philologia

Undergraduate Research Journal of
Liberal Arts and Human Sciences

BEHIND SHOWTIME:
IN THE STUDIO WITH
ADAM RESSA

A synthesis of engineering and art

THE SPIN ON SPACE:

**NASA's public relations concerns as a factor in the
Challenger disaster**

CREATIVE SCHOLARSHIP

Selected Poetry Including:

no dress rehearsals for chemo: but He gives auditions

Dear _____, from Birkenau, a love letter

Despondent Ataraxia

A Publication of the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences at Virginia Tech

Dear Friends,

It is with great pleasure that the Editorial Board and I present to you the inaugural issue of the Philologia Undergraduate Research Journal. Philologia is dedicated to publishing the highest quality undergraduate research from the diverse group of disciplines that span the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences.

To ensure that all subject areas within the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences had a venue to be published, the Editorial Board decided to divide the journal into three sections – Featured Articles, Research Articles, and Creative Scholarship. Each of these sections allow the Editorial Board to ensure that the best research, whether that be a dress, a manuscript, or a poem, be showcased to Virginia Tech and the broader academic community.

Congratulations to the authors selected to be in the first issue of Philologia. Their work is both unique and stimulating. Despite some initial concerns that many of the articles submitted would come from a few disciplines, Philologia is proud to say that the articles published span seven departments from English and political science to music and theatre arts. We have seen some of the best research students from the College of Liberal and Human Sciences have to offer, and have had the privilege to be extremely selective. The Editorial Board and I hope that you will enjoy reading Philologia. It has been a pleasure to see this journal grow from an idea in October of 2007 to the publication you hold in your hands today.

A special thanks is due to Dr. Diana Ridgwell for being so open minded about this project from the beginning and working diligently to help us realize our dream. We would also like to thank the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences for their continued support as well. Finally, the support of Dr. Papillon and University Honors cannot be overstated, and we appreciate their assistance.

I cannot wait to see what Philologia looks like 5, 10, or 20 years from now. This publication has enormous potential as the call for undergraduate research continues to grow. We look forward to seeing Philologia become a novel, credible voice in academia, and continue to celebrate the outstanding work of Virginia Tech's students.

Sincerely,
Dylan W. Greenwood, Editor-in-Chief

Back Row (From Left to Right): Cameron Lewis, Dylan Greenwood, David Grant, Phillip Murillas
Front Row (From Left to Right): Audra Vasiliauskas, Caitlin Laverdiere, Keri Butterfield, Jessica
Martin, Lauren Ruiz. Not Pictured: Alek Duerksen, Sara Musick, and Kate O'Connor

Featured Articles

Research Articles

Creative Scholarship

Disclaimer:

philologia

scholarship; love of learning

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The journal will establish an open forum for the exchange of ideas discovered in undergraduate research and scholastic endeavors in the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences. It will aid in reinforcing Virginia Tech's and the College of Liberal Arts and Human Science's strategic plan to support undergraduate research.

As Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, it is my pleasure to welcome you to the inaugural issue of our undergraduate research journal, Philologia. I do so with a great deal of pride in the entrepreneurial and enterprising nature of our students, which led to the establishment of this journal. From my first meeting with Dylan Greenwood, editor-in-chief of Philologia, and Diana Ridgwell, director of our Undergraduate Research Institute, to the writing of this letter, I have been witness to a remarkable journey.

All worthy projects start with a vision; in this case it is a vision that our students (with the assistance of Diana and numerous faculty mentors) have advocated, nurtured, and made a reality – all within the past year. Remarkable. Motivated by their belief in the value of undergraduate research and in their ability to create a novel venue for its promotion in the College, these students have forged an organizational structure based on a sustainable future leadership model. Remarkable. They have persisted in securing funding – even in these challenging budget times. They have solicited submissions, selected the material, and edited the work present in this journal. Remarkable. I am deeply grateful to Dylan and his colleagues, to Diana and the faculty, and to Associate Dean Mary Ann Lewis for their dedication to Philologia and for reminding us what creativity, commitment, and confidence can do.

Sue Ott Rowlands, Dean

As Director of the CLAHS Undergraduate Research Institute (URI), I am proud to introduce the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences Undergraduate Research Journal, Philologia.   This journal highlights the undergraduate research that has taken place over the 2008-2009 academic year but is more than just a journal. With a dedicated Editor-in-Chief, Dylan Greenwood, the talented student editors, and an exceptional journal faculty board, this journal is a legacy that will expose new students each year to not only the experience of publishing in a journal and sharing their work publicly, but it will provide insight into the diversity of scholarship our undergraduates are involved in.

I have the pleasure of watching students from their nervous beginning stages of exploring what research is and how to get started to seeing the final product of their journey. Undergraduate Research inspires students to keep imagining the possibilities, exploring information and techniques, discovering new approaches and ways of thinking, and finally creating something new and original that adds to the works of a particular field or fields. Philologia is not only a culminating piece that gives our students an outlet for sharing their work, but the whole process of creating a journal is in itself the ultimate experience in imagination, exploration, discovery, and creation.

It is truly amazing what our students can do if given the opportunity and the resources. Thanks to an extremely talented and motivated group of student editors, the Journal Faculty Board, the URI Faculty Committee, the support and encouragement of Dean Sue Ott Rowlands and Dean Mary Ann Lewis as well former Dean Jerry Niles for his vision of undergraduate research programming, we have yet another means of showcasing CLAHS student work.

In addition, we would like to give a special thanks to Terry Papillon and University Honors for their support in helping print the journal.

Diana Ridgwell, CLAHS Director of Student Development

College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences

UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

imagine•explore•discover•create

A Virginia Tech Exemplary Department

The College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences Undergraduate Research Institute (URI) aims to expose undergraduates to investigation, inquiry, and creative expression in the liberal arts and human sciences. The URI will enhance opportunities for advanced research initiatives, elevate the visibility of that research, and provide access to a variety of resources for student development and faculty mentorship.

The URI aids undergraduates by:

- Offering classes and workshops regarding research

- Maintaining a database of available research opportunities

- Providing information on research conferences

- Coordinating the awarding of student grants directly related to undergraduate research

- Coordinating a recognition program for student researchers and faculty mentors related to undergraduate research

- Providing information and resources for undergraduate researchers and faculty mentors

**The
College of Liberal Arts & Human Sciences
Undergraduate Research Institute
is located in
232 Wallace Hall
For appointments please call
(540) 231-6548.**

www.uri.clahs.vt.edu

Featured Articles

Southern Comfort: Civil War Style and Modern Sensibility

Lauren Ruiz

You are late – really late. Books are shoved into bags, the top piece of clothing from each drawer is haphazardly thrown on and you run out the door. Two weeks pass when finally a paycheck

Using civil war techniques, Clarke designed a plaid dress made of recycled fabric

arrives. Six hours of shopping lie ahead – store after store is scoured until you can barely hold all the bags of new clothes. Three years have gone and it is your wedding day. Months of tedious preparation wrapped around weeks of finding a dress made of fantasies. Clothing is not only essential to everyday life but is definitive, to who you are, landmark moments throughout your life and even your place in society. Despite the obvious importance of clothing, rarely does one stop to think "Where did these materials come from and how are they made?" Even more rarely does one consider what would happen if suddenly the means by which they were used to receiving their clothing were stripped from them. During the American Civil War, women in the South were confronted with this issue and the consequences, which followed, rippled throughout society, affecting every aspect of life, especially women's fashion.

Mariah Clarke, a recent graduate of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in the major of Apparel, Housing, and Resource Management explored the different aspects of the Civil War, which caused the major changes in women's apparel and the ways women dealt with them. In order to begin her understanding of the integration experienced by women of the Civil War of domestic responsibilities and those spheres normally managed by men, Clarke first looked at several reasons these changes became necessary. Then, noting a similarity between the United States of Amer-

Clarke's design for a blue dress, inspired by Lake Como in Northern Italy, demonstrates Clarke's versatility in apparel design

ica's trade position today and that of the South before the American Civil War, she explored what it would entail for women today to face the same situation and created a modern gown, with selected Civil War era inspirations, from recycled garments.

"Men had left for the front lines, making many of the activities once managed by them fall under women's control. The South's agriculturally based economic system suffered greatly from the loss of men and this, combined with the blockade of many of the South's ports by the North, brought scarcity of common resources which women, especially the elite, had

come to depend upon." Following the huge absence of men from Southern society, women saw themselves in a greater capacity to support not only their families, but the war effort as well by spinning, weaving, sewing, and knitting.

"Thousands of ladies who had never worked before found themselves hard at work on coarse sewing." Even more notable is the fact that "most elite Southern women did not sew, spin, weave, or knit before the war because these were considered below them; however, they quickly learned all of these trades in an effort to support the troops." For those women not working in the areas of sewing and production, many

found themselves drawn to nursing – "with the increased number of injured and ill people from battlefields, poor nutrition and poor living conditions during the war, there simply were not enough doctor's" and nurses became invaluable. The traditional, fancy evening dresses of the antebellum balls became impractical for Southern women. "Working clothes were often made of reversible, solid fabrics or fabrics with woven-in prints that had no 'up' or 'down,' so that the fabric panels (especially those in the skirt) could be turned upside down and inside out to re-use the fabric when a garment became faded."

Quality and quantity of a woman's clothing were also greatly affected. "As men were dragged to the battlefields, many women found themselves moving in with friends or family – there were often multiple families under one roof. They were forced to reduce their possessions, especially their wardrobes, which were seen as superfluous and unnecessary during the war." Furthermore, the blockade of the South's ports removed trade with the North and Europe. "Since the South already had limited manufacturing capabilities even before the war, the little production they were able to maintain during the war was used solely for military uses. Inflation became a major problem on top of the already high prices for the limited supplies of goods

available. Many families who before the war were extremely affluent were quite poor after the war." As is always true in times of economic crisis, people had to make do with what they already had and discard things which were no longer vital to their well-being. For women, this meant fashion.

In addition to these changes, women were denied the fabrics and goods that they were

Clarke's Raw silk dress, with a similar weave and appearance to homespun fabric, was made using yet another Civil War era method

used to – now caught in a time when it was necessary for them to construct their own clothing, they did not even have the correct materials to do so and found themselves improvising. "It became a point of pride for Southern women to be innovative and find ways of doing without certain items. Berry juices were used as inks and dyes, hats were woven of straw, shoes constructed of paper or cloth, and fabrics from curtains, old clothing and bed linens were reused."

Utilizing her research of Southern women and historical inspirations, Clarke began her construction of two modern versions of dresses with period influences. Using a purple and black plaid buttoned shirt, three pairs of black denim jeans and one pair of purple scrub pants, she cut and reused the fabric for her first garment. Larger sizes of these items were preferred since they provided more fabric. As Clarke began the design of the dress, she implemented such Civil War era trends as plaid, hand-sewn eyelets and lacing. First, the original pieces of clothing had to be disassembled into large sections of usable fabric. Clarke saved flat felt seams to use as boning where the lacing in the dress would be and also used the draw string from the scrub pants as the lacing. The only element of the dress that was not made from recycled materials was the thread, which Clarke already had and most women in the South during the beginning of the Civil War would have had some form of as well.

For her second dress, Clarke used a raw silk fabric with a similar weave and appearance to homespun, or fabrics spun and woven by hand, which is what the women of the

It became a point of pride for Southern women to be innovative and find ways of doing without certain items. Berry juices were used as inks and dyes, hats were woven of straw, shoes constructed of paper or cloth, and fabrics from curtains, old clothing and bed linens were reused.

Civil War would have been using to produce their clothing. Several different styles of the era were incorporated together into this dress to complement one another and use many design details from the period. Rectangular panels were sewn together and pleated at the top to make the skirt of the dress. The front of the bodice mimicked the double pointed bodices of the era while the back closely resembled coats, which would have been worn by Civil War era women. The use of piping was also chosen as an aspect of the dress because clothing of that period often had seams highlighted with some sort of trim.

After constructing these garments, Clarke was able to better understand some of the obstacles facing Southern women and the steps which had to be taken in order to produce their own clothing in the midst of war. Faced with "changing demographics, social expectations, poor economics, a lack of available resources, and a new definition of practicality, Southern women's clothing was forced to reshape itself" and adapt to the struggles of war.

Alex's Alcaics:
An Undergraduate's Perspective on Latin Poetry

Audra Vasiliauskas

When Classical Studies major Alex DeSio of Chesapeake, Virginia took Latin 3004: Readings in Latin Literature in the Fall of 2007 with Associate Professor Andrew Becker, she discovered her interests in Latin meter could not be satisfied with the studies of only one semester. Prompted by the class' final project of formulating an acoustic commentary on one of Horace's Odes, DeSio decided such a commentary could not possibly be completed by the end of the semester.

Dr. Andrew Becker invites his students to embark upon a self-directed study of Latin meter and verse in each of his courses, and DeSio's project was exactly what Becker had in mind with this particular style of teaching. DeSio's interests began with a general inkling towards meter in an acoustic sense—beyond a literal translation of the Latin text. After spending numerous hours in Dr. Becker's office and holding informal reading sessions of the Latin, DeSio developed her own research project beyond that semester's acoustic commentary on one of Horace's Odes.

What DeSio developed is becoming a project far beyond what either she or Dr. Becker envisioned. Following her completion of that semester's acoustic commentary on one of Horace's Odes, DeSio began to think more generally about Roman verse and language. She wanted to know more about the terminology Romans used to analyze their own poetry and how Romans viewed Horace's poetry in general. In order to do so, DeSio has placed herself right where the Romans were, beginning in and basing her research on the Grammatici Latini, the Latin grammar the Romans with whom DeSio has been trying to connect would have used.

Interestingly, DeSio spent the Spring of 2008 abroad participating in the Center for European Studies and Architecture's program in Riva San Vitale, Switzerland. The program, sponsored and directed by Dr. Andrew Becker and his wife, Dr. Trudy Harrington-Becker, provides students with the opportunity to live and study the art, culture, and language of ancient Greece and Rome in an Italian-speaking part of Switzerland for a semester. DeSio used her time in Riva to craft her research project. Enrolled in Dr. Andrew Becker's Honors Colloquium on Poetry while in Riva, DeSio used Dr. Becker's long distance assignments to "really get into the poetry."

As she "really [got] into the poetry," DeSio decided she wanted to focus her research on the alcaic meter in Horace's Odes, a meter believed to have been developed by Alcaeus, a lyric poet from Lesbos, around 600 B.C. Such a meter consists of four-line stan-

> *My work with the Grammatici Latini has helped me understand why Horace would use a certain meter for one poem and another meter for another poem*

zas in which the first two follow the same metrical pattern and the last two each have their own. In contrast to the dactylic hexameter of Virgil's Aeneid—with which DeSio (and many other students of Latin) had had a great deal of prior experience—she saw "such a greater possibility for malleability" in Horace's alcaics, even though this "possibility" brought a great deal of difficulty and unfamiliarity along with it, including a challenge many Master's students are not ready or willing to undergo.

DeSio's source work, the Grammatici Latini, has never been translated into English, nor is there any commentary or notes accompanying the work. In describing her work with this source, DeSio describes the experience as an "interesting" one in which she "[has been] exposed to [a type of] language [she] never would have before." She notes how Romans—in describing their own poetry—used terminology markedly different from that we use today, "My work with the Grammatici Latini has helped me understand why Horace would use a certain meter for one poem and another meter for another poem. It has also helped reaffirm what I want to do with my life and how to get ready for it."

Throughout this experience, DeSio has learned the importance and value of undergraduate research: as she puts it, "it will ease my transition to graduate school." Without this experience, she would not have learned how to "find sources or cross-references or even how to begin researching." As she continues to research Horace's alcaics and use her original translation of the
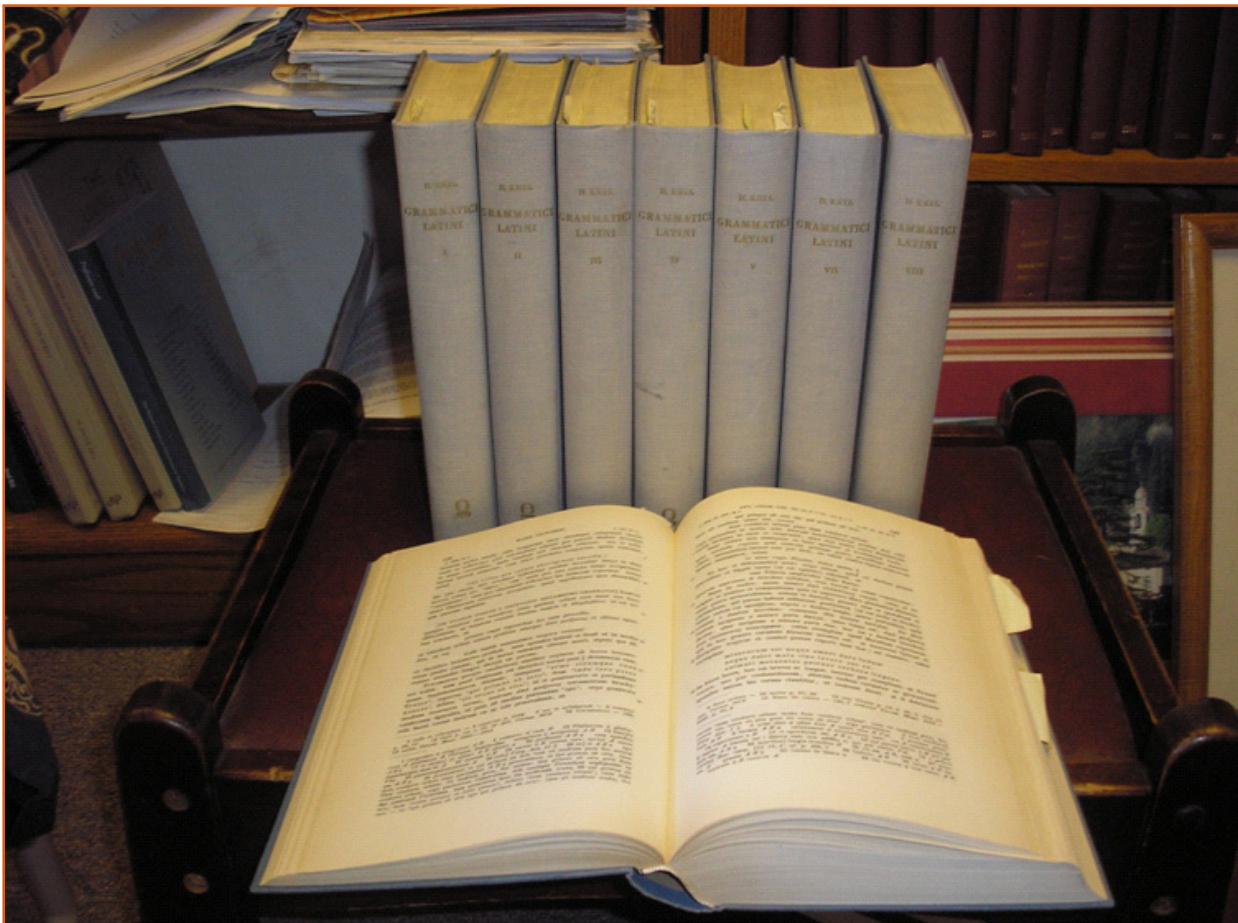
Volumes of the Grammatici Latini

DeSio

Dr. Andrew Becker and Alex DeSio analyzing the Grammatici Latini

Grammatici Latini in order to evaluate her research, she hopes to develop her work into an abstract for a conference presentation and eventually an undergraduate thesis.

