinent, because a teacher’s underestimation of a student’s ability has been found to have a significant negative effect on GPA, even more so than overestimation has a positive effect (Anderson-Clark et al. 2007: 94).

Critical to understanding this phenomenon is the concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy. Decades of research have confirmed that a person can be influenced to accept certain negative beliefs about him or herself, even if they are not truthful. This

internalization of such erroneous beliefs leads to behavior modification, with potentially deleterious results:

First, a perceiver must hold a false belief about a target, as when a teacher underestimates a student's true potential. Second, the perceiver must treat the target in a manner that is consistent with the false belief, such as if a teacher presents easier material to low-expectancy students....Finally, the target must confirm the originally false belief, as when a low-expectancy student underperforms. (Guyl et al. 2010: 116)

The effects of the self-fulfilling prophecy are widespread; its consequences range from children's changing their alcohol consumption habits based on their mothers' expectations (Madon et al. 2003; Darley and Fazio 1980) to negotiators' altering their strategies based on their expectations of how their opponents will act (Diekmann, Tenbrunsel, and Galinsky 2003). Given this framework, the research by Anderson-Clark (2007) and Souto-Manning (2007) on teachers' expectations of students is especially significant.

Guided by Critical Race Theory, I hypothesize that the racialization and stigmatization of certain names serves a very important purpose in strengthening a nascent racial hierarchy. For example, Barack Obama's victory in the 2008 presidential election was seen by many as a breaking down of racial and cultural barriers, but Critical Race Theorists might view it as working entirely within a complicated racial system. As Dr. Manning Marable explains, "Obama's victory...moves...toward a more Brazilian system where a segment of Blacks functionally are honorary Whites" (Rogers 2008:16). He thus implies that successful minorities are only able to find success through acceptance by white society; more particularly, by adopting mannerisms which the members of that society are familiar with—Obama's background as a Harvard-educated lawyer certainly helped him in this regard. Further, perhaps his unfamiliar name, which some might have thought to be a detriment, was in fact an asset, for the name Barack Obama lacks many of the qualities typically ascribed to African-American names, by virtue of its uniqueness. This may have made Caucasians' supporting him easier—one may wonder if DeShawn Obama (the "blackest" name in America [Levitt and Dubner 2005b]) would have won the Democratic primary.

Bonilla-Silva (2004) agrees with the sentiment that a segment of the population serves as “honorary Whites,” a term which originated during South African apartheid to describe the privileges granted to the Japanese there after a Japanese company signed an enormous steel contract with the state (“South Africa” 1962). In fact, he goes so far as to say that America has shifted to a “tri-racial system comprised of ‘whites’ at the top, an intermediary group of ‘honorary whites’...and a nonwhite group or the ‘collective black’ at the bottom” (862). While the tri-racial theory has by no means been shown to be conclusively valid, it would certainly help to explain why names are so pervasively racialized and why racializing them has such a powerful effect. Also, it would assist in explaining the tendency of Hispanic immigrants to the United States to name their children anglicized or easily translatable names, such as “Miguel” (Sue and Telles 2007). While their skin color will most likely preclude them from ever being accepted into the “collective White,” the parents hope that their names will also preclude them from being lumped into the “collective Black,” ending up in an intermediate category which offers greater opportunities.

Effects of Unique/Unpopular Names

Although related to the previous category, I examine this as a separate one because the studies which have been conducted to this point are very clear in delineating their scope: they aim either to study a racial component of a name or otherwise some other component, with no attempt to surmise any potential interaction between the two. Despite this weakness, which I shall address more fully later, studying unique or unpopular names (see Appendix B) offers a tremendous strength in that which names are unpopular is not a subject of debate. Researchers have access to and take full advantage of hospital birth records, census data, and other tools to arrive at a completely objective understanding of how popular a name is in comparison to every other name. These studies do not suffer from the weakness of research done on undesirable and unattractive names, because they do not introduce subjectivity.

Most studies are in concert in their conclusions that having a unique or unpopular name can result in a damaging stigma. The effects are perhaps best summarized by an extensive study of 55,000 Florida schoolchildren, in which it was found that siblings who score equally on tests are not treated equally by teachers:

those with less popular or less attractive names are “far less likely to be put on a gifted and talented programme” (Young 2007). The matched-siblings design allowed researchers to control for factors at home, socioeconomic status, and other potentially conflicting variables, and enormously strengthens the conclusions of the study. Multiple studies have confirmed that people with unusual or unconventionally-spelled names connote “lower levels of success, morality, popularity, warmth, and cheerfulness to raters” (Mehrabian and Piercy 1993: 445; see also Levine and Willis 1994; Kalist and Lee 2009). As mentioned before, these effects are often internalized, resulting in self-fulfilling prophecies (Young 2007). This may help to explain why “unpopular names are positively correlated with juvenile delinquency for both blacks and whites” (Kalist and Lee 2009: 39). Although they did not conduct a full meta-analysis, in analyzing previous research, Anderson and Schmitt (1990: 835) concluded that “those with unique first names score higher on a measure of abasement...perform more poorly in school...and are more likely to be poorly adjusted emotionally” than their less distinctly-named counterparts.

