Amalgam:
A Multidisciplinary Research Journal

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Volume 5 (2010)
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SUBMISSION INFORMATION:
Amalgam accepts original and critical research from any of the liberal arts disciplines at USI. Submitters for Volume 6, tentatively scheduled for Spring 2011, must be either currently enrolled or graduate no earlier than December 2010. Submissions are judged blindly by Amalgam’s faculty advisors. While manuscripts may be of any length, students should understand that their papers might be abridged to fit the journal’s requirements. The journal uses Modern Language Association (MLA) style by default, but allows specific essays to retain the style that best conveys their content (for example, a psychology paper in the American Psychology Association [i.e., APA style]).

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The publication of this journal was made possible by the assistance of the University of Southern Indiana’s Liberal Arts Council.
Amalgam

The Multidisciplinary Journal of the University of Southern Indiana’s College of Liberal Arts

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Preface

Marcel Proust once stated that “The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes but in having new eyes.” Over the past five years, the Amalgam has continued to represent the ways in which students benefit from scholarly pursuits, and this year’s volume serves as a reminder of what undergraduate students are capable of achieving. The methods and topics vary among the disciplines in the College of Liberal Arts, whether the student is researching the impact of flooding on a local area or examining the use of cultural legends in contemporary literature. The opportunities for these students to publish these new perspectives, however, would not have been possible without the guidance and assistance of many people within the USI College of Liberal Arts. Thanks and recognition is extended to the faculty advisors—Dr. Kearns, Dr. Aley, and Dr. Hitchcock—for reviewing and revising this year’s submissions. Our gratitude also includes Dean Glassman and the Liberal Arts Council for supporting and funding the Amalgam for the fifth consecutive year.

The fifth issue presents a diverse collection of ideas and research from many areas of study within the College of Liberal Arts. Christopher Westfall discusses the actions of the 75th Infantry Division during the Battle of the Bulge, and he examines the successes of the division despite their lack of experience in the field. From the first essay we move on to Celeste R. Mandley’s analysis of John Smith’s travels prior to reaching the Americas and the forces that may have propelled him to travel overseas. Sheena Pfefferkorn addresses the issue of teenage dating violence and what actions can be taken in confronting the problem. Joshua G. Orem explores early relations between the Harmonist Society and the Shakers during the early and mid-1800s. Amy Brown looks at the consistent flooding problem in Evansville, Indiana, and examines the social factors contributing to the impact experienced by the local population. In the journal’s final selection, Casey Blackmore uses the legend of La Llorona to show how contemporary short stories written by Chicana and Native American women are questioning constructs of femininity in their own cultures.

We would also like to thank the students who submitted their essays for publication. The fifth volume of the Amalgam serves as a milestone for publishing excellent scholarly work by students in the College of Liberal Arts. In the future, we hope to continue working with students who seek a fresh perspective on the path to academic discovery.

Leah Weinzapfel
There is no shortage of famed American Army divisions from World War II. Many different divisions served from the beginning of the war until the very end, doing so while earning great distinction and honor. The 75th Infantry Division cannot be placed in this category, because it entered the war late and only served in combat for a short time. Nevertheless, the 75th distinguished itself so much during the Battle of the Bulge that it came to be considered among the elite units who served during World War II.

The 75th Infantry Division officially came into being on April 13, 1943 when it was activated at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri. The men who comprised the 75th came from many different backgrounds. Some of them were drafted and others had enlisted. Some men came from one of two different programs that had ended, the Army Specialized Training Program and the Air Cadet Corps, and others were under-aged men who were not able to go overseas with their original units. A Presidential Proclamation had recently been issued that required men to be 18 years 6 months to be sent overseas, and those individuals who did not fit this criterion were held in the United States until they became of age and then went overseas with different divisions.1

While the men of the 75th came to the division through many different paths they had one thing in common, they were extremely young. The average age of the men in the division was just 21.9 years when the division was activated in 1943, with many of the men having been drafted or enlisted right out of high school.2 This would not only make the 75th the youngest division in the Army, but would earn them the nickname the “Diaper Division,” though their actions in battle would eventually earn them a more respectable name.3

World War II officially began for the 75th Infantry Division when the division embarked from New York for Europe and the Western Front in November 1944. To get to the front, the men traveled by ship across the Atlantic Ocean. Some of the soldiers made the crossing on ships like the Edmund B. Alexander, a German ship captured during World War I,4 or on former ocean liners, such as the United States Army Transport Brazil.5 This resulted from the fact, that the Army needed to get as many men to Europe as possible and were willing to get them there by whatever means necessary.
The voyage across the Atlantic lasted approximately seven days, as the fleet, and all ships during the war, had to travel in a zigzag pattern to make it more difficult for them to be targets for submarines. Instead of going directly to the front, the men of the 75th stopped off in Swansea, South Wales for one month to train for their invasion of Europe.

While in Wales the men of the 75th captured many un-defended hills in preparation for what they would face once they reached the Western Front. During this time period, a few regiments of the division were fortunate enough to stay at Saint Donats Castle, a summer home of William Randolph Hearst. However, the enlisted men had to sleep in the castle’s pigpens.

After their month of training in Wales, the 75th finally departed for continental Europe and a chance to face their destiny in battle. To do so, the men boarded Landing Ship Tanks and Landing Craft Infantry to make the crossing of the English Channel. This trip usually took three to four hours. However, because of the numerous sunken ships in the Channel, underwater mines, and the confusion at the port of Le Havre, France, the trip lasted overnight.

Upon finally reaching continental Europe, the men of the 75th were greeted by the mass confusion of unloading and moving the many new soldiers and “mud that was from 6-inches to a foot deep.” Eventually, however, the 75th would get organized and reach their first stop on the continent, Yvetot, France. The soldiers of the 75th were finally ready for action, and it would not be long until they would see it. But instead of traveling south to meet up with the Ninth Army like they had originally been instructed, the 75th was sent to Belgium to aid the First Army against a growing German threat in the Ardennes Forest.

In December 1944, the German Army began its last great offensive in Belgium, in an attempt to cut the Allied Armies in half, and thus cut off their communication lines. The American divisions at the front in the Ardennes were greatly in need of assistance and reinforcements, and the 75th would play precisely this role. So, upon receiving their orders, the 75th Infantry Division left France and headed toward Belgium, and as one soldier later recalled, “left the mud and drove into more snow than I had ever seen.”

The 75th eventually arrived in Belgium on December 20 and set up camp in Tongres, they were finally in a combat area. It would not be for a couple more days that the division was finally placed on the front line, however, and the first opponent the soldiers faced was the fiercest enemy they would face during the Battle of the Bulge, the cold and snow. This situation was made even worse by the fact that a good supply line had yet to be created for the 75th, and as a result, their overshoes and snow-packs had yet to catch up to the soldiers.
So here the men of the 75th Infantry Division were, thousands of miles away from home, just days from going into battle for the first time, and in blistering cold weather. To make matters even worse, the men also had to contend with blinding snow storms, or white-outs, that sometimes came down so thick that soldiers “had to hold on to the man in front of them to keep from getting separated.” Amidst all of this, the men of the 75th also had to prepare for battle. Though, as Bill Wells later recalled, “The cold was what was on our minds rather than getting shot,” because the cold was what the men had to contend with every day.

The Battle of the Bulge began a few days before the 75th arrived on the front lines. The weather conditions and confusion of battle had slowed the division down, causing them to arrive a few days after what was needed. However, on December 24, 1944, the 75th Infantry Division finally arrived at the front and was ready to make a name for itself at the Battle of the Bulge.

When the 75th finally arrived at the front, they were placed in reserve since they were green troops, who were still untried in battle. It was not long, however, until two regiments of the 75th, the 289th Regimental Combat Team (RCT) and the 290th Regimental Combat Team, were en route to aid the 3rd Armored Division, which was involved in some heavy fighting with the German Army on the east wing of the VII Corps sector. The regiments did not arrive until late in the evening of December 24.

