

INKWELL



**STUDENT ESSAYS FROM
THE COLLEGE OF STATEN ISLAND
ENGLISH DEPARTMENT**



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2009-10**



**HILDEGARD HOELLER:
CONTEST COORDINATOR**

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry, no matter how small, should be recorded to ensure the integrity of the financial data. This includes not only sales and purchases but also expenses and income. The text suggests that a systematic approach to record-keeping is essential for identifying trends and making informed decisions.

In addition, the document highlights the need for regular audits and reconciliations. By comparing internal records with external statements, such as bank statements, discrepancies can be identified and corrected promptly. This process helps to prevent errors from accumulating and ensures that the financial statements are reliable and accurate.

The second part of the document focuses on budgeting and financial planning. It explains how a well-defined budget can help in controlling costs and maximizing resources. The text provides guidance on how to set realistic financial goals and allocate funds accordingly. It also discusses the importance of monitoring the budget regularly to ensure that it remains on track.

Finally, the document touches upon the significance of financial reporting. It notes that clear and concise reports are crucial for communicating the financial health of the organization to stakeholders. The text offers tips on how to present the data effectively, using charts and graphs to illustrate key points. It also stresses the importance of transparency and accountability in financial reporting.

The document concludes by reiterating the importance of a proactive financial management strategy. It encourages the reader to take the time to review and refine their financial processes regularly. By doing so, they can ensure that their organization remains financially sound and prepared for the future. The text ends with a call to action, urging the reader to implement the principles discussed throughout the document.

Overall, the document provides a comprehensive overview of key financial management concepts. It covers everything from record-keeping and auditing to budgeting and reporting. The information is presented in a clear and accessible manner, making it easy for anyone to understand and apply. The document is a valuable resource for anyone looking to improve their financial management skills and ensure the long-term success of their organization.

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May 18, 2011

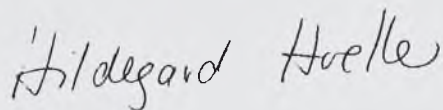
Dear college community,

I am thrilled to present to you the newest edition of *Inkwell*, a collection of prizewinning essays written by students at the College of Staten Island in all disciplines and at all stages of their education. I am truly impressed by the quality and range of these essays, and I hope they will serve as models and inspirations for others. My heartfelt congratulations to the writers whose essays are represented here and the artists whose work has been included. These students represent the best of CSI; I am proud that we are able to showcase their work to the entire college community.

I hope that you will enjoy reading these essays and use them in your classes as well.

If you would like additional copies, please do not hesitate to contact the English Department at 982-3640.

With best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Hildegard Hoeller".

Hildegard Hoeller

Professor of English

Writing-Across-the Curriculum Coordinator

What I found intriguing about music therapy and the Mozart Effect was their growing controversy. Many physicians, patients, as well as parents put their faith in a theory that may or may not uphold any substantial accuracy or reliability. Unlike medicine, the results of music therapy are not clear cut and cannot be examined under a microscope. And yet, forms of music therapy are currently being practiced at medical facilities around the world. Even though it is unrealistic to say that music therapy has the power to revolutionize medicine, it can definitely enhance it—which is why I was drawn to write a research paper about this contentious issue.

“Music: The ‘Underdog’ of Modern Remedies”

By Ola Tantawy

“Researchers also have found a significant relationship between music instruction and positive performances in such areas as: reading comprehension, spelling, mathematics, listening skills, primary mental abilities (verbal, perceptual, numeric, and spatial) and motor skills” (Paul Borgese). Patients who suffer from a disease, a disorder, or an abnormality are desperate for a cure. For these patients, it is irrelevant whether they are cured through medicine or therapy. They all hope for one outcome—recovery. Although therapeutic methods involving music may not be viewed as legitimate forms of medication, studies indicate that the healing and developmental powers of music are highly underestimated. In hospitals and institutions around the world, music is considered a means of increasing brain development and stabilizing bodily functions, as well as improving verbal, listening, and social skills. Despite criticism, classical music has been proven to be especially productive in enhancing mind, body, and spirit in both ailing patients and young children in a phenomenon better known as the Mozart Effect.

In recent years, doctors have found that incorporating music into the treatment of patients often promotes an increase in healing and development. Also, there has always been an

instinctive association between music and the mind, body, and soul. In Juliette Alvin's Music Therapy, she indicates that "...music has helped man from primitive times to identify with his environment and to become aware of the forces at work around and within himself" (78). This hints that humans have been intuitively resorting to music therapy as a means of enhancing the quality of life—even before biased dependency on scientific hypotheses. In a television segment of the Health News Edition of "The Weekenders", Marika Sboros said that "...the influence of music goes all the way back to the womb, where babies hear a mother's voice vibrating, her heart beating and the natural pulse of life." This statement supports the existence of a natural rhythmic bond between mother and child as early as the stages of pregnancy.

Many researchers believe that the classical compositions of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart have the power to do more than simply inspire and invigorate. The Mozart Effect applies a concept that expands on music therapy in suggesting that listening to Mozart's symphonies may stimulate short-term improvement in spatial-reasoning performance (Caulfield 119). This improvement in reasoning refers to the performance of specific mental tasks. Music Therapy was first approached by Dr. Gordon Shaw and Dr. Frances Rauscher in a case study that was conducted in 1993. As pointed out in "Mozart Effect: Sound Beginnings?" by Rick Caulfield, this original study left "...quite an impact on neuroscience and music education". The experiment focused on college students rather than children or infants. This original study revealed improvement in the performance of the college students on "Standard IQ Spatial" reasoning tests after being exposed to "Mozart's Sonata in D Major" (Caulfield 119). Such results led Shaw and Rauscher to conclude that "early music training might be a useful tool to exercise the brain for later higher level cognitive functions" (qtd. in Caulfield). Since the 1990's, researchers and scientists around the world have been devoted to replicating the original study of Shaw and Rauscher in order to prove or disprove the Mozart effect.

The “Mozart Effect” is essentially the idea that infants and young children can benefit from early exposure to music. The theory implies that exposing children to Mozart’s classics at an early age can enhance brain development—but how early should this exposure to music commence? According to Rick Caulfield, there is enough research to prove that “musical competency develops long before the child’s first spoken words.” Therefore, a child can be introduced to music with productive expectations in as early as the third trimester of pregnancy (Caulfield 120). It is truly intriguing to know that fetuses can hear and comprehend music through the womb. Most external noises that reach the fetus undergo distortion in sound that is caused by the tissue and amniotic fluids in the womb; however, there is little distortive effect on sounds below the middle C (Caulfield 120). In fact, Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony can be clearly heard through the mother’s womb (Caulfield 120). Some studies suggest that prenatal exposure to classical music can pave development for the child’s life later on. Among such studies is one conducted by M.J. LaFuente in 1997, where mothers regularly played audiotapes of classical music during their third trimesters of pregnancy. After the mothers gave birth, the infants’ behaviors were observed. The infants demonstrated noticeable development in their behavior such as “visual tracking, hand-eye coordination, face imitation, and babbling” (Caulfield 120). These findings proved prenatal exposure to music to be crucial and positively influential on the mental development of children.

The psychological and social effects of exposure to classical music are many; however, there are long term effects as well as short term effects. Some of the long term effects include academic and professional motivation, overall increase in mental function, and self confidence (Jones). Carmen Cheong-Clinch declares in “Music for Engaging Young People in Education” that the use of classical music in music therapy procedures help children and adolescents to show improvement in communication and social cognitive performance. Cheong-Clinch also

advocates that music can be used by developing children to assist them with emotional regulation, self reflection, problem solving skills, and self-expression. Regulated exposure to classical music can help children in performing everyday tasks as well as in grasping crucial concepts and principles throughout life. The childrens' experiences with classical music can also come in handy as adults in which they will strive to excel in their studies and their careers later on. On the other hand, as mentioned in "The Mozart Effect, Piano Playing and You," there is also research that proves short term effects of exposure to classical music usually only last between ten to fifteen minutes. The complex symphonies and melodies induce short-lived improvement in the performance of certain mental tasks ("Piano Playing"). For this reason, people are often times encouraged to listen to classical music before performing tasks that require enhancement of reasoning skills—such as an exam or a chess match.

Despite the popularity of music therapy, there are critics who find it a common fallacy. Such detractors do not consider music therapy a legitimate form of medication nor do they consider it to be a promoter of intelligence either. Results of case studies over the years have proven to be inconsistent in their findings. In "The Mystery of the Mozart Effect: Failure to Replicate", Kenneth M. Steele, Karen E. Bass, and Melissa D. Crook replicated Shaw and Rauscher's original 1993 study in order to disprove the theories presented by the Mozart Effect. Unlike Shaw and Rauscher's findings, the performances of the participating college students on IQ exams in this subsequent study were irrelevant to their exposure to Mozart's Sonata. Steele, Bass, and Crook concluded that "there is little evidence to support basing intellectual intervention programs on the existence of the Mozart Effect." The inconsistency between the two similarly conducted studies emphasizes the lack of credibility of the Mozart Effect. Rochelle Jones's article "Mozart's Nice but Doesn't Increase IQ's" attacks the Mozart Effect by saying that "classical music has no ability to increase basic intelligence in adults or children."

She agrees with Kenneth Steele and asserts that the Mozart Effect implements “no special effect on baby” (Jones). However, such inconsistencies may simply be the result of differences in “psychological responses to a musical experience” because the nature of the results “depends on the ability of the listener or the performer to communicate and identify with it” (77). Critics of the Mozart Effect and music therapy altogether argue that music cannot be a replacement for modern medicine. On the contrary, music therapists do not intend to replace modern medicine at all. In “Music for Pain,” Victor Limjoco refers to a ScienCentral News video that conveys the idea behind music therapy—that “while music won’t replace painkillers, it can boost their effectiveness.” Other advantages of music therapy include its inexpensiveness, easy accessibility, and lack of negative side effects.

In essence, the Mozart Effect arouses a crucial question: Does Mozart make you smarter? Can this claim hold some credibility or is it merely a hoax? After studies began to prove the beneficial effectiveness of music therapy in regards to brain functions, parents began to urge the existence of classical music in the lives of their children in order to make them “smarter.” Parents set high hopes and expectations for the Mozart Effect because they consider it a fantasy-like solution that will ensure a successful future for their children. However, even the founders of the Mozart Effect themselves did not intend to portray this message at all. Their studies indicate that classical music may serve as stimulation for childhood development—however it is not the only stimulant; neither is it a guaranteed stimulant. Dr. Frances Rauscher said that “it’s a very giant leap to think that if music has a short-term effect on college students that it will produce smarter children” (Jones). Children react to all different variations of stimuli—there is no definite right or wrong form of motivation because everyone learns in their own unique way.

Although many believe that music “shouldn’t be viewed as an intellectual [or medical] miracle drug,” music, without a doubt, leaves a sizable footprint on society (Jones). The impact that music has on culture and humanity throughout the world is inarguable. Yet perhaps music will develop even more authority through the concept of music therapy. Perhaps someday, the world will realize Pablo Casals’ justification in saying that “music must serve a purpose; it must be a part of something larger than itself, a part of humanity...” (qtd. in Boxill). Rather than solely being seen as a means of entertainment and communication, maybe music will earn all the more credibility through its ability to heal, stimulate, and enhance the mind, body, and soul.

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My name is Teresa Ciaramella, and I am a 19-year-old student at the College of Staten Island. My essay, "To Be Naturally Beautiful, See Page Seven," was written for an assignment given by my English 111 professor, Kelly Bradbury. Professor Bradbury assigned a research paper with a focus on advertising. I quickly thought of the beauty ads that surround us everyday and the young girls who must deal with self-esteem and body issues. Most of today's beauty ads use "natural" products as their selling point, however; the ironic sales of "natural beauty" in a bottle, is the main point of my essay. I believe that all young women should have the self-esteem to know that they don't need a bottle of make-up to cover up what's already beautiful.

"To Be Naturally Beautiful, See Page Seven"

By Teresa Ciaramella

Every day millions of women discover the newest way to define their beauty. Whether they are flipping through the pages of a magazine while getting their hair done or catching a commercial in between their favorite shows, women are at the constant beck and call of advertisers. These scandalous advertisers want only one thing: your money; and to get that, they will tell and show anything to make their audience believe they can be better. Most affected by this trickery are adolescents or teenage girls. These girls are taught that thinner is better and an hourglass figure can land you a guy and a job. In an article entitled, "Stuck in the Model Trap: The Effects of Beautiful Models on Female Pre-Adolescents and Adolescents," experts Mary C. Martin and James W. Gentry claim that girls specifically are so worried about looking a certain way that when studying self-esteem in adolescents, the self-esteem of an adolescent girl is much lower than that of an adolescent boy (19). These girls see their role-model celebrities wearing more and more make-up and believe that their beauty will be unsurpassed if they wear it too. Advertisers take advantage of these underlying messages in printed ads and instill their own visions of beauty into the minds of unsuspecting adolescents.

In advertisements produced by the cosmetic company Maybelline, young and fresh-appearing models show off their airbrushed skin and enhanced facial features to manipulate young girls into buying the products and believing that looking like them will make the girls completely irresistible. Expert Jean Kilbourne states in her article, “‘In Your Face...All Over the Place’: Advertising is Our Environment”, “Advertising not only appears on radio and television, in our magazines and newspapers, but also surrounds us on billboards, on the sides of buildings, plastered on our public transportation” (113). It seems as though there is no escape from advertising and for most teens, that becomes a huge disadvantage. Of course, for advertisers like Maybelline, that is the exact publicity that keeps their businesses booming.

Maybelline was founded by T.L Williams in the year 1915. One day, the chemist from New York noticed his younger sister Maybel applying some kind of blend to her eyelashes. She had mixed coal dust and Vaseline to give the illusion of darker and fuller eyelashes. Williams immediately took the concoction into his laboratory and came out with a new product known as “Lash-Brown-Ine.” However, the name was not very catchy and so Williams changed the name to Maybelline - a combination of his sister’s name and Vaseline (“Our History”). Interestingly enough, this company (inspired by an adolescent girl) began to produce advertisements that dictate the way girls should appear. The make-up industry itself seems to be entirely hypocritical. They sell products for people to change the way they look and make those people appear to be “better” than before. So why do we listen? Why do we walk into their traps blindfolded and not only hope, but believe, that we will come out somehow looking more attractive? For most advertisers, the message is all about bringing out that “natural beauty”; so forgive me if I misunderstand but “natural” and “cover-up” do not appear to be synonymous.

In a recent ad that has appeared in teen and women's magazines all across the country, Maybelline depicts a make-up ad for lip-gloss. The advertisement contains a large picture of a seemingly gorgeous woman with lips that sparkle just as much as her expensive-looking sunglasses. The tone and color of the picture just screams that "summer under the sun" look. Written on the side, a note claims, "At the click of a wand! Concentrated shine perfectly defined. Fall under its spell." As if the dazzling model wasn't captivating enough, the ad is sure it has your attention with the use of its language. Using words like "perfectly," "defined," and "shine" creates the characteristics of the beauty to which one can only hope to reach. And reaching that beauty is easy and magical like "clicking a wand!" Further down, the text states, "...defines lips precisely for a captivating look..." The so-called "precision" connotes that the lip-gloss has been transformed into an art form and with the simple application of it, nobody will be able to take their eyes off of you.

Under the beautiful and completely flawless face of the model, is a signature: Deepika Padukone. If the fancy and important appearing autograph didn't make the audience of young girls feel as though she was of a high caliber, the words "Actress & International Model" should clear up any misunderstandings. While the make-up should be the main focus of the advertisement, it seems as though the actress/international model is what the adolescents will tend to notice first; and that is just what was intended. If young girls flipping through magazines see this ad, they're not going to notice the tube of lip-gloss. Instead, all of their attention will be focused on the breath-taking appearance of the model and their desire to look exactly like her. Of course, there is not a single person walking this earth with skin or lips or an overall appearance of perfection; however, most adolescent girls will believe that buying that product will give them that exact appearance. This is just the type of advertising that forces young women to believe that they too can look like an international super model if they only bought that lip-gloss. But

why stop at the lips? Maybelline has an entire cosmetic collection of products used to cover up those flaws. Let's move on to those naturally gorgeous eyes and really make them shine!

Another Maybelline ad that forces girls to look twice, is a black and white headshot of yet another beautiful woman with a certain element of sophistication and seduction. The lashes on the model are extremely long and separated, making them appear to be the perfection that women strive for. In this advertisement, the mascara makes an appearance among the vintage-like background. The bottle stands on the right side of the advertisement. Since it is called "Stiletto Mascara," the bottle is shaped like the heel of the stiletto with a red stripe on the bottom to complete the look. However, the bottle is pushed all the way to the right (as far as possible) so once again, the audience is focusing on the gorgeous model and those eyelashes, which are (more likely than not) fake. The most interesting part of this particular ad is the text. At the top of the ad a caption reads, "The hottest thing you'll ever wear." Here is yet another example of advertisers putting ideas of "true" beauty into the heads of gullible adolescents. Just claiming that the use of this mascara will provide the "hottest" look is enough for girls to want to buy it. Between that claim and the stunning face that sits beside it, a girl would be crazy not to believe the mascara can transform her into that magnificent creature. It's no wonder girls buy into this stuff! So let's recap. We made your already perfectly shaped lips really sparkle and your already gorgeous eyes sexier. All that's left now is the rest of your face! Cover-up time!