Referring back to the importance of names and implicit egotism, Guéguen (2003: 463) found that people were 63 percent more likely to respond to an e-mail request from a person with the same first name than from someone with a different first name. Burger et al. (2003: 35) explain that “instead of considering costs and benefits and analyzing the requester’s arguments, we typically take a cognitively efficient approach and rely on well-learned scripts or heuristics to guide our response,” and one of these heuristics, albeit often unconscious, is responding more positively to a person with a shared name. Obviously, those with unpopular names would be unlikely to ever experience this effect, and therefore would fail to benefit from this positive discrimination, a situation perhaps more accurately described as an unopened door than a blocked opportunity, with nevertheless important potential repercussions. However, some researchers, whose point of view I shall later explain during my discussion of the limitations of this research, have reached different conclusions and have offered strong objections to the preceding argument.

Effects of Undesirable/Unattractive Names

In contrast, few objections have been raised against findings that when others think one’s name is actually unattractive or undesirable (most likely in addition to being unpopular, for part

of the very definition of *unattractive* is that the names lack widespread appeal) he or she can encounter blocked opportunities, albeit not quite as pernicious as those attached to racially-charged names. Two key limitations to the study of name desirability or attractiveness are that 1) judging a name as desirable or attractive is an entirely subjective endeavor, and the opinion of one group of volunteers may not be generalizable; and 2) names vary in perceived desirability and attractiveness, so exactly replicating a study even just five or ten years after it is conducted may be impossible due to shifts in taste—different names would have to be used, leaving the reliability of the original study in doubt. That said, in every study I have encountered, the researchers found a very high level of agreement regarding what constitutes a desirable or attractive name (see Appendix C), suggesting at least some generalizability.

To begin, in a study of middle schoolers, Garwood (1976: 482) found that those with desirable names scored “higher on self-concept and school achievement measures” than those with undesirable names, suggesting a negative social and psychological effect. Further, Copley and Brownlow (1995) wrote résumés which were exactly the same aside from the name of the applicant and gave them to volunteers to judge the merit of each candidate for each job; those who were thought of as having more “warm” names were judged as more qualified for a front-desk style position, whereas those with “cold” names were seen as more qualified for administrative positions. Interestingly, the volunteers were not asked to judge who they liked more on a subjective level; rather, they were asked to judge the person’s actual competence. Therefore, this study demonstrated that a forename can be more than just a tool by which a person attempts to get a first impression about another; people might subconsciously attach to it more substantial qualities.

Effects of Gendered Names

Regardless of the limited research available, I address this as a separate category for the same reason that I address unpopular names aside from race: there is undoubtedly a stigma from having a misgendered name distinct from that of having a racially-charged name. Further, there is a spectrum unique to gender of how feminine or masculine a name is, even if it is not misgendered *per se*.

Males seem to suffer more from having typically female or androgynous forenames than females do from having typically male forenames. Since uniqueness is valued more in women than men, explain Anderson and Schmitt (1990: 836), having a misgendered name as a male tends to result in a greater stigma than having a misgendered name as a female, because it not only runs against masculinity in general, but adds the extra feminine values of uniqueness and originality. David Figlio adds that “boys with androgynous names tend to misbehave and become disruptive as soon as they hit high school. ‘A boy named Ashley gets teased and feels more self-conscious’” (Chamary 2009), again opening the possibility for a self-fulfilling prophecy of underachievement or misbehavior.

That said, studies have demonstrated that females can suffer consequences both by the fact that their name reveals their gender (which opens up possibilities for sexist sentiment) and by *how* gendered their name is. For instance, speaking to the former, in the study of 4 and 5 year olds, Caucasian children chose female names significantly more often than male names ($p < .001$) for negative situations, suggesting that “over time the stereotyping might be greater for African-American female personal names” (486). As for the latter, Figlio explains that females with more feminine names, such as Heather, are pushed toward the humanities, whereas females with more masculine or androgynous names, such as Alex, are disproportionately pushed toward math and science, which are otherwise typically dominated by men: “success in school is another self-fulfilling prophecy, as stereotypes associated with feminine names are reinforced by society, including teachers, parents and even the girls themselves” (Chamary 2009).