On Christmas Eve, when the two regiments reached the front, they provided the much-needed infantry firepower in the sector. The Corps faced at least five Panzer and four infantry divisions spearheading the German drive towards Liege, and according to Major General Ray E. Porter, “There could have been no more historic moment for the men of the 75th Division to join battle.” Private Fred Byers later recalled that when the 290th RCT arrived at the front, “the sky looked like the Fourth of July.”

To establish an effective battle line in the sector, and to stop the German advance, the American Army needed to seize the high ground around the Hotton-Soy road, and this is the reason the 289th and 290th RCTs were ordered to the region. Almost immediately upon their arrival at the front, the 290th was placed in a defensive position around Petit Han, a town north of Hotton. At around 1600 on December 24, the 290th received orders to assemble for an attack that would begin two hours later. However, because of much confusion and constant orders and counter-orders, the attack did not begin until 2330.

The 2nd and 3rd Battalions of the 290th RCT were chosen to make the attack, and become the first soldiers of the 75th Infantry Division to see combat. At 2330, the battalions began their assault across an “open, snow-covered meadow beyond which lay the ridge line objective,” and
because of the open terrain and the inexperience of the troops, casualties were severe.\textsuperscript{18} Despite this baptism of fire, the battalions reached the ridgeline on the other side of the meadow and held the location. By mid-afternoon of Christmas Day, more infantry units reached the area held by the 290\textsuperscript{th} and they were prepared to make a fresh assault.

As the next assault began on Christmas Day, Company K, 290\textsuperscript{th} RCT, supported on the flanks by Companies I and L, was set to make an assault up a hill that controlled the approach to Hotton. Private James Parker, who was assigned to the second wave of the assault, was waiting to move when a soldier who had been part of the first attack came down the hill and told the soldiers, “There’s [sic] nobody still alive up there. They’re [sic] all nothing but dead Americans and dead Germans.”\textsuperscript{19} The initial assault had been pinned down by machine gun and mortar fire. Fortunately, the second wave encountered less resistance and the soldiers incurred fewer casualties and seized the German position, ending the threat to Hotton.

The 290\textsuperscript{th} RCT was the first unit of the division to make contact with the Germans, but not long after their assault, the 289\textsuperscript{th} RCT joined them in battle. It was the job of the 289\textsuperscript{th} to connect with the 290\textsuperscript{th} near the city of Grandmenil, helping the American Army clear the Hotton-Soy road of German forces.

By 0300 on December 25, the German Army had gained control of Grandmenil and was prepared to move farther west. It was the job of the 289\textsuperscript{th} RCT to not only stop this advance, but to take the city of Grandmenil. So, the 289\textsuperscript{th} assembled to the west of the town in preparation for a dawn attack, with the objective of driving the Germans out of the wooded hills around the city.\textsuperscript{20}

At roughly 0800, the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Battalion of the 289\textsuperscript{th} RCT set off to complete its assigned tasks in the woods southwest of Grandmenil. At the same time, the rest of the regiment moved to the right, in an attempt to push the Germans back from the Aisne River.\textsuperscript{21} This initial attack failed to take the town, but prevented the Germans from gaining the room they needed to move their army.

Following this failed assault, the 289\textsuperscript{th} was ordered to block the main highway between Grandmenil and Erezee and a secondary road running northwest toward the Ourthe River.\textsuperscript{22} This may seem like a much easier task than trying to assault up a hill, but the Germans began using deceptive tactics that made the assignment much more difficult. During the Battle of the Bulge, some Germans began wearing American uniforms and using American tanks to confuse American forces. As the 289\textsuperscript{th} manned its roadblock, an American Sherman tank approached. Since it was an American tank, the inexperienced soldiers of the 289\textsuperscript{th} eased their positions. At this very same moment, a series of German Panthers ap-
peared behind the Sherman and opened fire. The battalion manning the roadblock took a good many casualties, but was fortunately able to set up enough of a defense to turn the tanks back to Grandmenil. It was not until nightfall on December 26, that a battalion of the 289th and the 3rd Armored Division finally captured Grandmenil and the 289th rejoined the 290th. Not long after this, a message arrived from Major General Matthew Ridgeway, the Corps Commander:

I want every man imbued with the idea that here in this sector is where the decision of this war will be reached. Every man will contribute his utmost to putting the 75th up alongside the best divisions in the American Army.

The soldiers of the 75th took this message to heart, and over the next couple days resisted every attack the Germans threw at them and successfully held their ground.

At midnight on New Years Eve, every artillery gun in the sector opened fire on the Germans. Over the next couple days, the fighting quieted down significantly from what it had been, though the shelling remained constant and the men continued to be freezing cold. In the following days, the division was reassigned to the VII Corps, “the Corps that always attacked,” and not long after, the 290th RCT was called to support another division cross the Ourthe River, with the 289th and 291st left in support. The 289th and 291st were not left in support for long, however, and were moved to the reserve of the First Army. This too only lasted for a short time, as the men did not get the rest they needed and the 289th and 291st were sent back to the line to take over the sector that was being held by the 82nd Airborne.

From this new position, the immediate objectives of the regiments were the strongly defended towns of Salmchateau and Vielsalm. The capture of these two towns was imperative to the American advance, and the two regiments assembled along the Salm River for the assault. For days, the soldiers braved the icy waters of the river and laid in snow drifts for hours to watch the enemy and gain information in preparation for what they knew was coming.

Eventually, the 290th RCT rejoined the division. At this point, the division should have been rather strong; both the 289th and 290th RCTs were sufficiently battle tested, and yet, this was not the case because the men from each regiment were sick from the cold and in need of rest. The soldiers of the 75th had no time to rest and recuperate, however, because at 0914 on January 14, 1945, they received a message stating, “Your division attacks tomorrow. H-Hour: 0300.”

This attack by the 75th was not an easy one by any means, as the Germans were heavily entrenched along the banks of the Salm, with camouflaged bunkers and men hidden in the cellars and stone buildings.
Despite all of this, at 0250, artillery and tanks began a ten-minute barrage to weaken the German defenses for the attack. At precisely 0300, the 75th moved across the river under the cover of darkness.

Once across, 2nd Battalion, 289th RCT by-passed Salmchateau and captured Bech, the town directly to the east. The first mission of the assault was complete. At roughly the same time, the 3rd Battalion, 289th RCT captured Salmchateau, and engineers began erecting a bridge across the river, making troop movement into the fight much easier. The 1st Battalion, 289th RCT attempting to take the high ground north of Bech, received the greatest casualties of the day. Despite the high number of casualties they incurred, the 1st Battalion was still able to accomplish its objective.

The division’s attack continued on January 16. Despite the fact that the division destroyed many tanks and took many prisoners, the advance was slow and the 75th had to fight for every inch of ground they took. This perseverance paid off, and by the morning of January 17, the 75th accomplished their objective of taking the towns and breaking through the German Army.

While the 289th RCT was making their assault on Salmchateau, the 291st RCT launched a successful attack on the villages of Priesmont and Ville du Bois. The 290th RCT was not left out when it came to victories at this time, as by January 17, they seized the towns of Petite Their, Patteaux and Neuville, taking more than 700 prisoners.

Troop movement was not any easier once the regiments took their objective towns. German mines were littered throughout the towns, and very few could be defused unless someone happened to come upon a mine chart left by the Germans. The soldiers of the 75th also faced much resistance from Germans who had hidden themselves deep in the snow banks and were slowed down considerably by snow getting in men’s boots and clothing that became soaked, resulting in many casualties from frostbite and trench foot. Despite all of this, “no one thought of anything but going forward.”

On January 22, the 75th began a new attack that was aimed at taking the towns of Commanster, Braunlauf, Muldingen, and Aldringen. Prior to the division’s entrance into the towns, the artillery softened up the German opposition, but this did not make the attack any easier, because the Germans fought “like cornered rats” and had to be weeded out of each building they occupied.

It eventually took a “systematic house-to-house grenade campaign” by the soldiers to defeat the Germans barricaded in the towns and successfully clear them out of the town. The tedious nature of the campaign was well worth it, as the capture of Aldringen helped to bring about a close to the Battle of the Bulge on January 24, 1945. The Allied Army
had successfully stopped the German advance and even driven the German Army back behind the Siegfried Line.