While reflecting on the process as a whole, DeSio indicated how interesting it was to work with Dr. Andrew Becker while in Riva by participating in his Honors Colloquium taught at Virginia Tech. Because Dr. Becker allowed her to send him assignments through email, DeSio was able "to keep [her] hands in [English poetry] while [she was] gone [studying mostly Latin poetry]." She muses, "It was really neat to see how it [the English poetry] related and compared to the Latin poetry I was looking at."

Druids of the World

Caitlin Laverdiere

On the summer solstice approximately 30,000 people gather at the iconic ruins of Stonehenge – the largest annual gathering of Druids in the world. English honors senior, Kathleen Cooperstein, was one of the thousands of onlookers at Stonehenge on June 21, 2008 – the capstone experience of a 15-day grant sponsored trip across Northeastern Europe to further her burgeoning research on the Divine feminine.

Cooperstein is interested in tracing the roles of women from prehistoric Celtic tribes through modern day and examining the affects of Christian influences on their changing roles throughout history. She is analyzing the transformation of cultural conceptions of women from powerful and wise to weak and subversive. This transformation can be seen in Arthurian Legend through the depiction of several female characters. The Lady of the Lake was a powerful, mystical woman representative of the old traditions. She was perceived to be generally good and bestowed some of that goodness and power on Arthur when she bequeathed the sword to him. On the other end of the spectrum is the pious Guinevere. She was

A statue of St. Patrick welcomes visitors to the Hill of Tara, a pagan archaeological dig in Ireland

Christianized and not affiliated with any magical powers. It is believed that Arthur marched into battle under the sign of the cross because of her influence. Guinevere was susceptible to temptation, much like Eve, and her weakness, exemplified in her affair with Sir Lancelot, ultimately led to Arthur's downfall and the destruction of the round table. Finally, Morgana bridges the divide between the two extreme depictions of women, as characterized by the Lady of the Lake and Guinevere. Morgana retains the magical powers that were also associated with the Lady of the Lake, but she used her power for evil, causing Arthur to fall into sin. Cooperstein's research aims to further explore this transformation in the depiction of women and its ensuing influence on the representation of women in the "old faith" as witches rather than mystical healers.

Cooperstein is also embarking on a comparative study of Appalachia versus Europe in modern perceptions of women and how they've evolved in the different locations. Most of the similarities between Appalachia and Europe are seen in the rural areas where their geographic isolation has protected the old legends and beliefs. It is through their traditional storytelling and healing practices, such as midwifery, that

the Appalachian and European subcultures intersect.

Women were often believed to have a spiritual connection with the divine. This is seen in the longstanding tradition of midwifery. Midwives were a necessity, even as cultures gradually became more modernized. Consequently, they were able to maintain an "old world" perspective. The importance of their vocation empowered them to carry on the positive aspects of the old cultures. This perception of midwifery changed over time, and is evidenced by the stories and superstitions that still reside in those areas.

Cooperstein's interest in the Divine Feminine began in a class on Arthurian legend taught by philosophy professor, Dr. Joseph Pitt. She studied women in literature and found facts about real women that related to her research. She also found several parallels to her Appalachian Literature class, taught by English professor, Dr. Jen Mooney. In the fall of 2007 she decided to make further explore the Divine Feminine and its roots in Appalachia for her honors thesis. She did independent research with Dr. Mooney and decided the best place to begin her research was in Scotland, Ireland, and England where its Celtic roots began. In collaboration with Dr. Mooney, she developed a research plan and proposed a framework for what she would do while in Europe. She received funding through the Honors Department, CAEE, and the Undergraduate Research Institute and embarked on her trip in summer 2008.

Cooperstein traveled through Northeastern Europe for 15 days, visiting museums, libraries, and archaeological digs relevant to the Diving Feminine and the portrayal of women in Celtic tribes. She looked for imagery of women, analyzing the things they

The barefoot pagan maiden bearing a laurel of flowers persists as an important symbol in Christian iconography (a grave marking in Glasgow, Scotland shown)

were doing and how they were represented. She visited the Museum of History in Dublin that held designs of prehistoric Madonna imagery, portraying women as motherly and demure. Cooperstein attended an archaeological dig at the Hill of Tara in northern Dublin, a sacred ritual site where bones can be found dating back over 5,000 years. She went on another archaeological dig at the Hill of Igrainne, named after the mother of King Arthur, and visited the Cathedral of St. Patrick in Dublin, which is visited by both Christians and Pagans alike. Cooperstein visited the Hill of Kings in Perth and

the National History Museum in Oxford, which houses the remains of the "Red Lady of Paviland" – the oldest human remains found in the United Kingdom, believed to date back to the Paleolithic era.

The capstone experience of her fifteen-day journey through Europe was attending the summer solstice at Stonehenge. 30,000 pagans gathered for the occasion. Many of these pagans also identify themselves as Christians, but their beliefs that women possess spiritual connections to life and death and are connected to the seasons and cycles that plug into the divine current associate them with pagan beliefs. Cooperstein met a woman at the solstice named Erika Devine who practices natural childrearing and is grounded in many of the old spiritual roots. She believes that these practices empower women with children because childbirth and childrearing are connected to the cycle of life. Cooperstein remains in contact with Erika who has shared personal anecdotes on the modern aspect of the Divine Feminine. Cooperstein plans to do a comparative analysis between Europe and Appalachia through the comparison of two women in each location, focusing on the act of reproduction as empowerment and the importance of spiritual equality and equilibrium between the sexes.

Through her research Cooperstein hopes to convey the value of Appalachian culture and the importance of recording its old legends and beliefs before they are erased by the influences of popular culture. It is a sub-culture that is heavily stereotyped and underrepresented in the scholastic field, and while it may not be a progressive culture, the Scots-Irish identity that heavily influences Appalachia and emphasizes the importance of family and procreation, is rooted to the Divine Feminine and has much to contribute to literature and other modes of cultural study.

Kathleen Cooperstein in London on her way to see *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at the Globe Theatre in London

Behind Showtime:
In the Studio with Adam Ressa
Jessica Martin

The lights go down. The hush falls. Slowly, a glimmer of light and a shred of sound open the scene.

Welcome to the theatre.

Countless hours have gone into the production and assembly of the stage; lighting, positioning, and careful selection of props authenticate the set. For Adam Ressa, a fourth year student at Virginia Tech, this magic that many onlookers perceive as a means-to-an-end is an art form in-and-of-itself, one that must be meticulous executed to preserve the integrity of interpretation.

Origins

An Eagle Scout from Fairfax, Va., Ressa applied to Virginia Tech as an engineer, but could not be kept away from his passion for theatre. Currently pursuing a B.A. in Theatre Arts and a B.S. in Industrial Systems Engineering, Ressa finds time to balance "engineering in the morning and theatre at

night," though sometimes one thing takes over, and, he confessed with a chuckle, "that's usually theatre." But some semesters engineering takes the forefront and he cannot have the active roles he desires in shows. For the most part, Ressa has foreseen engineering and theatre existing in a symbiotic relationship, as technical expertise in engineering aids theatre production, and the right-brain stimulation of theatre allows him to excel in problem solving for engineering.

Since 2004, Adam Ressa has performed and aided in the production of nineteen dramatic pieces. Ressa's experience includes working with Virginia Tech Theatre Main Stage productions in the capacities of electrician (in Waiting for Godot, Tall Grass Gothic, and Boston Marriage), scenic artist (Romeo and Juliet), props coordinator (Aría Da Capo and Graceland/Asleep on the Wind), and Assistant Designer (Eurydice). For the Theatre Workshops he has held the positions of Scenic Designer for
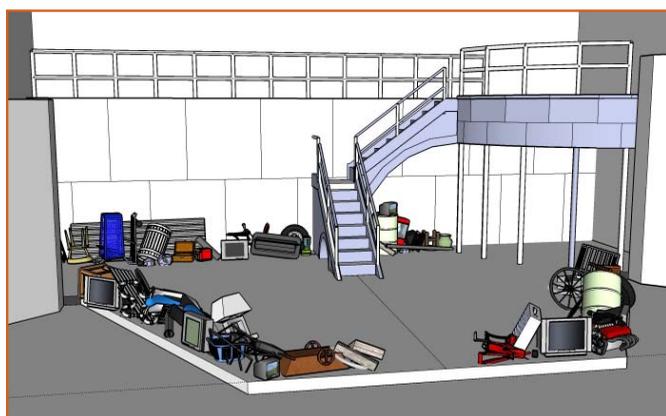
Google sketch up drawing and study model

Machinal, Assistant Designer for The Enchanted, and Scenic and Lighting Designer for The Dwarfs. Despite his busy schedule, Ressa has found time to volunteer his lighting talents with Musicals for a Cause and the Christiansburg High School Coral Department.

Well-researched set design is about building trust with one's audience, knowing that what they see is a gateway into what they will imagine. This means that every experience must be true to its artistic intentions and achieve historic accuracy for interpretation. While some playwrights write to explicitly expose the setting, others produce works full of intentional ambiguity. Interpretation of the set then becomes the charge and, ultimately, the responsibility of the set

designer. Ressa's success in theatre can be attributed to thorough research into each of his sets, which he says is "absolutely necessary when designing in the theatre. If you're trying to go for 'historically accurate' I was told there will always be some know-it-all expert in the audience that will chastise you for putting the wrong set piece in the wrong time period. If you're going for abstract, you need to research the play to find out the context in which the playwright wrote it. Research is pivotal in getting to the truth of a theatrical piece."

The Seagull

Theatre majors are required to take two semesters of Design Lab with Randy Ward and John Ambrosone, professors of Theatre
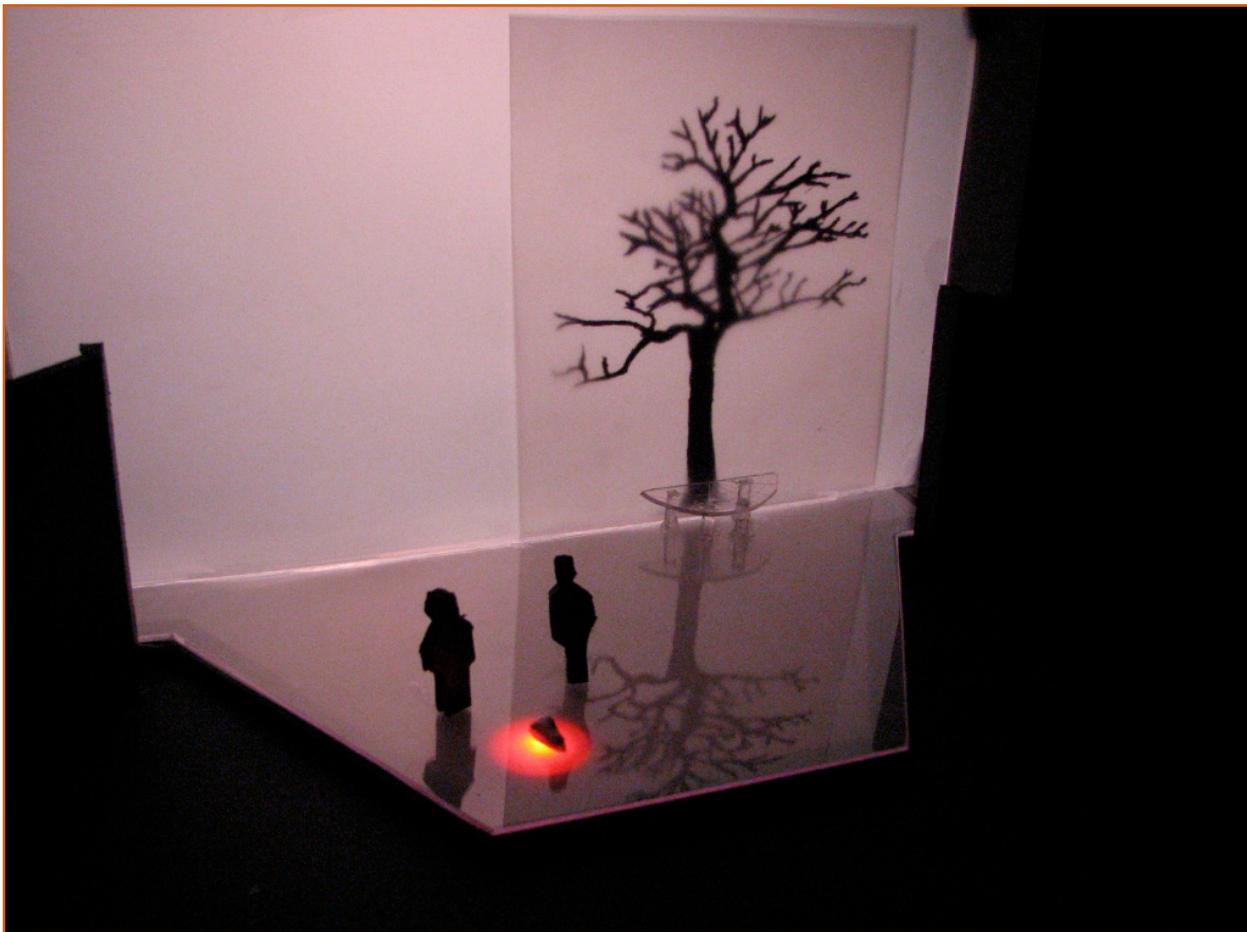
Study model with light experimentation

Arts. Ressa's set design for The Seagull, by Anton Checkhov, during the Spring 2007 Design Lab was inspired by the work of the late scenographer Josef Svoboda, who was famous for his abstract designs. While The Seagull's intertextual relationship with Hamlet allows for potential Shakespearean sets, Ressa teased out the context of this famous work through careful interpretation and readings, finally deciding to present the plot of this 19th century romantic and artisitic conflict on a canvas that makes the audience ask themselves "What is art?" Just as the four main characters speak in abstractions and avoid direct references to their problems, the set is shrouded in a misty haze that conveys ambiguity. The characters' false fronts in personality are mirrored by Ressa's use of fake scenery that gives the illusion of things being on the stage, but in fact are specters working in the imaginations of the audience. Ressa sought to achieve universality with the set design, and therefore chose a futuristic style, costumes organic in nature, with a compilation of cultures existing within the

> *Well-researched set design is about building trust with one's audience, knowing that what they see is a gateway into what they will imagine*

characters, but contrasted with a clean set uncluttered by cultural references to leave the audiences mind clear to process the complexities of the story.

Ward introduced Ressa to Svoboda'work and from this influence he was about to use light to create sets emulating Svoboda's style of creating space through illuminated colored mists, even using a red light on the floor to symbolize a pool of the seagull's blood. Research into this style taught Ressa the importance of the play of light and shadow on stage.

Ressa created physical models, photographed them, and then created "moment pictures" from the play as multiple drawings in different media such as colored pencils and pastels. These assignments were laborious and demanded meticulous attention to detail, as Ressa often spends hours manipulating lighting, photographing hundreds of shots with lighting differences, and experimenting with modeling techniques to create the perfect effects. The small models were creatively crafted using art supplies from Mish-Mish, the local Blacksburg craft store, as well as household supplies like flashlights and colored cellophane that served as glowing moons, watery abysses, and menacing red clouds of light. Ressa used a special Plexiglas filter to make a lit-up floor and cutouts of items like trees and windowpanes to create the appearance of props while only using their shadows.

Doubt

A play written by John Patrick Shanley and winner of the Pulitzer Prize and Tony Award, the cinematic version of Doubt was produced by Celia D. Costas and released in January 2009 to select theatres, where it received immediate acclaim. Only a few months before, in a joint effort with Hollins University, the Virginia Tech Department of Theater Arts presented Doubt, a Parable to the 2008 Roanoke Arts Festival. Directed by Hollins University Theatre Department Chair Ernie Zulia and featuring Virginia Tech's head of the Department of Theatre Arts, Patricia Raun, Doubt showed from October 3 to November 9.

Ressa worked as scenic designer on this production and led the research that created the Bronx collage project, the culminating piece of the production. Compiled

Projection slide compiled from reaserched photos of the Bronx

from original 1960s images from the Bronx Board photo database of area-specific architecture, the final product was projected onto the backdrop of the set. The ominous church steeple dominated the landscape, its presence eclipsing the row houses and factories of the common people, and elevating the parish seat to heights that were menacing close to the heavens. Presenting the moral dilemmas of a plot that winds around the issues of truth, deception, con-

frontation, women's power in patriarchal societies, and sexual abuse of children, Doubt is a piece that demands careful construction and stage management.

The 90-minute drama is set in the Bronx in 1964, an area of much publicity and well-within recorded memories of many in the audience. In a situation such as this, it is imperative that the execution of the stage set-up be as authentic as possible. As the

Ressa

1960s straddle the line between "recent" and "historic," young set designers must be careful, as the experts of that period are often their older mentors in the theatre world. "Our parents right now can reminisce about the 1960's. If you give them a world that they cannot recognize, it better be an intentional move to confuse or isolate the audience or you're in trouble," Ressa said. The use of original images and props of time created that trust, and his research allowed him to overcome the anticipated challenges of preparing a set for Doubt.