As if fixing your eyes and lips wasn't enough, Maybelline products can alter the entire appearance of your skin as well. This product is called "Dream Liquid Mousse Foundation." The headline reads, "Airbrush perfection made possible." It seems comical that these advertisers are flat-out telling young girls that they need to airbrush their skin. In a shocking twist, there is another attractive figure lying across the page. With her eyes closed as if she really were

“dreaming,” the model appears to be completely flawless and maintains that appeal of “perfection.” Young girls seeing this ad can only pray that this product has some kind of mysterious power to perfect their skin as much as the already-airbrushed model’s. Every company in the make-up business does the same thing. They put their product on an already drop-dead-gorgeous woman, airbrush the flaws she may or may not have, and then allow teens to compare themselves to those international super models. The airbrushed effect is something that is appealing to most teens because they are unconsciously influenced by the media around them to believe that airbrushed is perfect, and looking flawless is “natural”.

Almost every single one of Maybelline’s advertisements is full of this hypocritical nonsense. In fact, the company’s slogan is worth mentioning: “Maybe she’s born with it, maybe it’s Maybelline.” This motto has been slapped across every advertisement Maybelline has ever produced. When first read aloud, one may think it just simply means that Maybelline make-up will give you a natural (as if born that way) look. As innocent as that sounds, it’s also kind of insulting. When taking a closer look at the motto, one may notice another message tucked away behind that façade of fluff. The motto might as well say, “If you’re born ugly, we’ve got some great stuff to cover that up!” Although...that’s not quite as catchy.

Advertisers of the cosmetic industry use these underlying messages to trick people into believing in their ideals of beauty. By attaching a few strings to the consumer’s desires, advertisers yank on their passion for perfection and tug on their aspirations to look like those models. The combination is deadly and allows those advertisers to completely control and influence a teen’s idea of true beauty. By placing a pretty face and a few enticing words on a page, Maybelline and other companies have your full attention and will stop at nothing to maintain it - even if that means destroying a teenager’s self-esteem. “Selling to Ms. Consumer,”

a popular article written by Carol Ascher, states that advertisers purposely aim to make women feel badly about themselves by pointing out their flaws. In doing so, women will believe that the only solution to their problem is to buy the product. This tactic is used largely when it pertains to beauty products (108). This is demonstrated by the Maybelline motto and will be a constant theme throughout the Maybelline ads.

While Maybelline may argue that there is nothing wrong with their advertisements and their true intention is not to change the looks but to enhance them, one cannot deny the evidence that appears in black and white, right on the magazine, page seven. Or perhaps, even on your computer screen. As if the printed ads weren't enough, Maybelline has an entire website of tricks and treats. A personal favorite is the tool known as "My Color Advisor." With a simple click of the mouse, a woman of any age can simply gain access to this so-called advisor and can be enlightened on which of their products work best for which woman based on eye and skin color. Of course, if one did not gain access to this website, one would not know whether or not the product he or she was buying would be a "perfect match." Why would Maybelline tell you that their products don't look good on everyone? To reiterate, their main goal is to make you buy, buy, and buy - even if that means lying. If you know all the facts, perhaps you wouldn't buy their product after all; and if you were a teenage girl, perhaps that would be the best thing for you, your self-esteem, and your already sparkling, sexy, and dream-like features.

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This essay is based on a personal experience I had that changed my point of view about strangers. It made me realize that you really cannot trust anybody, especially a stranger at your window. This heart pounding experience was one that I will never forget, and one that will follow me as I travel the streets of New York. I want to pass on this essay hoping that readers will learn from the experience I had that night.

“The Stranger at My Window”

By Stephanie DiScalo

A few years ago, at the beginning of my teenage years, I was a gullible person. Almost anything someone would tell me I'd believe. For instance, someone once told me that scientists found a way to make pigs fly, and I believed him for a minute. It was funny at the time but in reality, it wasn't a good thing at all. I heard bad things on the news, and I always told myself that nothing like that would ever happen to me. I actually believed that. Crazy and disturbed people are out there, and life risking things could happen to anybody. I learned that the hard way.

My day started as usual. I woke up around 6:30am to be at school for 8:00am on a Friday morning. “Thank God it's Friday”, I said to my mom as I looked in the fridge for something to eat, and she agreed. I went to school, and, for once, I found a good spot right in front. If I parked any closer, I would have made my own drive thru. As my friends and I made our way to our first class, I brought up a story that I heard on the news earlier that morning.

“Did you hear about the girl that was raped and killed last night?” I said to a group of my friends.

They all said yes and commented.

“That's some crazy shit. They didn't catch that guy yet, right?” said one friend.

“No,” I said.

“I can’t imagine how scared that girl was. I’m going to buy a can of mace when I get out of here,” said another friend.

“I’ll come with you!” shouted another. We all laughed and went our separate ways to our first class.

Two hours and twenty yawns later I was at lunch. I don’t usually eat anything there because the food is horrible. The pizza is so greasy when you pick it up it droops down and the grease drips off like a mini waterfall. The burgers taste like they’re from the week before and they were cooked in the microwave instead of in the oven or on a grill. As for the mashed potatoes, let’s just say it was mashed potato soup. As I sat by myself in the cafeteria, I overheard a group of girls talking about the same story I heard on the news. I wanted to turn around and say something about the subject to them like, I heard about that too. That guy is still out there somewhere, but I stayed quiet and focused on a paper I was writing.

I got home around 1:10pm and walked my dog. After finishing my homework and eating dinner, I decided to stop by my girlfriend’s house. We watched a horror movie and had some popcorn. My curfew is 12 midnight on the weekends, so I usually leave around 11:50 since it takes me not even 10 minutes to get home. After saying goodbye, I power walked to my car and glanced around to make sure no one was around because that’s just what I do after watching a horror movie. I opened my door and got in the car as fast as I could like someone was after me. I started my car, put it in drive, looked in all my mirrors and took off. I went down the block to the stop sign, made a left, went to the next stop sign, and that’s when it happened. That’s when he appeared, the stranger at my window. What could he possibly want from me? He knocked on my window, not hard but also not soft. He was a white male, about 5’ 8” or so, with brown hair and brown eyes. He was heavy set, but not obese. It was dark and I couldn’t see what he was wearing

but there was blood, blood on his shirt! I think it was dry but that doesn't matter, it was still blood. I couldn't tell where it was coming from or if it was someone else's. Why was this stranger at my window? What does he want from me? I kept saying to myself. He asked me if I could lower my window. I cracked it. Why? I don't know, but I did. Enough for him to stick his fingers through, but not enough for him to put a hand or an arm through.

He said to me, "I just got my car stolen and I don't have any money. I have epilepsy, that's why my shirt is covered with blood. I need my pills. Is there any way you could spare me \$20 and give me a ride to the nearest drug store?" I froze. What did I get myself into? Epilepsy doesn't cause people to bleed, does it? All these thoughts were running through my head. There was no way I was going to let this guy in my car. And honestly, I really didn't have \$20. I didn't even have \$5, so I was useless to him. I told him that I had no money on me, and he begged. I guess he thought I was lying, but I really wasn't. I don't know why I did this but I took out my wallet and I showed him that I really didn't have any money on me. He was practically on his knees begging for some money and a ride. I don't know if this guy was telling me the truth or not. Some people are very good liars.

He handed me his license through the crack in the window, and all I thought was, what now! I told him I had no money and I even showed him the inside of my wallet. Does he want to check my pockets too? He told me that I could keep it until he paid me back or whatever. But what good is his license to me? So what, I knew his name, his address, his birthday and how tall he was. Why was I even looking at it? If I did have \$20 to lend him, I wouldn't want to see him again after that anyway. He could keep the money. I handed his license back through the crack in the window and said "Sorry, I wish I could help you." I felt bad for a moment because I couldn't help him but at the same time, I felt like I just saved my life by not letting him in my car. I

couldn't trust this guy. Especially after, I heard that story on the news about the girl who was raped and killed. And the fact that the guy was still out there, forget about it. The guy had blood on his shirt. Even if he didn't have blood on his shirt I still wouldn't have let him in my car. I know I was a gullible person, but not that gullible. I couldn't trust him. I couldn't trust anyone I didn't know, and I knew that for a fact.

I couldn't stop trying to figure out where the blood was from and if he had epilepsy, how could he drive? What happens if he were to get one of his seizures while he was driving? Maybe he just killed someone and didn't have a get-a-way car. But who does that? You have to have a get-a-way car. Or maybe it wasn't blood. Maybe he put ketchup all over his shirt and told me he had epilepsy so I would feel bad for him, lend him some money, give him a ride, and then he'd kill me too. But I couldn't tell if it was ketchup, not from inside my car. I wasn't going to get out of my car and look because that would just be the dumbest thing a person could ever do when there's a stranger at their car. And I wasn't that dumb, but I was dumb enough to stay at the stop sign and talk to him.

Once again, I looked him straight in the eye and told him that I'm sorry I couldn't help him. He looked straight back at me with an innocent face on as if I was his last hope. As I drove away from him, I glanced in my rearview mirror and I could see him going up to the next car that was at the stop sign and repeating everything he just said to me. Maybe he'll have more luck with the next car and if not, then the car after that. I felt sorry for him but I couldn't risk my life. I don't understand why I felt this way. Maybe he really wasn't crazy I thought, but I couldn't tell. My heart was pounding through my chest so hard you could practically see it. My hands were shaking just as the rest of my body, and I felt nervous. I've felt nervous before but not like this. This was an extreme nervousness, like an adrenaline rush. A million questions running

through my head and none of them I could answer. I sped home, and all I kept doing was looking in my rearview mirror to see if he was following me. It was impossible for him to follow me because I was speeding, but, at this point, I was paranoid and thought anything was possible.

As I pulled in my driveway, I was still nervous. I was scared to get out of my car and walk to my house. So I sat in the car for five minutes telling myself that I can't stay in my car all night. I pulled out my keys and held the house key in my hand. I looked around several times before I opened my door to get out. I slammed my door and sprinted to my house. Trying to get my key in the lock as fast as I could while my hands were shaking was a little hard, but I finally got it. I opened the door and tried not to slam it behind me because it was late and everyone was sleeping. I leaned up against the door and took deep breaths. I never ran that fast before in my life.

As I walked up the stairs, I saw that my mom was sleeping on the couch with the television on as usual. I tried to be quiet, but, of course, I was so nervous I kept dropping things all over the place. She woke up, and the first thing she said to me was, "Are you okay?", and I thought to myself what I thing to ask at this particular moment. "Yeah, I'm fine" I replied to her. I didn't tell her what happened to me on the way home because I really was okay and I didn't want to make her worry. It's not like she was going to stay awake for the story anyway. She fell back to sleep before I even answered her question. I wasn't even sure if she was awake when she asked me if I was okay.

I called my girlfriend as soon as I got to my room and she asked what took me so long. I told her everything that just happened to me. I kept talking too fast for her so she kept telling me to calm down and take a deep breath. I thought I was pretty calm but I still had that adrenaline rush feeling inside me. Then she asked me a question that made me think.

“Why didn’t you call the police for him?” she said. And I thought to myself, why didn’t I think of that? I’m such an idiot!

“I guess I was so nervous, I couldn’t think straight,” I replied.

I know that I’m not a good on the spot thinker, but I was a little upset about the fact that I could have just told the man that I could call the police for him and maybe they could help him. Instead, I sat in my car and had a whole conversation with him and got him nowhere.

So there it happened, the scariest time of my life. What a story to tell, what an experience to have felt. There are so many crazies out there that sometimes you can’t tell them apart from the normal. I had a hard time going to sleep that night because every time I closed my eyes I saw the innocent face he gave me, but my point of view had changed. I wasn’t gullible anymore, and I will never trust anybody. Even though I didn’t trust anyone before this incident happen to me, I never really thought about it or enforced it in any way. Before, I would walk down the street and the person behind me was just a normal person like me. Now, every male that’s behind me is the stranger at my window. Everywhere I walked, I constantly looked behind me to make sure that no one is there and if someone suspicious was behind me, I would walk in to a store close by and let them pass me, or just cross the street. For example, one summer day I decided to walk to my girlfriend’s house because it was so nice out and I needed the exercise anyway, and this suspicious male was walking behind me for a while and I thought he was following me. I crossed the street and so did he. As I was passing by Shoprite, I spotted a soda machine and started walking towards it. When I got to the soda machine, I looked at the drinks as if I was going to buy one. I waited until he passed by me to continue my journey to my girlfriend’s house. Long story short, I was just being paranoid.

“Always keep the crazies in front of you, so you could see them and what they’re doing” my cousin always tells me. And when I get in my car, the first thing I do is make sure that my doors are locked and my phone is handy. I will never stop and have a conversation with a stranger at my window again. Not in this lifetime anyway.

Everywhere I go, that moment stays in the back of my mind. I remember it like it was yesterday. And when I think about it the adrenaline rush comes back to me and for a split second I get the chills. Sometimes I wonder what happened to him after I drove away that night. Maybe someone else out there was more gullible than I was. Maybe someone else was raped and killed that night, or maybe they were his hero.

The essay was originally written for Professor Smith-Peter's History 401 Seminar. This is the last required class taken for History majors. It was a small class of about 12 people who met in a somewhat informal discussion group of the weekly assignment. This course required a great deal of reading, research and written assignments. At the end of the semester the class had an over and under pool on how long my essay would be. Apparently, I have developed a reputation for writing rather long assignments, and for long answers in class, and probably for being at some of the historic events we studied, since at 52 years old I am certain the younger students see guys like me as a little old for school. Professor Smith-Peter encouraged me to submit the essay for the Inkwell contest; I guess the History Department was hoping to show the campus that the history students can write, as well as, bury our heads in old stuffy research records. In any event, this was an interesting subject for me, and the research was fun; since I had the opportunity to work in the Manuscript Room of the New York Public Library, and bury my head in some old stuffy research records, which we all know, is what history students enjoy most!

“Influences of Economic and National Interests on Manifest Destiny:

The Role of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition

In the Purchase of Alaska by the United States”

By Keith Stapleton

Introduction

By the middle of the nineteenth century the United States had defined its domestic and international identity with the imposition of the Monroe Doctrine and the growing concept of Manifest Destiny. These two ideologies were the primary tenets that drove American expansion across the North America continent. This expansion was not simply a government initiated movement. Instead, it was a powerful symbiotic relationship combining economic and commercial business interests with the international geo-political goals of the United States government's interests that fueled the engines of Manifest Destiny.

The Western Union Telegraph Company's commercial venture to connect the North American continent with Europe by establishing an overland telegraph line across Russian America and Siberia is a primary example of how economic and commercial public interests combined with the national interests of the United States government to work in unison to expand the territories of the United States. The Western Union Telegraph Expedition of 1865-1867 was an important source of intelligence for the United States government regarding Russian America. The scientific and geographic information gathered by the scientific arm of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition had a strategic role in the United States government's ultimate decision to purchase Russian America in 1867, which was then renamed Alaska. Although it is certain the Expedition was not the singular impetus of that decision, it is an excellent case study of how private sector entrepreneurship and national political goals were irrevocably inter-woven in the culmination of obtaining the goals of Manifest Destiny.

Historiography

Historians have examined The Western Union Telegraph Expedition for its role in the purchase of Alaska by the United States as a by-product of its original purpose – that of exploring the Russian American territory to find a route for an overland telegraph line. Typically, this research has been defined in the context of whether or not information from the Expedition was used by the United States government in its decision to make the purchase. Debra Lindsay is emphatically against information from the Expedition – and specifically any role of information held at the Smithsonian Institute – of having had any influence on the purchase of Alaska:

For example, although it has been argued that Baird was instrumental in the purchase of Alaska, because Smithsonian data were given to pro-purchase politicians, the argument that Smithsonian science was the handmaiden of

manifest destiny in the 1860s cannot be substantiated on the basis of empirical data deposited at the Institution before the spring of 1867.

Even though Baird and Dall asserted that they had provided the data enabling members of the United States government to hold an informed debate on the merits of Russian America, such was simply not the case.¹

A second example is offered by Morgan B. Sherwood's opinion: "The fact remains that every scrap of information about Alaska was welcome because so few scraps existed; but to connect any particular body of information with Seward's purchase and the votes of the Congress is a questionable procedure."² Sherwood also provides Professor S.R. Tompkins' opinion on the importance of the Expedition, which although somewhat less certain, is far from an emphatic endorsement of it having played a role: "Professor S.R. Tompkins' estimate of the Telegraph Expedition's role is more realistic: 'It may have facilitated' the purchase of Alaska,"³ he says.

There are also those from the Russian perspective who do not adhere to the premise that the Western Union Telegraph Expedition played a role in the United States government's decision to purchase Alaska. An example of this position from the Russian perspective can be found in *Russia's American Colony*. In discussing revised Russian historiography on the sale of Russian America by Russia, Howard Kushner's analysis of such Russian historians as Professor N.N. Bolkhovitinov infers that commercial and expansionist pressures in the United States had

¹ Debra Lindsay, *Science in the Subarctic: Trappers, Traders, and the Smithsonian Institution*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 123.

² Morgan B. Sherwood, *Exploration of Alaska, 1865-1900*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 33.