During the 75th's involvement in the Battle of the Bulge, December 24 to January 24, the division suffered 407 killed, 1707 wounded, and 234 missing in battle. On top of this, the division suffered 2623 casualties from trench foot and frostbite as a result of the snow and cold the men faced everyday.\textsuperscript{36} While even one casualty is one too many, the number of casualties the 75th incurred during the Battle of the Bulge was remarkably low for a division going into battle for the first time, particularly when their first battle is one that would become one of the biggest battles of the entire war. This alone is testament to just how well the division performed during the battle.

The 75th Infantry Division entered the Battle of the Bulge not only as the youngest division in the American Army, but also as a completely untested unit. Despite all of this, the 75th fought shoulder to shoulder with some of the most accomplished divisions in the American Army, fought bravely against some of the best forces in the German Army, and emerged from the Battle of the Bulge as an intricate part of the Allied Army. Founded in the division's actions during the Battle of the Bulge would not only be the division's traditional motto, “Always Get There Somehow,” but the division was also elevated from the status of being the “Diaper Division” to that of the “Bulge Busters.”
NOTES


3 Bill Wells, interview.

4 Lawrence Verga, interview.


8 Bill Wells, interview.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 James Butz, interview.

12 Bill Wells, interview.

13 Ibid.


15 *Story of the 75th Infantry Division*.


18 Ibid., 594.

19 James Parker, interview.


21 Ibid., 592.


24 *Story of the 75th Infantry Division*. 
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Joseph Evans, interview.
35 Story of the 75th Infantry Division.
36 Bill Wells, interview.
CELESTE R. MANDLEY

THE MAN BEHIND THE MYTH: CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH PRIOR TO POCAHONTAS

A great deal has been written about John Smith, the “the real founder of Virginia” (Simms, 10), and John Smith, the supposed love interest of Pocahontas (film, *Pocahontas*), and even John Smith: “braggart and buffoon” as he is called by Alden T. Vaughan (Montgomery, 37). Thomas Fuller wrote in 1661 that Smith’s accounts were “beyond belief, to some beyond truth…Yet we have two witnesses to attest them, the prose and the pictures, both in his own book; and it soundeth much to the diminution of his deeds, that he alone is the herald to publish and proclaim them” (Montgomery, 37). David Lloyd wrote a satirical poem on the life of John Smith, titled “The legend of Captain Iones” quoted in part by Montgomery:

...Tis known
Iones fancies no additions but his own;
Nor need we stir our brains for glorious stuff.
To paint his praise, himself both done enough
(Montgomery, 37)

According to Dennis Montgomery, John Smith was a “compiler and writer of exuberant traveler’s tales, an explorer, a mapmaker, a geographer, an ethnographer, a soldier, a governor, a trader, a sailor, an admiral, and the editor of a seaman’s handbook” (Montgomery, 35). I will attempt in this paper to tell the little known story of John Smith: pirate, slave, adventurer, and soldier before 1607.

The son of George and Alice Smith was baptized on the ninth of January 9, 1580 (Barbour, 3). The child they named John was to become the center of a controversy that has persisted in historical circles even today. I have found four primary theaters of thought concerning the life of John Smith. The first is the writings of John Smith himself. One might suppose that this would be a credible source of information, as Smith would certainly have more knowledge of the events in his life than any later historian. However, John Smith lived in Shakespeare’s England. It was common to make the events and people in biographical works larger
John Smith would have been an anomaly if he had not been somewhat of a romantic in that age…These surroundings included not only Queen Elisabeth, Shakespeare, and James I, but also “the unabashed dishonesty of the greatest thinker of the time, Sir Francis Bacon” (Barbour, 401).

The second school of thought regarding Smith examines the inaccuracies in Smith’s accounts and determines that John Smith was nothing more than a liar. Some believe that he intentionally foisted his lies on his readers in order to take credit for the deeds of others. This school of thought is concentrated primarily on the writings of Henry Adams and Charles Deane. They are based on the diary of Edward Maria Wingfield, a man who had reason to strongly dislike Smith. Smith and Wingfield developed an antipathy for each other on the voyage to Jamestown, which certainly did not abate when Smith was instrumental in getting Wingfield deposed as governor of the colony.

Another school of thought is that of authors such as William Gilmore Simms, who wrote The Life of Captain John Smith the Founder of Virginia in 1867. Simms treats the words of John Smith as if every syllable were God breathed. His prose in writing about Smith leaves one feeling that the author suffered from a severe case of hero worship. For example, he writes “His story is one of those real romances which mock the incidents of ordinary fiction…which lift into heroic dignity a name so little significant in itself” (Simms, 10, 11). Anything that Smith did that was unethical was excused on account of his “enthusiasm of character” (Simms, 23).

I have chosen as the primary source of information for this paper, The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith, by Philip L. Barbour. Mr. Barbour neither worships nor defiles the name of John Smith, but has taken every effort to physically trace the footsteps of John Smith around the globe to verify what can be verified and to shed light on events not previously recorded.

John Smith’s autobiography, The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith begins with Smith telling his readers that at the tender age of thirteen he “Sold his satchel, books, and all he had, intending secretly to get to Sea, but that his father’s death stayed him” (Smith, 821,822). According to Barbour, George Smith died in 1596 when Smith was sixteen years old. It is possible that Smith had, at thirteen, a driving desire to go to sea, in light of the fact that the Spanish Armada had been defeated just four years earlier in 1588. Smith was not prevented by his father’s death, but by his father, who apprenticed him to the merchant Thomas Sendall. When his father died, Smith ended his
indenture to Sendall and embarked upon his adventures (Barbour, 8, 9).

He first traveled in the company of his landlord’s two sons, Robert and Peregrine Bertie. Unfortunately they did not have the funds to support him and he embarked on a life as a soldier under the command of Captain Joseph Duxbury in the Netherlands for a couple of years from 1597 to 1599 (Barbour, 11-13). After this, he returned to Lincolnshire to live once more on the land of his father’s landlord, Lord Willoughby. This is a very peculiar period in Smith’s life, but one that prepared him uniquely for the future life he would lead. He camped out in the woods and built “a Pavilion of boughs, where only in his clothes he lay” and began to study on his own (Smith, 823). He mentions two books that he studied from, which were most likely borrowed from the library of Lord Willoughby. Machiavelli’s The Art of War which was translated into English by Peter Whitehorn, and would likely have included Biringuccio’s Pirotechnia and a work by Marcus Aurelius that according to Barbour could have been either Dial of Princes or Book of Marcus Aurelius. While living as a hermit he practiced horsemanship and the gentlemanly art of jousting, referred to by Smith as “lance and Ring” (Smith, 823). His peculiar behavior as a hermit brought him to the attention of Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, and his riding master, Theodore Paleologue (Barbour, 15). Smith went to live at Clinton’s estate, Tatershall Castle, to be further trained in horsemanship by Paleologue. One might surmise that his experiences in the Netherlands led him to believe that there was much to be learned about the art of warfare that he was unlikely to learn in the British army.

Having thus trained for war in his own manner, in the summer of 1600, Smith set out to find one. Paleologue had filled his head with tales of the heathen Turks, and he determined to fight them, despite the fact that England had no part in the war between the Holy Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire. In his quest to join in this fight, Smith tells meeting four French “gallants” who had promised to get him an introduction to the Duchess of Mercour, who would surely then give them all letters to the Duke. The Duke was at the time a general in Rudolph’s Imperial Army. The four young men then proceeded to rob Smith with the aid of the ship’s captain. Other passengers on the ship were outraged at the captain’s part in the trickery, which could not be proven. One of his fellow travelers assisted Smith in reaching Mortain in northern France. He was warmly received there and his misfortunes were lamented. He was invited to stay as long as he cared to and he would be supplied with whatever he needed.