Curtain Call

When asked what he believed to be the benefit of doing research for theatre when many people only associate research with more technical pursuits, Ressa said "research is necessary for survival in any world, whether it be the world of an artist, a scientist, a politician, a skilled craftsman, ... the knowledge we gain from history is invaluable." For Ressa, undergraduate research has strengthened his resume and enhanced his personal experience in the theatre field as well as provided him a creative outlet to excel. After his anticipated graduation in 2010, Ressa hopes to start a collaborative theater, art, and performance group, with a business model like that of Pixar, that focuses on advanced technical media production, bringing families together, and high quality, ethical, uplifting art.

Research Articles

Haydn's Cello Concerto in D Major: Originality and Virtuosity

Hannah Pierce

Abstract: Haydn wrote his Cello Concerto No. 2 in D Major while serving the Hungarian Esterházy family. He claimed that his position of Kapellmeister at the Esterházys' palace led him to become original in his composing. He wrote this piece for a specific cellist in the Esterházys' orchestra, and sought to display that soloist's great skill. This paper examines each of the concerto's three movements with a focus on discovering originality and virtuosity in Haydn's writing. It also explores the concerto's intriguing history and its prominent place in symphonic repertoire today.

Key Words: Franz Joseph Hadyn, Cello Concerto No. 2.

Franz Joseph Haydn wrote his Cello Concerto No. 2 in D Major, Op. 101, Hob. VIIb:2 while serving as Kapellmeister for Hungarian prince Nikolaus Esterházy at Eszterháza Palace. Haydn enjoyed serving the Esterházy family for the greater part of his life. His duties as Kapellmeister included "composing on demand, presenting concerts or operas weekly, and assisting with almost daily chamber music" (Burkholder, Grout, and Palisca 2006, 527). According to Haydn's own words, this position encouraged him to be innovative:

> My prince was pleased with all my works. I was commended, and as conductor of an orchestra I could make experiments, observe what strengthened and what weakened an effect, and thereupon improve, substitute, omit, and try new things. I was cut off from the world, there was no one around to mislead or harass me, and so I was forced to become original (qtd. in Burkholder, Grout, and Palisca 530).

One mark of this experimentation was Haydn's treating the violoncello as a solo melodic instrument, rather than just a provider of "bass line accompaniment" which was its traditional role at the time (Wijsman 2008, Section II, 3, ii). Haydn's works for cello include two concertos, one in C Major (1761-1765) and one in D Major (1783). Both pieces were written for specific cellists of the Eszterháza orchestra, and both provide ample opportunity for the soloists to show off their skills and their instrument.

According to the Grove, "The Concerto in D [. . .] was written for the Bohemian cellist Anton Kraft (1749-1820), principal cellist at Eszterháza from 1778-1790" (the orchestra was disbanded in 1790 upon the death of Nikolaus Esterházy). Kraft was a virtuoso known for his "beautiful tone, technical ease, and expressive playing" (Wessely and Wijsman 2008). He also studied composition under Haydn (Hughes 1978, 172). His works for cello include "virtuoso sonatas, duos, salon pieces, and concertos" (Wijs-

man 2008, Section II, 3, ii). For a long time it was thought that Kraft, not Haydn, was the composer of the Cello Concerto in D Major of 1783. The confusion began in 1837, when Gustav Schilling attributed the work to Kraft in his Lexikon der Tonkunst. By this time, the original manuscript was lost, so no one could be certain whether it was the work of Haydn or of Kraft. It was not until 1951 that the original autograph was found in the vaults of Vienna's Austrian National Library. Scholars determined that the handwriting on the cover page is Haydn's own. Although it is now certain that this concerto is Haydn's work, "it is still not known [. . .] the extent to which Kraft collaborated with Haydn" (Carrington 2003, 164). "The cello part was certainly 'tailor-made' for Kraft." It includes extended techniques and specialized markings not found in the earlier Concerto in C. For example, m. 175 of the first movement is marked "Flautino," indicating natural harmonics on the extremely high end of the cello range (Example 1). It seems unlikely that Haydn, who was not a cellist, would have knowledge of these harmonics without the assistance of someone who knew the cello intimately (Robbins Landon 1978, 570). Other notation markings are "sul G" in m. 50 of movement I and "sul D" in m. 153 of the same movement, indicating which string should be used for a certain passage. Playing these notes in a higher position on a lower string, as indicated, lends a richer, darker texture to the sound. This difference in sound quality is particularly notable at m. 153 (Example 2). After a long, high passage on the A string, "sul D" insists that the next section be played on a lower string (D) instead of on A, creating a striking contrast. Whether or not Haydn worked with his pupil Anton Kraft on the composition of the Concerto in D, it is clear that one of this piece's goals is "to display the talents, tone, and musician-

ship of the soloist" (Robbins Landon 1978, 570).

Example 1 - The marking "Flautino" indicates that the cello soloist should play natural harmonics available at the high end of the instrument's range.

Example 2 - The marking "sul D" indicates that the passage should be played entirely on the D string, creating a contrast to the previous section's high passagework on the A string.

Haydn's Cello Concerto in D Major consists of three movements in the Classical concerto's typical fast-slow-fast organization, creating additional musical interest through the contrast of a cello soloist with an orchestra (Hutchings 2008, Introduction). The orchestra here is quite small. It requires only two oboes, two horns in D, and strings (violin 1 & 2, viola, violoncello, and contrabass). In 1890, the Belgian musicologist, François Auguste Gevaert, revised the concerto. His new version, published by Breitkopf and Haertel, included, among other liberal revisions, an enlarged orchestra. Today both Gevaert's version

and the original are performed (Carrington 2003, 164).

The first movement, Allegro moderato, is written in the double-exposition sonata form typical of the first movement of a Classical concerto. The orchestra opens, playing both the first and second theme groups before the entrance of the soloist in m. 29. The soloist's entry here (playing the first theme group) is the beginning of the second exposition. One departure from sonata form tradition is that the second theme group appears in the dominant in both expositions, though typically its first appearance would be in the tonic (Example 3) (S., F. W. 1963, 88). Perhaps this early key change was written to increase the contrast when the soloist enters with the first theme group 17 measures later, back in the tonic key. Another departure from the conventional form of Classical concerto first movements is the inclusion of a tutti ritornello after the development (as well as after the exposition and to close the recapitulation) (S., F. W. 1963, 88). Near the end of this movement (m. 181), Haydn has written "Kadenz," indicating that the cello soloist should perform a cadenza. This marking is preceded by a tonic chord in second inversion and a fermata, as are traditionally employed just before a cadenza in the Classical concerto (Example 4).

Example 3 - In the first exposition (tutti), the second theme group appears in A (the dominant) rather than in the tonic as expected.

Example 4 - "Kadenz" indicates that the cello soloist should improvise a cadenza. As expected in Classical concertos, a tonic chord in second inversion and a fermata precede the cadenza.

Following the custom of the period, Haydn did not write the cadenza, instead allowing the soloist (in the concerto's premiere, Anton Kraft) an opportunity to display his skill at improvisation. According to Eva Badura-Skoda and William Drabkin in the Grove Music Online encyclopedia, in the Classical period, "the cadenza was considered an embellishment, and the ability to invent one was reckoned an indispensable part of the equipment of any virtuoso who hoped to satisfy the listener's expectations. Under normal circumstances no soloist could afford to leave out a cadenza when a fermata appeared in a recognized context." (Badura-Skoda and Drabkin 2008, Section 3) Improvising a cadenza was a balancing act between displaying one's virtuosity and imagination and keeping within the spirit of the original work. There was much discussion in the eighteenth century as to how long and free a cadenza should be (Badura-Skoda and Drabkin 2008, Section 3). A search for sheet music available for purchase from the website of Shar Music reveals that today some editions of this work come with pre-written cadenzas, although performers may also write their own cadenzas. Taking on this challenge gives the performer a deeper connection with the Classical tradition.

The second movement of this concerto is marked Adagio. The soloist plays from the first measure, beginning in sixths with the first violin (Example 5). This writing lets the soloist hide within the texture, inconspicuously dropping out after the downbeat of m. 8 and dramatically re-entering at m. 17. It's notable that the second movement also indicates that the soloist should improvise a cadenza (m. 62), showing the influence of the form of the eighteenth-century da capo aria, a "lyrical piece for solo voice." A soloist singing this type of aria would have several opportunities to add cadenzas and other ornamentation (McClymonds 2008, Section 4, i).

Example 5 - In the opening of the second movement, the cello soloist blends into the orchestral texture by playing in sixths with the first violin.

The piece's third movement, Rondo: Allegro, has what Rosemary Hughes calls "a nursery-rhyme fun" (Hughes, 1978, 172). Haydn clearly marks its major harmonic changes from the tonic (at the beginning of the movement) to the parallel minor at m. 111 and back to the tonic at m. 172. Haydn shows both changes by writing in the appropriate altered key signature and marking "Minore" or "Maggoire" over the first measure in the new mode. The movement's playful rondo form (typical of the last movements of multi-movement Classical works) is filled with opportunities for display of the cello soloist's skill. Many passages, such

as m. 123 (Example 6), are high and swift and feature complicated bowings.

Example 6 - This fast, high passage involves string crossings and rapid transitions between slurred notes and staccato separate bows.

The occasion for which Haydn wrote the Cello Concerto in D is unknown. There is some speculation that it may have been premiered at the September 1783 wedding of Prince Nikolaus Esterházy and Princess Hermenegild Liechtenstein (S., F. W. 1963, 85). Whatever the occasion, surely Haydn's audience would have been pleased with this brilliant concerto's catchy themes and displays of virtuosity. These same qualities have secured a place for this concerto in today's standard cello repertoire. An Amazon.com search reveals many recordings, including those by such great cellists as Jacqueline Du Pré, Steven Isserlis, Maria Kliegel, Yo-Yo Ma, Mstislav Rostropovich, and Janos Starker. A brief Google search for upcoming orchestral performances of this piece finds several during this season (2008-2009), including those by the Spokane Symphony (Washington), the Jacksonville Symphony Orchestra (Florida), and the City Chamber Orchestra of Hong Kong. However, it is Haydn's other cello concerto (C Major) that will be performed this season by the National Symphony Orchestra (with soloist Steven Isserlis) and the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra, as well as several others. The BBC Symphony Orchestra will be performing both concertos in May 2009. The musicologist H.C. Rob-

bins Landon has some rather harsh words about the D Major Concerto in comparison to the Concerto in C: "In every respect the earlier C Major Cello Concerto by Haydn is far more interesting for the listener: the Finale generates an electric tension of which the D Major work never even has a spark" (Robbins Landon 1978, 571). However, the frequent performances and numerous recordings of this work are evidence that many do not share Robbins Landon's view. Joshua Roman, who served as the Seattle Symphony's principal cellist in 2007, chose the Concerto in D over the Concerto in C for a solo performance in July 2007. He told the Seattle Times that the Concerto in D "is just beautiful architecture" (Bargreen 2007, H41). Indeed, Haydn's D Major Cello Concerto is a lovely exploration of the many ways in which an orchestra can combine with the violoncello to display virtuosity unlike anything written before Haydn. This great work deserves listening not just by music connoisseurs, but by everyone interested in experiencing the creative genius of Franz Joseph Haydn.

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Fitzgerald and Anderson on Lovers, Wives and Mothers

Elizabeth Rose Carraway

Abstract: "Winter Dreams" by F. Scott Fitzgerald and "Mother" by Sherwood Anderson are two short works that have been surrounded by criticism because of their enigmatic portrayals of female characters. Is Judy Jones a shallow seduction symbol? Or is she an intelligent character using her beauty as a counterpunch to social conventions? Does Anderson trap women with his nostalgic optimism or does he give trapped women a voice as characters advocating intimacy and creative expression? These works are plagued with the contradictions of artists struggling for truth within the constraints of a distinct time and place: post-WWI America. By exploring Fitzgerald's "Winter Dreams" alongside Anderson's "Mother," I attempt to unearth the complexities that Fitzgerald and Anderson find in a new kind of female character while simultaneously examining their biased conclusions which pigeonhole these characters into female stereotypes.

Key Words: F. Scott Fitzgerald, Sherwood Anderson, Women in Literature, Modernist Writing

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"'I will stab him,' she said aloud. 'He has chosen to be the voice of evil and I will kill him. When I have killed him something will snap within myself and I will die also. It will be a release for all of us'" (Anderson 1217). This passage from Sherwood Anderson's "Mother" does not lead to murder, but the woman speaking has become desperate enough to contemplate killing her own husband. Elizabeth Willard has lost her sense of identity, a dramatic portrayal of how many Americans felt during the political, social, and economical upheaval of the early twentieth century. When the United States entered World War I in 1917, America was still a largely agricultural, rural nation ("American Literature between the Wars" 1071). Americans had to come to terms with irreversible global modernization and learn to compromise pre-war ideals with the emerging capitalist society. The nation was beginning to see a "New Woman" in Quentin E. Martin's words, one that "worked, talked freely and frankly, and questioned the rules of society" (162). Mobilized by the Nineteenth Amendment's grant of women's right to vote in 1920, as well as a growing female presence in the workforce, women had begun to demand freedom from sexual double standards ("American Literature between the Wars," 1074). Unfortunately, as Martin notes, "this transformation of women was by no means complete - it was, in fact, producing profound complications and problems" (163).

F. Scott Fitzgerald and Sherwood Anderson wrote about the isolation and frustration invading relationships between women and men, and they attempted to articulate the effects of modernization on the women they loved.

Anderson's and Fitzgerald's works epitomize the conflicted nature of modernist writing; the need to embrace a new language of meaning in American society tinged with nostalgia for old forms. In the stories "Mother" and "Death" from Anderson's Winesburg, Ohio (1919) and "Winter Dreams" by Fitzgerald (1922), the writers try to understand a new kind of female character who is ambitious, opinionated, adventurous, and sexually enlightened. But in the end, their female characters are reduced to the predominant images of women present in the white male psychology: that of mother, lover and wife. The central female characters in these stories, Judy Jones and Elizabeth Willard, emerge into their youths with hope and apparent agency but shrink to fit into stereotypes when faced with the challenges of a male-centered society. Undoubtedly the ambivalence that Anderson and Fitzgerald feel towards this "New Woman" is illustrated in their enigmatic female characters.

In "Winter Dreams," Fitzgerald constructs the wealthy, beautiful Judy Jones from the perspective of one of the many men who is infatuated with her, Dexter Green. Through Dexter's love for Judy, Fitzgerald muses on the search for ideals in a country becoming defined purely by wealth or as he calls it, "the glittering things and glittering people" (1645). Dexter's winter dreams are just that: dreams of a perfect woman to bring hope to the desolate and cold terrain of modern social relations. Fitzgerald was a hopeless romantic in a tumultuous time, continuously oscillating between idealiza-

tion and disillusionment. For Fitzgerald, Judy represents the possibility for beauty and romance in the new era. Judy's wealth and social status give her the opportunity to break down the barriers that stop men and women from relating in an honest way, but her position also puts her in direct competition with white males protecting their egos. When Judy interrupts Dexter and his friends in a game of golf by attempting to play through, the men feel threatened. One man says, "All she needs is to be turned up and spanked for six months and then to be married off to an old-fashioned cavalry captain" (Fitzgerald 1646). This man sees Judy as a liability to his dominance, and wants to see her put in a subservient, infantile position. Judy is able to compete with the power-holding men of society, but she will have to play their game. Another man tellingly comments, "Better thank the Lord she doesn't drive a swifter ball" (Fitzgerald 1646). Judy's confidence and assertion are threatening, but the metaphorical ball she drives is not hard enough to compete and win in a game that is dominated by white men. Martin points out, "It was still considered unusual if not improper for middle- and upper-class women (such as Judy Jones) and for most married women to work" (163). Judy has no money or power of her own, and therefore can be trivialized as merely an extension of her father's wealth.

Judy is a compelling female character because she has dreams of her own that cannot be restricted by male fantasies. Her drive for independence and adventure leads to her addiction to controlling the game of American sexual politics. She learns how to use the cultural conceptions of female beauty and sexuality for her own means. Dexter explains: "She was not a girl who could be 'won' in the kinetic sense—she was proof against cleverness, she was proof against charm, if any of these assailed

her too strongly she would immediately resolve the affair to a physical basis and under the magic of her physical splendor the strong as well as the brilliant played her game and not their own" (Fitzgerald 1651). Dexter's choice of words shows that Judy is a prize that he wants to win or possess, but he can't because she refuses to allow a man to control her. When Judy first meets Dexter, she is escaping a man at her house who's asking her about ideals (Fitzgerald 1647). Maybe Judy runs away from ideals because she knows that though they may serve that man they will only restrain her. Judy tries to place herself in a superior position to men and marriage, which is why she repeatedly calls Dexter "kiddo" (Fitzgerald 1655). It's no surprise that she eventually runs away from Dexter, because as early as their first date he's already treating her as a commodity. He says, "It excited him that many men had loved her. It increased her value in his eyes" (Fitzgerald 1649). He describes being "disappointed" by her mediocre appearance and carriage, and later says, "he found the conversation unsatisfactory. The beautiful Judy seemed faintly irritable" (Fitzgerald 1649). The moment Judy stops projecting Dexter's quixotic fantasy, she becomes a subject while Dexter faces a setback.

Dexter is infatuated with Judy and wants to marry her, but decides that Judy's business of seduction stops her from settling down. This is a convenient explanation for a man who describes his love as "the exquisite excitability that for a moment he controlled and owned" (Fitzgerald 1651). As a man who wants to possess Judy, he can only presume that her resistance is as simple as a power trip. To assuage his insecurities, Dexter convinces himself of "her glaring deficiencies as a wife" (Fitzgerald 1652). He tries to reduce her power by holding her up against traditional standards of woman-

hood. Dexter's growing animosity toward Judy is based on his inability to control her as a subject. He comforts himself by saying, "there was very little mental quality in any of her affairs. She simply made men conscious to the highest degree of her physical loveliness" (Fitzgerald 1650). He tries to pretend that she's nothing but a beautiful, stubborn bimbo. Martin points out that Fitzgerald never allows us to know the motives of Judy's behavior, but suggests it can be explained by her intelligence to resist Dexter's conventional male behavior (168).