³ *Ibid.* 33.

no bearing on the purchase of Alaska, thus by default the Expedition had no influence in the purchase decision:

We have reached the ironic historiographical situation which finds Soviet historians suggesting that the United States acquired Russian America because it was shrewd, while American historians, by and large attributed the purchase to their nation's mindlessness. Nevertheless, a détente consensus seems to emerge with both Soviet and North American scholars agreeing that the cession of Alaska took place in a context of mutual goodwill.

Those few studies by North Americans which suggest that the Alaska Purchase was the result of expansionist pressures by the American government and special business concerns remain in the distinct minority.⁴

However, in her account of the Expedition, Rosemary Neering comes to the conclusion that there was a direct connection between the purchase of Alaska and the data collected. "The Russian-American Telegraph project and the purchase of Alaska were closely related,"⁵ she says. The idea that the Western Union Telegraph Expedition's commercial enterprise had undertones of American expansionism was stated even more boldly by Russian writers during the Cold War. William Hunt quoting from L.M Starokadomskiy's book *Five Voyages in the Arctic Ocean* provides a different perspective from the Russian point of view. "This is a reconnaissance – in depth of Russia's North Eastern territory, to which the greedy hands of foreign traders had long

⁴ Howard Kushner, "The Significance of the Alaska Purchase to American Expansion," in S. Frederick Starr, (ed.), *Russia's American Colony*, (Durham University Press, 1987), 297.

⁵ Rosemary Neering, *Continental Dash: The Russian-American Telegraph*, (Ganges, BC: Horsdal & Schubart, 1989), 209-210.

been grasping.”⁶ Hunt points out that Starokadomskiy may have his dates mixed-up with the later 1899 gold rush, which also brought Siberia into American interests; however, even if that is correct, Starokadomskiy’s observation, though politically over stated, is accurate in regards to the Expedition providing an important reconnaissance of Russian America for the United States government.

The majority of published research has focused on the roles and exploits of the actors associated with the Expedition. The question of the Expedition’s place in the context of the United States attaining Manifest Destiny has not been a primary concern of historic research. The proposition that the Western Union Telegraph Expedition’s underlying commercial venture is one example of the symbiotic relationship of the national and commercial driving forces of Manifest Destiny has not been fully examined. Although some researchers such as Charles Vevier have touched upon the Expedition in this context, even his research does not fully explore the Expedition as an agent of information related to the decision of Alaska’s purchase.⁷ Vevier concentrates on Perry McDonough Collins’ personal ambitions and does not fully explore how those ambitions were extended to the United States government’s involvement in the Expedition.

Perry McDonough Collins’ Commercial Vision

There is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that, from its inception, the Western Union Telegraph Expedition would serve as a de-facto intelligence gathering agent for the United States government. It is vitally important to view this commercial venture in its totality from its earliest conception by Perry McDonough Collins. It is Collins’ original vision of the commercial importance of both this undertaking and Russian America’s overall economic potential that

⁶ William R. Hunt, *Arctic Passage: The Turbulent History of the Land and People of the Bering Sea 1697-1975*, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1975), 272-273.

⁷ Charles Vevier, “The Collins Overland Line and American Continentalism”, *The Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 28, No. 3 (Aug., 1959), 237-253. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3636469>. (accessed 3/11/2009).

provided the impetus for the eventual undertaking of the venture. In *Alaska: An American Colony*, Collins' commercial history is traced back to the 1850's as a source of information on Alaska's economic potential:

The Americans actually had considerable knowledge of Russian America. A decade earlier, in the early 1850s, a promoter and American expansionist named Perry McDonough Collins associated with the American Commercial Company in San Francisco had worked with California's Senator William Gwinn to interest the American government in a trade mission to the Amur River region. U.S. President Franklin Pierce was accommodating, and in Washington, D.C., Stoeckl had endorsed the idea enthusiastically and eased Collins' way with officials in St.Petersburg.⁸

Collins' commercial interest in the Russian America territories combined the nineteenth century's technological advances in communications with the development of the telegraph and embarked him on this potentially lucrative venture. Telegraph networks -- the nineteenth century's equivalent of today's telephone and internet networks -- were linking Europe and the United States within their own borders.

The telegraph revolutionized the way businesses and governments communicated with one another while becoming a successful commercial enterprise. One of the main tasks left was to link Europe with the North American continent and the economic and political leviathan of the United States. As early as 1857, attempts had been made to link the two continents with an

⁸ Stephen Haycox, *Alaska: An American Colony*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 151.

underwater cable under the Atlantic Ocean. Collins provided the vision for an alternate route to provide this important communications bridge. His extensive knowledge of Russian America and Yukon territories along with his growing political and commercial contacts within Russia and America convinced him the connection should be built across this land bridge and the short underwater distance of the Bering Straits.

Collins would eventually join forces with Hiram Sibley, president of the Western Union Telegraph Company, to pursue the establishment of the overland telegraph connection. The venture, which would become known as the “Western Union Telegraph Expedition,” would compete with Cyrus Fields’ Atlantic Telegraph Company’s attempt at an underwater connection across the Atlantic Ocean. As stated by William R. Hunt, the venture was looked upon as a viable enterprise: “Samuel Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, could see no insurmountable difficulties. Hiram Sibley, founder and president of the Western Union Telegraph Company, thought the whole thing practicable. Senator Milton Latham, a political backer of Collins, argued that the enterprise would strengthen America’s power as a great commercial nation.”⁹ The undertaking seems to have had all the portents of a success: the backing of a powerful business interest, the inventor of the underlying technology the venture hoped to sell, and lastly the support of a national government with its own national agenda. However, the Atlantic Telegraph Company would win the race and in 1866 the United States and Europe would be linked by telegraph via the underwater Atlantic Ocean cable. Years later, in a letter to Cyrus Field accepting an invitation to celebrate the Atlantic Cable’s anniversary celebration, Hiram Sibley recounted the commercial failure of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition:

⁹ William R. Hunt, *Arctic Passage: The Turbulent History of the Land and People of the Bering Sea 1697-1975*, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1975), 160.

We remember that at the time of your success another of the old Berkshire's sons was engaged with others in an effort to unite the continents by the Collins Overland via Russia – your success was our defeat. We admit your plan the best and its accomplishment one of the greatest achievements [remaining last line illegible].”¹⁰

Perhaps Sibley should have consoled himself to the fact the Western Union Telegraph Expedition was not a total commercial failure as first thought, and that it also played an important role in fulfilling a significant expansion of Manifest Destiny by expanding America's reach outside the contiguous North American continent, claiming an important economic asset, and establishing a post to protect its Northwest and Pacific economic interests. The purchase of Alaska from Russia accomplished these and many other benefits that would be realized by the United States in the near and distant future.

United States Expansionism

By the time the Western Union Telegraph Company's venture to build an overland telegraph line across Russian America started in 1865, the American Civil War had ended, and the United States was once again a nation of united people, although sectionalism would drive the political agendas of the various regions of the country for the foreseeable future. The Civil War gave rise to new technologies that were now turned to peaceful means. The telegraph and the transcontinental railroad had united the East and West coasts of the country and were vital components of an expanding economy. The growing population of the United States combined

¹⁰ The New York Public Library, Manuscript and Archives Division, Cyrus Field Papers box 3, folder 3, folder name: Atlantic Cable/Atlantic Telegraph Corres. 1858-1873. Letter dated Rochester N.Y. March 10th 1879.

with these new technologies to drive the settlement of the country's interior and push the Plains Indians ever westward to the eventual consolidation of the reservations. Author Paul Johnson provides an analysis of this population growth: "American authorities thought big, and ahead, because by the late 1860s they were conscious that the United States was expanding, and its people multiplying, faster than any other country in history."¹¹ The country was entering a period of consolidating its expansion across the North American continent and fulfilling the prophecy of Manifest Destiny, and the Monroe Doctrine. Although these two concepts had different origins, they combined to set the tone of American Expansionism. The Monroe Doctrine was pronounced by President James Monroe during his annual message to Congress on December 2, 1823. It declared in effect that the "American continents were not to be considered subjects for future colonization by European powers, and, in exchange, promised no U.S interference with existing European possessions."¹² This declaration was a calculated risk at a time when the United States was by all accounts not powerful enough to enforce it against potential European encroachments. However, it served notice that the United States had preserved North America as its exclusive sphere of influence. Prior to the Civil War the United States had expanded its territorial gains by expanding into Texas, Oregon and the Mexico territories during the 1840's. The term "Manifest Destiny" was coined in the mid-1840's by the Jacksonian journalist John O'Sullivan in response to this continuing expansion; "The 'manifest destiny' of the United States," he wrote, in 1845, " was to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free

¹¹ Paul Johnson, *A History of the American People*, (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), 513-518.

¹²Erik Bruun, Jay Crosby, (eds.). *Living History America: The History of the United States in Documents, Essays, Letters, Songs and Poems*. (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, Inc.,1999). 257-258.

development of our responsibility to exploit the abundance of natural resources and civilize the great expanse of the North American Continent.”¹³

With the end of the American Civil War, the country witnessed a new vigor in people’s desire to realize the American dream of posterity with a revised vitality for westward expansionism. The seemingly limitless land promised the realization of so many hopes; this combined with American’s sense of inevitability and government doctrine provided the impetus for the final fulfillment of Manifest Destiny on the North American continent. In his book *Exploration of Alaska, 1865-1900*, Morgan B. Sherwood provides an excellent perspective of this phenomenon in relation to the Western Union Telegraph Expedition:

The intercontinental telegraph was a project in the tradition of American expansionism, for which the slogan – Manifest Destiny – was coined in the 1840s and which had its last spectacular overt expression in the Spanish-American War near the end of the century. A sense of mission impelled the American westward to spread his civilization, particularly his commerce, from shore to shore. Territorial acquisition from Atlantic to Pacific was only the first phase of a larger geopolitical design to control the trade of Asia. ... Much of what was done or not done in the exploration of Alaska between 1865 and 1900 can be tied to the waxing and waning of expansionist sentiment. The first systematic American investigation of interior Alaska was undertaken in search of a path for the telegraph, and one of the last scientific

¹³ Carl Shurz, “Manifest Destiny”, *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, Volume 87, Issue 521: October 1893. [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/neps:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(ABK4014-0087-82\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/neps:@field(DOCID+@lit(ABK4014-0087-82))). (Accessed 10/18/09).

surveys in the century was sponsored by Edward Harriman, the railroad magnate.¹⁴

Although he argues against the Western Union Telegraph Expedition being a factor in the United States Government's decision to purchase Alaska, Morgan's perspective does view the commercial interests it represented as a strong driving factor in terms of Manifest Destiny. Morgan's perspective correctly shows the relationship of commercial interests playing an important role in fulfilling John O'Sullivan's premise of Manifest Destiny.

The continuing influx of immigrants, the growing economic power of the United States, and development of new technologies created continued pressure to develop new markets for United States businesses. Perry Collins was not the only businessman looking at Asia to satisfy this need; the expansion of the country to the Pacific automatically opened new markets and industries that depended a great deal on the Government's ability to protect the Pacific and Pacific Northwest regions of the country. After the purchase was made and the treaty signed with Russia, The Committee on Foreign Affairs published a report dated May 18, 1868 entitled, "The Motives Which Led the United States Government to Make the Purchase of Alaska,"¹⁵ which stated the political and economic reasons for the purchase. This clearly shows the United States Government's interest in purchasing Alaska from Russia. However, a purchase of this size, regardless of its perceived and/or actual strategic importance, is not consummated without a proper reconnaissance of its environs being completed. In the case of Alaska, this involved sources of information provided by the exploration initiated by the Western Union Telegraph

¹⁴ Morgan B. Sherwood, *Exploration of Alaska, 1865-1900*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 15.

¹⁵ Archie W. Shields, *The Purchase of Alaska*, (Alaska: The University of Alaska Press and Alaska Purchase Centennial Commission, 1967), 4.

Expedition between 1865 -1867. The scientific and geological information that could play an important role in making a determination for the purchase was mainly gathered by the Expedition's Scientific Corps under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institute. To better understand the evidence supporting the Expedition playing a role in the purchase decision, it is important to have an understanding of the various actors and institutions, along with their personal, commercial, and political agendas in such an undertaking. It is also important to separate the intentional flow of information between the United States Government and the Expedition, and the ability of government officials to research on their own information about the expedition.

The Western Union Telegraph Expedition As a Source of Information

Before analyzing the Western Union Telegraph Expedition's role in the Alaskan purchase, two other parallel aspects of the Expedition must be examined: the expectations of the commercial return of the business venture, and its role in fostering Manifest Destiny. The juxtaposition of two documents, the announcement of the business venture by Western Union's Board of Directors on March 24, 1864, and a report to Congress – dated February 18, 1861 by Mr. John Cochrane from the Committee on Commerce – preceding the agreement of Western Union to underwrite the venture as a private enterprise provide excellent perspectives of the expected national and commercial business returns of the enterprise.

The grand enterprise of uniting Europe and America by overland Telegraphic communication by way of Behring Strait, has been inaugurated under the auspices of this Company. The great importance of the undertaking, if successfully

accomplished, as it is believed it will be, not only to this company but to the commerce and civilization of the world, can hardly be over-estimated.¹⁶

The report to Congress that preceded Western Union's announcement provided a more profound explanation of these returns in terms of the telegraph's global reach and the potential of the Russian America territories for future commercial ventures:

In fact, the proposed line from Oregon to the south of the Amoor can undoubtedly be built for less than the Atlantic cable cost.

There are now in Europe some one hundred and fifty thousand miles of telegraph, and in America fifty or sixty thousand miles, producing a revenue of probably ten millions of dollars annually.

Unite all these lines, and make them subsidiary to the great world-encircling telegraph, and it must become one of the most lucrative investments possible.

If this line should be finally constructed, it leaves nothing more for human enterprise to achieve in telegraphic communication except to fill up gaps and construct lateral lines. It will encompass the earth over a route formed by nature,

¹⁶ O.H. Palmer, Secretary Western Union Telegraph Company By Order of the Board of Directors, *Statement of the Origin and Progress of the Russian American Telegraph Western Union Extension, Collins' Overland Line, via Behring Strait And Asiatic Russia to Europe*, (Rochester, New York: "Evening Press" Book and Job Printing Office. May 1866), 7.

http://books.google.com/books?id=dtkOAAAAYAAJ&dq=western+union&ie=ISO-8859-1&output=html&source=gbs_navlinks. (accessed October 17, 2009).

and to which there can be no rival, it accomplishes everything, satisfies every interest, penetrates into every nation and country, pervades the whole earth.¹⁷

The Committee on Commerce expounds further on the region's commercial and national interest potential, along with the importance for the exploration of the region:

As to Russian America, so little known to our commerce (because of the exclusive grant to the Russian American Company of its trade and commerce, internal and external) heretofore, we are likely, on the expiration of their grant, in 1862, to have a commerce also in that direction, when it will also be highly advantageous to have a better knowledge of its coasts and waters.

Under all the circumstances of the case, and in view of other benefits to be derived from the exploration and surveys as proposed by Mr. Collins, the committee recommend an adequate appropriation by Congress in order to carry out successfully the views of the petitioner, and for that purpose report a bill.¹⁸

It is apparent that a company as influential as Western Union in the commerce of the United States emphatically believed in the commercial value of the venture. It is also apparent from the report to Congress that the government was being solicited in the embryonic stages to take an active interest in the endeavor. This strategy – which Collins pursued early on himself – intended

¹⁷ Ibid. 26-27.

¹⁸ Ibid. 27.

to connect the business interests along with government interests in expanding American influence in the region.

The evidence supporting the Western Union Telegraph Expedition as an agent of information to the United States government is supported by two different avenues of reasoning. Firstly, as stated by Herma Hoyt Briffault the idea of building the telegraph line across Russian America was never far from the highest levels of the government even during the tumultuous period of the Civil War, as evidenced by President Abraham Lincoln's mention of it during his annual addresses to Congress.¹⁹

A review of Lincoln's Annual Addresses to Congress from 1862-1864 reveals the ever increasing interest in the venture:

December 1, 1862 – I have favored the project for connecting the United States with Europe by an Atlantic telegraph, and a similar project to extend the telegraph from San Francisco, to connect by a Pacific telegraph with the line which is being extended across the Russian Empire.

December 8, 1863 – Satisfactory arrangements have been made with the Emperor of Russia, which, it is believed, will result in effecting a continuous line of telegraph through that Empire from our Pacific Coast.

¹⁹ The New York Public Library, Manuscript and Archives Division, Herma Hoyt Briffault Papers, box 1, folder 1, folder name, "To the Yukon and Beyond", MS outline page 4.

December 6, 1864 – The proposed Overland Telegraph between America and Europe, by the way of Behring’s Straits and Asiatic Russia, which has been sanctioned by Congress at the last session, has been undertaken, under very favorable circumstances, with the cordial good-will and support as well of this government as those of Great Britain and Russia. Assurances have been received from most of the South American States of their high appreciation of the enterprise, and their readiness to co-operate in constructing lines tributary to that world-encircling communication. I learn with much satisfaction, that the noble design of a telegraphic communication between the Eastern coast of America and Great Britain has been renewed with full expectation of its early accomplishment.²⁰

The most subtle mention of subjects remotely important to an incumbent administration carries great weight in the attention it is given by the government. The fact that during this period, Lincoln would take the opportunity to mention the undertaking in consecutive addresses to Congress indicates a great deal of interest in the Expedition.