Being a man of action though, John Smith grew restless and set out once again to try to find a way to the war with the Ottomans. He
traveled to the Bay of St. Michel and was not able to get immediate passage on a ship going where he wanted to go. While there, he came across one of the four “gallants” and pulled out his sword. Several villagers came to the aid of the man who was seemingly attacked with no provocation, but Smith managed to get him to confess his crime. Unfortunately there was no recompense for the money that had been stolen from Smith, and the man was allowed to leave. Smith traveled south and reached Marseilles in the spring of 1601 (Barbour, 21).

At Marseilles he boarded a ship to Italy. The ship was occupied primarily by Catholics from various nations going to Rome (Barbour, 22). After Smith boarded this ship in Marseilles, the weather took a turn for the worse. The inhabitants of the ship “discovered that he was the only Protestant on board. He was the Jonah, accordingly, to whom their misfortune was ascribed” (Simms, 27). They thought that if he were thrown overboard, the winds would cease. After he was thrown overboard, he made his way to an uninhabited island and was fortunately picked up by a nearby French vessel, captained by La Roche. It was on this journey that Smith got an introduction to piracy. The captain unloaded their freight in Alexandria then began to sail back to Italy, when they spotted a French “argosy” (Barbour, 23). La Roche requested permission to board and was answered with cannon fire. (There was a keen rivalry between French and English ships in the area, and I cannot imagine La Roche expected a warm welcome aboard.) La Roche responded by firing often and accurately on the ship and nearly sank her. During the next twenty-four hours, the crew unloaded silks, velvets, cloth of gold and tissue, and gold and silver. While the loot from these activities helped fill Smith’s empty pockets, he did not embrace this occupation and parted company with La Roche on friendly terms (Barbour, 22, 23).

Smith then traveled in a roundabout fashion to Rome and chanced to see Pope Clement VIII say Mass. While in Rome, Smith made the acquaintance of Robert Parsons, S.J., an Irish Jesuit, who according to Barbour, was well known for political intrigue. Smith does not reveal his reason for traveling to Rome, but Barbour believes that he may have gone on some errand involving Parsons (Barbour, 25).

Finally, after leaving Rome, Smith was introduced to Lieutenant Colonel Hanns Jakob Kisell, who sent him to fight the Turks in the regiment of the Count of Modrusch. This company was made up entirely of Protestants (Barbour, 26). Smith began to make a name for himself here in a battle at Limbach. Two groups of the same army were separated with the enemy between them, Smith and Kisell on one side and General Eibiswald on the other, neither with any means of delivering a message to
the other side. Smith suggested a method of signaling, which he had learned in the Pyrotechnics book and had earlier shared with Eibiswald. The signaling device was made up of three lights placed on a high hill that could be seen by Eibiswald’s troops. Kisell agreed and Smith sent the message letting Eibiswald know when and where Kisell’s troops would be attacking the enemy between them. Smith further assured victory with another Machiavellian tactic. He had several strings set up in the woods with smaller strings tied on at intervals. Shortly before they were to attack the enemy these smaller strings were lit, looking like the matches used to light rifle charges in battle. This caused the enemy to believe that the army lay in that direction ready to fight. While half of the Turkish troops were in the woods getting tangled in strings while looking for their enemy, the combined forces of Kisell’s and Eibiswald’s troops cut down the remaining Turks in the middle. Smith’s part in this victory resulted in a promotion to Captain of 250 horsemen and an annual stipend from the Army (Barbour, 28, 29).

Smith’s next opportunity to use what he had learned in his wilderness academy was at Alba Regalis. This battle took place on October 15, 1601. Barbour located a reference and a drawing of this engagement in the Viennese Archives. (Barbour, 408) Smith made some devises that in today’s terms would be called grenades to be launched into the city before the actual attack. These devices are best described in Smith’s own words:

Having prepared forty of fifty round-bellied earthen pots, and filled them with hand gunpowder, then covered them with Pitch, mingled with Brimstone and Turpentine; and quartering as many musket bullets, that hung together but only at the center of the division, (Smith, 832)

He attached a wick to each of these devices to be lit before placing them into a sling. At midnight, the projectiles were lit and flung into the midst of the Turks, causing a panic and death, thus allowing the armies of the Duke of Mercoeur to overthrow the city that they believed to be impregnable (Barbour, 34). Once again, Smith had distinguished himself among his fellow soldiers. The accuracy of this account is authenticated by Michel Baudier in *Inventtaire di l’histoire generale des Turcs* in 1628 which is referenced by Barbour. Baudier describes “French troops attacking through a hail of missiles which included ‘pots à feu’” (Barbour, 408, 497)

The event which gave Smith the privilege of creating a coat of arms for himself was the defeat of three Turks in individual combat. Modrusch’s troops were sent to Transylvania to assist General Basta both in taking the region from Prince Zsigmond Bathory and in keeping it from the Turks. Modrusch was from the region of Transylvania himself and
chose to align himself with the Prince rather than with Basta. Smith did not seem to care who he fought for as long as he was fighting Turks and since he had already established himself with Modrusch, he fought with the Prince. While Modrusch was preparing to lay siege to the city, a challenge went out from the Turks for a champion from both sides to fight in single combat. The challenge was “to any Captain that had the command of a company, who durst combat with him for his head” (Smith, 838). Potential challengers from Modrusch’s army drew lots and Smith won the opportunity to fight (Figure 1). He met the Turkish challenger on horseback and defeated him quickly, presenting the head to General Szekely. The next day another challenge went out directly to Smith in an attempt to regain the head of the fallen Turk. Once again, Smith won the battle and presented the second head to General Szekely. The next challenge was presented by Smith himself who felt that, having fought two challenges, a third was in order.

While these challenges were being made and fought, General Szekely had been preparing to storm the Castle. The castle was taken, and while the army of Christians was celebrating, Prince Zsigmond awarded Captain Smith with the right to create a coat of arms bearing three Turk heads in honor of his accomplishments there and also promised to wear three Turk heads in his own colors to further honor Smith (Figure 2). More importantly, he was given the title of “an English Gentleman” (Barbour, 45-49). After this battle, Smith and Modrusch left Transylvania and joined back up with Basta’s army, only to taste defeat at Red Tower Pass (Barbour, 57). It was in this battle that Smith was injured and taken prisoner.

Smith tells of being purchased at auction by Bashaw Bogall as a gift for his intended bride. The bride to be, Charatza Tragabigzanda, began to take an interest in him and determined to send him to her brother so that he could be taught Turkish ways. However, when he reached the stronghold of her brother, Tymor Bashaw, he was not given the treatment he had been led to expect. Life became unbearable, Smith stated “for the best was so bad, a dog could hardly have lived to endure” (Barbour, 61). Smith’s opportunity for escape came during the threshing, when Smith was working alone in a field “more than a league from the Tymor’s house” (Barbour, 61). The Tymor began to beat Smith and Smith retaliated by bashing his head in and escaping.

Smith walked until he came to a caravan route with signs marked with symbols rather than words. There was a crescent pointing the way to Crimea, a sun for China, and a cross that Smith hoped would lead him into the Holy Roman Empire. He reached a wooden palisaded Muscovite
outpost and from there traveled to Yelets, Dankov, Lithuania, Poland, and at last reached the Holy Roman Empire. From there he set out to find Zsigmond Bathory in order to receive written credentials of his title as gentleman, and his right to wear the three Turk heads on his shield. He located Bathory in Leipzig, received not only his credentials, but also received 1500 ducats of gold, “to repair his losses” (Barbour, 65). Rather than head straight home after receiving his Patent of Nobility from Bathory, which had been his plan, he decided to travel a bit more. This time he went through Germany, the birthplace of Protestantism, France, and Spain, a dangerous place for a Protestant at the end of the Inquisition.

He ended up on a French man-of-war, which just happened to occasionally work the trade of pirate ship. Smith was apparently not aware of the nature of the voyage until it was too late to avoid being part of the action. After relieving one bark of its load of wine, they discovered that they were being followed by two Spanish warships. What ensued was a very long drawn out battle that resulted in twenty seven deaths and sixteen wounded onboard, but the ship Smith was on managed to escape and return to safer seas (Barbour, 70-72). According to Barbour, Smith likely returned to England in December of 1604 (Barbour, 417). After his recent adventures, Smith returned home to prepare for the greatest adventure of all, the colonization of Virginia.