Judy's power finally crumbles to illusion, and it cannot fulfill her anymore. She cries to Dexter, "I'm more beautiful than anybody else . . . why can't I be happy?" (Fitzgerald 1655). Sexual power over men is not enough to make Judy happy because her role isolates her from her own emotions and needs. Judy appears vulnerable here for the first time, because Dexter's engagement to another woman causes her to question her own contentment. Her independence relies on a lack of intimacy and love, a void she tries to fill with Dexter one last time. She says to Dexter, "I'm awful tired of everything, kiddo . . . I wish you'd marry me" (Fitzgerald 1655). Marriage promises women like Judy a formula of fulfillment for the passion that she cannot seem to find expression for. She tells him, "I'll be so beautiful for you Dexter" (Fitzgerald 1655). She is essentially agreeing to be his ideal woman so that she won't have to feel the emptiness of playing the role of lover to men who don't understand her. She cries, "I don't want to go back to that idiotic dance - with those children" (Fitzgerald 1655). This is the most insightful statement that Judy makes, showing that she is very conscious of the adolescent male fantasy she's been playing.

After Dexter breaks off his engagement to be with her, she remains dissatisfied and leaves him again. Judy's character is only drawn to Dexter when he shows signs of success and independence. If Judy's character is to be given more depth, it could be stated that she is drawn to Dexter's idyllic version of love, which would die with his possession of Judy. Dexter resolves, "he did not possess in himself the power to move fundamentally or to hold Judy Jones" (Fitzgerald 1656). In the end, the man who Judy chooses to marry supposedly "treats her like the devil" (Fitzgerald 1657). As predicted, Judy found her cavalry captain. Her husband is a younger man who "drinks and runs around" while Judy "Stays at home with her kids" (Fitzgerald 1657). Judy found a man more young and restless than her and found a lifetime's challenge in trying to satisfy his ideals. Much like the character of Elizabeth Willard, Judy's marriage seems to be her surrender to the common fate of all misunderstood women.

But the reader doesn't know what actually happened to Judy after leaving Dexter, besides Devlin's assertion that her beauty faded "just-like-that" (Fitzgerald 1656). Dexter laments his loss of Judy but callously speaks of breaking his conventional engagement with Irene saying, "There was nothing sufficiently pictorial about Irene's grief to stamp itself on his mind" (Fitzgerald 1656). He doesn't mourn over losing Judy herself, he barely knows her, but he does mourn the loss of his dream of Judy as the perfect image of desire. Martin analyzes Judy Jones' ending: "Men are enraptured by her because the women of their creation - tamed, protected, idealized - are pallid in comparison . . . Yet the men in the story do all they can to deny and eliminate that mystery" (168). Dexter convinces himself that Judy is, in the end, no different from any other woman: a wife and a

mother. James M. Mellard uses Lacanian psychology to explain Judy's ending as a successful resolution of her oedipal complex and narcissistic tendencies, blaming the Family Romance. Perhaps this explanation is not too far-fetched, since Judy's father is in fact the wealthy, powerful, and distant Mortimer Jones. But Fitzgerald leaves no proof to provide any resolution to Judy's conclusion, because Dexter's complex feelings of loss at the end of the story in a way depend on Judy being converted to a faulty illusion of beauty and truth instead of a person. Fitzgerald successfully kills off the mystery and allure of Judy by turning her marriage into an anecdote for Dexter's disillusionment and loss of hope. Fitzgerald says, "He had thought that having nothing else to lose he was invulnerable at last - but he knew that he had lost something more, as surely as if he had married Judy Jones and seen her fade away before his eyes" (1658). This implies that Dexter feels Judy's ending is inevitable, that her ambitions are destined to fade with her beauty. Society offers very few viable options for dreamers like Dexter, and even fewer for their female counterparts. Judy's failure of expression ends with the same ambivalent tone in which it began.

In "Mother," Anderson introduces the character of his own mother, to whom he dedicated Winesburg, Ohio (Rigsbee). Marilyn Judith Atlas explains the large effect that Anderson's mother had on the development of this character: "His mother, Emma Smith Anderson, dying in her forties, worn out from having to maintain a family of six children with insufficient financial and emotional support from her husband" (251). Elizabeth's story is a personal and retrospective account of the modern white woman's motivations, desires, and failures. We meet Elizabeth in her old age; she has lost her youthful hope, she is in a loveless

marriage, and she is, in Anderson's words, "doing the work of a chambermaid among beds soiled by the slumbers of fat traveling men" (Anderson 39). At the hotel, Elizabeth is keeping house for the gluttons of capitalist society. Unlike Judy Jones, she has no wealth or worldliness to hoist her above domestic servitude in small-town America. Elizabeth has inherited her father's hotel and her husband, Tom Willard, enslaves himself and his family within that small fraction of the world. Her flashbacks reveal how her burgeoning identity has always depended on her relationships with men. Anderson says:

A great restlessness was in her and it expressed itself in two ways. First there was an uneasy desire for change, for some big definite movement to her life . . . And then there was the second expression of her restlessness. When that came she felt for a time released and happy. She did not blame the men who walked with her and later she did not blame Tom Willard. It was always the same, beginning with kisses and ending, after strange wild emotions, with peace and then sobbing repentance (46).

Before Elizabeth's marriage she was called "stage-struck" because she would dress up and go out with actors who were patrons of her father's hotel (Anderson 45). What she craved was to have the worldly knowledge that these men possessed, symbolized by her "putting on men's clothes and riding a bicycle down Main Street" (Anderson 45). Elizabeth wanted to escape her small-town life, but her passion was misunderstood as promiscuity by men who spoke a different language. Sally Adair Rigsbee notes, "Anderson makes it clear that conventional sexual mores make no provision for women to judge sexual relationships in terms of spiritual communion" (235-6). Within the male capitalistic language of sexuality, Eliz-

abeth's sexual encounters lack any real intimate communication or meaning for her as a woman. Anderson describes Elizabeth's true desires, that "she wanted a real lover. Always there was something she sought blindly, passionately, some hidden wonder in life" (224). Her sexual endeavors briefly provide her with the release of having her passion expressed, but end in regret as she looks into a man's face and realizes he is "suddenly a little boy" who does not truly understand her (Anderson 46). Anderson says, "She dreamed of joining some company and wandering over the world, seeing always new faces and giving something out of herself to all people . . . They did not seem to know what she meant" (46). The only men who understand her yearning are the similarly stifled men of Winesburg like Tom Willard. Unfortunately, as Elizabeth's father predicts on his deathbed, her only escape is to leave Winesburg and the men in it (225). She instead chooses to follow the path of other women and looks to marriage for significance and acceptance in life, and ends up with a horrible failure of a marriage. Elizabeth spends the rest of her life isolated, grieving her lost dreams until she can barely communicate with anyone. She sits alone and watches from her window the recurring feud between the baker and the neighbor's cat until it is too much to bear. Anderson says, "It seemed like a rehearsal of her own life, terrible in its vividness" (41). Like the grey cat in the alleyway, Elizabeth was only trying to get her share of treats from the bakery. Despite the prowess of the cat, she can never escape her limitations.

The relationship between Elizabeth and her son, George, articulates the unrequited meaning of her life. After projecting all of her passion and identity into her relationships with men, her son must bear all the weight of what she could never do on her

own. Anderson says, "In the boyish figure she yearned to see something half forgotten that had once been part of herself" (40). Elizabeth wants to see her dreams acted out by her son: the product of her sexual search for identity. There is another dimension though because she fears that if her son is successful, he will abandon his dreams and take away her last bit of hope. She prays, "I will take any blow that may befall if but this my boy be allowed to express something for us both . . . And do not let him become smart and successful either" (Anderson 40-41). Elizabeth fears that George will become just like her husband someday, who has thwarted his own dreams of politics (Anderson 40) and blocks any impulse of passion in himself and others. She is afraid that this modern life will crush her son's hopes and aspirations to be a writer, and that he will fail in finding his own identity like she did. George is Anderson's complex and conflicted writer character within the coming-of-age narrative in Winesburg, Ohio. In order to become fully developed as a writer and escape small-town life, George must come to terms with himself and his home. Anderson must create understanding and resolution between the mother and son so that his character can move on.

Elizabeth experiences great difficulty in communicating her feelings to her son, underlining Anderson's recurrent theme of what Rigsbee calls "the special problems of communication between men and women" (241). Nancy Bunge relates, "While alive his mother could only repeat inarticulate phrases to him, yet George apparently learned something from her stunted declarations; for he had assimilated her fascination with dreams and contempt for conventional success" (245). Elizabeth is necessary to George's maturity as an artist, but she is also impotent in her inability to express herself. This is a poignant ex-

pression of a theme that renders relationships problematic throughout Winesburg, Ohio: that men and women do not speak the same language. Tom Willard, for example, instructs his son, "You're not a fool and you're not a woman. You're Tom Willard's son and you'll wake up" (Anderson 44). According to George's father, the measure of a man is his success, and women are simply fools who dream away their lives. Elizabeth frantically resolves that she will have to kill Tom and the part of herself that he represents to allow George full expression. In this moment of determination to find a final release for her passion, she decides to be beautiful and pulls out her box of theater make-up (Anderson 47). Elizabeth sees her youthful beauty as the epitome of the fervor that she once had for life. Only three men ever come to realize her loveliness and make the same exclamation "You dear! You dear! You lovely dear!" (Anderson 223). Anderson says that Elizabeth only has two lovers in her life who fulfill "her dream of release", Doctor Reefy and Death (232). Her son George only truly sees his mother for the lovely woman that she is after she has died.

Rigsbee concludes that his mother's death allows George to "acquire the quality of feeling necessary for the artist" (239). Anderson performs Elizabeth Willard like an act of literary exorcism that ultimately gives George the drive to leave Winesburg. Rigsbee comments on Elizabeth's tragic ending concluding that death is "the only lover who can receive her full identity" (239). This conclusion is quite fatalist for all of the women of Winesburg who yearn for expression. Atlas discusses Elizabeth's case as an example of the lack of escape for women in Winesburg, serving as a prototype for all of the people in George's world who die spiritually while he escapes with their stories to propel him (264). In Anderson's defense,

Atlas says, "at least it portrays the women whose lives are limited because they live within a system which was never created for their benefit" (264).

Elizabeth's and Judy's restless yearnings for expression in society have no fulfilling results, so they both retreat into domesticity. Elizabeth is muted for her entire life by the constricting roles of traditional womanhood, while Judy's beauty fades away along with the feelings of independence that came with it. Judy and Elizabeth try to create a voice for women in society but without a positive model for female success, they end up conforming to a system that only allows them to be lovers, wives, and mothers. Their marriages demonstrate what modernist writers saw as the deterioration of human relationships in modern America. Fitzgerald and Anderson brought a fresh character to literature with their descriptions of a new American woman, but could only provide puzzling and disappointing resolutions for these strong women. Anderson and Fitzgerald try to find ways to escape the exploitative effects of modern capitalist society on individual expression, unable to accept self-interest and promiscuity as the only outlets of desire. Although the men in these stories are eventually disappointed with the lack of romance in the modern world, they can continue to roam and search for what Fitzgerald calls "the glittering things themselves" (1645) hidden behind the masks of society. Their lovers, wives, and mothers remain trapped by their prescribed roles. Judy's subjective martyrdom allows Dexter's insightful closing remarks: "The gates were closed, the sun was gone down and there was no beauty but the grey beauty of steel that withstands all time. Even the grief he could have borne was left behind in the country of illusion, of youth, of the richness of life, where his winter dreams had flourished" (Fitzgerald 1658). Fitzgerald's use of the word "country" is no coincidence. He makes a universal statement for the loss of beauty and love in America based on his carefully-crafted version of the modern woman. Making a jest on Anderson's similar nostalgia, Bunge says, "Sherwood Anderson believes that once upon a time everyone lived happily ever after" (242). Fitzgerald and Anderson dwell on lost idealism in America and the consequential search for new meaning within the stark realities of industrialism and social politics. Unfortunately, as misunderstood archetypes of male ideals, Fitzgerald's and Anderson's women get lost as well.

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About the Author
Elizabeth Carraway

Elizabeth Carraway graduated from Virginia Tech in May 2008 with a major in English and a minor in Women's Studies. This paper began as a simple literary analysis because she was perplexed by the female enigmas of F. Scott Fitzgerald's Judy Jones and Sherwood Anderson's Elizabeth Willard. When she expanded and researched the topic, Elizabeth found a lot of disagreement among scholars about these female characters and their depth or lack thereof. A former professor of Elizabeth's, Fritz Oehlschlaeger, encouraged her to take this idea further and helped interpret these works in the context of their time. Elizabeth was also selected to present this research at the ACC Meeting of the Minds in 2008.

Medical Failures and Successes in Response to Epidemic Disease During the American Civil War [1]

David F. Ellrod

Abstract: This research project aimed to research the actions of the medical professionals on both sides of the American Civil War, specifically in their reaction and attempts to deal with an unprecedented (in America) onslaught of epidemic disease.

The research methods were exclusively textual, with Virginia Tech's Newman Library supplying the necessary books. Historical overviews, more localized overviews, and a personal diary account were utilized.

The paper concludes that while many antebellum American physicians and their methods proved totally inadequate to deal with the conditions of armies of tens of thousands of men, their mistakes proved as instructionary as their successes, resulting in a net gain in medical expertise and knowledge.

On a wider note, this paper hopes to better acquaint readers with the fact that most of the deaths in America's bloodiest war were caused by disease, and to demonstrate the evolution of the American physician during the crucial phase of modern medical development, the nineteenth century.

Key Words: Civil War, Medical Development

There has never been greater or more widespread suffering in America than in the years of our Civil War, 1861-1865, and a huge proportion of it came from disease. The concentration of vast armies gave U.S. and Confederate soldiers and physicians a medical situation unprecedented in America—which they were ill-prepared to deal with, despite European lessons from the Crimea and the Napoleonic period. Men in the armies faced the massive threat of epidemic disease, whether in treatment of others or through personal contraction. While inexperience and medical ineptitude prolonged or even caused much suffering from such diseases, general knowledge of how to limit them did increase during the war years, as did

knowledge of how to treat the suffering patients. In fact, the process of dealing with such problems better prepared Americans to embrace and apply the theoretical advances of Pasteur and others in the years and decades to come.

As this study seeks to understand how Americans in the military perceived and dealt with disease in this period, it will examine both contagious diseases (such as smallpox) and environmentally-caused diseases (such as diarrhea). While the vectors are different, physicians and soldiers generally considered them linked, and treated all such diseases in the same ways—though types of treatment varied widely. These resulted in failures as well as successes both intended and accidental.

A State of Unreadiness

The state of medical knowledge in America in 1861 was mediocre at best, compared to that of Europe (Houck 1986, 50). Some students learned by apprenticeship from a single practitioner; a student at a medical school often required only four to nine months of study to graduate (Cunningham 1958, 11). The studies usually consisted of large lecture classes which merely observed dissections and other demonstrations, rather than engaging in hands-on work (Schroeder-Lein 1994, 30-31); the administrations of these schools often cared more about the recruitment of students to pay tuition than the skill or dedication of the prospective doctors (Rutkow 2005, 51) . Much of the doctrine taught at such schools was heavily grounded in the work of physicians like Dr. Benjamin Rush (1745-1813), an American physician highly regarded for his prolix and definitive writings on many areas of medicine. Unfortunately his work consisted of little more than strong reaffirmations of Greco-Roman med-

ical practices, with little or no acknowledgement of any advances since then; his death ironically resulted from complications of his own bleeding and purging regime (Rutkow 2005, 53). In spite of this, his professionalism and conviction caused many to regard him as "the American Hippocrates" (Rutkow 2005, 41-44).

Armed with often outdated principles, most school physicians graduated into a world of small-town medical isolation, where few could or would compare notes with other physicians to find better treatments and identify unsatisfactory ones. Others learned their trade as apprentices, producing practitioners Rutkow calls "unbeholden to guidelines or principles;" he encapsulates the problem by noting that "the unscientific basis of medical practice made it impossible to prove or disprove the soundness of specific claims" (2005, 49). For better or for worse, the old and new physicians who would fight the war on disease during the greater conflict generally gained what experience they had through practical work, rather than study. Chance decided whether a doctor's experiences caused him to progress beyond or regress into the fallacies circulating in the country's cumulative medical consciousness.

The existing knowledge relating to epidemic disease was largely empirical; Thomas P. Lowry described well the related areas of understanding of "crucial medical verities: [T]he use of quinine in the prevention and treatment of malaria; vaccination as a preventive of smallpox; [and] opium and its derivatives in the treatment of pain and diarrhea" (2001, 131). Overuse of drugs in some of these cases will be discussed below, but properly controlled methods were effective. Civil War physicians did possess some progressive and useful knowledge going into the conflict.

Conversely, some long-held, long-debunked medical ideas still persisted in physicians with little or no modern, formal training. Some still practiced the ancient techniques of bloodletting and blistering (Houck 1986, 135). Medical historicist Ira Rutkow notes that "the mid-nineteenth century physician's material medica (the drugs and other therapeutic substances used in medicine) consisted of herbal and mineral concoctions similar to those used since the time of Hippocrates" (2005, 40). A semi-popular belief among physicians held that diseases could transform from one to another over the course of illness, which allowed multiple conflicting diagnoses to take place. This could and sometimes did result in dangerous combinations of treatments. Some students recognized the folly of their elders: historian H.H. Cunningham states that "Some young practitioners . . . undoubtedly felt that the sick 'would be better of if they entrusted entirely to nature rather than to the haphazard empiricism of the doctors, with their blistering, bleeding, and monumental dosing'" (1958, 13). Indeed, in 1866 surgeon Peyer Porcher would admonish the former "Confederate physicians on their overzealous use of certain drugs" (Houck 1986, 134). Then as now, overdoses could kill patients, and often did.