Secondly, the sponsor of the scientific arm of the Expedition was a government funded institution, with extensive political connections. In particular, the curator of the Smithsonian Institute – which was appointed with the task of selecting the leader Robert Kennicott for the scientific arm of the Expedition – Spencer Fullerton Baird, was responsible for developing the

²⁰ Don E. Fehrenbacher, (ed.). *Abraham Lincoln: Speeches and Writings 1859-1865 Speeches, Letters, and Miscellaneous Writings, Presidential Messages and Proclamations*. Vol.2, (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, Inc., 1989), 396, 541, 647-648.

Institution into the premier repository of scientific data for the United States government.²¹ The scientific data collected by the people such as Robert Kennicott, Henry Bannister, and William Dall was deposited in the Smithsonian. Any information residing in this federally funded depository was at the disposal of anyone in the United States government. In the case of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition, the scientific exploration team provided enough information about the Russian-American territories to be of great use to the expansionist lobby in the government. The role of the Smithsonian Institute in the proliferation of this information is plainly stated in its own historic record:

Baird was able to garner Congressional and popular support by demonstrating the value of his collections. In 1866 he had testified before Congress about the value of natural resources in Alaska. Although called “Seward’s folly”, Baird showed that Alaska possessed a wide range of natural resources, far beyond the value of the asking price. He could point to the large collections from Alaska amassed on such expeditions as the Western Union Telegraph Expedition, 1865-1867. The intrepid young explorers he mentored, such as Robert Kennicott and William Healey Dall, went out on these expeditions and amassed vast collections which served both scientific and economic purposes.²²

Even in the nation’s newly minted national museum, the possible economic benefits of Alaska that were derived from the Expedition’s explorations were considered important to advise Congress. A key figure of the nation’s scientific community – Spencer Baird – testified before Congress utilizing the information gathered by the Western Union Telegraph Expedition:

²¹ <http://siarchives.si.edu/history/exhibits/baird/bairde.htm>. (accessed November 2, 2009).

²² *Ibid.*

On Wednesday, April 3, Sumner summoned Baird to the Senate Chamber to discuss his appearing before the committee; Baird, in turn, aware that public sentiment was based on uninformed opinions instead of reliable information, proposed that Sumner prepare “a report of the extensive resources and character of the country to be furnished perhaps in advance of the meeting of Congress.” Baird asked George Gibbs whether he had a copy of the work on the Russian American Fur Company: “If so, please let me know at once, I could put [Henry Martyn] Bannister [who read Russian] to look it over and see what there is in it bearing on the qualities.” Then he “spent rest of day getting up memoranda for [Friday’s testimony].” Mr. Sumner’s case for the character and value of Russian America was taking shape.²³

Two sources of evidence lend considerable weight to the idea that information flowed from the various components of the Expedition to the United States government. Although they are both documented evidence of the government’s becoming directly involved, there is a lack of empirical evidence that has been documented confirming the actual flow of information from either official or unofficial sources. Secretary of State William Seward – the primary proponent in the government of purchasing Alaska – in a letter dated May 14, 1864 to Zachary Chandler, Chairman of the Committee on Commerce for the United States Senate, unequivocally states Perry Collins’ association with the United States government:

I proceed to consider the questions whether the enterprise deserves the patronage Mr. Collins solicits for it. Throughout the remarks which I have thus far submitted, I have not without design called it Mr. Collins’ enterprise. It is truly

²³ Margaret Shannon, “Charles Sumner and the Alaska Purchase”, Barbara Sweetland Smith and Redmond J. Barnett (eds.), *Russian America: The Forgotten Frontier*, (Tacoma, Washington: Washington State Historical Society, 1990), 113.

his, because it was he alone who convinced and projected it, and who has clothed it with the substantial form which, enables the three great States, whose concerted action he solicits, to cause it to be put in operation. But in another sense it is entitled to be regarded as an enterprise of the government of the United States. During all the time that Mr. Collins has been engaged in maturing and developing it, and presenting it to the consideration of Russia and Great Britain, he has been acting under the instruction and with the approbation of the Department of State, and a knowledge of that fact, has not been withheld from Congress.²⁴

Only that Seward never provides any direct evidence of Collins' role as an agent of the U.S. government, the fact the Secretary of State made such a statement, reflects the deep seated interest of the government. The second piece of evidence is the enactment of Public Act-No.171 approved by President Lincoln on July 1, 1864, authorizing the right of way for the line. The Act itself provides for government assistance in the prosecution of the venture. There are two specific references in the Act that show the government's involvement. The title of the Act itself shows the government expects to be an active actor in the development of the telegraph line, "An Act to encourage and facilitate telegraphic communication between the Eastern and Western Continents."²⁵ The following excerpt from Section 2 of the Act is a clear statement of direct government assistance being provided to the Expedition:

And it be further enacted, That, in order to encourage and aid the construction of said line of telegraph beyond the limits of the United States, the Secretary of the

²⁴ O.H. Palmer, 51-52. (accessed October 17, 2009).

²⁵ Ibid. 60.

Navy is authorized to detail, for the use of the surveys and soundings that portion of the Pacific coast, both of America and Asia, where it is proposed to establish such telegraph, one steam sailing vessel, in his discretion, to assist ... and generally afford assistance as may be deemed best calculated to secure a successful promotion of the enterprise.²⁶

The Act further delineates the priority usage the government would enjoy and the military's orders to protect the telegraph line:

And in order to secure the same from injury by savages or other evil-disposed persons, to the interruption of the public business, the Secretary of War is authorized, to direct the commanders of the military districts or stations and other officers, acting under authority of the United States in the territories traversed by said telegraph, to use any available force at their command to protect same.²⁷

It is difficult to argue that with the involvement of the United States government at so many official levels, there would not be an extensive flow of information between the field Expedition itself, the senior management of Western Union, and especially Perry Collins – as an agent of the United States as depicted by Secretary of State William Seward – and the government. With so many senior government officials and private businessmen involved in the telegraph line, there

²⁶ *Ibid.* 61.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 62.

were surely personal, private, and business relationships that provided unofficial information and official reports, which were subsequently lost to the passage of time, that the expansionist lobby within the United States had at their disposal.

The role of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition becomes clearer as the U.S. Congressional and State Department records from this period are examined. Secretary of State William Seward – arguably the staunchest advocate of the purchase – provides indisputable evidence of the expedition providing information on Alaska throughout the period leading up to the purchase. In a State Department directive to the Diplomatic Officer of the United States in South America, dated August 18, 1864, entitled Plan For The Extension of Telegraphic Communication Throughout the World. – Mexico, Central America, and South America to be brought into Telegraphic Contact with Russian Extension Line, Seward outlines the intentions of the U.S. government lending all possible assistance to the venture, and provides detailed insight into Perry Collins’ inter-action with all levels of the government. This document and the extensive communication between the various U.S. legations in South America are too extensive to re-print in this paper. However, they provide insight into the information available to Seward from the commercial agent Mr. Perry McD. Collins and the relationship between the commercial and national goals of the Expedition:

Gentlemen:-You will already have learned from the public journals and from communications of this department, that an undertaking has been set on foot to connect the continents of Europe and North America by means of a line of telegraph through Central Asia and along the northern shores of the Pacific Ocean.

... In view of these grants, and in consideration of the benefits to result to us, a great commercial nation, from the completion of a telegraphic circuit embracing the Eastern and Western Continents, Mr. Collins renewed his petition to the Congress of the United States during its recent session, and an act was accordingly passed authorizing a survey of the route.

A copy of this act, with the letter of the Department of State to the Committee on Commerce of the Senate of the United States, which led to its introduction and passage – a map illustrative of the subject, and other documents in relation to it, are herewith enclosed for your information.

The late affirmative action of Congress, not less than its own estimate of the national advantage to be derived from a successful achievement of the undertaking, warrants the department in acceding to Mr. Collins' request.

You are authorized and requested, therefore, should opportunity present or occasion invite, to make known to the Government near which you reside that the negotiations proposed to be entered upon by Mr. Collins is regarded with favor by the Government of the United States, and that this Government would be pleased to learn that like favor had been extended in the southern division of the continent to an enterprise tending so manifestly to advance the maritime welfare and strengthen the bond of fellowship of the American nations.²⁸

²⁸ O.H. Palmer, 134-135. (accessed October 17, 2009).

The willingness of the State Department of the United States to instruct the Diplomatic Corp to encourage the governments of South America to not only lend support but be prepared to connect to the telegraph lines being contemplated by the Western Union Telegraph Expedition shows a tremendous amount of direct government involvement in this venture. Also, this is another document by William Seward, where he states that Perry Collins is an agent of the United States.

All treaties must be ratified by the Congress of the United States before they become law. It is during this process that the role of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition was specifically mentioned as an important source of information to the Congressional Houses in affirming the treaty. In what is considered the most influential speech in favor of ratification delivered by Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts on April 9 1867, Sumner mentioned the Expedition in several different contexts. His first reference mentions some of the primary leaders of the Expedition:

Latterly there has been an unexpected purveyor in the Russian American Telegraph Company, under the direction of Colonel Charles L. Bulkley, and here our own countrymen come to help us. To this expedition we are indebted for authentic evidence with regard to the character of the country and the great rivers which traverse it. The Smithsonian Institution and the Chicago Academy of Sciences co-operated with the Telegraph Company in the investigation of the Natural History of the region. Major Kennicott, a young naturalist, originally in the service of the

Institution, and the Chicago Academy, was the enterprising chief of the Youcan division of the division.²⁹

At this point in his speech, Senator Sumner had already mentioned other available information, all from foreign sources. His mention of the Expedition also implicates the Smithsonian Institution, and in particular, the information of Kennicott:

He was not a beginner when he entered into the service of the Telegraph Company. Already he had visited the Youcan country by the way of the Mackenzie river, and contributed to the Smithsonian Institution important information with regard to its geography and natural history, some of which will be found in its reports.³⁰

Sumner does not forget to mention one of the most important conveyors of the Expedition's information, although he was not involved with the explorations. Professor Baird, Robert Kennicott's mentor at the Smithsonian, is given a just mention:

I cannot forbear expressing my satisfaction that, with the exception of a single work, all these may be found in the congressional library, now so happily enriched by the rare collection of the Smithsonian Institution. Sometimes individuals are like libraries; and this seems to be illustrated in the case of Professor Baird, of the Smithsonian Institution, who is thoroughly informed on all questions connected with the history of Russian America.³¹

²⁹ Archie W. Shields, *The Purchase of Alaska*, (Alaska: The University of Alaska Press and Alaska Purchase Centennial Commission, 1967), 58-59.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 59

³¹ *Ibid.* 60.

Lastly, Senator Sumner makes reference to the yeoman scientists of the Expedition. Henry Bannister spent his time in Alaska recording precise weather and temperature conditions. Sumner specifically mentions Bannister and his data in his speech, “From Mr. Bannister I have an authentic statement with regard to the temperature north of the Aleutians, as observed by himself in the autumn of 1865, and the months following.”³² In his speech Sumner has provided documented evidence of using data supplied by the Expedition from both the Smithsonian Institution and directly from a member of the Expedition. In conjunction with Sumner’s speech in which he gives ample credit to the Smithsonian, there is evidence of Baird providing his direct assistance to Sumner in gathering information for the speech and providing direct testimony to the Committee of Foreign Relations:

While Baird set about gathering raw data from experts such as Bannister and Frederick Bischoff. Sumner enlisted Poore, Beaman, and Gibbs in a search-and-seizure expedition into the congressional library’s collections.

At noon on Wednesday, Sumner chaired a second inconclusive session of the Committee on Foreign Relations. On Friday, April 5, Smithsonian Assistant Secretary Spencer F. Baird, testified before the Committee on Foreign Relations from ten in the morning to noon.³³

In a letter sent to Representative N.P. Banks, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, House of Representatives, from Joseph Wilson, Commissioner of the Department of

³² Ibid. 86.

³³ Margaret Shannon, “Charles Sumner and the Alaska Purchase”, Barbara Sweetland Smith and Redmond J. Barnett (eds.), *Russian America: The Forgotten Frontier*, (Tacoma, Washington: Washington State Historical Society, 1990), 112-113.

the Interior, General Land Office dated May 12, 1868, he represents evidence of the Expedition's information being gathered for circulation within the government: "Mr. Henry W. Elliot, of the Smithsonian Institute, who was taxidermist of the late expedition for the construction of the Russian telegraph in Alaska, confirms these testimonies in a communication to this office, dated yesterday, and refers for confirmation to several of his colleagues, whose names and addresses he was given, and with whom correspondence will be immediately opened by this office, the result of which will be duly communicated to you."³⁴

This letter continues into a long list of geological, agricultural and mineralogical descriptions of the territory and the economic benefits that would be realized from them once the region is part of the United States:

It is submitted then, that the facts presented, which may readily be verified and indefinitely extended, reveal a breadth and importance of American interests, dependent upon the acquisition of that region, which renders the expenditure of a few millions a mere bagatelle.

The pressure of our commercial relations demand it in order that we may dominate the trade and navigation of the Pacific ocean, which is soon to rival the Atlantic as the great highway of nations. The immense values of the fur trade and ocean fishery, of massive mineral deposits, and of agricultural capacities far from contemptible, indicate the speedy establishment upon the northwest coast, provided this treaty is finally consummated, of an American industrial population, which

³⁴ American Memory, An American Time Capsule: Three Centuries of Broadsides and Other Printed Ephemera, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammen/rbpe:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(rbpe20503000\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammen/rbpe:@field(DOCID+@lit(rbpe20503000))) (accessed September 17, 2009).

will strengthen and fortify our civilization, and assist materially in securing the control of the world's commerce.³⁵

There are two significant aspects to this part of the message; firstly the confirmation that the information came directly from at least one and more likely several member(s) of the Expedition. Secondly, Wilson speaks about the commercial importance of the territories and places them in the context of Manifest Destiny, when he states “and assist materially in securing the control of the world's commerce.” This is taking the ideology of Manifest Destiny to another level by dominating not only the contiguous North American continent, but also securing a dominant position for the United States over the world's economy.

Conclusion

The Western Union Telegraph Expedition cannot claim any exclusivity as an agent of information on the Alaskan territories; however, the evidence of it playing a significant role in the deliberations of the decision to purchase Alaska is insurmountable. It is clearly demonstrated that from the very beginning of Collins' vision of this commercial enterprise, it would be inevitably connected with the expansionist movement of the United States. In his speech calling for the ratification of the treaty, Charles Sumner invoked one of the earliest pronouncements of the Manifest Destiny:

John Adams, in the preface to his Defence of the American Constitution, written in London, where he resided at the time as minister, and dated January 1, 1787 ...

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

“Thirteen government,” he says plainly, “thus founded on the natural authority of the people alone, and without any pretence of miracle or mystery, and which are destined to spread over the northern part of that whole quarter of the globe, is a great point gained in favor of the rights of mankind.” (John Adams: Works, volume 4, page 293.)

Thus, according to this prophetic minister, even at that early day was the destiny of the republic manifest. It was spread over the northern part of the American quarter of the globe: and it was to be a support to the rights of mankind.³⁷

In New York, almost ninety years later in December of 1865, Perry Collins delivered a lecture on the merits of the “Overland Telegraphic Communication” – which would later become the Western Union Telegraph Expedition – before the Traveler’s Club and Other Societies, invoking Secretary of State Seward’s vision of this undertaking:

The Honorable Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, says, in considering the probable usefulness of the enterprise, ... ‘Certainly it cannot be necessary to say that such efforts belong to the class of human labors which are pronounced to be doubly blessed, because they bless equally those who are the subjects and those which are the performers of them. It seems impossible to over-estimate the direct effect of this new application of the national energy in producing a rapid and yet permanent development of the agricultural, forest, mineral, and marine resources of the United States. Nor is it any more practicable to assign limits to the increase

³⁷ Archie W. Shields, *The Purchase of Alaska*, (Alaska: The University of Alaska Press and Alaska Purchase Centennial Commission, 1967), 46.

of national influence, which must necessarily result from the new facilities we should acquire in that manner for extending throughout the world American ideas and principles of public and private economy, politics, morals, philosophy, and religion.’³⁸

In 1787, John Adams was prophetic in his vision of the concept of Manifest Destiny, but, it would be Americans such as Collins and Seward who would have the audacity and vision to join the powers of commercialism and national political goals to attain that vision.

The purchase of Alaska may not have been inevitable; however, it is difficult in retrospect to envision how the territory would not have eventually become an American possession. The expansion across the North American continent and the need to open trade with Asia, combined with the expansionist fervor of American commercial interests, may well have led to a military confrontation with Russia over the ownership of this territory. It is clear from the existing evidence the Russian government’s strategy was to at least get some benefit from a territory it could not easily defend, by selling it to a willing buyer.

Manifest Destiny is driven by the two engines of commercial interests and national political agendas. The growth of the United States at that time in history was a product of the economic and social opportunities its citizens and immigrants perceived as a means to prosperity. Companies such as Western Union exploited new technologies that fueled that economic growth. Without the assistance of the United States Government those economic interests would not be adequately protected, and economic growth would most certainly have been stifled. The Western Union Telegraph Expedition is an example of the exploitation of a new technology – in the form

³⁸ O.H. Palmer, 163. (accessed October 17, 2009).

of communications – for commercial reasons, and how that venture lent itself to assisting the government in fulfilling a national goal by providing invaluable information about Russian America. The successful expansionist drive and elimination of all foreign powers across the contiguous North American continent provided a base for the United States government to cast its eyes outside those borders. The purchase of Alaska was the first step of the partnership formed by commercial and government interests in projecting Manifest Destiny internationally.