It is unclear what lead Smith to choose Virginia as his next adventure. There is some speculation that he spent a short time in Ireland as a colonist there. According to Barbour, “An idle comment, recorded in scorn by an offended highborn gentleman, points to a trip by John Smith to Ireland, where ‘he begged like a rogue, without a license.’” There is no other evidence to support this theory (Barbour, 83, 84).

It is likely that Smith met Captain Gosnold, who had already made one trip to Virginia in 1602, through his friends the Bertie brothers. Gosnold was a distant relation of both the Berties of Willoughby and Wingfield. John Smith stated in his autobiography that he and Gosnold waited a year for Royal approval of the project, which was dated April 10, 1606 (Barbour, 89). This information places Smith’s interest in the project as early as April of 1605, not long after his return from Africa. It appears that Gosnold, Smith, and Wingfield were among the first to make the decision to join the colony (Barbour, 89). About this time a ship, captained by George Weymouth, bearing five kidnapped Indians in 1605 arrived in Britain. The arrival of these Algonquians helped revive interest in the colonization of Virginia. In addition to this, Ben Jonson, a rival of William Shakespeare, produced a satire of a “penniless knight who married money and hoped to run away with the dowry to Virginia”: 
Sea. Come, boys, Virginia longs till we share the rest of her maiden-head.

Spend. Why, is she inhabited already with any English?

Sea. A whole country of English is there man, bred of those that were left there in 79; they have married with the Indians, and make 'hem bring forth as beautiful faces as any we have in England; and therefore the Indians are so in love with 'hem that all the treasure they have they lay at their feet.

Scape. But is there such treasure there, captain, as I have heard?

Sea. I tell thee, gold is more plentiful there then copper is with us; and for as much red copper as I can bring, He have thrice the weight in gold. Why, man, all their dripping pans and their chamber pots are pure gold; and all the chains with which they chain up their streets are massie gold; all the prisoners they take are fettered in gold; and for rubies and diamonds, they go forth on holydays and gather 'hem by the sea-shore, to hang on their childrens coats, and stick in their caps, as commonly as our children wear saffron guilt brooches and groats with holes in 'hem.

Scape. And is it a pleasant country withal?

Sea. As ever the sun shined on; temperate and full of all sorts of excellent viands: (Jonson, 71, 72)

While the play, *Eastward, Hoe*, was not intended as colonial propaganda (it was actually a satire against King James and Scotland and landed Jonson in jail for awhile), it served the purpose of further increasing the public interest in the project. We cannot know the effect the arrival of five Indian men or the humorous satire by a popular author had on John Smith, but it is safe to assume that he was aware of both of these events and that they had some impact on his decision to venture forth into the uncharted lands beyond the Atlantic.

While most of what is common knowledge about John Smith comes from his years as a colonist, and his later years writing a historical account of the colonies, I feel that it is important to recognize what shaped the man who was so well loved and so oft hated on the shores of Virginia. He learned warfare, not just from his English commander in Holland, but also from the writings of Machiavelli and Biringuccio as well as the Slavic General Modrusch. He learned horsemanship from a master at Tattershall Castle. He is a man who had little respect for titles handed
down by right of birth, but believed that every man should earn his own measure of respect through his deeds. He learned how to work on low rations as a slave, though it is evident that he failed to learn humility from this experience. Just like Moses learned the art of leadership in the wilderness, Captain John Smith learned the art of warfare in the woods of Lincolnshire. It is important to note here, that while he twice benefited financially from being on a pirate ship, he did not choose to remain in this line of work. I believe he was looking for honor and knew that it would not be found in ill gotten gains. His was a school of hard knocks, but it certainly taught him well for the life he would lead as a colonist.

John Smith was easily one of the most traveled men of his lifetime (Figure 3). Not only had he traveled through most of the known world at that time, with the only exception of Asia, but he traveled up and down the coastline of the new world, learning about the people indigenous to the land. His map of Virginia is still lauded today as a great accomplishment. He came to Virginia in chains, but this was not a new experience for him, and he did not despair. If nothing else can be said for John Smith it can surely be said that he was a very practical man. When faced with a problem, he immediately began to look for a way to surmount the problem. This was perhaps the greatest way in which he was able to help the beleaguered colony survive. He did not believe in quitting, but in conquering whatever stood in the way of his success. I believe that John Smith would have been pleased to see that the land that he explored, helped colonize, and dedicated his remaining years to, eventually became known as the land of opportunity: a land where anyone, regardless of birth, could succeed. John Smith was a self made man in a time when self made men were not only a rarity, but were looked down on for not having been born to title.

On a personal note, I began researching the life of John Smith, thinking that the title “braggart and buffoon” (Montgomery, 37) fit him well. I learned that if he had managed to hold strictly to the truth in all of his writings, his tales of adventure and daring would still have captured the hearts and imaginations of generations. They have certainly captured mine.
Figure 1: Battle with Three Turks
From John Smith’s *True Travels* (Smith, n.p.)
Figure 2: Crest of John Smith (Smith, 842)
Figure 3: Map of Smith's Travels (Barbour, 30, 31)
WORKS CITED

Archaic spellings in original source documents have been modernized for the purpose of this paper.


It has occurred time and time again: a young teenage girl desper-
ately wanting a boyfriend in order to fit in with her friends, to no longer
be the third wheel or to be date-less at dances. The young girl often seems
to get swept off her feet by what seems to be the boy of her dreams. Her
friends might be slightly jealousy of how great this guy is, and the young
girl feels lucky to have him. The storybook romance, however, usually
does not last. The couple might breakup, or it might turn out that prince
charming was not a prince at all. The young boy turns very obsessive, con-
trolling, extremely jealous, and then violent. This paper will examine what
teenage dating violence is, warning signs that might indicate violence is
taking place, possible reasons for why teenagers are involved in violent
relationships and what can be done to address the problem of teenage
dating violence.

BACKGROUND ON DATING VIOLENCE

Dating violence is defined as “the perpetration or threat of an act
of violence by at least one member of an unmarried couple on the other
member within the context of dating or courtship” (Matthews, 2004, p.
157). The violence can take one or more of three forms: psychological,
sexual, or physical. Psychological abuse includes name calling, isolation
from friends or family, and verbal threats of harm to person or property.
Sexual abuse is using force or coercion to engage in any unwanted or non-
consensual sexual activity. Physical abuse is any physical act with the in-
tension of causing harm such as hitting, slapping, shoving, or choking
(Teten, Ball, Valle, Noonan, & Rosenbluth, 2009). This definition applies
to teenagers because the majority of teenagers in dating relationships and
are not married. However, this definition is not exclusive to teenagers.
Either party can be the perpetrator of violence; however, teenage boys
perpetrate violence against teenage girls more frequently. Approximately
one out of three teenage girls will report some sort of dating violence
(O’Keefe, 2005).

While the definition of dating violence seems straight foreword
there is often confusion among teenagers about whether or not they are in
violent relationships. Sears, Byers, Whelan, & Saint-Pierre (2006) found
that teenagers find violence justified at times when it comes to retaliation.
or to save a reputation, and that teenagers have a hard time making the distinction between abuse and playing around. Forbes, Jobe, White, Bloesch, & Adams-Curtis (2005) found that when teenagers were asked which behaviors warranted violence, they thought sexual betrayal and telling sensitive secrets or information were grounds on which violent acts were justified. There are a number of situations where a teenager might experience violence within their relationship and might not recognize it as being harmful and unhealthy. Teenagers will probably not report violence if they think that the violence was deserved. In addition, teenagers may be confused on the different forms of abuse and what specifically constitutes abuse (Sanders, 2003).