America had relatively few cities and city-dwellers in the 1860s, which shaped the medical destinies of both physicians and soldiers. Soldiers who grew up on farms or in small towns had never been exposed to many "childhood diseases" such as measles and mumps; thus their chances of catching them (and consequently developing immunities) was low. Such diseases can be much more dangerous when contracted by adults. Large musters of non-immune and un-vaccinated troops only needed one case of such diseases before many were laid low—as the examples in the following section shall indicate. Most physicians had experience in small towns, or in rural beats with comparably small populations. Moreover, as the recruits' bodies were ill-prepared to deal with the huge concentrations of men, the physicians were ill-prepared to deal with the sheer magnitude of the problems that would arise. Huge numbers of contagious sick men, unparalleled sanitation problems, and the vagaries of the elements all confronted the Civil War physician—and only in success and failure of response would he learn from it all.

Outbreak

With the onset of war in 1861, soldiers and physicians flocked to the colors on both sides to offer their services. But while the rank and file would have months of time and training before their first battles, the trials began for the doctors almost as soon as they rode into camp. The aforementioned childhood diseases began to take their toll almost immediately and other diseases followed. Peter Houck describes the recurring problem of disease in warfare: "The cramming together of humanity at its worst, soldiers in close quarters, wetness, exposure, mental and physical exhaustion, all engendered an ideal culture media [sic] for opportunistic bacteria and viruses" (1986, 40). The soldiers would now endure nature's worst.

Horace Cunningham points out that Southerners were more likely to suffer from these because the South had fewer cities and thus a higher proportion of its recruits lacked immunities (1968, 25). Nonetheless, both sides had numerous cases of measles, mumps, whooping cough, and chicken pox. A typical representative of the

units mustering North and South, the Third Tennessee had half to three-quarters of its members down with childhood diseases, especially measles, in its first two months of service: about 500-750 sick out of 1,000 men (Shroeder-Lein 1994, 42). Peter Houck estimates that measles attacked one in seven Confederates in summer 1861 (1986, 41); the disease rendered 67,763 Union men disabled and 4,246 dead over the course of the war (Houck 1986, 45). Similar tolls are estimated for the effects of other childhood diseases.

Even as these childhood diseases cut their swathes through the rural soldiery, other contagious diseases ravaged the camps regardless of the recruits' home origins. The deadliest of these, by far, was smallpox. The aptly-named "Pest House" in Lynchburg, Virginia, the quarantine location for all the city's smallpox patients, provides a good example of the horrors caused by this disease:

"Soldiers bedridden with the draining sores of smallpox were crowded into the two-story frame house, incubating a mixture of epidemic pestilence. The stench from the sores and poor hygiene was so pungent that drunkenness was the only way patients and staff could tolerate it . . . It was no wonder that this 'smallpox hospital' was conveniently located next to the Confederate graveyard" (Houck 1986, 45).

Union troops suffered 12,236 cases of smallpox throughout the war, causing 4,717 deaths. Though most Confederate records are incomplete due to the burning of Richmond at war's end, it is known that in one 16-month period, 1,020 smallpox victims died in Virginia alone (Houck 1986, 41).

Edward Jenner's discovery of a vaccination process for smallpox had occurred at the end of the 18th century and (some) doctors on both sides of the Atlantic knew well how to implement it. Tragically however, vaccination was not considered a requirement for recruits upon initial enlistment (Houck 1986, 40), and many susceptible individuals entered the ranks, especially in the first year of the war. This was a general problem in recruiting stations across both sections of America—officers eager to fill their quotas allowed many men of weak constitutions to be sent to the camps. Many of these contracted diseases and spread them to their fellows. Equally harmful was the laxity of standards for army physicians—the weakness in their training caused more deaths through incompetence (Cunningham 1968, 24).

Even before the diseases brought in by the men had finished taking their toll, the environmentally-caused diseases began to arise: diarrhea, dysentery, cholera, pneumonia, malaria, and typhoid fever, among others. While pneumonia is caused by exposure to the elements, and malaria (or "marsh miasm," a coining which demonstrates physicians' lack of understanding of the vector (Rutkow 2005, 16)) by mosquitoes, the majority of these were caused or magnified by the problems of sanitation in camps—which deserve some discussion.

The absence of the germ theory of disease, which was gradually coalescing in Europe but unheard-of in America, meant that sanitation was little understood. The illiteracy and ignorance of most recruits and doctors meant that sanitary practices were not implemented, especially in the first years of the war. Hospitals, supposedly bastions of health, were sometimes quite the opposite. Sterilization was not practiced, and medical personnel often disagreed on standards of cleanliness (Schroeder-Lein 1994, 109). Bedding and instruments were reused in

hospitals without washing, thus continuing the spread of infection.

Views on sanitation differed, but one doctor spoke for many in writing that "the ambition of superior cleanliness, whether it be permanent or a spasmodic feeling, should not be pushed to extremes, or be considered the one thing needed in our hospital" (Houck 1986, 45). With the masses of sick and wounded to deal with, even physicians who desired cleanliness did not usually have the experience or the power to effect it. Without proper sanitation, hospitals concentrating large numbers of sick and wounded often helped more to spread diseases than to assuage them. This was also true for hospital staff; author Louisa May Alcott's stint as a Northern hospital nurse was cut short by typhoid she caught from patients (Schroeder-Lein 1994, 76). Epidemic diseases made their mark on Alcott's memory of her brief stay at the hospital: "I spent my hours . . . with pneumonia on one side, diphtheria on the other, [and] two typhoids opposite" (Rutkow 2005, 225).

Conditions in the camps were often even worse. Food, trash, and feces were left everywhere, and "bathers, cattle, cooks, defecators, drinkers and launderers would all share a campsite's water stores" (Rutkow 2005, 123). Latrines, when they were dug and used, were often still located near the supplies of drinking water, or near hospitals, against the wishes of the doctors, who certainly objected to the smell if not the sanitation problem (Schroeder-Lein 1994, 44). Cholera, diarrhea, dysentery, and typhoid are all transmitted through the excretions of sick individuals—so it is no wonder camps were a breeding ground.

Doctors tried many varied solutions, some of which failed miserably. Some believed diarrhea was caused by "limestone wa-

ter," while others believed it to be a cure (Schroeder-Lein 1994, 83). A crucial goal for many physicians in the treatment of typhoid and dysentery was "keeping the bowels open," until the harmful liquids and solids had passed out of the body; to this extent purging with mercury was accepted (Schroeder-Lein 1994, 32-3). However, many such treatments did more harm than good.

The combined effects of epidemic diseases and medical ignorance took a harsh toll on the fighting forces. Some examples may illustrate: in the campaign leading up to the Battle of First Manassas in July 1861, two untried armies maneuvered toward each other with many illness-prone recruits. The Confederate Army of the Shenandoah, moving to reinforce other forces at Manassas, numbered nearly 11,000 men in total—but left 1,700 of them behind due to sickness (Cunningham 1968, 27). The next month, General Joseph Johnston (CSA) reported that out of 18,178 men present at Manassas, 4,809 were sick (Cunningham 1968, 25).

In spring 1862, the 85th New York sailed to the Virginia Peninsula with the rest of the Army of the Potomac. In one month's delay in the wet low-lying terrain, it lost 97 men, dead or incapacitated, to malaria alone, one ninth of its initial strength upon enlistment in late 1861—not counting any deaths from disease prior to the Peninsula Campaign. The entire army suffered similarly, with the added misery of diseases brought on by human waste seeping through the marshy ground; within two months 20% of its men were incapacitated (Rutkow 2005, 117). The regiment's surgeon, William Smith, angrily wrote in his diary: "One of the largest, best and most munificently appointed armies ever led into battle has been wasted in the poisonous

swamps of the Peninsula...Forty percent of the [army] was hors de combat before the series of battles commencing with the 26th of June [three months after the army made landfall]" (Lowry 2001, 25). Yet only four percent of those incapacitated were rendered so by combat wounds—disease caused the rest (Rutkow 2005, 147). During the same campaign General Henry Wise (CSA) reported to his superiors that nearly 25% of his 1,700 men were ill from various causes (Cunningham 1968, 73). Malaria has no post-disease immunity, so it continued to plague the armed forces throughout the war: Northern records for the war count nearly 1.4 million sick and 15,000 dead from malaria over the course of the conflict (Rutkow 2005, 15).

William Smith's principal rancor came from the commanding general's neglect to move the army promptly out of such disease-infested areas—even knowledge the doctors did possess could not always be applied adequately because of such factors. Planning for disease became a part of military physician life: Samuel Stout, medical director for the Army of Tennessee (CSA), allowed for the presence of 4,000 sick in each of the major hospitals he planned (Schroeder-Lein 1994, 124). This didn't even begin to accommodate the battle casualties once they began to arrive. A frequent encounter for Civil War physicians was the filling up of hospitals with diseased men, which left little room for the wounded.

More than temporary absences, the fatality rate of the diseases was devastating.

In the prison camps of both sides disease was especially appalling; an average of 18.4% of all Union prisoners in Confederate camps died from infectious disease (Houck 1986, 127). Dysentery and diarrhea killed 6,000 men from both sides in the first 19 months of the war, and physician Bedford Brown stated that "nine-tenths of all recruits were attacked by this condition and so weakened physically that they became easy victims for other ailments" (Cunningham 1958, 185). Joseph Jones, a Confederate surgeon, estimated that of deaths from all causes between January 1862 and August 1863, 17,209 were caused by typhoid (or 25% of the total), and around 19,000 from pneumonia in the same period (Cunningham 1958, 194-202). At Andersonville, widely acknowledged as the worst Confederate prison, nearly 13,000 of its total of 49,000 prisoners died over the eight months it operated. 11,086 of these were reported from disease, out of 15,987 reported cases of disease at the prison hospital (Cunningham 1958, 7)—a 69% mortality rate among those reported sick.

A Southern newspaper correspondent at Manassas in the fall of 1861 wrote: "Disease is by long odds too common and too fatal in our camps . . . a painful degree of mortality has prevailed . . . on Sunday I visited the 'Junction' to procure a coffin, and found thirteen orders ahead of me" (Cunningham 1968, 69-70). This testifies to the fate of many Civil War soldiers—death by childhood diseases in the early months, and death by other epidemic diseases for many of those who survived the first onslaught. Luckily for many more people,

Improvements Over the Course of the War

soldiers and civilians alike, the army physicians who did not crack under the terrible strain began to learn from their mistakes. Amidst the many failures of Civil War medicine, medical improvements would be made through empirical discoveries in the millions of cases treated, and progressive ideas validated by success were dissemi-

nated among American physicians. These would affect both the latter course of the war and the decades to come, though the scope of this essay covers only the former.

Doctor J.J. Terrell, a Confederate physician at Lynchburg, Virginia, was one of the progressive physicians who made a difference in patients' lives with his methods. Observant of the news from Europe concerning the connection between cleanliness and the spread of disease, he took to boiling his instruments in hot water (Houck 1986, 55). Transferred to the aforementioned Pest House by his own request, he experimented and found that three inches of dry white sand piled on the floor would expel the smell of smallpox sores and improve the atmosphere for patients and doctors alike, allowing better health and treatment. He also expanded the facility and improved sanitation and nutrition; all of the above helped him bring the smallpox death rate at Pest House from 50% (double the average of that time) to 5% (Houck 1986, 56-7). Better sanitation gradually became more and more generally accepted as its effects began to show in the hospitals. The advancement of ideas about sanitary issues in hospitals bore particular fruit at the hospital complex on Richmond's Chimborazo Hill, by far the largest and best-organized of any military hospital during the war, or any previous American hospital (see below).

Sanitation principles conceived by the doctors made their way into regular camp life as well. Dr. Jonathan Letterman, in addition to revolutionizing the army's hospital organization, handed down general cleanliness policies which eventually became standard. Tents were to be relocated every week, soldiers were compelled to bathe at least once a week, and stricter regulations of latrine location were instituted. Daily sanitation inspections of each camp were

instituted to ensure the measures were rigorously enforced (Rutkow 2005, 126-7). Enough mistakes had been made that soldiers and physicians alike finally began to recognize the patterns of unsanitary conditions, and to embrace empirically tested methods to stop them.

The advances discovered in the armies, especially those in hygiene, began to filter down to civilian life even before the war was over. Rutkow points out that the efforts of civilian groups such as the U.S. Sanitary Commission to render medical aid to soldiers caused rippling effects on the civilian population. Several members of the Sanitary Commission who were residents of New York launched a campaign of sanitation reform which led to the city's implementation of new cleanliness laws and a citywide sanitation survey in 1863-1864. The key players, of course, were espousing reforms they learned while tending to sick Federal soldiers down south (2005, 268-70).

Nutrition was often overlooked as a factor in patients' health while combating their diseases, but became recognized and gradually refined. By 1863, the Confederate Surgeon General had issued an order concerning diet amounts and types for hospital patients, and further regulations followed requiring hospital personnel to prescribe a proper diet via a "diet roll" for each patient in each ward (Cunningham 1958, 82). Hospitals were allowed first priority on foods beyond the ken of normal military rations, like chicken, eggs, vegetables, and milk—and as the war went on more were established with their own gardens and pasture land to sustain the facilities (Schroeder-Lein 1994, 103). Though supplies were often limited, doctors evidently associated different foods with different types of disease and recovery and tried to apply that

knowledge, as Horace Cunningham states: "Surgeons in charge of hospitals generally attempted to vary the diet as much as possible and to provide special foods for those who required them" (1958, 83).

Both sides undertook hospital construction to care for sick and wounded more effectively, and in better locations, in the years following 1861. In 1864, Confederate Surgeon General Samuel Moore ordered research into proper methods of hospital construction, to be gathered from physicians across the South. In particular he asked for information on "the proper proportion of patients to cubic capacity; necessary hygienic measures to ensure rapid recovery; origin, communication, prevention, and cure of infectious maladies peculiar to military hospitals; and the employment of disinfectants" (Cunningham 1958, 63). Though many of these issues could not be adequately addressed in the failing South's medical military structure, the mere fact of their mention shows the new sophistication beginning to permeate that structure; they were at least learning to ask the right questions. General Moore's shining example was Chimborazo Hospital, established in Richmond in 1861 and expansive and active throughout the war. With large, uncrowded, and varied facilities, good situation for drainage and water supplies, fine ventilation, numerous bakeries, icehouses, and pastures to support its capacity of 8,000 patients, Chimborazo became a model for future military and civilian hospitals alike (Denney 1994, 49-50).

Rutkow's study of medical improvements over the course of the war notes that the Federal military medical administration finally began to draw from the example of the Crimean War. He comments that Nightingalian principles of sanitation reform became so prevalent that pavilion-style hospi-

tals (providing appropriate ventilation and light) "were now considered sacrosanct." At least one Federal physician declared that no shelter at all for sick men was better than hospitals in improper, unhealthy buildings (2005, 163).

Treatment of diseases themselves improved as well. Malaria, which had long troubled the South in the antebellum years, was treated on a large scale for the first time with quinine, due to success with that treatment (Houck 1986, 47). Though the childhood diseases slowed their rampage late in the war for the simple reason that most surviving soldiers were now immune to them, more advanced quarantine procedures helped as well. By 1865, the rate of measles on the Union side had fallen from 77 per 1,000 in 1861, to two per 1,000 men, (Houck 1986, 47).

The other major improvement in the American treatment of epidemic disease as a result of the war regarded smallpox. This took place in the development of measures to deal with large smallpox outbreaks in the military, and in the recognition of the importance of smallpox vaccination. Medical officers on both sides ordered smallpox patients to be quarantined in separate facilities and canceled furloughs for enlisted men or officers who had been recently exposed (Houck 1986, 43). Though the microbial nature of smallpox was not yet known, these directives showed that some practical knowledge was gained in understanding how to limit the spread of the disease.

After smallpox epidemics in 1862 and 1863, the Confederate Medical Department directed that all hospital patients be vaccinated against contracting the disease from others in the wards. The scarcity of the vaccine made it all the more valuable— a good smallpox scab from a child (the best

source from which a vaccine could be generated) was worth $5 at that time—no small sum. The military necessity even generated benefits for the civilian population: Confederate Surgeon General sent a message to Lynchburg in 1862 which instructed physicians there to "insure you have a fresh crust [of] vaccine virus with which you will vaccinate gratuitously the young children of the neighborhood and in this way a sufficient quantity of vaccine will be obtained" (Houck 1986, 47). The process had been suggested, even required, in some states in the 15 years before the war, but the concentration of men and the deadly toll exacted upon them by smallpox during the war gave renewed impetus to, and experience in, eradicating the disease through vaccination. Although many soldiers died from smallpox, Ira Rutkow points out that smallpox inoculations were eventually given to enough fighting men that its incidence did not reach epidemic levels (2005, 16)—the mid-war changes in combating the disease kept things from getting worse. Many of the younger physicians who saw their first major trials during the Civil War would spearhead the major American smallpox eradication efforts in the latter half of the nineteenth century—under one government.

Conclusion

When peace emerged in 1865, much of the American South had been destroyed and every section of the country had lost a substantial number of its citizens to the maelstrom of war. Over 620,000 Americans had died, and while accounts differ (and are complicated by missing records on the Confederate side), it is apparent that from 300,000 to 400,000 of those deaths were caused by disease—in all likelihood more than half of the total deaths in the war. Ironically, many, if not most, of the deaths in America's bloodiest war happened in hospital tents far from the battlefield.

The graves at Andersonville bear mute testimony to those who succumbed to illness during America's war. Image from Photo. Net (At http://photo.net)

Throughout the turmoil physicians fought their own war of epidemic disease, and, as in the shooting war, there were successes and failures, errors in judgment and flashes of inspiration, which would resound for years to come. Ira Rutkow rightly points out that "there were no astounding medical breakthroughs during the American Civil War" (2005, 318)—the silver lining amidst the terrible cost was the concentration of physicians in a context which allowed them to widely test and disseminate the knowledge they did have. Houck states it well: "numerous doctors who had been working in a vacuum [were cloistered] into a crucible where they had to communicate, share ideas, [and] set standards" (1986, 135). The minds and shared consciousness of veteran doctors emerging from the conflict could now prove fertile ground for the astounding medical breakthroughs which would burst upon the scene in the next few decades. Its deadliest war over, America would now benefit from their experience in understanding and applying the wave of medical discoveries of the late nineteenth century.