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Formulating this essay first occurred to me when taking an Epic and Romance class in the Fall of 2009. John Milton's Paradise Lost was one of the works we were reading, and I felt it was a great chance to test some of the material I'd written for a book on the Fallen Angel's three century rise from Paradise Lost to the Church of Satan, which I've been working on for a number of years. I began excerpting portions of my Chapter on Milton's sympathetic Satan, heavily hacking away and reshaping it to create what this essay became.

I was inspired to write this essay (and my book) by the symbol of Satan; to me, Lucifer's legend stands out as the most moving myth ever told, as I can relate to the Prince of Pride's rebelliousness, individualism, and self-deification. I find that there is nothing more incredible than the fact that the most reviled figure perhaps in history has somehow managed to transform into a tragic hero and a positive symbol of revolt. I also find nothing more ironic than this transformation having been set in motion by a seventeenth century Puritan poet, who inadvertently produced the most famous and arguably the most sympathetic portrayal of Satan, which continues to inspire awe well over three centuries later. Last but not least, I find no greater challenge than proving that Satan's ascent was the Devil receiving his due.

“In the Devil's Defense: the Heroic Satan of *Paradise Lost*”

By Christopher Cuccia

Whether or not Satan may be considered the hero of John Milton's epic poem, *Paradise Lost*, is a controversy which has raged for over three centuries now. While Milton ambitiously sought to “justify the ways of God to men” (I. 26) and portray the Devil as one who aspires to thwart God's Divine Plan, yet only manages to “Heap on himself damnation” (I. 215), in an example of supreme irony, many readers have felt that Milton's plan backfired, that he created the image of a sympathetic Satan in rebellion against a tyrannical God. This reception of Milton's masterpiece is largely thanks to the Romantic poets, namely those of “the Satanic school” headed by Lord Byron and Percy Bysshe Shelley, the latter boldly stating in “A Defense of Poetry” that “Nothing can exceed the energy and magnificence of the character of Satan as expressed in *Paradise Lost* [sic]” (Teskey, 394). It was entirely in order for the Romantics – revolutionists and individualists that they were – to laud Lucifer, the “rebel to all law” (X. 83), but much of the heroic qualities they identified their Devil with were manifested in Milton's

Satan, which is why they felt that Milton himself, so very rebellious in his own right, was, as William Blake writes in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, “a true Poet and of the Devil’s party without knowing it” (Teskey, 389). With all of the sublimity and grandeur Milton invested into the Prince of Pride, along with the similar tragedy he himself shared, the case is solid that Milton – whether he knew it or not, whether it he liked it or not – was indeed “of the Devil’s party.”

Milton makes use of non-chronological storytelling, starting the poem in medias res, the rebel angels already fallen into Hell, but let us here begin at the start of Satan’s tale in order to follow the progression of his character. Quickly after Milton invokes his “Heav’nly Muse” and states what he sets out to accomplish with the epic (l. 1 – 26), he inquires about the Fall of Man, finding only one culprit, Satan, of whose story he provides a swift summary:

Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?
Th’ infernal Serpent. He it was whose guile
Stirred up with envy and revenge deceived
The mother of mankind, what time his pride
Had cast him out from Heav’n with all his host
Of rebel angels, by whose aid aspiring
To set himself in glory ’bove his peers
He trusted to have equaled the Most High
If he opposed, and with ambitious aim
Against the throne and monarchy of God
Raised impious war in Heav’n and battle proud
With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Pow’r
Hurl’d headlong flaming from th’ ethereal sky

With hideous ruin and combustion down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In adamant chains and penal fire
Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms. (I. 33 – 49)

Satan's heavenly revolt is ultimately sparked by God's decree that the angels will have to bend their knees to His "only Son," "as one individual soul," lest they wish to fall into utter, eternal darkness (V. 600 – 615). We are informed that this is the source of all Satan's enmity with God:

He of the first
If not the first archangel great in pow'r,
In favor, and preëminence, yet fraught
With envy against the Son of God that day
Honored by His great Father and proclaimed
Messiah, King Anointed, could not bear
Through pride that sight and thought himself impaired.
Deep malice thence conceiving and disdain,
Soon as midnight brought on the dusky hour
Friendliest to sleep and silence, he resolved
With all his legions to dislodge and leave
Unworshipped, unobeyed, the throne supreme,
Contemptuous... (V. 659 – 671)

While the Son's exaltation may be the linchpin of Satan's insubordination, the arch-rebel explains that bending the knee has always disturbed him, calling it "prostration vile!/ Too much to one but double how endured,/ To one and to His image now proclaimed!" (V. 782 – 784). In

other words, that God demands shameful servility be given to both Him and His Son merely pushes Satan over the edge.

Incensed, Satan orders his “next subordinate” (V. 671) – his “companion dear” (V. 673), “One next himself in pow’r and next in crime,/ Long after known in Palestine and named/ Beëlzebul” (I. 79 – 81) – to summon all of the angels under his command to “The Palace of great Lucifer” (V. 760) under the impression that they are going there “to prepare/ Fit entertainment to receive [their] King/ The great Messiah and His new commands...” (V. 689 – 691). This untruth is supposed to establish Satan as “a liar, and the father of it” (John 8:44), as The Holy Bible labels him, but Milton’s Satan at first says this because he doubts that God is indeed God, which is to say, he doubts that God is omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent, therefore believing that “More in this place [so near the Mount of God]/ To utter is not safe.” (V. 682 – 683). Satan’s coup seems to initially be intended as a sneak attack upon God’s Throne, as the rebel angels expected “by fight or by surprise/ To win the Mount of God and on His throne/ To set the envier of His state, the proud/ Aspirer” (VI. 87 – 90). Thus, Satan stealthily gathers his angels within his palace under a pretext – “Pretending so commanded to consult/ About the great reception of their King/ Thither to come” (V. 768 – 770) – and then once (presumably) safe within the confines of it, he tells them the whole truth, saying that “better counsels might erect/ Our minds and teach us to cast off this yoke...” (V. 785 – 786).

A speech against Satan’s plea for revolution is immediately delivered by Abdiel, the sole rebel amidst the rebel angels, formed in Milton’s image of Godly seditionist: “Among the faithless, faithful only he/ Among innumerable false. Unmoved,/ Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified/ His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal” (V. 897 – 900). Abdiel argues that the angels were created by the Son of God and that creatures have no right to rebel against their Creator (V. 809 – 848). Satan counters Abdiel with a speech of his own (V. 853 – 871), questioning the

notion that angels are God's creatures and not coeternal beings themselves, since they do not remember their own creation and "know no time when [they] were not as now,/ Known none before [them], self-begot, self-raised/ By [their] own quick'ning power..." (V. 859 – 861).

Milton's Satan is here portrayed as a representative of reason, demanding empirical evidence for the creation of the angels, questioning and ultimately rejecting the idea that he has been created by God. Satan is criticized because, in the context of *Paradise Lost*, he is wrong about being "self-begot, self-raised," but he cannot be blamed in full for this assertion considering God Himself lays claim to never having been created, and apparently (in a very suspect move for an all-powerful Creator) had the angel who became the demon "Mammon" build towering structures in Heaven (I. 732 – 737), structures which He Himself could have made.

While God may have created the angels, He admits that with regard to the rebel angels, "They themselves decreed/ Their own revolt, not I.../ ...authors to themselves in all.../ Self-tempted, self-depraved" (III. 116 – 130), so Satan is in this respect absolutely correct in their being "self-begot, self-raised," falling only to "re-ascend,/ Self-raised..." (I. 633 – 634). Yet, regardless of whether Satan is right or wrong, the fact that he is questioning things, using his mind, demanding evidence and relying on his reason instead of slavishly accepting with blind faith what he's been told is what matters, and what makes him admirable. William Empson puts it best in Milton's God: "As for myself...if some bully said he would burn me alive unless I pretended to believe he had created me, I hope I would have enough honor to tell him that the evidence did not seem to me decisive. I dare not despise Satan for making this answer" (89). Similar sentiments may very well have applied to Milton, an admirer and visitor of Galileo, "the Tuscan artist" (I. 288).

Empson defends Satan's skepticism of the Son for the following reason: "If the Son had inherently held this position from before the creation of all angels, why has it been officially withheld from [Satan] till this day, and still more, why have the angels not previously been told that he was the agent of their creation?" (102). This inquiry is augmented by what A.J.A. Waldock writes in Paradise Lost And its Critics:

Abdiel (as Milton's mouthpiece) has just delivered the "official" view on the creation of angels. The angels, he informs the assembly, were created by the Son himself, acting as the Word. This is a heavy thrust, and even though none "seconds" Abdiel Satan must say something. He makes two not ineffective rejoinders: first, that the point is new; and second, that Abdiel's account of the creation of himself and other angels must necessarily be based on hearsay. Neither rejoinder is silly. The point must be new, or he could not in full assembly say it was. We are not told why it is that Abdiel is so exceptionally well informed; for some reason he is, just as for some reason the rebel angels appear to have been kept in the dark about a number of other facts that good angels know.

(71)

It is certainly suspect that God would keep specific angels in the dark about their creation via His Son. Was He planning on causing their doomed rebellion from the start? Satan hints at this when in Hell, complaining that God withheld His Godlike qualities:

But He who reigns

Monarch in Heav'n till then as one secure
Sat on His throne upheld by old repute,
Consent or custom, and His regal state
Put forth at full but still His strength concealed,
Which tempted our attempt and wrought our fall. (I. 637 – 642)

Empson admits that “The initial error of Satan is that he doubts the credentials of God, and I...naturally think of a Professor doubting the credentials of his Vice-Chancellor; such a man would not be pursued with infinite malignity into eternal torture, but given evidence which put the credentials beyond doubt” (95). If God’s angels were truly rebelling because they were in doubt of His divine credentials, as it were, would it not be in order for God to prove Himself to them instead of consigning them to eternal torment? Was there any reason for the angels to believe what God had told them merely because He said so?

Metaphysical skepticism aside, the core reason for the revolt of the angels is that to them God seems a tyrant, omnipotent or not, as Stanley Fish explains in full in Surprised by Sin:

At the moment [Satan] thinks himself impaired he also, necessarily and at a stroke, thinks into existence a cast of supporting characters: a Father who would play favorites with his children and elevate an undeserving youth over a loyal and long serving elder son; a younger son who would accept this undeserved honor and assume powers he hasn't earned; and an army of servile foot soldiers who continue to warble hallelujahs before a corrupt throne even as a gross injustice is done. And to think these is also to think the world in which they move and have their being, a world where merit can always be trumped by dynastic politics,

where earned privileges and responsibilities can be lost in an instant, where you never know who's going to be created or ruined next and you had better grab what you can while there is still time. (xxxii – xxxiii)

If Satan believes this to be the case, isn't his choice to shout "non serviam" rather praiseworthy? The anti-Satanists will argue that even if God is tyrannical, to disobey Him is still foolish simply because He is an all-powerful tyrant, which is Abdiel's warning to Satan:

Fool! Not to think how vain
Against th' Omnipotent to rise in arms
Who out of smallest things could without end
Have raised incessant armies to defeat
Thy folly or with solitary hand,
Reaching beyond all limit, at one blow
Unaided could have finished thee and whelmed
Thy legions under darkness! (VI. 135 – 142)

Satan's struggle against impossible odds, however, only makes him more heroic in that nothing can stop him from standing up and fighting for himself. Abdiel presents the options clearly: "Reign thou in Hell thy kingdom, let me serve/ In Heav'n God ever blest and His divine/ Behests obey, worthiest to be obeyed./ Yet chains in Hell, not realms, expect!" (VI. 183 – 185). For Satan, it is a no-brainer: "Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven!" (I. 263).

Milton certainly stresses the point that Satan's struggle with omnipotence is ultimately a suicidal action, which is the symbolic significance of Satan facing off with Death himself (II. 704 – 726). Concerning Satan's doomed revolt against God, C.S. Lewis writes in A Preface to

Paradise Lost, “Throughout the poem he is engaged in sawing off the branch he is sitting on...since a creature revolting against a creator is revolting against the source of his own powers—including even his power to revolt” (96 – 97). Yet, it is right for Satan to rebel against his cruel Creator, no matter the outcome: since Satan stood tall, it matters not that he was cast down. Satan displays unrivaled boldness in challenging the Throne of God and unparalleled perseverance in continuing his war even after having been cast down into Hell, having witnessed that God is indeed almighty:

From what heighth fall'n, so much the stronger proved
He with His thunder (and till then who knew
The force of those dire arms?), yet not for those
Nor what the potent Victor in His rage
Can else inflict do I repent or change,
Though changed in outward luster, that fixed mind
And high disdain from sense of injured merit
That with the Mightiest raised me to contend
And to the fierce contention brought along
Innumerable force of spirits armed
That durst dislike His reign and, me preferring,
His utmost pow'r with adverse pow'r opposed
In dubious battle on the plains of Heav'n
And shook His throne. (I. 92 – 105)

There was no honor for Satan in Heaven, regardless of all the power God had given him, and though God stripped him of his power and cast him into Hell for his revolt, Satan rightly became

the Prince of Pride. The Bible advises that “Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall” (Proverbs 16:18), but in Lucifer’s case, Pride cometh after the Fall. Indignant resistance for liberty’s sake, not sheer malevolence, is the end result of the degrading worship God demands of his angels, and in spite of Satan’s rebel army losing the War in Heaven and plummeting into Hell, their having gotten off their knees and fighting to the bitterest of ends for their self-respect epitomizes their virtue, which is why Satan reminds them that “that strife/ Was not inglorious though th’ event was dire/ As this place testifies and this dire change,/ Hateful to utter...” (l. 623 – 626). Concerning this moment, William Empson astutely makes the following point: “Opponents in this controversy have often jeered at my side for being so romantic as to believe the Father of Lies; but the idea which first appears in his mind as he recovers consciousness is also the first that he presents in his formal address to his troops, an impressive degree of sincerity, in a politician” (44).

Apart from consistency, Satan’s level of sympathy for his beaten brothers is an equally “impressive degree of sincerity.” Though exalted in his dark glory, Satan is saddened at the sight of his brothers in arms subjected to eternal suffering for aligning themselves with him:

Darkened so, yet shone
above them all th’ archangel, but his face
Deep scars of thunder had entrenched and care
Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
Of dauntless courage and consid’rate pride
Waiting revenge. Cruel his eye, but cast
Signs of remorse and passion to behold
The fellows of his crime, the followers rather

(Far other once beheld in bliss) condemned
For ever now to have their lot in pain,
Millions of spirits for his fault amerced
Of Heav'n and from eternal splendors flung
For his revolt. (I. 599 – 611)

What's more, Satan actually weeps for them: "He now prepared/ To speak.../ Thrice he assayed
and thrice, in spite of scorn,/ Tears such as angels weep burst forth." (I. 615 – 620). The Devil's
angels are not insignificant beings to him, but his "faithful friends,/ Th' associates and copartners
of [his] loss/ (I. 264 – 265), whom he, as their "Deliv'rer from new lords, leader to free/
Enjoyment of [their] right as gods" (VI. 451 – 452), "in one night freed/ From servitude
inglorious.../ ...and thinner left the throng/ Of [God's] adorers" (IX. 140 – 143). That Satan
deeply cares and cries for his angels is a concept entirely unheard of before Milton, and it indeed
humanizes him to a great deal, for Empson establishing him as "the only leader in the poem who
expresses affection for his subordinates..." (104).

The argument of the anti-Satanists is that Satan's superficial heroism is provided by
Milton in order to manipulate him to his own ends, which is a tactic much akin to Milton's God
in the poem. In other words, Milton intentionally portrayed Satan as a sympathetic and even
heroic figure at the start of Paradise Lost, "clad/ With what permissive glory since his fall/ Was
left him, or false glitter" (X. 450 – 452), only to make more dramatic his gradual degradation, a
perspective C.S. Lewis sums up in A Preface to Paradise Lost:

From hero to general, from general to politician, from politician to secret service
agent, and thence to a thing that peers in at bedroom or bathroom windows, and

thence to a toad, and finally to a snake—such is the progress of Satan. This progress, misunderstood, has given rise to the belief that Milton began by making Satan more glorious than he intended and then, too late, attempted to rectify his error... We need not doubt that it was the poet's intention to be fair to evil, to give it a run for its money—to show it first at the height, with all its rants and melodrama and “Godlike imitated state” about it, and then to trace what actually becomes of such self-intoxication when it encounters reality. (99 – 100)

According to this line of thinking, just as Satan degrades – or “is degraded” (Waldock, 83) – his moving speeches are supposed to amount to nothing more than deceitful rhetoric, Satan even deluding himself, “more a Lie than a Liar, a personified self-contradiction” (Lewis, 97), his tone changing from “The mind is its own place and in itself/ Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven” (I. 254 – 255), to “Which way I fly is Hell, myself am Hell...” (IV. 75). As part of this “self-contradiction” argument of the anti-Satanists, it is posited that the rebel hero Satan is the very same authoritarian tyrant he believes himself to be rebelling against on account of the reign he assumes – something which Milton encountered with Cromwell and the Romantics encountered with Napoleon – but Paradise Lost does not provide nearly enough evidence to support this claim.