There is not a set formula to figure out which teenagers will be victims of dating violence. The victims range from the teenagers who keep to themselves, who would rather read a book than attend a social event, to the outgoing popular teenagers and anyone in between (Karan & Keating, 2007). However, there are some personality traits that may increase the likelihood for a teenager to be involved, whether victim or perpetrator, in a violent dating relationship. Teenagers that are jealous, insecure, hostile, and feel betrayed are more likely to be involved in violent relationships filling the role of either victim or perpetrator (Herrman, 2009). Victims of dating violence may have low self-esteem or highly desire a relationship. In addition, victims may get involved with someone they feel needs saved. Teenagers that come from homes where domestic violence happens between parents may be more likely to perpetrate violence or stay with an abusive partner. Also, teenagers who do poorly or get in trouble frequently at school may be more likely to be perpetrators of dating violence (Herrera, Wiersma & Cleveland, 2008). Teenage boys perpetrate violence more frequently against girls, similar to adult domestic violence. The violence that teenage girls do perpetrate tends to be in retaliation. As O’Keefe (2005) stated, girls commit minor acts such as scratching or slapping, whereas teenage boys tend to punch with a closed fist or use weapons. Herrera, Wiersma, and Cleveland (2008) found that teenage girls who have violent tendencies express them when in a relationships with teenage boys who are violent. When the girls are in relationships with nonviolent boys, then the tendencies are not expressed.

SIGNS AND SYMPTOMS

Usually there are behavioral or emotional changes that happen when a teenager is involved in a violent relationship. Some symptoms a teenager may develop if he or she is involved in a violent and destructive relationship are body image issues, depression, suicidal tendencies, post traumatic stress disorder, and drug use (Teten, Ball, Noonan, & Rosen-
bluth, 2009). Some other indicators that the relationship might be or may become violent are not spending much time with friends or not talking to members of the opposite sex out of fear of upsetting the other partner. Additionally, the victim receives a lot of phone calls or text messages from the partner, has to report when and where he or she is going, or his or her behavior changes when the other partner is around (Karan & Keating, 2007).

CYCLE OF VIOLENCE

Teenage dating violence is similar to adult domestic violence in that both contain the cycle of violence. Walker (1979) suggests that three phases makeup the cycle of violence: tension building phase, violent incident phase, and the honeymoon phase. The perpetrator uses the cycle of violence to gain control over the victim. In the tension building phase the victim tries to keep the perpetrator from getting angry, but the perpetrator is like a ticking time bomb. Every thing the victim does or does not do will result in the perpetrator getting angry. For example, the victim might not have loaded the dishwasher to the standards of the perpetrator causing the perpetrator to yell and belittle the victim. Eventually, the situation will progress to the next stage, and a violent episode will ensue. This violence, especially the first time, may seem to come out of nowhere. The victim may even think it was her fault. For example, she may think if only she had not talked to the other boy, then her partner would not have gotten so angry and hit her. In the third stage, the perpetrator shows remorse and makes promises that it will never happen again. The victim often believes the perpetrator and remembers how great things were in the beginning (Karan & Keating, 2007; Sanders, 2003) According to Sousa (1999), “Teenagers’ undeveloped sense of self and their place in the world makes them even more susceptible to abuse.” The more times the cycle of violence takes place, the greater the severity of violence. This allows the perpetrator to increase the amount of power and control he has over the victim. This cycle will continue to happen until help intervenes or someone, usually the victim, is dead (Sanders, 2003).

SUPPORT MECHANISMS

There are a lot of factors that allow teenage dating violence to keep happening in society. Arriaga and Foshee (2004) found that violent behaviors of both parents and friends made teenagers more inclined to violence, but overall friends have a greater impact on teenagers’ acceptance of violence. Friends also help to define what violence is considered acceptable or justified. Teenagers use their peers as points of reference to
measure what is normal. Teenagers think that parents or adults do not understand their lives or situations.

One possible explanation for why teenage dating violence exists and continues to happen is peer support. Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) used the theory of male peer support to explain sexual assaults that happen on the college campus and the abuse of women. Schwartz and DeKeseredy’s male peer support model begins with social patriarchy which leads to courtship patriarchy, and then ultimately influences the roles assumed by each partner in the dating relationship. Courtship patriarchy entails the teenage boy asking the girl for a date, picking where and what will happen on the date, driving, and all the other traditional roles that follow. These behaviors tend to put more power and control in the hands of the teenage boy (Matthews, 2004).

Schwartz and DeKeseredy’s (1997) model for male peer support continues with the dating relationship causing stress. Both stress and the relationship play into male peer social support. Courtship patriarchy can be enough of an excuse for violence, but male peer support can have further influences. These teenage boys can be involved in social groups, such as sports. This social group limits the conception of masculinity. Teenage boys are supposed to be strong, and one of the few emotions that can be shown is anger. For example, if Betty revealed that Tommy was not a good kisser, then it would be okay for Tommy to get angry. The social group can encourage anger and violence by telling Tommy that no girl should say negative things about him. This group reaction and behavior helps to determine what is normal. Many teenagers think that in this hypothetical situation, it is justified for Tommy to get angry and shove Betty (Herrman, 2009).

Another component of the male peer support model is the sexual objectification of women. Teenage boys will engage in this behavior together by calling teenage girls pejorative names, but it is also ingrained by the media. The boys are influenced by what they see on television and what music they listen to. Johnson, Adams, and Ashburn (1995) conducted a study on nonviolent rap music and the effects it has on teenage dating violence. They used two groups of teenagers composed of males and females. The control group saw no videos and just answered questions. The experimental group saw rap videos with women who were wearing little clothing and highly sexualized. The study shows that exposure to nonviolent rap videos has an effect on teenagers and their acceptance of teenage dating violence. Teenage boys that have sexually aggressive friends are more likely to use sexual violence against the victim (Matthew, 2004). In addition, there is a level of group secrecy among teenage boys, especially among athletes who have strong bonds as teammates or as a sort of brotherhood. A popular phrase teenage boys uses that is
representative of this group secrecy is, “bros before hoes.” That phrase allows teenage boys to respect teenage girls less and makes the bond between boys paramount to any others. Often teenage boys will protect those bonds and not get friends in trouble by speaking about violence that may have occurred.

Another large factor in male peer support is the absence of deterrence (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Often adults do not think that teenage dating violence happens, or they will dismiss it as “puppy love.” Families refuse to believe that what is going on is actually abuse and stalking. The violence gets swept under the rug and is not treated or punished as a crime. Teenagers and adults remain silent about teenage dating violence; therefore, the problem remains invisible. The perpetrators have nothing to deter them from committing the abuse (Sanders, 2003). If abusive behaviors are recognized by parents or if the victim reports the violence, it is often dismissed as “boys will be boys” or the perpetrator is not punished seriously (Mayes, 2008).

In addition to male peer support, teenage girls also legitimate the dating violence perpetrated against them through a lack of life experience along with not knowing what a healthy relationship looks like (Sanders, 2003). Teenage girls who have friends that have been victims of dating violence have a greater acceptance of violence in a dating relationship (Matthews, 2004). Teenagers see this violence as being normal. The media also has an impact on teenage girls’ acceptance of dating violence. The study on the effects of rap music conducted by Johnson, Adams, & Ashburn (1995) found that girls’ exposure to sexually charged rap videos raised their acceptance of dating violence to that of teenage boys. Teenagers feel pressure to conform to what they are told is normal even if these expectations are unrealistic or harmful. If teenagers do not conform, they may feel like they will never have relationships, and they will always be unhappy (Sanders, 2003).

PROBLEMS UNIQUE TO TEENAGE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The reasons teenagers are perpetrators or victims of dating violence are the same reasons adults are involved in domestic violence relationships. The help and protection needed for teenagers to get out of a violent dating relationship is very different than what is needed for adults. Often in adult domestic violence situations both parties live together. The victim can leave the home and stay in a shelter, attain a restraining order, and change the locks. If a teenage girl would need the help of a shelter, most shelters are not able to house teenagers, without a parent, since they are minors. The victims of adult domestic violence can go directly to the courts for protection. Adult women are, for the most part, taken seriously
When they report violence; however, teenagers are not (Sanders, 2003).