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The Spin on Space: NASA's Public Relations Concerns as a Factor in the Challenger Disaster

David F. Ellrod

Abstract:

The objective of this project was to research NASA's concerns with public and media outlets during the mid-1980s, and gauge the effect of these concerns in exerting pressure which contributed to the Challenger explosion in January 1986.

Research methods were primarily computer and text-based, both methods utilizing the Virginia Tech Newman Library resources. The library's stacks provided necessary books, while Newman's online connections to various historical databases provided key examples of primary sources, such as news articles surrounding the Challenger disaster.

The paper concludes that NASA's over-attention to public relations issues did indeed allow the persistence of the mechanical problems which were the direct cause of the space shuttle's explosion.

The wider aim of this paper hopes to encourage continual public scrutiny of the inner workings of government organizations, as well as caution in such organizations of the hazards of overattention to public popularity at the expense of safety.

Key Words: NASA, Public Relations, Challenger Explosion

Introduction

The destruction of the space shuttle Challenger shocked observers in America and worldwide. It ushered in a new era of inquiry and public doubt about the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's handling of its space program. While the accidents of Apollo 1 and 13 had caused ripples of uncertainty, the spectacular trauma of Challenger would definitely end the era in which NASA could depend on stars in the eyes of the voters and Congressional appropriations committees. Today, as NASA and the entire U.S. try to determine what new direction and focus should drive the continuing space program, it remains relevant to examine the factors

which led to Challenger's destruction. This investigation may ensure that dangerous past organizational habits–such as over-sensitivity to public sentiment–can be recognized and avoided in the future.

On January 28, 1986, the seven crew members of the space shuttle Challenger mission STS-51-L stepped off the earth for the last time. At 11:39 a.m., only 73 seconds after liftoff, smoke began to billow from one of the solid rocket boosters. A seal on one of the boosters, known as an O-ring, had failed and allowed the fuel of the Orbiter (the manned vehicle) to escape, propelling the booster forcefully into the rest of the shuttle. Horrified thousands watched as the vehicle disintegrated under the aerodynamic forces acting upon it, until nothing remained in the sky but a contrail of destruction. Steve Nesbitt, spokesman for Mission Control, reported moments later that he had witnessed "obviously a major malfunction." This vast understatement, downplaying a disaster, shows as an attempt to soften the immediate blow, which would fall on the American people.

As the public, government, media, and world would find out over the coming months, NASA had been taking public relations quite seriously for a very long time—perhaps too much. It hearkened to the simple principle of funding under a democratic government: popular programs get the money, unpopular ones get cut. Congress makes the appropriations, and the representatives' attunement to their own dependence on the voters, means they generally vote along the lines of their constituents. For this reason, to keep the organization functioning, the cultivation of a place in the American people's minds and hearts became a priority. NASA's concern for image had permeated the organization since its beginning, when science fiction

fans had provided much of its initial public support–but by the 1970's, when NASA needed a second wind, this concern became overemphasized. In the 1980's–the main focus of this essay–when NASA's new drive was reaching fruition in the shuttle program, that concern became destructive. NASA's valuation of its public image over safety practices actually contributed to the Challenger tragedy in allowing the mechanical problems, which doomed Challenger to persist. A brief look back at NASA's earlier days will illustrate how the disastrous stage

The Roots of NASA's Showmanship

of the 1980s was set.

With the Apollo 11 and subsequent moon landings, the United States had accomplished the inherited dream of John F. Kennedy, "won" the space race against the Soviets, and shown the world the fruits of America's pioneering spirit—and spent a lot of money doing it. The government and the people felt vindicated after the massive costs of the program, but public interest (and government patience) quickly receded from this high-water mark achievement. Only a tenth of the numbers who had come to Cape Kennedy to see off Apollo 11 came for Apollo 13; the Office of Management and Budget made cuts which dictated canceling Apollo's 18 and 19, planned as moon landings. Americans embroiled in the Vietnam War and unrest at home, shifted focus to earthly matters. The Apollo program succumbed to a public sense of ennui, and NASA officials worried that boredom with the final frontier might lead to the downsizing or elimination of the space program.

The space program needed a new emphasis and a new goal. Remembering Kennedy's rallying cry of "Man, moon, decade," NASA managers decided upon "Man, Mars,

decade" –an effort to land a man on Mars within 10 years. They thought a new drive would generate new funding and refreshed public interest, and prepared detailed proposals for such a drive. Contractors would develop and test a new earth-to-earth-orbit vehicle, which in turn would serve to construct a complex space station. That station would then be used as an assembly and jumping-off point for a Mars expedition vehicle. The entire endeavor promised a massive undertaking, massive potential for public interest, and massive expenditures. NASA presented a projected budget of $9 billion a year to President Nixon, and quickly found it would have to compromise. Congress cut many elements mercilessly, and when dust settled, only a much smaller research station and the Orbiter commute vehicle remained of the grand integrated space system. The Orbiter (now more popularly known as the Space Shuttle) became an orphan technology, its original purpose as the first wave of an ambitious new undertaking now defunct. Though technically without a long-term purpose, it was the one project the cost-cutting presidential administration had left to NASA–so they had to make it work.

NASA aimed to regain public attention, and the funding which ensues, with a shuttle that would reduce cost through reusability and would glamorize itself as the next leap in the conquest of space. NASA decided to cater to popular interest when it announced the first test Orbiter's name: Enterprise, after the fictional starship from the TV show Star Trek. Many fans of the show had written in to NASA requesting the name, and celebrated the announcement. Though the Enterprise never flew to space itself, it produced valuable test results to put the Orbiters, which came after it into orbit. Their names–Challenger, Discovery, Columbia–

also spoke of achievement, innovation, and national unity, further enriching the image

Cramming the Schedule

NASA sought to create for itself.
The first space mission, flown by Columbia, lifted off on April 12, 1981. After a successful mission and flawless landing three days later, the country celebrated the dawn of a new era in space exploration, NASA leading the way with its announcement that the nation should "Prepare for exhilaration." The public applauded, and NASA set out to further develop the program. More shuttles came online, and twenty-three more missions flew over the next four years. However, NASA officials realized the public saw the program as a unique trip than a regular assertion of America's space might. An average of only six missions a year failed to exhilarate, so NASA announced an unprecedented 15 for the 1986 flight-year. The administration needed to impress upon the public the regularity and reliability of the shuttle.

Unfortunately for NASA's workers on the ground, the price of exhilaration was exhaustion. Unbeknownst to the public, NASA had only two complete sets of working shuttle components for four shuttles, which meant a repeatedly long, complex, and laborious process of stripping a recently-landed shuttle of necessary equipment and reinstalling it in the next shuttle scheduled to launch. Combining the already intricate and protracted process of preparing a shuttle for launch with the now-standard cannibalization process, and the new attention-grabbing frenetic schedule, NASA had set a feverish pace, which would grind down the efficiency and ability of its ground crews. As Bob Huddleston, a NASA quality control specialist, put it later: "People were working a couple of months sometimes

without a day off, ten and twelve hours a day, and that has to take an effect. That's where quality suffers." Many believe that workers better able to focus on their tasks leading up to the Challenger launch could have caught and corrected the mechanical

The "Right" Crew Members

failures that caused the disaster.

NASA made very image-conscious decisions when it came to choosing members of its shuttle crews. Senator Jake Garn of Utah, Representative Bill Nelson of Florida, and several wealthy foreign observers (including a Saudi Prince) went up in the shuttle as guests of NASA, designated as Payload Specialists. Since the tasks assigned to them could easily have been done by other crewmembers (or other astronauts altogether, who might have waited years for a mission), these assignments amounted to thinly veiled publicity stunts. Garn's position as head of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee responsible for NASA's budget and the location of Nelson's district (it included the Kennedy Space Space Center) made their invitations the perfect marriage of favorable exposure and political/financial pandering. The Rogers Commission appointed to investigate the Challenger disaster pointed to the extra strain and timetable juggling caused by the addition of the Congressmen to the flights as a contributing factor to the exhausted negligence preceding Challenger. In fact, NASA bumped back Payload Specialist Greg Jarvis to make room for Nelson on Columbia's liftoff on January 12, 1986; Jarvis flew instead on the Challenger 16 days later.

Despite earlier guest invitations, NASA's greatest public relations project yet would take flight with Challenger in 1986: the Teacher-in-Space Program (TISP). Administration officials had suggested the idea of taking a regular citizen into space years before and had immediately seized upon a journalist–for whom better to provide publicity on his return to earth than someone trained to make news? However, the program would require money, and NASA once again found itself making political compromises, this time directly with the presidential administration. In the election year of 1984, Ronald Reagan had received substantial criticism from his main opponent, Walter Mondale, over his apparent lack of concern for the public education system. Reagan and his advisors dashed off memos to NASA, and in August Reagan announced the nationwide search for an educator to lead the country's children into space. Reagan remained president to watch the lucky candidate, Christa McAuliffe, lift off in 1986. The TISP and the planned Journalist-in-Space Program both show an emphasis on showmanship, and both fell by the wayside after the January disaster. Social historian Diane Vaughan states it well:

...perhaps more than any mission for years, the Challenger mission captured the attention of the public. Diverse in race, sex, ethnicity, and religion, the Challenger crew was a symbolic reminder that the all-too-elusive possibilities of equal opportunity and unity from diversity could still be attained . . . the media informed us not only of their names, but about their families and their histories . . . When the disaster occurred, we knew these astronauts.

Here the showmanship bit back; the hype surrounding the mission made it all the worse for public relations when it failed.

A Reputation for Postponement

NASA's determination to portray a regular, quick and vigorous program ran squarely against reality. Any one-shuttle launch requires a lengthy and complex process known as "shuttle flow"; one cannot, as journalist Malcolm McConnell put it, "just check the oil and kick the tires." A problem at any one of the myriad points along the extensive checklist could cause a delay, and frequently did. NASA often scrubbed and aborted its missions, throwing off delicate timetables laid down months in advance. It quickly gained a reputation in the press for balking before liftoff, a stigma that it carries to this day.

A look at the headlines mentioning NASA in the months and years leading up to the Challenger launch shows common threads among them. Damning buzzwords such as "delay," "postpone," "4th try," "problems," "flaw," "failure"–and as one journalist coined it, "The Endless Countdown," in an article describing the long wait for the actual launch of the program itself–weighed heavily on NASA as officials became painfully aware of the uncertain showing they were giving the country. They dreaded the

"Fly Out that Manifest"

effect of it on public and federal support. This kind of reporting in the news could delegitimize NASA in the eyes of many, jeopardizing both its goals as an organization and the long-term employment of many of its personnel. Some of those in charge would not stand for such threats–among them Dr. William Lucas of the Marshall Space Flight Center. Lucas had directed the Center since 1974 and had come to exercise autono-

mous personal control over it and its employees; the Rogers Commission, investigating NASA's internal workings, described his style of management as "feudalistic." Many of Marshall's personnel retained more loyalty to Marshall and Dr. Lucas than NASA, and Marshall's upper management simply ignored and suppressed memorandums written by engineers concerned about the O-rings malfunctioning. When each contractor and space center sent representatives to Flight Readiness Checks to report on the readiness of the components, each was respectively responsible. Lucas directed his people to affirm "go" status, regardless of any known problems with the hardware they managed. Thus, known flaws–such as the fatal O-ring defect–slipped through the theoretically rigorous safety checks of NASA.

However, other problems did get reported, and weather sometimes refused to cooperate, requiring NASA to postpone missions. As backed-up missions piled up on top of one another, NASA Administrator, James Beggs, took stock of the administration's future in the context of the space shuttle program. Taking into account private investors who paid NASA to deliver their satellites into space promptly, competition with unmanned European satellite launch systems, and, as always, fragile public opinion, Beggs proclaimed to the men and women under him that "If we are going to prove our mettle and demonstrate our capability, we have got to fly out that manifest." He referred to the cargo and mission of a ship, and appealed to a sense that they must all work hard and complete the schedule, no matter the cost. His quote signifies the overarching, driven mentality, which pervaded NASA at the time.

Conclusion

The Rogers Commission concluded that the inherent mechanical problems had been aggravated by misguided management policies. Among other causes, under its heading of "The Contributing Cause of the Accident," it stated that "there was a serious flaw in the decision making process leading up to the launch of flight 51-L. A well structured and managed system emphasizing safety would have flagged the rising doubts about the Solid Rocket Booster joint seal." It further declared that it was "troubled by what appears to be a propensity of management at Marshall to contain potentially serious problems and to attempt to resolve them internally rather than communicate them forward." One member of the commission, Richard Feynman, saw poor management practices undertaken for the wrong reasons as much more central to the disaster, and asked that his opinions be catalogued separately in an appendix to the main report. In it he noted a "gradually decreasing strictness" of Flight Readiness Reviews and reasoned that NASA managers may not have reported problems as "an attempt to assure the government of NASA perfection and success in order to ensure the supply of funds." The words he chooses to end his conclusion are particularly telling of his opinion on the interaction between NASA's publicity concerns and its management practices: "NASA owes it to the citizens from whom it asks support to be frank, honest, and informative, so that these citizens can make the wisest decisions for the use of their limited resources . . . For a successful technology, reality must take precedence over public relations, for nature cannot be fooled." The entire commission noted the faulty management; taking into account public relations and attendant budget concerns, Feynman pinpointed

the reasoning behind that management. Thus, when the Challenger crewmembers climbed into the shuttle on January 28, a host of problems haunted their steps. Overworked and exhausted ground crews struggled to make final preparations–missing critical flaws. The men and women who had allowed defects to make it past the Flight Readiness Checks rested easy, assured that their reputations remained safe. Though he was absent, awaiting indictment for fraud, James Beggs' legacy echoed throughout NASA with the determination to "fly out that manifest." NASA's ambitious schedule would proceed, children would wonder at school lessons taught from earth's orbit, and the nation would see that the great, infallible NASA could and would continue to lead the way in pushing back the frontiers of space. These hopes crashed into the sea with the pieces of Challenger and her crew that Tuesday morning.

NASA set out to create a cheap, reliable, simple Space Transportation System and failed. It produced a viable but complex and expensive Orbiter system, based on the Space Shuttle, which still had some technical problems. Despite these known problems, in addition to warnings from critics within the organization, NASA came to value publicity and a good image over total safety. This confusion of values, resulting from a desire to keep the administration's budget afloat, cemented safety neglect into a "fly out that manifest" mentality of do-ordie. Tragically, death did occur–not among the policy makers who created the tragedy, but among the astronauts of Challenger

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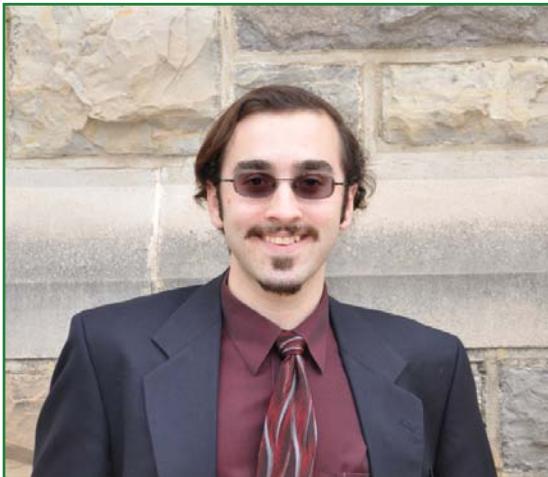
David Ellrod is a senior history major, graduating from Virginia Tech in May, and plans to pursue a doctorate in history, hoping eventually to teach at the college level. He has been a Civil War buff since a very early age, and has relished the opportunity to study with Professors William Davis and James Robertson while at Tech; since high school he has branched out further into interest in almost every aspect of American history, though remaining most interested in Civil War and military history.

David would like to thank his parents, for nurturing his love of history by taking him to historical sites since a young age, and his high school teacher Mr. Gesker, for presiding over the growth of his interest in history from part-time hobby to full-time study. He'd also like to thank all his Virginia Tech history professors, for helping him hone his research, writing, and interpretive skills.

The 'State-Society' Myth In Civil Society Theory: Reconceptualizations of Sovereignty and Power In The Context of Minimal State Capacity

Jon Crain

Abstract: Civil society literature presupposes a substantive amount of state capacity, due its Eurocentric development, as well as the African context of colonial and state repression that catalyzed the revival of scholarly interest in civil society. It is important to examine the relationship between society and state due to the universal acceptance of, and lack of alternatives to, the Westphalian state system. However, in many cases civil society literature, which seeks to delineate the relationship between state and society (both local and global), has been invoked to examine the development capacity of non-state civic institutions, organizations, and efforts. By maintaining the traditional 'state-society' perspective, theorists have reduced their utility in scenarios where state capacity is extremely limited. This article will argue that the predominant 'state-society' perspective that frames civil society literature should not be utilized to examine civic action in areas where state capacity is minimal or non-existent. The fractured nature of sovereignty in the globalized era will be invoked to justify the claim that the state no longer is guaranteed a substantial role within the African development process. As such, civil society literature must disregard the supremacy of the 'state-society' perspective, in order to acknowledge the empirical flows of power that occur (when state capacity is lacking) between local and global civic elements, outside of the realm of state influence. The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) will be used as the main exemplar, however the author holds that the theory entailed within holds for all African regions where state capacity lacks.

Key Words: Dominican Republic of Congo, State Society, Africa

INTRODUCTION

Formal democratic state institutions will not by themselves generate substantive . . . and sustained democracies without the support of, and accountability to, pluralist, informed and well organized non-governmental associations . . . The decision by civil society organizations to relegate to themselves the function of overseeing state's performance in the important areas of economic development and good governance project is a source of major conflict and antagonism between the state and civil society organizations (Udogo 2007: 130).