While Satan may head the infernal host, his subordinates are in no way powerless, and everything about the Satanic government indicates that it is a meritocracy, this ideal government first espoused by Lucifer when speaking to his angels in his heavenly palace, essentially explaining why a rebel army is not paradoxical: “Natives and sons of Heav'n.../ ...if not equal all, yet free,/ Equally free, for orders and degrees/ Jar not with liberty but well consist.” (V. 790 – 793). In short, the argument here is that while the angels are all equally free, their hierarchal

ranks are earned by natural prowess and merit, which carries over into the infernal regions, when, after the fallen angels rise up and build “Pandemonium, city and proud seat/ Of Lucifer (so by allusion called/ Of that bright star to Satan paragoned)” (X. 424 – 426), we see that the fallen have to shrink themselves down so that they can all fit comfortably inside (I. 777 – 792), but those higher in rank are able to keep their normal size, “in their own dimensions like themselves/ The great seraphic lords and cherubim/ In close recess and secret conclave sat,/ A thousand demi-gods on golden seats/ Frequent and full” (I. 793 – 797).

Satan stands hubristically as head of the Infernal Kingdom – “He above the rest/ In shape and gesture proudly eminent/ Stood like a tower” (I. 589 – 591) – but he is worthy of his prided position as “Leader of those armies bright/ Which but th’ Omnipotent none could have foiled” (I. 272 – 273). The fallen angels are “Th’ associates and copartners of [Satan’s] loss” (I. 265), and he is their CEO because he was the founder of Hell Inc., standing first and foremost by merit, which is what we are informed of in the opening to Book II: “High on a throne of royal state.../ Satan exalted sat, by merit raised/ To that bad eminence...” (II. 1 – 6). Satan himself, from atop his infernal throne, provides several reasons as to he merits it:

Me though just right and the fixed laws of Heav’n
Did first create your leader, next free choice
With what besides in council or in fight
Hath been achieved of merit, yet this loss,
Thus far at least recovered, hath much more
Established in a safe unenvied throne
Yielded with full consent. (II. 18 – 24)

Each of these claims is probably true: “[G]reat indeed [was]/ His name and high was his degree in Heav’n” (V. 706 – 707), we are told, as Satan was “of the first/ If not the first archangel great in pow’r,/ In favor, and preëminence” (V. 659 – 661). On top of his natural power, Satan’s angels choose him as their leader because of what he does with that power, because he, with words and actions, “led th’ embattled seraphim to war/ Under [his] conduct and in dreadful deeds/ Fearless endangered Heav’n’s perpetual King” (I. 129 – 131). Satan solidifies that position when, after having fallen from Heaven with his troops, he rises once more and with great passion inspires them to rise alongside him in Hell (I. 315 – 330), ending with the rallying cry, “Awake! Arise, or be for ever fall’n!” To boot, Satan states that if he is to sit highest in Hell, he must take on the greatest share of responsibilities, which is why he volunteers to journey alone from Hell to Eden through Chaos:

But I should ill become this throne, O peers,
And this imperial sov’rignty adorned
With splendor, armed with pow’r, if aught proposed
And judged of public moment in the shape
Of difficulty or danger could deter
Me from attempting. Wherefore do I assume
These royalties and not refuse to reign,
Refusing to accept as great a share
Of hazard as of honor, due alike
To him who reigns? And so much to him due
Of hazard more as he above the rest
High honored sits. (II. 445 – 456)

When the Son of God volunteers to “be mortal to redeem/ Man’s mortal crime (III. 214 – 215) because none of the angels dare (III. 217 – 265), God the Father declares that the Son “hast been found/ By merit more than birthright Son of God” (III. 308 – 309). Satan is likewise then by merit more than any other reason leader of the Infernal Kingdom, “whom now transcendent glory raised/ Above his fellows with monarchal pride/ Conscious of highest worth” (II. 427 – 429), and his act is actually superior to the Son’s, for, as Empson points out, “Nobody is surprised at the absence of volunteers among the good angels, whereas Satan, during the parallel scene in Hell (II. 470), has to close the debate hurriedly for fear a less competent rebel put himself forward” (124). And I’d certainly say the “selflessness” and the “goodness” of the Son’s sacrifice on Man’s behalf is certainly lessened in that he only does so to spite Satan, as he states to God the Father (III. 150 – 162).

While Satan has aspired to become his own god, insofar as thinking for himself and acting upon his own will – “He trusted to have equaled the Most High/ If he opposed” (I. 40 – 41) – the idea that he wanted to become God Himself is not really pushed by Milton, to wit, Satan never mirrors the “grand Foe/ Who...in th’ excess of joy/ Sole reigning holds the tyranny of Heav’n” (I. 122 – 124). Satan has a throne both in Heaven and in Hell, but his government is not based upon having his supporters supplicate before him, or demanding their unquestioning support, or giving orders he can carry out himself, unlike God, who “sends [angels] upon His high behests/ For state, as Sov’reign King, and to inure/ [Their] prompt obedience” (VIII. 238 – 240). Satan earns the favor of his comrades, proving himself a most worthy leader, thereby earning their utmost praise. Granted, there is one problematic moment when, just as Satan rises from his infernal throne to start his lonesome journey, “Towards him [the fallen angels] bend/ With awful reverence prone and as a god/ Extol him equal to the High’st in Heav’n” (II. 477 – 479), but I think this scene is somewhat downplayed when we are informed that “bowing low/

...to superior spirits is wont in Heav'n/ (Where honor due and reverence none neglects)" (III. 736 – 738). And furthermore, it should be noted that Satan doesn't order his "proud tow'rs" (V. 907) to do so, whereas God, after His Son volunteers to die on Man's behalf in the parallel scene in Heaven, barks, "But all ye gods/ Adore Him who to compass all that dies!/ Adore the Son and honor Him as Me!" (III. 341 – 343), which is immediately followed by a pitiable image of all the angels throwing their crowns to the ground, bowing down to God and His Son and then rising only to harp songs to them (III. 344 – 371).

In Heaven, Satan says that his soldiers "can allow/ Omnipotence to none" (VI. 158 – 159), which is why we see him sharing power with them when in Hell, namely when he seeks a course of action to take against God in order to avenge their fall. As something of a democratic leader, Satan declares that "these thoughts/ Full counsel must mature" (I. 659 – 660), organizing "A solemn council forthwith to be held/ At Pandemonium the high capital/ Of Satan and his Peers" (I. 755 – 757), therein placing emphasis upon merit once again in saying "Who can advise may speak" (II. 42), as well as having the chief devils – Moloch, Belial, Mammon and Beëlzebub – all give their own speeches (II. 51 – 378). The Infernal Council votes in favor of the latter's plan (II. 386 – 389), which, put plainly, is to "Seduce them [Adam and Eve] to our party" (II. 368), and due to Beëlzebub's plan being "first devised/ By Satan and in part proposed" (II. 379 – 380), the anti-Satanists complain that Satan has rigged the system, but to this Empson rebuts: "Some eager critics have called this dirty of Satan, but a reader accustomed to committee-work would recognize that he had been too proud to lobby, and that his moral standing turned out strong enough for him to get his way without it" (55 – 56). Also, it's not as though Satan pretends to have nothing to do with the idea Beëlzebub puts forth, given that he first comes up with it before the entirety of his fallen legions (I. 650 – 656), who would therefore have to be well aware that they were favoring a course of action thought up and elaborated upon

between their two highest leaders. More importantly, it's worth noting that Satan's plan incorporates all of their ideas: the fallen angels will continue their war with God (Moloch), yet not in an impossible all-out assault upon Heaven – allowing them to avoid further punishment on account of *vae victis* (Belial) – but a covert operation in Eden (Beëlzebub), the rebel angels told to expand their empire in Hell in the interim (Mammon).

Milton was more than capable of portraying Satan as a sinister trickster who has duped his followers, and yet he curiously does not – at least not to the extent he very well could have. Instead, he portrays Satan as ever faithful to his troops, so much so that one of the reasons Satan rejects the thought of repentance is his “dread of shame/ Among the spirits beneath” (IV. 82 – 83), which is likewise why he understands that he must carry out his mission to seduce Adam and Eve, though he feels sympathetic dread for having to do so: “And should I at [their] harmless innocence/ Melt, as I do, yet public reason just,/ Honor and empire with revenge enlarged/ By conquering this new world compels me now/ To do what else, though damned, I should abhor” (IV. 388 – 392). The rebel angels accept Satan as their leader because he is a good leader, perhaps best delineated when in the depths of Hell he informs his fallen but fervent forces, “I abroad/ Through all the coasts of dark destruction seek/ Deliverance for us all!” (II. 463 – 465). For the “Heav’n-banished host” (X. 437), Satan is “their great adventurer” (X. 440) on whom “The weight of all and [their] last hope relies” (II. 416), and it is unfair to say that they are dupes, for Satan's noble undertaking at no point appears disingenuous, especially since he repeats his solemn vow to Sin, his daughter, and to Death, his “son and grandchild both” (X. 384), at the Gates of Hell – “I come no enemy but to set free/ From out this dark and dismal house of pain/ Both him and thee and all the Heav’nly host/ Of spirits that in our just pretenses armed/ Fell with us from on high” (II. 818 – 826) – and again to Gabriel in the Garden of Eden:

...I alone first undertook
To wing the desolate abyss and spy
This new-created world whereof in Hell
Fame is not silent, here in hope to find
Better abode and my afflicted powers
To settle here on earth or in mid air,
Though for possession put to try once more
What thou and thy gay legions dare against,
Whose easier business were to serve their Lord
High up in Heav'n with songs to hymn His throne
And practiced distances to cringe, not fight. (IV. 935 – 945)

Given that Satan's bold words are backed by bold action, it is surely very difficult to agree with Gabriel (and the anti-Satanists) that he is no more than a "sly hypocrite, who now wouldst seem/ Patron of liberty" (IV. 957 – 958).

Satan exhibits a soldierly code of conduct from the start, particularly when he first gathers his angels in Heaven to propose revolution, refusing to try and convince them, merely serving as a mirror, allowing them to see their ideal thoughts realized: "Will ye submit your necks and choose to bend/ The supple knee? Ye will not if I trust/ To know ye right or if ye know yourselves..." (V. 787 – 789). Also, when faced with the sole angel who does not agree with him, Abdiel, Satan neither tries to tempt him into conversion nor take him captive in order to keep the impending coup a secret. Satan allows Abdiel to flee to the ranks of the Godly angels physically as well as philosophically, so that he may face him honorably on the battlefield, shouting with great pride:

Our own right hand

Shall teach us highest deeds by proof to try
Who is our equal. Then thou shalt behold
Whether by supplication we intend
Address and to begirt th' almighty throne
Beseeching or besieging! This report,
These tidings carry to th' Anointed King—
And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight! (V. 864 – 871)

Satan repeats this admirable act in the Garden of Eden when confronted by two inferior angels, Ithuriel and Zephon, sent by Gabriel: “If I must contend.../ Best with the best, the sender not the sent,/ Or all at once, more glory will be won/ Or less be lost” (IV. 851 –854). Facing off with his inferior spirits is beneath the Prince of Pride, unlike God, who, as cosmic bully, consigns those who literally can do Him no harm to everlasting torment, allowing them “eternal being,/ To undergo eternal punishment” (I. 154 – 155).

For like reasons of pride does Satan refrain from attempting to proselytize all of the angelic host, which is to say, he wants only the best of the best, and that criterion could never welcome all, for in Heaven, as it is on Earth, there are a few elite individuals amongst the mediocre masses – a few lone wolves amongst the herd of sheep – and Satan directly addresses this when he confronts Abdiel on the heavenly battlefield:

At first I thought that liberty and Heaven
To heav'nly souls had been all one but now
I see that most through sloth had rather serve,

Minist'ring spirits trained up in feast and song.
Such hast thou armed—the minstrelsy of Heaven!—
Servility with freedom to contend,
As both their deeds compared this day shall prove. (VI. 164 – 170)

The Devil's army is formed by the Dark Prince's Satanic Light shining upon his comrades, revealing what they truly are, which, in Abdiel's case, is a slave seeking sanctimonious shackles, and in the case of the remainder of "A third part of the gods" (VI. 156), liberated individuals mighty enough to stand tall and proud beside their leader in "the strife...of those who against enormous odds nevertheless persist in their efforts to free themselves from the despotic rule of a tyrant" (Fish, xxxix).

Where Milton's allegiance lies is rightly brought into question in light of how magnificent he portrays Satan's speeches and actions, his depiction of the War in Heaven being a perfect example: The Bible describes this celestial war in a few fleeting lines (Revelation 12:7 – 9), but Milton, on the other hand, embellishes a great deal, going drastically out of his way to clothe Satan and his rebel army in valiant strength. God orders, "Go, Michael, of celestial armies prince/ And thou in military prowess next,/ Gabriel, lead forth to battle these my sons/ Invincible" (VI. 44 – 47). Though warring against invincible opponents, the Supreme Rebel enters the battlefield "with vast and haughty strides" (V. 109), and rightly so, as he is facing off against an army twice the size of his own, ruled over by God Himself, and he manages to hold out for three days, proving Michael's superior force melts before the flames of their indomitable spirit, compelling God to use His omnipotent strength to end the war. Standing before Michael, Satan accurately summarizes his courageous revolt in the following diatribe:

Nor think thou with wind
Of airy threats to awe whom yet with deeds
Thou canst not! Hast thou turned the least of these
To flight or, if to fall, but that they rise
Unvanquished, easier to transact with me
That thou shouldst hope, imperious, and with threats
To chase me hence? Err not that so shall end
The strife which thou call'st evil but we style
The strife of glory, which we mean to win
Or turn this Heav'n itself into the Hell
Thou fablest, here however to dwell free,
If not to reign. Meanwhile thy utmost force—
And join Him named Almighty to thy aid—
I fly not but have sought thee far and nigh. (VI. 282 – 295)

Michael's sword, "from the armory of God/ ...giv'n him tempered so that neither keen/ Nor solid might resist that edge" (VI. 321 – 323), cuts straight through Satan's and sheers through his right side, making him first feel pain (VI. 323 – 330), but as it turns out, Satan is tough enough to eat hellfire and ask for seconds.

The infinite vigilance exhibited by Satan and his soldiers vastly outshines that of the holy angels, who not only have strength in numbers and the Almighty God on their side, but who, according to Milton, cannot feel pain because they are not sinners: "Such high advantages their innocence/ Gave them above their foes not to have sinned,/ Not to have disobeyed. In fight they stood/ Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pained/ By wound though from their place by violence moved" (VI. 401 – 405). Commenting on these lines, Stanley Fish writes:

But if the loyal angels are incapable of pain and cannot be wearied, their ability to stand in fight is hardly remarkable or praiseworthy. Indeed this advantage is a disadvantage if “difficulty” is one condition of heroism...for it gives Satan and his followers something to put up with, something to rise above...[and] the picture of Satan gritting his teeth and bearing it does have a certain force, and it is certainly more visibly impressive than anything we see on the other side. (187)

Satan firmly holds that “to be weak is mis’rable,/ Doing or Suffering” (l. 157 – 158), which is why he expresses great admiration and equally great devotion to the mighty army of his brave and brazen brothers, best expressed after the first day of battle results in a stalemate:

O now in danger tried, now known in arms
Not to be overpow’red, companions dear,
Found worthy not of liberty alone,
Too mean a pretense, but what we more affect,
Honor, dominion, glory and renown
Who have sustained one day in doubtful fight
(And if one day, why not eternal days?)
What Heaven’s Lord had pow’rfullest to send
Against us from about His throne and judged
Sufficient to subdue us to His will,
But proves not so! (VI. 418 – 428)

We get a similar picture after Satan rouses his fallen legions from the burning lake of Hell:

He through the armed files
Darts his experienced eye and soon traverse
The whole battalion views, their order due,
Their visages and stature as of gods,
Their number last he sums. And now his heart
Distends with pride, and hard'ning in his strength,
Glories. (I. 567 – 573)

Gabriel says of Satan's army, "Fit body to fit head" (IV. 953), and Satan seems to have so much respect for his troops precisely for that reason – for their being reflections of him, which is to say, they are fearless defenders of their individual selves, which is why we see them all "doing their own thing" down in Hell during Satan's absence – each "perplexed where he may likeliest find/ Truce to his restless thoughts and entertain/ The irksome hours till his great chief return" (II. 525 – 527) – some pursuing "Olympian games," others music, others philosophy, others exploration (II. 521 – 628), unlike what we see of Heaven, which makes it seem as though all there is for angels is "song and dance about [God's] sacred hill" (V. 619). When Satan returns to Hell from his journey to Eden, "Loud was th' acclaim./ Forth rushed in haste the great consulting peers/ Raised from their dark divan and with like joy/ Congratulant approached him" (X. 455 – 458), as their unity under the leadership of Lucifer does not diminish their individualism.