If a teenager reports the violence and tries to pursue legal action, there are some barriers that arise. Initially, teenagers may be hesitant to report relationship violence to their parents, because teenagers often think parents will overreact. Teenagers may also think that their parents will be angry with them and they will get in trouble. Since the teenager is a minor, parental consent is needed to get a protection order. Courts are often reluctant and unsure of how to proceed. Often these cases are dismissed, handled more informally in juvenile court than in adult criminal cases, or it is recommended that the parties deal with the situation outside of court (Sanders, 2003). However, if a protection or no-contact order is granted, there are issues involving the school. Often both teenagers attend the same school, are involved in the same after-school activities, share the same classes, or have lockers close to one another. The school administrators have some tough decisions to make if they are to honor the no-contact order. The perpetrator may feel as if he did nothing wrong or illegal and he may think it is unfair that he should have to change lockers, classes, or schools. However, moving the victim blames her for the violence. The victim may also receive harassment from other students who feel the perpetrator was wrongly removed from classes or activities (Mayes, 2008). Schools need to be prepared to deal with situations like this to deal with the problem of teenage dating violence.

WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT TEENAGE DATING VIOLENCE?

Teenage dating violence presents some challenges to the way domestic violence is dealt with, but changes can be made to adequately provide assistance to teenagers in need. Education on dating violence is needed first and foremost. Adults and teenagers need to talk about dating violence and to be educated on what is considered dating violence. Many teenagers and adults may think the partners involved are just playing around when actually something serious is going on. The problem of dating violence cannot remain invisible if it is to be addressed. Teenagers must be taken seriously when they report dating violence. Some states are mandating schools to educate students on dating violence. Some programs are including students as young as eleven years old (Teten et al., 2009). While some schools might be hesitant to enforce no-contact orders, they are required to. They might face prosecution or contempt of court if they do not. The school should develop a plan on how to handle no-contact orders to ensure all faculty, staff, and substitute staff are aware of what students have these orders and the protocol for enforcement (Mayes, 2008). Additionally, there needs to be collaboration among parents, law enforcement, teenagers, and communities to recognize dating violence and
to have allies for teenagers who are involved in violent relationships. The teenagers need to be able to speak for themselves, even though they are minors. Adults can legally represent teenagers (Karan & Keating, 2007). Furthermore, role models that take a stand against domestic violence can help to redefine what normal behavior is in relationships. Recently, recording artist Rihanna spoke out against dating violence after being a victim herself and that can help teenage girls to realize that violence in a relationship is not okay. The teenage girls have someone to identify with which can combat some of the media messages being received by teenagers.

CONCLUSION

While the majority of this paper focuses on violence perpetrated by teenage boys on teenage girls, the reverse can and does happen, it just happens less frequently. Additionally, teenagers with low self-esteem that come from bad homes tend to be in relationships where dating violence is present. Teenagers from great homes and who have high self-esteem, however, can become victims of dating violence too. Male peer support tends to allow for teenage dating violence to take place and go unnoticed or unreported. The media and music along with peer groups influence the acceptance and legitimacy of teenage dating violence. Teenagers face different issues when trying to escape a violent dating situation than adults in similar positions. However, through education of teenagers and adults about dating violence this problem can be addressed and teenagers can get the help they need. Additionally, teenage dating violence must be recognized as a serious issue and role models are needed to show that this behavior will not be tolerated. Teenagers need love and acceptance from parents and peers, not violence misconstrued as love.
WORKS CITED


In January 1818, James Wellman read a newspaper article describing the Harmony Society. Greatly impressed by the Harmonists' lifestyle and their imitation of the early church, Wellman decided to write George Rapp, the leader of the Harmony Society to inquire about membership. Wellman asked various questions about the Harmonists' spiritual practices, especially celibacy and the separation of husbands and wives. In a postscript, Wellman sought to find a distinction between the Harmonist and the Shakers, “I don’t believe in parting man and wife, as those people do (Cauled Shakers, or Shaking-Quakers).” Wellman’s concern to distinguish the Harmonists from the Shakers was perhaps a well grounded question in the nineteenth century. Today the similarities between each group can lead to similar questions about their distinctive differences. While theological similarities led to close social and economic relations between the Harmony Society and the Shakers, religious differences ultimately prevented any close union between the groups.

Although a definite relationship existed between George Rapp’s Harmony Society and the various frontier Shaker settlements in Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana, acknowledgement of these interactions remains largely unresearched. Karl J. R. Arndt’s works on the Harmony Society provide the most extensive analysis of the trade and discussions among the communities. Although Arndt’s voluminous compilations of Harmonist primary sources contain many letters between the Harmony Society and the Shakers, his secondary works only acknowledge the interactions and do not provide any significant analysis of them. While consideration of the Harmonist-Shaker relations is minimal within the secondary literature about the Harmonists, it is nearly nonexistent in secondary Shaker sources. Shaker scholars generally only mention George Rapp and the Harmony Society along with other communal groups such as the Zoar Separatists, Oneida Perfectionists, Amana Society, and Owenites to provide the context for the Shakers within the religious and social reforms of the early and mid nineteenth century.

The absence of discussion regarding Harmonist-Shaker relations within secondary sources about the Shakers could be attributed to both the size and longevity of each community. The Harmonists reached a population of approximately 800 individuals in the early 1820s while esti-
mates of the Shakers exceeded 4,000 members in 1823. The Harmonists also lived in a single town, with the exception of times of transition between Harmony, Pennsylvania and New Harmony, Indiana in 1814 and 1815 and between New Harmony, Indiana and Economy, Pennsylvania in 1824 and 1825. The Shakers on the other hand lived in smaller communities typically consisting of 150 to 300 members that were scattered throughout New England and the Ohio Valley. With more towns and members the Shakers were capable of exerting a greater influence on American society. The Shakers also exceeded the Harmony Society in longevity. Arriving in the United States in 1770 the Shakers reached their height of cultural influence in the mid-1800s and have managed to survive, though in greatly diminished numbers, to the present. On the other hand Rapp and his followers arrived in the United States in 1803. By 1916, the Harmony Society was entirely dissolved. The Shakers arguably played a larger role in Harmonist affairs than the Harmonists did in Shaker affairs because of these differences in size, scope, and longevity.

The first evidence of contact between the Harmony Society and the Shakers appears in a letter addressed to George and Frederick Rapp of the Harmony Society from Archibald Meacham and Issachar Bates of the Shaker settlement at West Union, Indiana, on October 30, 1815. The Shakers described their concern for the Society after an earlier visit to Harmony on the Wabash. They explained their desire to “to labor for the welfare of the soul and to increase the work of God which will deliver the Soul from every tye and bond of flesh.” They explained their hopes of a union between the Harmony Society and the Shakers, arguing “God is one and his way is but one and all his people must be united in that one way.” To the Shakers of West Union Village, the Harmonists were “faithful Brothers and Sisters” but their separate existence was unacceptable if God’s kingdom was to be established on Earth.

In June 1816, while Frederick Rapp, George Rapp’s adopted son who managed the external affairs of the Harmony Society, attended the Indiana Constitutional Convention, a delegation of Shakers from West Union visited the Harmony Society with the intent to seek a possible union with George Rapp and his followers. By this time, the Harmonists had established economic and social ties to the Shakers of West Union. Father Rapp’s daughter-in-law, Rosina Rapp, and granddaughter, Gertrude Rapp, had even gone to live with the Shakers of West Union. Whether or not the Shakers had previously spent time with the Harmony Society is uncertain; however, whatever hopes the delegation of four Shakers, two men and two women, held prior to their time in Harmony were all but crushed at the end of their four day stay. Initially the delegation shared aspects of Shaker culture with the Harmonists. Father Rapp particularly noted their singing and dancing. As pleasant as this encounter may have
seemed, it turned sour the evening prior to the delegation’s departure. Rapp began a discourse on an individual’s emergence from darkness; however, the Shakers argued that those who followed Christ were no longer in darkness which “was of the devil.” The following morning, as the delegation departed from Harmony on the Wabash, one Harmonist accused the Shakers of being “quite ignorant in practice…. according to inner direction and experience, the Harmonie [Society] went much deeper.” The delegation held a similar view that the Harmonists were still underdeveloped in both size and theological understanding.