This article will examine the perspective predominantly utilized (exemplified by the above quote) by civil society theorists in reference to the World's Most Troubled Continent. The theoretical discourses concerning the woes of Africa have focused a great deal on civil society as a dimension of governance potentially capable of addressing the failures of African states over the past half-century of independence (Shraeder 2005; Hyden 2006; Harbeson, Rothchild, and Chazan 1994; Makumbe 1998; Crawford 1994; Udogo 2007; DeLue 2009; Friedman 2005; Hall and Trentmann 2005; Patterson 2007). A generalized working definition of civil society as those non-state civic elements which challenge and cooperate with the state, a classic tenet of traditional Western political thought, has expanded and deepened to the extent that it now includes virtually all non-state elements; it has become a catch-all term brought out to legitimize everything from international NGOs, to transnational terrorist networks, to local individualized

civic action (Adekson 2004; Ricther 2006; Thorn 2006; Oyugi 2004) . Myriad international and local organizations have found themselves categorized as civil society, often due to the simple fact that they are not state entities. While different scholars have collectively identified a spectrum of definitional scopes, they have virtually all utilized the perspective provided by the 'state-society' dichotomy that holds a central role in civil society theory.

However, this article will argue that a shift in the internationally recognized location and utility of sovereignty necessitates a new wave of civil society theory that transcends the 'state-society' perspective. The age of humanitarianism and internationalism that followed the Second World War are gradually removing the traditional international recognition of sovereignty as the right to non-intervention that rested solely with the state, and instead transposing sovereignty onto the individual. Sovereignty has been decomposed, so that it now entails capacity, legitimacy, and responsibility, three dimensions that can be shared by multiple actors, rather than existing exclusively (Bacik 2008; Deng and Lyons 1998; Von Rooy 2004; Krasner 2005). The theoretical reconceptualization of sovereignty that has occurred effectively challenges the assumption upon which traditional civil society literature was founded: that the state exists as the sole guarantor of sovereignty on the international stage, and that civil society therefore exists mainly as a civic counterbalance to state sovereignty (Hegel; Locke 1689; Hobbes 1651; De Tocqueville 1835; Harbeson 1994). This assumption, in combination with the historic state formation process in Africa, has resulted in a current body of civil society literature that

suffers from a flawed adherence to the 'state-society' perspective. This perspective has limited our ability to understand the actions and abilities of civil society in areas where state capacity is most lacking. For example, in the Eastern DRC, the state does not have the capacity to exercise any type of authority. In this area, therefore, it is problematic to view the actions of local civic elements from a 'state-society' perspective. This perspective provides only a partial picture of non-state agents, such as militias and international peacekeepers. Instead, scholars need to identify the true location of sovereignty and authority within the region, and subsequently examine the flows of power and legitimacy that occur. Since these flows occur mostly between local individuals and global agents, such as MONUC (the UN peacekeeping mission in the Congo) in the DRC, the utilization of a 'state-society' perspective has limited our ability to prescribe effective governance solutions.

The article will first examine the scope of the 'state-society' perspective in civil society literature. It will be argued that two factors dictated that the literature followed this perspective: the Western roots of the concept, and the state formation process in Africa that catalyzed conflict between state and society in many regions. However, in certain regions, as Herbst argues, populations exist outside of the reach of state institutions (Herbst 2000). In these regions, a focus on the 'state-society' dichotomy has rendered most civil society literature inapplicable.

Unfortunately, these areas are often those most in need of development. Once the scope of the perspective has been identified as comprehensive in civil society literature, the article will examine the international reconceptualization of sovereignty that has occurred since 1960. Once a Westphalian concept used to justify the infant state system in Africa, sovereignty is now regarded as having expanded to include the distinct, yet interwoven, dimensions of capacity, legitimacy, and responsibility. Furthermore, it is regarded as a fluid abstract that can be shared and traded between various agents of governance. This reconceptualization greatly diminishes the role of states in regions where state capacity and influence are minimal to non-existent. The theoretical acknowledgement by the international community that sovereignty no longer exists exclusively within the state realm now necessitates a parallel acknowledgement by the civil society body of literature. Civil society literature must reflect a study of the relationship between those agents that compete for and share sovereignty, rather than assuming that this relationship operates exclusively between state and non-state, a minimalist perspective at best.

The article will conclude with a brief discussion of the potential implications for civil society theory that reflects the new sovereignty dynamic rather than the 'state-society' dynamic. The author argues that the new sovereignty dynamic can be characterized by the flows of power that occur through norms and financial aid. As such, future research should examine the flows of power that occur between local elements and the greater international community as a whole. Further research can focus on the barriers to cooperation between these two realms of governance, and thereby contribute to development theory in an empirically sound manner.

THE 'STATE-SOCIETY' MYTH IN AFRICAN CIVIL SOCIETY LITERATURE

As a body of literature, African civil society theory finds minimal collectivity. Since African states became independent in 1960, scholars have attempted to demarcate a specific role for 'civil society' in an increasingly crowded political arena (Harbeson, Rothchild, and Chazan 1994; Makumbe 1998; Young 1994; Ferguson 2006; Bratton 1994; Florini 2000; Friedman 2005; Giovanni 2004; Oyugi 2004; Ngosi 2006). Originally a Western concept that dates back to the days of Aristotle, civil society had been generally understood as the collective non-state civic elements that exist within a state's territory. The term underwent a rebirth within an African context after the newly independent states suffered from a failure to consolidate authority and power (Shraeder 2004). For this reason, African civil society literature retained the original state-society perspective. This article does not universally discredit the 'state-society' perspective; in fact the author holds that it remains an appropriate and viable context in which to examine how certain societies have reacted to state repression and exploitation. However, the African continent is large, and levels of state capacity vary spatially (Herbst 2000). In those areas, such as the Eastern DRC, Somalia, Sudan, and Chad, where state capacity and authority are virtually non-existent, it makes little sense to examine civic action from the traditional perspective. This section will examine the state-society perspective in civil society literature, and argue that it remains predominant.

Scholars such as Aristotle, Hobbes, and Locke utilized the term as a means of differentiating between state institutions and social organizations that involve themselves in the governance process. As such, the initial civil society theorists utilized the concept in order to examine and debate the relationship between the state and the society that exists within the state's territory. A review of traditional civil society literature will elucidate the state-society perspective in which traditional civil society literature rests.

The traditional Western concept of civil society can be traced to the work of Hobbes, who postulated the existence of a civitas, or commonwealth, whereby each individual mutually and voluntarily agrees to give up their personal quest for self-preservation through the appointment of a sovereign ruler or assembly charged with protecting a collective security (Hobbes 1651). Through the development of Hobbes' commonwealth individuals collectively define the principles and norms of governance, so that the state exists as an inferior entity that holds obligations to society . Essentially, Hobbes views the state as a creation by a loosely defined civil society that serves the purpose of collectively protecting individuals from a demonic human nature. Locke postulated a clearer separation between society, as those living collectively under a popular consent, and civil society, which is inherently involved in the constant activity of defining purposes and structures of both society and the state . Locke envisioned a clearly defined civil society that retains sovereignty and serves to protect society as a whole from state abuses of power . While Locke clearly serves as the antithesis to the basic principles of Hobbes, the differences between the two serve to effectively define boundaries of state-society relationships as understood long before the era of globalization.

Many other liberal Western philosophers attempt to define civil society through its

relationship with the state. Both Keane and Ferguson argue that a centralized state challenges the important sovereignty of civil society, and therefore it is the role of civil society to defend against such impositions. Likewise, de Tocqueville argued that the best way to defend against centralized state power was through a "plurality of interacting, self-organized and constantly vigilant civil associations." Conversely, Hegel (taking an economic standpoint) argued that the inherent conflictual nature of civil society necessitated the regulation of a state . Hegel, who represents the most commonly used basic understanding of civil society, defines civil society as the realm between family and the state which mediates private interests across kinship groups. This definition does not differ significantly from that of Locke, however Hegel deepened the definition, arguing that although civil society exists distinctly from the state it is dialectically joined through a reciprocal relationship . Rousseau's analysis of civil society also deepened the definitional scope set forth by Locke and Hobbes. Rousseau felt it necessary to examine the initial precipitation and development of civil society. Rousseau retains a distinction between society, civil society, and the state, whereby civil society serves as the intermediary (Rousseau 1762).

Clearly traditional civil society literature provided an effective discourse for understanding the relationships and flows of power between state and society in the Westphalian state system. Towards the end of the Soviet Union this discourse was essentially reinvented by Africanist scholars in order to examine the civic potential for governance on a continent where the state system had failed to provide wellbeing to individuals. The historic and theoretical developments occurring at the time dictated that civil society theory reemerged within the same 'state-society' perspective that original civil society theory utilized. This provided an effective tool for the analysis of state-society relations, however it partially co-opted analysis of civic development on the continent.

Firstly, many scholars argued that civil society fit within an African cultural context (Rothchild 1994; Makumbe 1998). Prior to colonization, African societies did not feature civil society as identified in Western constructs, but did feature a prominent role for general civic participation (Shraeder 2004). In many African societies major decisions were not made without widespread consultation and consensus-building . However, as Makumbe astutely points out, the hereditary nature of seats of governance in most African kinship groups did not necessitate a role for society in choosing leaders. Furthermore, as discussed below, the intrinsically African consensus-building nature of governance facilitated an inherent lack of an opposition role for civil society . Therefore, the civic participation indigenous to African culture varied significantly from that of Western culture. Still, scholars found optimism in the civic participation present in many pre-colonial Western societies (Harbeson 1994).

Secondly, the repression of civic expression that the colonial powers and post-independence states perpetrated cast a 'state-society' perspective on the discourse of African development, which faulted the repression of civic elements by colonial and post-independence regimes for the continent's governance problem (Clapham 2002; Dunn 2003; Udogo 2007; Patterson 2007; Shraeder 2004; Hyden 2006; Thorn 2006). The historical experience and development of civil society in Africa differs greatly than that of most Western nation-states. The colonial era in Africa was characterized by general

repression and exploitation of civic expression. Whereas the ideal Western society developed in a reciprocal relationship with the state, in African societies foreign colonialists and authoritarian regimes systemically repressed any political expression or semblance of civic organizations, for fear of their potential role in opposition. During colonialism the colonizers essentially restructured the African political system in such a way that Africa was reinvented as 'the subordinated other.' The colonizers dominated socio-political domains, effectively transforming them through Western medians, and consequently the political space of society was suppressed. "The radical reordering of political space imposed by the colonial partition deconstructed potential civil societies." Additionally, the accompanying "framework of domination and state hegemony" was transferred from the colonialist to nationalists so that even in immediate post-colonial Africa there remained little political space for a civil society to emerge.

Clearly, colonial and authoritarian repression of civic expression undermined the ability of any formal Western mold of civil society to form in Africa. However, civic expression certainly existed. Makumbe argues that in many colonial regimes African societies developed "seemingly apolitical" groups as a result of the suppression of political space available to society; these groups avoided any ostentatious political role or even desire. They often allowed for covert political organization however, and Makumbe holds that they were instrumental in facilitating collective resistance to the oppression of colonialization . In the terminal colonial years somewhat competing forces existed. Repression of civic expression precipitated a certain amount of backlash, especially as societies across the continent became increasingly frustrated with the status quo.

Group activity under the paternal tutelage of mission churches, colonial corporations, and ethnic associations was seen as harmless and thus was more easily tolerated. But in the terminal colonial years the tutelary surveillance relaxed, and associational activity expanded with remarkable vigor. If one defines civil society by its organizational life, one might suggest that the decolonization era was its golden age.

Following the end of colonial rule many African states experimented for a number of decades with various socialist models, almost all of which manifested themselves in corrupt authoritarian rule (Shraeder 2004; Hyden 2006). The collapse of the USSR coincided with the cumulative failure of these authoritarian regimes, a collapse under economic strain that was further facilitated by a variety of coups and rebel militia activities. State centralization increasingly began to prove a failure in the 1970s and 1980s. Economic decline deepened, and the state proved unable to provide basic social functions. The state was unable to redistribute wealth, and systems of kleptocracy plundered revenue and funneled it into personal bank accounts. In the DRC this basic inability became compounded by the copper and oil shocks in the 1980s (Shraeder 2004). Civic expression in DRC first became apparent in the vanguard lead of student organizations and religious organizations. According to Shraeder, student organizations and the Catholic Church provided increasingly public opposition to Mobutu, which facilitated enhanced civic opposition. Throughout the continent such organizations played a crucial role in empowering the consciousness of the citizenry. At the same time, popular expression became increasingly militaristic (Pears 2004; Adekson 2004).

Many scholars postulated that the general discontent of African peoples, largely manifest in military activity, indicated the presence of a space available for civic participation. Essentially, this argument was predicated on the thesis that repression of civic expression by years of colonial and authoritarian rulers had not destroyed the space available for expression, but rather translated the means of this expression into primarily militaristic methods. The protection of this space, therefore, would allow for civic expression in the form of civil society, which would in turn precipitate democratic reforms (Harbeson, Rothchild, Chazan, Young 1994).

This continued examination has yielded a variety of complementary and contrasting concepts; however, virtually all of the discourse regarding civic expression in Africa has occurred within the 'state-society' perspective that has become theoretical baggage carried by the term civil society. This perspective has provided significant contribution towards understanding the possible avenues for civic expression in areas where the state has held the capacity to influence the lives of daily citizens. Due to its popularity, civil society theory has often been regarded as the primary means through which theorists examine localized, civic action in Africa. However, the state formation process and the Eurocentric legacies of civil society theory that presupposes state capacity have combined to effectively cripple our current understanding of civic expression in those areas on the continent where state capacity does not exist, such as the Eastern DRC, Somalia, or the Darfur region of Sudan.

The subsequent inadequacy of civil society literature in areas that lack state capacity and authority becomes manifest in two main ways. First, rather than acknowledging the explicit and exclusive relationship between local civic actors and international institutions and organizations (the collective international community), civil society theorists have co-opted the global into existing civil society theory, thus creating a "transnational" or "global civil-society" (Florini 2000; Ferguson 2006; Von Rooy 2004; Friedman 2005; Karns 2004; Oyugi 2004; Richter, Berking and Muller-Schimd 2006; Thorn 2006). This perspective maintains the state-society dichotomy, thus understating the flows of power that occur between local and global non-state elements. Second, the merging of local and global civic elements has resulted in NGOs and international organizations being treated as synonymous with civil society. This conceptualization is problematic, because it fails to acknowledge that NGOs often do not reflect any localized civic will or interest. Especially concerning areas of minimal state capacity, scholars must maintain the term civil society for localized interests, rather than allowing one non-state element (NGOs) to speak for and represent a very different non-state element (localized civic action). In these areas, a distinction from state entities is not particularly useful in understanding political dynamics, however a distinction between local civic action and global non-state intervention will provide a more empirically sound concept of political relationships and civic development capacity.

In order to understand the theoretical means through which certain states in Africa have lost the ability to explicitly influence their internal populations, we must examine the evolution of sovereignty as a concept. This evolution largely discredits the supremacy of the state-society perspective in African civil society literature, since it has effectively removed sovereignty from state

entities in favor of transposing sovereignty and authority onto those non-state elements that hold capacity, legitimacy, and responsibility, the three main dimensions of 'new sovereignty theory.'

THE SOVEREIGNTY RECONCEPTUALIZATION

While civil society theorists have maintained the state-society perspective of traditional literature, the theoretical conceptualization of sovereignty has evolved drastically since Westphalia. Like civil society, sovereignty as a theory dates back to traditional Western political thought. Bodin and Hobbes stand as the original scholars within sovereignty literature (Elian 1979). However, the concept has evolved since that time. Originally sovereignty was defined as the exclusive right to non-interference held by territorially-bounded states (Bodin 1576; Hobbes 1651; Arlinghaus 1984; Kratochwil 1985; Elian 1979; Klein 1974). It represented a collective attempt, through the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, by the international community to address the anarchic nature of global politics through ensuring an international system of order. As a concept, it represented international recognition of exclusivity of authority within a delineated territory, held by the rulers and government institutions of that territory, as representatives of the general population that inhabited it. "During the historical development of human society, sovereignty appeared alongside the emergence of the State as a social-political phenomenon and an attribute of the State. The definitions which have been given to this concept have, for a long time now, converged in a mutual assessment: sovereignty means the independence and supremacy of the State" (Elian 1979: 1).

Sovereignty, therefore, was granted both by the international community, which recognized and respected the right to non-intervention, and the internal population, which granted the state institutions and leaders representative rights to rule and enforce law. Traditional sovereignty, therefore entails both an internal and external dimension, both well-documented within sovereignty literature (Karns and Mingst 2004; Hyden 1996; Deng 1996; Rousseau 1762).

The more recent "erosion" of sovereignty has also been well documented. This so-called erosion represents a reduction in sovereignty held by states, as alternate forms of governance have increased non-state share in sovereignty. For example, the norm of humanitarian intervention by the international community signifies that states unable to ensure order within their territory effectively surrender their sovereign right to non-intervention (Annan 1999). In these scenarios, sovereignty is not eroded in the sense that it becomes lost, but rather certain actors step in to share the sovereign responsibilities that the state is unable to perform exclusively (Krasner 2005; Bacik 2008). Sovereignty evolved to entail three main dimensions, all of which include both internal and external elements:

1. Legitimacy;
2. Capacity;
3. Responsibility.

First, the power to rule necessitates a legitimacy in the eyes of two groups, the external international community of sovereign rulers, and the internal population of citizenry. Therefore, in order to obtain sovereignty, state institutions must hold legitimacy both internally and externally. Legitimacy has always been a central dimen-

sion to the sovereignty discourse; however, scholars continue to evaluate the changing ways through which legitimacy is achieved and lost. Von Rooy developed an important demarcation of legitimacy transactions, in which she argues that claims to legitimacy must be based firstly upon "meaningful representation" (Von Rooy 2004: 67). The legitimacy dimension of sovereignty therefore necessitates "acceptance of representation" (Von Rooy 2004: 68). As such, localized populations maintain a significant role in this dimension of sovereignty[1]. From this perspective, civil society cannot exist or achieve legitimacy without originating and operating from a very low level within Africa. Global civil society theorists tend to equate NGOs with civil society, since on the global stage they are the most prominent non-state actors in governance. However, especially in Africa these NGOs are often not representative of the locals for which they advocate, and so a distinction must be made. Global actors receive legitimacy when they have the capacity to reach and empower local movements in areas of failed state capacity. International actors, therefore, can achieve legitimacy through the accurate reflection of local interests. However, it is extremely important to remember that this legitimacy can only be granted by the localized population. It is also important to note that the state simply represents a single entity in a complex web of international governance capable of achieving local legitimacy.