Objections, Limitations, and Recommendations

Perhaps the most pressing objection to the above conclusions, and most specifically to those espoused by the research on race, is this: why would parents give their children names which would hurt them later in life? Fryer and Levitt (2004) argue that parents’ ignorance, parents’ desire to give their children more cultural capital (for example, giving a child in a heavily African-American neighborhood a “Black” name), and parents’ desire that a name clearly signal a race insufficiently address this issue, and conclude that the phenomenon is best explained as a result of the Black Power Movement and a wish to assert a

cultural identity. However, Levine and Willis (1994) find that parents choose aesthetically pleasing names, with little thought of their consequences, while Rabinovich et al. (1994) find that parents of higher socioeconomic status will give their children names they think will impart social capital whereas those of lower socioeconomic status will arbitrarily decide based on aesthetics. An adequate response to this objection cannot be made until more research is done, but the answer is certainly too complex to be contained in a sweeping generalization.

Next, Fryer and Levitt (2004) and Levitt and Dubner (2005a, 2005b) disagree wholeheartedly with the basic sentiment that forenames carry consequences, and argue that any and all effects which seem to be caused by names can in fact be explained by socioeconomic factors. In dismissing the vast majority of research done on the subject, the authors claim that once extra knowledge about a person is added, the name's effect becomes negligible—a conclusion which is itself in doubt. Recall that in Copley's and Brownlow's study (1995), extra factors were presented and names still resulted in judgments of merit. However, even if one were to grant that this is true, the authors still ignore the crux of the matter: the evidence points to the fact that racially-charged, unique/unpopular, undesirable/unattractive, and gendered names can all lead to *blocked* opportunities. In criticizing their colleagues, Fryer, Levitt, and Dubner assume that equal opportunities exist and that more factors beyond the name will be presented, but this is not always the case. A name is often the only (or a key) piece of information on which employers, teachers, and peers judge a person, and what research has been done strongly points to a conclusion counter to that of these authors. For instance, recall the studies by Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) and Kenney and Wissoker (1994) which concluded that job seekers with African-American and Hispanic names have a significantly more difficult time getting job interviews than those with Caucasian names. Indeed, it is possible that through blocked opportunities, names can have an effect on class, as well as vice-versa; however, this is a possibility the authors do not entertain.

This objection is somewhat similar to that mainly espoused by celebrities and popular academics who claim that they or their children are perfectly well-off in spite of their unique names. A striking example of this attitude can be found in Dalton Conley

(2010), who named his son “Yo Xing Heyno Augustus Eisner Alexander Weiser Knuckles” and his daughter “E.” He makes no mention of his three masters degrees and the second doctoral degree he is pursuing, or of his bestselling books. His children already know they have the resources to overcome any blocked opportunities they may encounter as a result of their names. Strawberry Saroyan (2004), whose idea of a harrowing moment in childhood was “moving to a super-preppy town in Connecticut” and feeling she did not fit in, agrees. Coming from a family of wealthy socialites and artists, her attitude is not surprising. I do not hypothesize that Apple Martin, Brooklyn Beckham, Rumer Willis, Pilot Inspektor, or Moxie Crimefighter Jillette will encounter lasting trouble from their unique names, because more is already known about them than their names, and their access to resources will afford them the ability to ensure that their names never deter them. I do not doubt the validity of the objection that some children can thrive in spite of, and sometimes, because of, their unusual first names, but those privileged situations are rare which afford one the opportunity to overcome what would be an obstacle for almost all others.

Another objection stems from the inconsistency of findings, especially regarding unusual names. Zweigenhaft (1977: 291) found no “consistent negative effects from having unusual names,” especially when socioeconomic status was considered, and Erwin (1999) found that university students with unusual names actually had significantly better grades than their peers with more mainstream names. In response to Zweigenhaft, the evidence does agree that socioeconomic status can play a large role in the effect of a name; more status affords a person a greater ability to overcome potentially blocked opportunities. In response to Erwin, I hypothesize that there is a certain threshold, which many people with unusual names do pass, beyond which their names become less of a burden, and possibly an asset. It is certainly conceivable that an unusual name could spur a person to greater achievement than he or she could have accomplished with a normal name. Given the inconsistent findings, I suggest that more research specifically be done on the effect of unusual names to discover why some people suffer from them and others use them to achieve success.