In Paradise Lost, Milton complains that warfare seemed the only suitable topic for epics (IX. 28 – 31), as in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as well as Virgil's *Aeneid*, lamenting that "the better fortitude/ Of patience and heroic martyrdom/ [were] Unsung" (IX. 31 – 33), in turn

believing that the tale he is telling is “Not less but more heroic” (IX. 14). Nevertheless, the military might and intelligence Milton provides Satan with is almost impossible not to admire. Satan is portrayed as the first inventor, who creates canons to rival the superior force of the holy angels in battle (VI. 470 – 523). Michael’s army is put to such disarray by Satan’s creative capacity that they can retaliate only by tossing mountains at the rebels (VI. 630 – 661), and even then the latter do not give up, firing mountains right back (VI. 662 – 668), their spirits so insuperable that God is forced to send His Son to end the war: “Pursue these sons of darkness, drive them out/ From all Heav’n’s bounds into the utter deep!/ There let them learn as likes them to despise/ God and Messiah, his Anointed King” (VI. 715 – 718). The rebels at first attempt to face off against God’s Son (VI. 785 – 799), but when the Son becomes fearsome (VI. 824 – 838), Satan’s army – Satan included, since God and His Son are the exceptions to Satan’s fearlessness (II. 678 – 679) – become bankrupt of courage, retreating until chased out of Heaven, down into Hell (VI. 838 – 877).

Satan awakes upon the burning lake of Hell, which is where the poem actually begins, and though tortured by the “fiery deluge fed/ With ever-burning sulfur unconsumed” (I. 68 – 69), he uses the fierce flames to illuminate his prided position in opposition to God and to refuel his burning desire to maintain that position, for it is his own *raison d’être*, as he later states: “I glory in the name/ ‘Antagonist of Heav’n’s Almighty King...’” (X. 386 – 387). Satan, who inverts the concept of the *felix culpa*, the “fortunate fall,” believing that “From this descent/ Celestial Virtues rising will appear/ More glorious and more dread than from no fall” (II. 14 – 16), is like the mythic phoenix, which burns itself and rises anew from its own ashes. Addressing Beëlzebub, his second-in-command, Lucifer, “And thence in Heav’n called Satan” (I. 82), expresses an ever defiant spirit:

What though the field be lost?

All is not lost: th' unconquerable will
And study of revenge, immortal hate
And courage never to submit or yield—
That glory never shall His wrath or might
Extort from me: to bow and sue for grace
With suppliant knee and deify His pow'r
Who from the terror of this arm so late
Doubted His empire! That were low indeed,
That were an ignominy and shame beneath
This downfall... (I. 105 – 116)

Surveying the infernal landscape, Satan, as the ultimate optimist, shouts, “Hail horrors, hail/ Infernal world! And thou, profoundest Hell,/ Receive thy new possessor, one who brings/ A mind not to be changed by place or time!” (I. 250 – 253). Waldock comments that “what we are chiefly made to see and feel” here from Satan are the following:

...fortitude in adversity, enormous endurance, a certain splendid recklessness, remarkable powers of rising to an occasion, extraordinary qualities of leadership (shown not least in his salutary taunts), and striking intelligence in meeting difficulties that are novel and could seem overwhelming. What we feel most of all, I suppose, is his refusal to give in—just that. How can Milton help sympathizing with qualities such as these? Obviously he sympathizes with them.

In this sense and to this extent he is on Satan's side, as it was quite proper for him to be. (77)

Sure, Satan may stumble a bit in his seditious stance as the story progresses due to the tragic nature of his fallen condition, particularly when he "falls into many doubts with himself and many passions—fear, envy, and despair" (Teskey, 77), as Milton writes in "The Argument" to Book IV. Satan's lamentation in his soliloquy therein – which parallels The Bible's portrayal of the Son of God's "moments of doubt and pain" both in Gethsemane (Mark 14:36) and on the cross (Matthew 27:46) – is indeed his lowest moment, but even still his recalcitrant spirit is far from lost: "Is there no place/ Left for repentance, none for pardon left?/ None left but by submission and that word/ Disdain forbids me..." (IV. 79 – 82). Even though Satan may not be able to make Hell a Heaven, Heaven is still a Hell to him, and for that reason he pushes on as God's Adversary, suffering in his noble cause, "preferring/ Hard liberty before the easy yoke/ Of servile pomp" (II. 255 – 257).

Satan, the Supreme Rebel who would rather fall into Hell than fall to his knees in Heaven, who chooses to die eternal death in his vain yet valiant effort to overthrow the Supreme Tyrant, is indeed an immensely impressive individual, to say the very least, and for this reason are the first words in the poem spoken by God Himself in praise of Satan's persistence: "Only begotten Son, seest thou what rage/ Transports our Adversary whom no bounds/ Prescribed, no bars of Hell nor all the chains/ Heaped on him there nor yet the main abyss/ Wide interrupt can hold..." (III. 80 – 84). If the controversy over whether Satan may rightly be considered the hero of Paradise Lost is to be decided on the grounds of sublimity and grandeur, then without a doubt Satan is the poem's hero, for he outshines all of the other characters: Adam and Eve are cowardly flunkies, Michael and the holy angels slave-soldiers who complacently accept

shameful servility to the most unattractive character, God, an arbitrary dictator who sets eternally ablaze all who refuse to bow down to Him. Satan, ever true to the Hebrew meaning of his name – “adversary” – is the antithesis of the aforesaid: a mighty figure who boldly defies superior power, albeit all-powerful; a charismatic leader faithful and fair to his fellow troops; the first skeptic; the first revolutionist; the first inventor; the first explorer; the first lover of liberty; the first to stand out against the status quo.

Satan, in one way or another towering above all other characters Milton crafted, merits his monumental pride, and his ending up as the exciting attraction of Paradise Lost was, in a way, an unavoidable outcome, as even the pious C.S. Lewis admits: “It remains, of course, true that Satan is the best drawn of Milton’s characters. The reason is not hard to find...Set a hundred poets to tell the same story and in ninety of the resulting poems Satan will be the best character” (100). This attraction of Man to the Dark Prince is inherent in Paradise Lost itself, as seen when Raphael explains to Adam that “some [of the angels] are fall’n, to disobedience fall’n/ And so from Heav’n to deepest Hell. O fall/ From what high state of bliss into what woe!” (V. 541 – 543), Adam in turn expressing deep fascination over the story “Worthy of sacred silence to be heard!” (V. 557). Despite his faults, his flaws, his foibles, Milton’s Satan is ultimately someone who is beaten down over and over again, yet never ceases to get back up and rise from every fall he is faced with, refusing to give up on himself, and nothing seems sufficient to undermine such a titanic figure.

Do modern readers of Paradise Lost tend to sympathize with Milton’s Satan because they are living in a post-Enlightenment world, having been taught to trust in reason and evidence over faith and tradition, and ever urged to protect their rights as individuals while protesting the power of the State and the Church? Absolutely, and that is the point: traditionally, the Devil has been

seen as “the Evil One” simply because he is defined as the Adversary of a God told to epitomize goodness, but people today are free from being forced to call God “good” if the evidence to them points to the contrary. As C.S. Lewis writes, “Many of those who say they dislike Milton’s God only mean that they dislike God” (130), but that disinclination is not necessarily without good reason: the God of The Bible is a God who, though omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent calls Himself a jealous God (Exodus 20:5), even saying that His name is “Jealous” (Exodus 34:14), and this green-eyed monster of a God is one of misogyny, slavery, genocide, infanticide, animal and human sacrifice, excessive laws and punishment culminating in the Hell reserved for all who do not bend the knee in submission to Heaven. Without immovable faith in Satan being “the Evil One,” it is indeed difficult to damn the Devil without hesitation if cognizant of these facts concerning the Judeo-Christian God, let alone the Devil as pictured by Milton, which is why Peter Thorslev acutely observes in The Byronic Hero that “any unbiased reader (by which I mean anyone who had not started out with ‘a good morning’s hate’ of Satan) must admit that Satan has most of the heroic action...most of the commendable sentiments, expressed in the poem’s most powerful language. The subsequent ‘degradation’ of Satan does not seem to me to erase the impression created by the heroic figure of the first books.” (109).

In this day and age, anti-heroes are far more popular than white hatted heroes, and this is no doubt due to the influence of the Romantic Era, for the Romantic Hero is a solitary figure in between virtue and vice, a hero with villainous qualities, a lonesome outcast and outlaw who is fabulous despite his flaws, titanic even in tragedy, magnificent even in misery, victorious even in his vanquish. To give the Devil his due is to take note of the fact that the Romantics saw Milton’s Satan as the archetypal Romantic hero, and as Thorslev writes, “One has understood a great deal of cultural history if one understands the rise of Satan from his uneasy and equivocal position in Milton’s epic, through the increasingly hesitant condemnation of eighteenth-century

critics, to his absolution and near-apotheosis among the Romantics” (19 – 20). We must remember that the Romantics were living in the wake of the American and French revolutions – events which challenged “The Divine Right of Kings” with the revolutionary notion of what Thomas Paine called “The Rights of Man.” Romantic rebels saw supreme rulers as the supreme evil, and therefore could not help sympathizing with the primal rebel against the Supreme Ruler. The Romantics could identify with the Devil not only for his heroic rise to revolution, but for the tragedy of his subsequent fall as well. Lord Byron and Percy Bysshe Shelley, namely, underwent a sort of Satanic stigmata, the former – though having inherited a peerage at age ten, becoming the Sixth Baron Byron – forced to exile himself from England on account of his libertine sexual escapades, the latter expelled from Oxford University for writing “The Necessity of Atheism.” How could these men not feel for the tragic fate of Satan, forever exiled from his heavenly homeland, doomed to eternal suffering for his rebellion against God, the Almighty King?

C.S. Lewis argues that Milton would never have dreamed his Satan would come to be seen as heroic, much less as a hero, because in Milton’s day “Men still believed that there really was such a person as Satan, and that he was a liar. The poet did not foresee that his work would one day meet the disarming simplicity of critics who take for gospel things said by the father of falsehood in public speeches to his troops” (100). Lewis complains that Satan came to be admired because “rebellion and pride came, in the romantic age, to be admired for their own sake” (133), but while Milton’s Puritanism no doubt sets him a world apart from the debauchery of Romanticism, the Puritan poet’s rebelliousness and accompanying tragedy certainly matches that of the Romantic poets:

[Milton] was known as a political controversialist, as a disestablishmentarian (someone who opposes an “established,” state-run church), as an enemy of bishops, and of “hireling priests” (ministers paid for their work), as a proponent of divorce, as a defender of regicide, and as the chief propagandist of the English Commonwealth under the dictatorship of Oliver Cromwell—in short, as a vigorous proponent of everything that, after 1660, was regarded by many in England as criminal and seditious. This view of Milton did not fade away after 1667, with the appearance of Paradise Lost. (Teskey, xxvii)

Despite the many tragic elements of Milton’s personal life, perhaps the greatest tragedy in his lifetime was the return of the monarchy under Charles II, which landed Milton as an outcast. This is why it is incredibly difficult not to read autobiographical elements into his Satan, and likewise why, with all this in mind, it is equally difficult to escape the same conclusion Waldock comes to: “Critics who claim that Paradise Lost exists for Satan, that it is in him and the energy he represents that the imperishable significance of Paradise Lost is centered, have on the face of it a better case.” (121).

Milton, like his God, may have tried to make an example out of the Devil, but it is undeniable that he instead wound up making him an exemplar of individual liberty and prideful revolt. The fact of the matter is that John Milton, though he may not have intended to, indeed became the savior of Satan, breaking the chains of tradition which kept him bound within the image of a malevolent monster, allowing him to soar to heroic heights, compelling readers to sympathize with his plight until he was at long last championed by those who saw their reflections in His Satanic Majesty, calling upon the power of the celestial rebel to motivate their own rebelliousness here on Earth. As Shelley puts it in his essay “On the Devil, and Devils”:

“As to the Devil he owes everything to Milton. Dante and Tasso present us with a very gross idea of him. Milton divested him of a sting, hoofs, and horns, clothed him with the sublime grandeur of a graceful but tremendous spirit—and restored him to the society” (Clark, 268). Thanks to Milton’s unconscious sympathies with Satan, the image of the tragic arch-rebel’s just and noble revolt against a tyrannical God was made manifest, which is to say, the tradition that Lucifer’s shallow ego made him “too big for his britches” died with Milton’s remodel, which is that Lucifer’s admirable pride emboldened him to shout, “The Emperor is wearing no clothes!”

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For me, college was a time to learn more about creative writing, to polish the rough skills that occasionally made themselves known over the years. Piecing together believable lives and worlds on paper is a minor obsession which college gave me the freedom to indulge. My concentration may revolve around personal creations of fiction and truth, but I always return to reading, the vehicle which gave me the need to pick up my own pen. The value of delving into the minds and works of well-established authors becomes increasingly apparent to me the more I learn. It shows just how much room I have to grow, while reaffirming the love I developed for good literature in the first place.

My course in American Renaissance literature with Professor Hildegard Hoeller introduced me to the thoughts of Frederick Douglass and Harriet Beecher Stowe to extents which I hadn't considered before. The concept of solidarity within their writing struck a chord with me. That facet of human interaction which I find so fascinating reveals to me the grounds on which people bond together, and the seemingly minor differences that can wrench others apart. In this case, I simply hungered to learn more about the representation of a failure of solidarity through the authors' perceptions. Conflicts caused by degree of skin hue and heritage have not evaporated in today's world. The manners in which authors embody or attempt to heal these rifts are worth giving another look.

“‘One or turrer’:

Intraracial Prejudice in Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Douglass' Narratives”

By Jaclyn Holzer

In Uncle Tom's Cabin and the Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass (including its later revision, My Bondage, My Freedom), mixed race slaves and their darker counterparts do not exactly treat each other as full equals. Colorism is the preferential treatment (or lack thereof) by members of a race based on degree of skin lightness. This term, coined by Alice Walker, usually is used for twentieth century literature, but its practice occurred far earlier. The sense of superiority and inferiority among those of whiter or blacker descent is very tangible in Stowe's work. What makes colorism significant in Douglass' works is the shift in perspective from Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass to My Bondage, My Freedom. He handles the topic of degree of color in more detail in the latter, which could possibly have been influenced by the

release of Uncle Tom's Cabin in between those two editions. According to Trina Jones, a writer for the Duke Law Journal, "With colorism, skin color does not serve as an indicator of race. Rather, it is the social meaning afforded skin color itself that results in differential treatment" (1497). Lighter skin results in a higher status. The works of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Frederick Douglass capture this notion. This specific concept functions intra-racially. Jones points out that "intra-racial colorism occurs when a member of one racial group makes a distinction upon skin color between members of her own race" (1498). The prevalence of racism is often discussed in the world of literary criticism, but that of an intra-racial nature far less so, particularly in nineteenth century literature.

Eliza Harris and her child, Harry, are the first mixed-race characters encountered in Uncle Tom's Cabin. Eliza is described having "rich, full, dark eye[s], with [their] long lashes; the same ripples of silky black hair. The brown of her complexion gave way on the cheeks to a perceptible flush..." (5). While clearly at least partially black, her hair is mentioned in terms of white beauty, and that is the measuring stick to which she is held. After learning that Harry has been sold, Eliza finally has a taste of the horror that is an everyday occurrence to those who do not share the height of her station. She is portrayed as the stereotypical "tragic mulatta." Penelope Bullock, in her study of the treatment of the mulatto figure in American fiction, argues that the whiteness of a mulatto makes her unable to "cast [her] lot with the minority group" from which she is descended. She does not feel acutely for the issue of a slave child being wrenched away from its mother until she feels that pain personally. Unable to comprehend with or cope with the possible loss of her son, Eliza decides to run away with Harry.

Following Eliza's flight from the tentative security of the Shelby household, there is a large production surrounding her escape. While it would be wrong to devalue her pain and

desperation, the separation of babies from slave mothers was one of the usual evils of the institution of slavery. Black Sam's arrival into the picture strikes up a contrast considering the "near-whiteness" of Eliza's skin and Sam's position as the darkest slave, from which his nickname is derived. Black Sam does help stall Haley, the Southern trader, in his hot pursuit. But it is not referenced whether Eliza and Sam truly had a friendship, or whether Sam's compliance stemmed from pity, the command of Mrs. Shelby to stall the search, or a simple desire to make a fool out of the trader. Furthermore, the bulk of Eliza's gratitude and trust in her river escape goes to Mr. Symmes, the white plantation owner, though Sam and the others were clearly in hearing range, as shown in the line, "The trader caught a full glimpse of her...and calling loudly on Sam and Andy, he was after her like a hound after a deer" (Stowe 52). Even in the chaos of the moment, it would have been difficult to ignore their presence. When Eliza reaches the other side of the icy river, she cries out, "O, Mr. Symmes--save me--do save me--do hide me!" (52). She is more able to throw herself at the mercy of a white landowner with whom she is familiar, and does not even spare a last look at the group on the opposite side of the river.

George Harris is the sole revolutionary figure of the novel. What is so contradictory about him is his identity as a mulatto and the category in which Stowe places him. He almost comes across as a Frederick Douglass-like figure, given his intelligence, skin color, intellect, and position as a harshly-treated slave because of that. Given the fact that Uncle Tom's Cabin was published after the Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, it would not be surprising if this homage were intentional. In a manner which also calls Douglass to mind, George is not portrayed in terms of color as strongly as some of the other characters in Uncle Tom's Cabin. George is introduced as "a bright and talented young mulatto man" (11) rather than in a detailed dissection of his physical appearance. He combats the idea of colorism, leaning in favor of

darkness towards the end of the novel, which is a great moment of triumph for him as a character and for Stowe at the same time. In his letter, George declares, “My sympathies are not for my father’s race, but for my mother’s...It is with the oppressed, enslaved African race that I cast my lot; and if I wished anything, I would wish myself two shades darker, rather than one lighter” (365). George detaches himself from the idea that he is superior and more intelligent because of his greater degree of whiteness. He supports his colored heritage in his wish to be blacker and to develop a strong sense of community with others of his race. He is exhibiting a solidarity and sense of admiration for his fellow slaves. Sadly, in Stowe’s novel, George is a rare case, and the only character that does not fall into the derogatory pattern of colorism.