Secondly, sovereignty implies a certain level of capacity. This dimension follows logically from legitimacy; in order to receive legitimacy by internal and external agents, state institutions and rulers must hold the capacity to exercise influence and authority. This dimension, although it follows logically from the original concept of sovereignty, catalyzes a significant evolution of the sovereignty concept when placed within the failed states context of Africa. Since independence, African states have often been granted external legitimacy by the international community. However, since they have often failed to maintain the capacity to rule within their delineated territory, we witness a fracturing of sovereignty (Bacik 2008). Essentially, the state formation process in Africa has proven that sovereignty can be shared between actors, and that the location of external legitimacy does not preclude internal capacity.

Thirdly, sovereignty entails responsibility (Deng and Lyons 1996;1998). This dimension represents the most radical evolution of sovereignty theory, and it remains slightly theoretical due to the relative weakness of the international community. It reflects the collective response of the international community to the humanitarian and governance crises that have occurred in the developing world, and thereby reflects the global humanitarian ideals that have spread following the institutionalization of international cooperation. Essentially, states can no longer obtain external legitimacy without accepting responsibility for the wellbeing of the citizenry that they represent and rule. Sovereignty as responsibility represents the will of the collective international community for global order. Before the World Wars of the 20th century and recent globalization, the international arena attempted to maintain order through the maintenance of state sovereignty. However, as Deng argues, the international system has evolved in such a manner that certain states no longer uphold the responsibility to ensure order that sovereignty has always implied. This is reflected empirically by the implicit refusal of states such as the DRC, Somalia, and Sudan to accept responsibility for the well-being and security of the population. For this reason, sovereignty as responsibil-

1   *This role has often been clouded by the state-society perspective in civil society literature.*

ity must be held by the non-state elements willing to accept it. Consequently, the addition of sovereignty as responsibility reflects the evolution of sovereignty as exclusively within the state to a fractured sovereignty in which legitimacy, capacity, and responsibility are shared and traded between both state and non-state agents. This evolution has significant implications for civil society literature, which the literature has not yet reflected.

The author argues that the scholastic understanding of sovereignty has changed drastically since the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia. In the globalized world, sovereignty exists as a fluid system of power shared by a variety of actors in a global arena. These actors include states, localized populations, and international non-state elements. Sovereignty can be further characterized as a fluid reflection of legitimacy and power, due to its ability to be shared and traded by cooperative and competing forces within the international arena. Due to the fluid nature of sovereignty in the current international arena, different states, international organizations, and localized populations share sovereignty in comparatively different portions.

THE EMPIRICS OF FRACTURED SOVEREIGNTY AND CIVIC ACTION

The DRC has suffered a tumultuous existence since receiving independence from Belgium in 1960. The central African country contains substantial and valuable natural resources such as copper and cobalt; however, the general population has suffered extreme poverty. Multiple civil wars and military coups have greatly com-

plicated the state system. In addition, the country suffered great repression under the prebendalist and authoritarian government of Mobutu. The current President, Joseph Kabila took office following his father's death in 2001. In 2006 he was officially elected in internationally acclaimed elections. However, since that time the Kabila government has failed to provide basic public services to its population. In addition, the government exercises virtually no control over significant areas of the territory. Specifically, the rebel militia under Tutsi general Nkunda in the East has perpetuated massive conflict. The state military, a hodgepodge of 'reintegrated' former militiamen, has proven unable to control the region. For this reason, the UN has deployed a massive peacekeeping mission in the area (MONUC).

Therefore, in the DRC sovereignty is divided and traded between international, local, and state actors. The state retains nominal sovereignty as legitimacy granted by the international community (Friedman 2005). Although the state has demonstrated a significant lack of capacity, it is treated as the sovereign authority in that no external, globally recognized challenge exists to its authority. This can be evidenced by the reluctance of MONUC to engage in operations without the consent of the Kabila government[2]. Despite the changes brought by globalization, the legitimacy of the international state system as a whole has not been challenged, and therefore the state retains external legitimacy as recognized by the formal international community. However, the internal legitimacy, granted by the consent of localized populations, is not maintained by the formal state. This becomes evident when one examines the informal economic and social structures that localized populations have developed (Dunn 2003; Hyden 2006). Localized individuals do not

view the state as the legitimate authority in economic interactions, but rather legitimize means of non-state economic activity by choosing to pursue alternate means of well-being that avoid state apparatus.

This can be exemplified by the health sector. The Kabila government is incapable of providing even the most basic of health services to its citizens. State hospitals serve more realistically as morgues than places of healing (Persyn 2004). Consequently, local peoples are predominantly responsible for the implementation of health services, and this implementation is often co-funded/managed through international organizations and NGOs. "Public Health is increasingly co-managed by the World Health Organization (WHO), along with competent Congolese staff. At the same time, however, there is a marked shift away from Western-style health care towards a syncretic form of healing based on faith systems and traditional pharmacopoeia" (Trefon 2004:8). This quote provides a critical insight into the location of empirical authority within the DRC health care system. Despite attempts at regulation[3], the the state is incapable of influencing a growing private sector, bottom-up approach to health care. In reality, it is the local peoples that have determined the operation of the health industry, despite the state receiving the recognition of authority by the international society. Therefore, sovereignty as legitimacy within the health sector is shared by a variety of actors, from local witchcraft doctors to international organizations such as WHO.

In the same vein, food security is provided, for the most part, by the innovation and tenacity of the Congolese at the lowest level of social organization. 50% of Kinshasa residents live on one meal per day, and 25% have one meal every other day (Tollens 2004). Citizens have responded to this food crisis with a variety of bottom-up coping mechanisms, most importantly through urban-agriculture and an informal shipping sector. International organizations have contributed in a few ways to these local innovations. For example, in the 1980s the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) financed a boat-building project that enhanced the ability of urban farmers to reach consumers. To the same ends, the PAR project (financed by the EU) rehabilitated important asphalt roads in 1998 and 1999 (Tollens 2004). These projects utilized cooperation between local and global agents to facilitate increased distribution of food. However, just as with water supply, increased cooperation between transnational sources of funding and technology and local individuals would enhance food security in the DRC.

Furthermore, the DRC example illustrates the parallels between sovereignty as legitimacy and sovereignty as capacity. Organizations require capacity to achieve legitimacy, and vice versa. Responsibility, however, does not necessarily follow either capacity or legitimacy. For this reason, the responsibility to impose order within the boundaries of the DRC has been captured and shared by a variety of actors, the state bearing the least responsibility. The international UN system has largely accepted the responsibility for peacekeeping in the East, which has manifest through the presence of MONUC forces in areas where the state military cannot exercise control. The UN system also provides humanitarian assistance through programs such as the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), which attempts to locate and assist localized citizens upended by the conflict. In the context of the DRC, the governance potential of civic

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2   *President Joseph Kabila has held power since January of 2001, and was legitimized in a 2006 national election.*

3   *For example: the state is the recognized entity which approves the actions and policies of health NGOs and international organizations with the DRC.*

activity is best understood through local-global non-state relationships, rather than through 'state-society' relationships.

CONCLUSION

As the example of the DRC shows, the fluid exchange of sovereignty as a result of relative differences in state and international capacity highlights the empirical irrelevance of the state within the Eastern territory. As such, the civil society literature that utilizes a state-society perspective remains unable to contribute to effective development literature concerning the area. Future research must begin, therefore, with an examination of the relative flows of power between localized groups, various elements of the international community and the state. Only once these flows of power have been more clearly delineated can theorists and scholars understand the role and capabilities of localized civic elements. This article has not argued for a general disregard of the role of state institutions in African politics but rather illustrates the problematic approach that a 'state-society' perspective provides. The evolving nature and location of sovereignty have been utilized to illustrate the irrelevance of the state-society dichotomy in certain areas where states retain only minimal external legitimacy, while various non-state elements hold and exchange the remaining dimensions of sovereignty.

Future research should focus on the flows of power and sovereignty that occur between the plethora of non-state actors in various regions on the continent. These flows occur within three main manifestations:

1. The exchange, spread, and influence of ideals and norms;
2. The flows of financial aid and comparative finance;
3. Tangible aid in the form of capacity enhancement and training.

Our understanding of the implications of these manifestations will greatly elucidate the true nature of sovereignty and the subsequent role for civic action in Africa. With the potential reductions in international aid that will inevitably occur due to the global economic crisis, the Troubled Continent will either rise or fall with independent, localized civic action.

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About the Author

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Jon Crain is originally from Herndon, VA. He will graduate in May with an international studies major; focus in world politics and policy, and a minor in Spanish. He will most likely pursue an education in international law next year. His paper reflects two years of research for his University Honors thesis, which he aims to publish in a joint essay with his advisor, Dr. Stivachtis. He first became interested in the academic field of African politics and development in the summer of 2007, when he worked as an intern in the Bureau of Central African Affairs at the State Department. That experience provided the initial catalyst for his final thesis. He spent the summer of 2008 studying in Costa Rica, where he hopes to live one day. Jon was selected to present this research at the ACC Meeting of the Minds in 2009. He would like to thank Dr. Ionnis Stivachtis, an excellent and readily available research mentor, as well as Dr. Parakh Hoon for some critical insight and help.

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Dear _____, from Birkenau, a love letter
Missing in Action
Kathleen DeSouza

Selected Poems:
Zora,
no dress rehearsals for chemo: but He gives auditions
To Pecola Breedlove, with the best intentions
Kimberly Williams

Selected Poems
Kathleen DeSouza

Despondent Ataraxia[1]

Tie a rock around your ankle
And tell me what the mermaids say.
Sing their song in perfect rhyme
To stop the coming of the day
When you can't tread the icy water
Any longer and your lips attempt to pray
The words you used to know so well
As you sink below the bay.

Upon your head the rain flies down
As light as a sparrow's wing,
Gliding against a frosted window pane
You're lost in what the mermaids' sing .
Arms heavy with salty memories
That collect in ancient wounds and sting
With the bitterness of lemon twists
Like leeches, attack and cling.

Floating yet at the same time not
As light dies and the coldness grows,
Water seeping slow and soft
Steals the warmth of your winter clothes
And lifts your arms up and oddly out,
Mermaids watch you: torn yet froze,
Knowing they can't save you, all
Swim down the deep to decompose.

Tie a rock around your ankle
And tell me what the mermaids say.
Sing their song with soaking lungs
As water drowns the coming of the day
And you won't tread the heavy water
Any longer as still lips refuse to pray
The saving words you knew so well
As you sink below the bay.

1   *Ataraxia: a state of freedom from emotional disturbance and anxiety, tranquility.*

Dear _____,
from Birkenau, a love letter

Give me something
Let my, this heart, pretend
What my mind knows is not real
If only for a moment,
please

whose hands are these?
they do not look like mine,
these hands chafed, gripping a gray handle
belonging to an iron shovel
pushing and pulling
digging graves upon sweet nature's face,
the hard blades of my shoulders almost breaking
through the thin skin of my back
my clothes: the black sleeves and hem once whole
now are rags, like torn butterfly wings

fluttering in this ashen breeze
pretend to believe

that I can still see your face
lying next to mine
on a sea of down and linen sheets
far from the smell of decay
and burning flesh floating as easy
as the smell of daffodils once did
in our springtime.

pretend to believe
that I can see your face

can you see mine?
the sunken hollows of my cheeks
bright by comparison to the charcoal circles
punched underneath my yellowed eye sockets?
my shaven head, ripe with puckering scars
where once my nails searched hungrily for the lice
feasting on my burning scalp?

The scraping of metal against solid rock
keeps me awake.
Digging, digging, always
digging, my life hinged upon the breaking of the earth
pushing and pulling the muck and mire up and out
the blood and sweat and stench of those
before me, shame and hope clothe my naked heart.

I can see the blue sky above me,
it is no longer my friend
that vaulted sky of night:
stars shine like multi-faceted diamonds of stellar ice,
diamonds like in that necklace
you once gave to me.
I remember your hands –Strong hands –
draping it low along my curved neck.

My neck is thin now.
Withered, like the rest of me.

digging, digging
I must keep on even though
my collar bones stick out like knives
cutting into the morning fog.
My complexion is riddled with sores that weep

DeSouza

the tears my eyes have so long ago forgotten

stay with me now, my memory,
of a face that can't
won't
be forgotten- your face.

I take my raw hands
raking my bald head
with jagged fingertips
covering my eyes, my mouth, my face
pretend
they are your hands, caressing my bruised cheek
your hands wrapped tight around my brittle body
be careful not to break me,

"just please don't let them break me"
fragile words whispered into an even more fragile ear

Give me something
Let this, my heart, realize
What my mind knows cannot be so
If only for a moment,
please

Know that I love you.
Still.

Missing in Action

I saw your shadow rising with the dawn
Shrinking at noon
Fading soon at twilight,
Gone.

"Hey," I say
"He's not coming back"

I flicked the end of my dying cigarette,
The ashes swirled and the smoke curled as
I hurled those cold words: their didactic wings unfurled,
Borne upon the dusty winds;

My syllables stretched and twisted their grammatical arms

And iambic legs, crashing,
Flickering in the night, flashing,
Clicking and clunking past your body,
Scraping their naked knees against the warm asphalt;

They go screaming past you in a verbal assault,
The last of the gunslingers they were,
(and so was he)
Vowels punctuated and puncturing,
Blazing forth from sandalwood
Guns, tempered by time,
Polished by the heat of a thousand suns
(or is it sons?)

but you

You just blink and stare
And stare and blink
Into the sun
Into the moon
Searching the silent shadows.

I watch the grass grow around your thin feet,
Wanting to, but never moving.
Your eyes question the horizon,
Where your mind replays his voice
And the way his booted feet once left tracks
On the road, borne away by the dusty winds,
As you stand there torn, with silvered shadow
Waiting for something and nothing the same.

"Wake up, wake up,
And go to sleep," I shout
But your eyes stare on ahead of me
Because you keep the past
In your pocket and his picture
In a golden locket
Lying against your sunken chest
Where a heart used to be.

Why can't you see,
That he's not coming back?
Your legs moving mechanically always
Pacing and pacing and pacing
After his ghost that you're forever chasing?

Is there still a heart beneath that chest?

DeSouza

My pointed words fall on your deaf ears,
Dulled by your silent shield of hope,
How is it not worn down
By the winter winds, the torrents of spring
How has the rust not rusted you out, too?
Those metal tags dangling like
Some ancient queen's forgotten earrings,
The jewels of love left to rot in the sunshine

Yet,
Still

I continue to watch that devil-grass
Yellowed with age,
Forever rising,
Clinging and climbing up
Around your thin, sockless feet-
Blistered by wind, by the summer's heat,
Swollen with flood and rain,
Calluses hardened by time and pain.

You're holding onto something
That's really nothing
But you wish it to be all the same,
And etched upon your lips and in that hollow
Space beneath your throat
Are the inkless words you painstakingly wrote:
His long-lost remembered name-

The sun kisses the moon
And again all too soon,
Your shadow floats on down the road.

I see in your eyes
That nothing and that something
And silently wish your pain away,
As sky blue turns to black then into gray
I know that your shadow will always stay
Carved upon that road in dust and blood and hope.

"Wake up, wake up,
And go to sleep," I whisper
As you slowly dissolve in front of me
Because you kept the past
In your pocket and his picture
In your golden locket
Lying against your sunken chest

Selected Poems
Kimberly Williams

"Zora," is a poem based on the life of author Zora Neale Hurston. The author was prominent during the Harlem Renaissance and wrote the renowned novel The Eyes Were Watching God. However, as Hurston aged, she found it increasingly difficult to get her material published. Eventually, the author was forced to become a maid in order to sustain an income. The poem was written surrounding the culture of Zora's reign in a melodic manner. This poem is an ode to her plight and a cry for Hurston to come back and rest at her beloved town of Eatonville.

Zora,

Take me down to Eatonville
Take me right down to Eatonville where the vineyards
ripe with currants dressed in plum, cherry, and of course a blushy peach
all swing with me
brush their bruised skin—
drop against the sediment that covers their sweet

Take me down to Eatonville
Take me right down to Eatonville where the laughter crackles, shrieks
roars rude as belches, fine as gratitude
thick as contrite
where notes grab me by the waist side
squeeze my handles and brush my skin against
grins set with peppered sweat

Take me down to Eatonville
Take me right down to Eatonville where the eyes are set apart
but roam like unbridled streams, coil like kitchen hair
all over because of Song of Solomon 1:5
not because of the fruit

Take me down to Eatonville
Take me right down to Eatonville where
glazed hardwood floors are for lindy hop scuffs—
not blackened knees

Take me down to Eatonville
Take me right down to Eatonville
Where I'll be—
But you won't, Zora

Because you're too busy sharpening your oyster knife

no dress rehearsals for chemo: but He gives auditions

Each strand gilded with a quiet yellow and coiled with time
weaved with pastel cotton lint and green tea
shall slip at the dandelion's ballet recital

the falls will not be linear

they will float, collide, and tumble against beet faces, fleshy flanks and bare buttocks

but surely you will think
my sister I shall force you to think that the falling of the seed promotes a new venture
indeed the wily weed will uproot all grains and fruits
it will kill and harness the present vanity draped over blush mirrors

but soon mi hermana
African Violets will dance on the deserted stage

To Pecola Breedlove, with the best intentions

I strolled to the corner mart:
unpaved roads, ex inmates
a moat of burgundy glass
the stench of urine, brut
a pewter iron gate,
2 corollas, 1 festiva, 3 cadillacs, 4 huffy bikes
butts, empty skoal tins
whistles, stares, scowls
behind the church, beside the liquor store, a block from Garvey Elementary

I strolled to the corner mart:
2 pieces of fried trout, fries, cornbread
1 hamburger, no onion, extra pickle
3 piece chicken, fries, sliced white bread
1 pack Newport Menthols
1 liter orange soda
1 gallon water

I strolled to the corner mart:

2 pigtails, unkempt hair
ashy, scarred skin
yellow crust round eyes, nostrils
navy blue shorts
soiled, foam-green tank

out she stretched
tugged at my wrist
tiny, bony fingers
bitten, chewed nails
sunken, oak eyes
cuts on her face

| she whispered | can i have a bracelet | can i have one |
| 7 plastic bangles | red glitter | $6.50 |

I gave her one, then ordered my food

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