In addition to contrary findings, one could posit several logical objections to the bulk of the findings. First, researchers

have tended to study the effects of a racially-charged name, the effects of an unpopular name, the effects of an unattractive name, or the effects of a gendered name, largely ignoring that overlap may exist among these categories. Second, in studying unattractive names, researchers are forced to administer surveys to people, who are subjective by nature. What one person may think of as an attractive name might seem quite ugly to another person. Further, taste differences can be influenced by class, geographic location, race, etc., calling into question the generalizability of these studies. Third, the proportional effect of socioeconomic status on one's opportunities in comparison with one's name is murky, at best, and current research findings are limited in their ability to decipher this interaction. Last, most of the studies on racially-charged names find that names are a marker for race, and the real factor in blocked opportunities is racism. To my knowledge, no research has been done on the effects of distinctly African-American names on Caucasians (an admittedly extremely rare phenomenon), nor has much research been done on the effect of names once, for example, an employer can actually see a job candidate in person. Addressing each of these factors would lend a much greater understanding of the specific effects of the forename itself.

Future research on the subject should attempt to discover the different effects of racially-charged, unpopular, unattractive, and gendered names, controlling for each one of these categories to prevent overlap. As of now, the exact effect of each is ambiguous. Further, although I find them somewhat misguided, the objections of Fryer, Levitt, and Dubner must be considered: researchers should focus on socioeconomic factors and how they play into blocked opportunities, perhaps partly accounting for what many have concluded to be direct effects of the forename. In addition, most of the research which has been done on racially-charged names has focused on African-American versus Caucasian names, and the scope of these studies should be broadened to include other minority races, as well, in order to understand the multiple dimensions of the phenomenon. Finally, research on surnames is practically non-existent, and studies addressing that half of the personal name would go a long way toward increasing our understanding of how race, popularity, and attractiveness play a role in determining a name's effects on one's outcomes in life.

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Appendix A: Examples of Racially-Charged Names

The most African-American and Caucasian names in the United States, as measured by proportion in one race compared to proportion in the other (Levitt and Dubner 2005b).

Male		Female	
African-American	Caucasian	African-American	Caucasian
1. DeShawn	1. Jake	1. Imani	1. Molly
2. DeAndre	2. Connor	2. Ebony	2. Amy
3. Marquis	3. Tanner	3. Shanice	3. Claire
4. Darnell	4. Wyatt	4. Aaliyah	4. Emily
5. Terrell	5. Cody	5. Precious	5. Katie
6. Malik	6. Dustin	6. Nia	6. Madeline
7. Trevon	7. Luke	7. Deja	7. Katelyn
8. Tyrone	8. Jack	8. Diamond	8. Emma
9. Willie	9. Scott	9. Asia	9. Abigail
10. Dominique	10. Logan	10. Aliyah	10. Carly
11. Demetrius	11. Cole	11. Jada	11. Jenna
12. Reginald	12. Lucas	12. Tierra	12. Heather
13. Jamal	13. Bradley	13. Tiara	13. Katherine
14. Maurice	14. Jacob	14. Kiara	14. Caitlin
15. Jalen	15. Garrett	15. Jazmine	15. Kaitlin
16. Darius	16. Dylan	16. Jasmin	16. Holly
17. Xavier	17. Maxwell	17. Jazmin	17. Allison
18. Terrance	18. Hunter	18. Jasmine	18. Kaitlyn
19. Andre	19. Brett	19. Alexis	19. Hannah
20. Darryl	20. Colin	20. Raven	20. Kathryn

Appendix B: Examples of Unique/Unpopular Names

Although different researchers employ different samples to find them, unique names are invariably defined as names found in extremely small proportions as compared to the rest of the population. Unpopular names can include alternate spellings of common names, as well as anachronistic names—though none of the research I consulted focused on this latter quality (Kalist and Lee 2009; Young 2007; Mehrabian and Piercy 1993).

Unique Names

Cobra
Didi
Fifi
Garland
Royal
Russell Sprout
Swindle
Trixie
Wendy House
Si'Ani

Unpopular Names

Brandy
Darin (variant of Darren)
Dyan (variant of Diane)
Farm
Fayle
Kortney (variant of Courtney)
LaTrina
Lynda (variant of Linda)

Appendix C: Examples of Desirable/Undesirable Names

Although desirability is a subjective measure, research has demonstrated remarkably consistent agreement among various cohorts on what constitutes a desirable or undesirable name. Clearly, some overlap exists between this category and the others; typically, the names which fall into this category are too popular to be considered in the unique/unpopular category, but one could argue that much of the undesirability of the names listed below owes to racial connotations (Copley and Brownlow 1995; Garwood 1976; McDavid and Harari 1966).

Desirable Names

Craig
Gregory
James
Jeffrey
John
Jonathan
Patrick
Richard
Thomas

Undesirable Names

Bernard
Blaire
Curtis
Darrell
Denise
Donald
Gerald
Horace
Jerome
Maurice
Riza
Samuel

Name warmth can be viewed as desirable or undesirable, depending on the situation.

Warm Names

Aaron
Amanda
Heather
Ryan

Cold Names

Chad
Crystal
Derek
Nicole

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