It is difficult to approach the subject of colorism without referencing the slaves of Augustine St. Clare. Adolph the butler is one such example of a man who considers himself elevated above his fellow slaves. He is first seen as “a highly-dressed young mulatto man, evidently a very distingue personage, attired in the ultra extreme of the mode, and gracefully waving a scented cambric handkerchief in his hand” (139). Adolph’s form of dress conveys his extreme concern with appearances, in terms of fashion and ultimately skin color. He purposely garbs himself in opulence to make his status known. When Tom arrives with Augustine and Eva for the first time, Adolph “stood negligently leaning against the banisters, examining Tom through an opera-glass, with an air that would have done credit to any dandy living” (140). The butler is constantly referenced with very aristocratic terms. His mannerisms, speech, and haughtiness that he greets Tom with convey that he is very fond of the higher status his skin color gives him. Adolph even goes as far as to wear Augustine’s clothes. This action nearly renders him as a caricature in his self-absorption and portrayal of a gentility that puts his master

to shame. Colorism in terms of Adolph's character also manifests after St. Clare's death. There is open animosity between Adolph and Sambo, one of Simon Legree's overseers, during the slave sale.

"Lor, now, how touchy we is,--we white niggers! Look at us now!" and Sambo gave a ludicrous imitation of Adolph's manner; "here's de airs and graces. We've been in a good family, I specs." "Yes," said Adolph; "I had a master that could have bought you all for an old truck!" (278).

The argument between them perfectly exhibits the interplay of jealousy and arrogance that would occur between slaves with darker and lighter skin. The balance of superiority and inferiority has shifted, with Adolph the lowly slave being sold and Sambo the man in charge. Sambo is disgusted with Adolph's white behaviors, viewing them as an unnatural display. At the very same time, though the overseers are on the buying end of the deal, Adolph implies that Sambo and Quimbo are worthless. That shift in the balance of power serves to fuel their derision for each other instead of fostering a sense of sympathy between the men.

There is an extremely telling exchange that takes place between St. Clare's maids, exhibiting in full force the microcosm of colorism. After Topsy's arrival in the St. Clare household, the entire place is thrown into a state of upheaval. Ophelia is one of the most directly affected given that Topsy is going into her charge, but the slaves already in St. Clare's possession have a lot to say on the matter as well. "'Pah!' said Rosa and Jane, with supreme disgust; 'let her keep out of our way! What in the world Mas'r wanted another of these low niggers for, I can't see!'" (Stowe 204) These characters clearly feel superior to Topsy because she appears to be an ignorant, mischievously conniving, very black little girl. Using the word

“low,” the maids establish their opinions that darker, less cultured slaves do not merit respect nor equality. They do not take into account in their slurs that Topsy could have adopted that personality because of the harsh treatment she received all her life, immediately judging her at face value. Though not as drastic in their tastes as Adolph, Rosa and Jane feel entitled to their relatively comfortable situation, which permits their fine clothing and ability to own baubles.

The response to this statement concerning Topsy is, “You go long! NO more nigger dan you be, Miss Rosa,” said Dinah, who felt this last remark a reflection on herself. ‘You seem to tink yourself white folks. You ain’t nerry one, black nor white. I’d like to be one or turrer.’”

(204) There are few examples in the text which convey a sense of mutual disrespect between the mulattoes and dark slaves as keenly as this conversation. Rosa and Jane feel disdain for those who are darker and less well-treated than they. On the other hand, Dinah reveals an equally dismal view. Though the maids view their whiteness as something to be prided upon, Dinah labels it as a flaw which prevents them from fitting into either world. There is absolutely no solidarity at all between these particular characters, even though their situations in life are so similar and St. Clare handles them all more or less without preference. The way that Dinah says that she would rather be “one or turrer” is interesting because of the way it sets up the opposition between white and black. She does not chastise the maids by proclaiming immediate pride in being black. Instead, she expresses that there is some latent desire in her that would not balk at being white. In the broken dialect that Stowe gives her dark characters (which mulattoes notably do not possess in her writing), to be “turrer,” would be the inferior choice of those two options.

Cassy is a woman who was not as fortunate as her daughter Eliza with her lot in earlier life, ill-used by white men. Her initial description is somewhat confusing in the way the only

darkness mentioned about her color is that of her eyes: “But her eye was the most remarkable feature,--so large, so heavily black, overshadowed by long lashes of equal darkness, and so wildly, mournfully despairing” (298). She could practically be mistaken for a white woman, except for the revealing introduction where she toils in the field. She sees the world through black eyes, and it is that part of her nature which determines her social stature. She shows no true kindness to her fellow slaves in the field, and only decides to work there out of spite. This power to make such a choice sets her apart and links her to other slaves at the same time. Cassy has an advantage of power over Legree that none of the other slaves possess. Yet this power comes at the price of being rendered a sexual object. This unfortunate side effect of beauty in a slave could have been the means through which she connected with Legree’s other slaves, but she is apathetic towards them. She helps Tom out of a difficult situation, for his kindness is unmistakable and given freely to all without reservation. Regardless, Cassy’s coldness does not totally thaw until Legree purchases a younger replacement for her.

The only character to whom Cassy shows true warmth is Emmeline, a fellow girl of mixed race in whom Cassy can see a younger version of herself. “When Legree brought Emmeline to the house, all the smouldering embers of womanly feeling flashed up in the worn heart of Cassy, and she took part with the girl; and a fierce quarrel ensued between her and Legree” (313). No other slave has merited this level of empathy, commitment and kindness from her. Cassy hides out with the younger girl in the course of her scheme, but she extends that shelter of her protection to no one else. On the contrary, her relationship with the black overseers Sambo and Quimbo is one of resentment and hatred. Her treatment of them is nothing short of haughty, and the men’s elevated position destroys and distorts the kinship that they might have

had with blacks of any skin color. There is really a stark difference between these two pairs, even down to the nature of their names, with more refined monikers reserved for those with whiter skin. When one compares titles like Emmeline and Quimbo, it would seem that the two came from different cultures altogether.

Interestingly enough, Frederick Douglass hardly makes any references at all to degree of color in Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass. There is a reference to his white paternity on the very first page of the narrative, but this is essentially where it ends. This is a telling aspect. Douglass puts himself on equal turf with the rest of the slaves he describes. For him, the main focus of the matter was that they all shared the burden and oppression of slavery. This was a prevalent concept in Douglass' speeches and writings, to avoid using racial terms. Leslie Friedman Goldstein notes that, "It is characteristic of Douglass that in [his] message to his oppressed 'fellow countrymen,' he nowhere mentions race or even color. He speaks instead in terms of 'brethren,' of 'fellow countrymen,' or in the vague, 'you' or 'we'" (465). Rather than a lack of racial pride, this portrays Douglass' intense desire for those of all races to be seen and described on equal terms, as citizens with all the inherent rights attached to that title.

Douglass made no mystique of color; he did not argue for any instinctive or natural bond among men who shared the physical characteristics of skin color, hair texture, etc... In other words, for Douglass it was not color per se which created the duty of racial loyalty, but it was the fact that to be "colored" in America meant to be linked to derogatory prejudice, to the slander of inferiority, to social and political injustice, and to slavery itself (465).

Goldstein cements the point that struggles and experiences particular to those of mixed race were not explored as deeply as the ones that overtook all slaves as a whole, whether they were octaroons or the darkest skin shade possible. This first narrative conveys a very different approach to mulatto-black relations that would have been seen in situations such as the complications with Topsy. As someone who is of mixed race himself, it is important to realize that Douglass does not exhibit a sense of his greater self-worth in relation to any of the other slaves. While admirable, a shortcoming of this is the inability to express that the severity his experience may actually have been altered by his white lineage.

The most direct reference that Douglass makes to color is in the very beginning of the story. In his matter-of-fact discussion of his parentage, he declares his biracial nature up front.

My mother was named Harriet Bailey. She was the daughter of Isaac and Betsey Bailey, both colored, and quite dark. My mother was of a darker complexion than either my grandmother or grandfather. My father was a white man. He was admitted to be such by all I ever heard speak of my parentage” (Douglass 1).

Here, the only adjective used to describe his paternal relatives is the darkness of their skin. His mother and father are set up in terms of polar opposites, at least in physical terms. Perhaps the most significant thing about this section is that the members of his own family are the people he speaks of in terms of color. There is less emphasis on his love for equality in that respect. He paints the stark difference in the balance of power between his parents simply because of the color of their skin.

The revisions of My Bondage, My Freedom are more focused on Douglass’ biracial

identity, and his good qualities being shaped by the black half of his being. This combatted the notion that the development of his faculties was made possible by his white blood. Douglass' mother proved her cleverness in achieving literacy, a difficult task considering her circumstances. He fully credits his intelligence to her. He also makes distinctions based on color as opposed to the earlier version of his life's narrative. This has the impression of being influenced by Stowe's work, considering her great success with *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as well as Douglass' very public admiration of and correspondence with her. The depiction of his mother is greatly fleshed out. Douglass references his mother as "tall, and finely proportioned; of deep black, glossy complexion, has regular features, and among the other slaves, was remarkably sedate in her manners" (52). He goes on to compare her to an image of an Egyptian pharaoh, effectively transforming the "regular" nature of her features into something queenly. In other words, to be black is to be majestic. Douglass flips the idea that to be darker is to be less of a person, a mark of ugliness or lack of status. On the contrary, he uses skin color to identify the people who enter his life in *My Bondage, My Freedom*, filling the pages with references to his colored friends and brothers. He uses that darkness of their skin to reference their beauty, strength, and goodness.

When Douglass describes the group of children he lived among at the plantation, it is in terms of "black, brown, copper colored, and nearly white." In the earlier narrative he simply describes them as "children" with no reference at all to their appearances in terms of skin tone. In regard to these children, Douglass states that "Color makes no difference with a child. Are you a child with wants, tastes and pursuits common to children, not put on, but natural? then, were you black as ebony you would be welcome to the child of alabaster whiteness" (77). In their youth,

they embrace their core similarities, are blind to those differences in each other, and that differentiation based on color is a practice that is conditioned into children later on. This change in their physical description is very telling about the full spectrum of colors that would coexist on the same plantation. Douglass' musings on the nature of slavery, about the superiority of white versus blacks in the slave system as a whole, express his rejection of intra-racial racism.

Then, too, I found that there were puzzling exceptions to this theory of slavery on both sides, and in the middle. I knew of blacks who were not slaves; I knew of whites who were not slaveholders; and I knew of persons who were nearly white, who were slaves. Color, therefore, was a very unsatisfactory basis for slavery. (90).

As a man of mixed race, this is a powerful statement. He goes a step beyond Stowe's character of George, refusing to dwell on a desire to be blacker and seeing no reason to apologize for his lineage. He does not portray blackness as a condition that is solely linked to the misery of slavery because of the existence of free colored people. Douglass treats whiteness as neither an advantage nor a disadvantage, because of the existence of those with white skin in both those who wield the whip and those who suffer under its blows. He does not diminish the importance of color in asserting identity, but he completely discards its use as a measuring stick between masters and slaves and between slaves themselves.

Frederick Douglass and Harriet Beecher Stowe knew each other well and corresponded with each other openly. It was inevitable that an exchange of ideas would come of this, which would also make itself apparent in their writings. Douglass also was very public in his admiration of Stowe's work and what she had accomplished in terms of abolition. The only piece of fiction ever written by Douglass, "The Heroic Slave," was very heavily influenced by Harriet

Beecher Stowe and Uncle Tom's Cabin. It is listed by a compendium on Uncle Tom's Cabin as one of the novel's children. Frederick Douglass wrote an article in his newspaper entitled "Stealing the Thunder," which spoke of the way in which, according to Robert B. Stepto, "many books...followed close upon Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel in an attempt to gain a corner of the market Uncle Tom's Cabin had singlehandedly created" (135). Solomon Northup is one of the authors he references following a bit too closely in Stowe's footsteps. This could almost be considered hypocritical considering Douglass' own responses to that popularity in the form of My Bondage, My Freedom as well as "The Heroic Slave." However, Stepto does not feel this is the case in the larger picture of things.

The relationship between Uncle Tom's Cabin and..."The Heroic Slave" (1853) provides an even more interesting study of antislavery textual conversations, partly because Douglass, unlike Northup, was easily Stowe's equal as a prominent antislavery activist and partly because Douglass and Stowe knew each other and corresponded repeatedly during the period in which their antislavery fictions were being composed. Although dedicated alike to the task of eradicating slavery and to other causes such as the promotion of temperance, Stowe and Douglass differed profoundly on certain related issues...Although they debated these matters directly in their correspondence, and indirectly in their public pronouncements, it can also be said that they conversed further in the pages of their antislavery fictions (136).

Instead of criticizing that certain ideas may have been borrowed from Stowe, Stepto is instead emphasizing the fact that it was all part of a greater discourse. It was not a robbery of ideas on either side, but a deliberate exchange of alternate viewpoints. In the case of colorism, Stowe's portrayal of slaves of differing skin colors may very well have provoked that same spirit with

which the two famous authors debated their beliefs. The notion that Douglass was influenced by Stowe did not place him on the same level as authors who may have been hungry for the profits and attention her novel was reaping in. Stepto also approaches the differing ways in which the two authors characterize color in their narratives overall.

Their handling of the issue of color is also significant here. In Uncle Tom's Cabin, Tom is dark and George is fair, a time-hallowed arrangement supporting all the myths of black meekness and white aggression...In "The Heroic Slave," Douglass squarely challenges those myths, refusing to bifurcate his hero as well as emphasizing his blackness and valor alike (150).

In this case, Frederick Douglass is not only responding to the methods that Stowe used in her portrayal of color, he is improving upon it. He smashed to bits all those stereotypes which Stowe supported in that novel. In the interplay between her characters, the difference in treatment and opinion with which mulatto and darker characters is hard to miss. Her concepts of the superiority which white blood granted to mixed race slaves may very well have leaked through into the words and feelings of the characters, but that does not change the fact that colorism continued to be a problem plaguing African American culture long after her life span was complete. Frederick Douglass was a living example of resistance against colorism. Being a biracial man, the way in which he lived out his life and told the story of it exhibited his desire to identify with his mother's race while not totally scorning his father's. He may have struggled with a balance in his writings, from withholding mention of blackness to glorifying it, but it was a step in the right

direction. The fact was that Douglass' written works paid homage to her instead of plagiarizing, and in the end he improved upon the formula which she set up in Uncle Tom's Cabin.

That discourse which took place between Stowe and Douglass, where the use of colorism was ingrained into the characters and then challenged by the latter, is still a prevalent force. There lies the importance in continuing to study the appearance of colorism or reaction against it: the fact that it has not been eradicated from society. On the contrary, it is traceable in works of literature throughout the twentieth century and still makes its appearance in novels and stories today. Colorism will be of vital importance for as long as this issue remains an aspect of the African American community. Douglass' first narrative barely touched upon the idea of intra-racial racism at all; Stowe featured this concept as a defining quality in character personalities and their interactions with each other; and Douglass' later narrative ameliorates these issues by portraying blackness in a positive light. This process of healing the damage to images caused by racial stereotypes and differentiation refers to a need in literature and society as a whole to undergo those same measures.

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ART CREDITS

STEFANIE CANDELARIO
(BACK PAGE)

"NOT FROM CONCENTRATE-THANK YOU AND GOODNIGHT," THIS IS A FAST GROWING SKA BAND THAT IS FORMED BY DIFFERENT PEOPLE WITH DIFFERENT TASTES IN MUSIC. WITH THAT THEY MANAGE TO CREATE A UNIQUE SOUND THAT EVERYONE CAN ENJOY."

JENNIFER DELUCA
(INTERIOR PAGES)

"THE TWO PHOTOGRAPHS ARE A PART OF AN INTIMATE SERIES IN WHICH I PLACE THE FOCUS ON THREE FEMALE SUBJECTS, ALL OF WHOM I FIND ENDEARING TO ME. ONE SUBJECT SHOWS ME A PHOTOGRAPH SHE HAS TAKEN OF A BLOSSOMING FLOWER, AND THE OTHER IS IN THE PROCESS OF PATCHING A HOLE IN MY LIVING ROOM WALL. I ONLY WISH TO CAPTURE THE RESIN OF THEIR BEAUTY DURING THE COURSE OF SIMPLE ACTIVITIES THEY WILLINGLY CHOSE TO PERFORM. IT WAS MY SINGULAR MOTIVE."

MARIYA ZHURMOV
(FRONT COVER)

"NIGHT, THE BELOVED, NIGHT, WHEN WORDS FADE AND THINGS COME ALIVE, WHEN THE DESTRUCTIVE ANALYSIS OF DAY IS DONE, AND ALL THAT IS TRULY IMPORTANT BECOMES WHOLE AND SOUND AGAIN, WHEN MAN REASSEMBLES HIS FRAGMENTARY SELF AND GROWS WITH THE CALM OF A TREE."

~ ANTOINE DE SAINT-EXUPÉRY





INKWELL