Although this incident redefined interactions between the Shakers and the Harmony Society, both communities sought to maintain connections. Relations between Harmony on the Wabash and West Union continued on little more than an economic basis. The West Union Shakers were particularly interested in the textiles produced by the Harmony Society. In some cases they even sought assistance from the Harmonists in the establishment of their own textile manufacture. Religious references did sometimes occur in the correspondence between each settlement. Many orders from West Union for Harmonists’ products were prefaced or concluded with professions of faith and gratitude of the Harmony Society’s spiritual progress. For instance, an 1816 letter from William Douglas to purchase flannel from the Harmony Society stated:

> With these lines receive my Love and give it to as many as you think proper. I do Esteem the society at Harmony very highly for the work that they are Engaged in, that is Crucifying the Flesh with its afections and lusts, and seeing that our work is one we will Love each other and by this we will shoe to the World that we are folowers of Christ.

In a letter sent alongside this one, Archibald Meacham requested that John Baker of the Harmony Society replace a receipt that was eaten by mice and concluded such a miniscule request with the encouragement that Meacham hoped to remain Baker’s “frind and fellow travlere in Cross Bearing.”

Although relations may have been slightly strained by the disputes between the Shaker delegation and the Harmonists’ leadership during 1816, strong relationships still blossomed between members of both communities. Gertrude Rapp and her mother Rosina lived at West Union to learn English during 1816. Although the Shakers differed from the Harmonists culturally and theologically, their lifestyles and values were similar enough that Harmonists women could still live amongst the Shakers without compromising their faith. Gertrude sent gifts to her young Shaker friends. Nancy McCombs of West Union wrote to her “PLAYMATE,”
Gertrude, informing her that “I do think of you often and would be glad-dest of all things to see you again you must come up the first opportunity you have…” 14

During their time in Indiana the Harmonists also opened an economic relationship with the Shakers at South Union, Kentucky that occasionally referenced religion. Of particular interest to the Harmony Society were the quarried and shaped stones produced at South Union. The Shakers of South Union were contracted to produce various stone products used by various artisans. One particular order consisting of “Mill Stones, tanners tables & Hemp stone” was greatly delayed. Although the products were completed, Benjamin Young and the Shakers at South Union struggled to find a suitable means to transport the stones to Harmony on the Wabash.15

Interactions between the Harmonists and the South Union Shakers were not strictly economic. After visiting the Harmony Society in Indiana, Benjamin Price wrote to John Baker in Harmony in July of 1816 to discuss the purchases of mill stones, but also included personal information regarding his health. He concluded by expressing to Baker his “love for the cross you bear against the flesh,” and informed him, “God will own and bless all that are faithful in that light they have received of him, so that we have encouragement to preserve in the precious work that gives us light and liberty to the soul.”16 In March 1817, Benjamin Young wrote to John Baker to discuss the operation of mill stones. Young opened the letter by expressing his deep friendship with the Harmonists and his hopes that the Harmonists and Shakers “fellowship may grow… …into a union & understanding in the Spirit One & unchangeable forever.”17

Young also made attempts to attach personal meaning to his correspondence with the Harmonists. His March 1817 letter concluded by stating in German, “I thank you for your small German letter. My Greetings to all brothers and sisters that know me, especially to your Father—Farewell.”18 Three months later Young inquired about where he could locate “the names of the Author of the English & German Dictionary printed at Lancaster Pen.”19 This effort to address the Harmonists in their native German may have certainly aided their business interaction; however, most business transactions were conducted in English. Young only addressed the Harmonists in German when discussing personal matters, a practice that symbolized his affection for the Society.20

In May 1818, Frederick Rapp, expanded the Harmonist-Shaker trade network by writing to the Shakers of Pleasant Hill, Kentucky. Rapp neglected to make any spiritual reference, writing a letter discussing little more than the procurement of wool. Rapp did explain that he had learned of Pleasant Hill from “the Influence of Your Brothers of West and South
Even after leaving the Indiana frontier to return to Pennsylvania, the Harmonists’ relationship with the Shakers at Pleasant Hill continued throughout the nineteenth century; however, the relationship rarely extended beyond trade.

The Shaker villages served as safe havens for traveling Harmonists, as did Harmonist settlements for traveling Shakers. In July 1817, eight “Shaking Quakers” occupied the inn at Harmony on the Wabash. The group consisted of four men and four women, some of whom were from settlements in Ohio. In December 1821, the Harmonists provided care for the “aged and afflicted Brother John Bryant,” a Shaker from Pleasant Hill, Kentucky who apparently became ill while traveling. His companion, John Shain, brought him to the Harmonists for care. The Shakers of Pleasant Hill were grateful for the kindness the Society exhibited to their brethren, who they expected had caused “a good deal of trouble” and made efforts to compensate the Harmonists for their efforts of kindness. In other instances, traveling Harmonists stayed at Shaker inns.

On October 20, 1822, the Shaker leader of Union Village, Ohio, David Darrow, set into motion a course of events that forced the Harmonists and Shakers to reevaluate the religious boundaries established between each group. Darrow wrote to the Harmony Society about a German Shaker, Christian Bachholder, who lived among the Shakers at Union Village for two years. During this time he developed “a great desire to see his Country men at Harmony.” Benjamin Knox, a Shaker from West Union, was willing to bring Bachholder to the Harmonists in Indiana. Darrow explained to the Harmonists:

We submit the matter to you & him to agree how long he is to abide with you. If he be faithful to take up his cross against the flesh and keep out of sin, while absent, we shall receive him into full fellowship, according to his measure, when he returns.

Apparently, Bachholder still remained separate enough from the Shakers that they were hesitant to admit him fully into the community. Perhaps they intended his visit to the Harmony Society not only to allow Bachholder to enjoy fellowship with native Germans but also allow the Harmonists to evaluate Bachholder’s piety. Such references checks with the Harmony Society were not uncommon. In July 1821, for instance, the leaders at West Union inquired about the devotion of William Hartman, who had left the Harmony Society earlier that year to see if the Shakers lifestyle was more satisfying than the life he had amongst the Harmonists.

Bachholder, apparently a well educated man, sought to become a leader amongst the Shakers. Archibald Meacham and Issachar Bates ex-
plained that “it was very hard for him to come down low enough to ac-
knowledge such simple things” that the Shakers believed. Despite this ob-
stable, he sought to take up his cross and deny the flesh; however, this task
proved quite difficult for him among the Shakers of Union Village. As a
result, he set out to visit the Harmony Society, hoping a group of his fel-
low countrymen would better understand his afflictions.  

Upon his arrival among the Harmonists, Bachholder claimed that
he was received with “coldness.” He also found that he was under strict
supervision while living with the Society and was “prohibited from general
intercourse among the people” Bachholder refused to comply with the
restrictions placed upon him and “repeatedly violated order & went where
he pleased.” Most astonishingly, Bachholder:

- Talked with great boldness to the elders, disputed about doctrines
  and even encountered Rapp with the authority of a dictator,
  forced him to silence and expounded matters better than he had
  been able to receive either from [Shaker] books or [Shaker] eld-
  ers—that he taxed him with living in sin, & conniving at the sins
  of his people—reproached him as a tyrant, living idly, & lording it
  over his brethren &c.

Finally, Christian Waltman, a Harmonist, assisted Bachholder while on the
road. What happened between Bachholder and Waltman remains a mys-
tery; however, it seemed to be the central event in letters of apology sent
by Shakers after the incident occurred.

Determining what happened between Bachholder and the Har-
monists proves to be difficult, given the limited number sources describ-
ing their encounter. One letter cosigned by Archibald Meacham and Issa-
char Bates on November 21, 1822 distanced the Shakers of West Union
from Bachholder, explaining that he was “as much a stranger to us—as to
you.”31 Meacham and Bates also distanced Bachholder from the Shakers
as a whole explaining that Bachholder was not “sent to spy out your lib-
erty” and defended Darrow who authorized Bachholder’s trip to Har-
mony. According to Meacham and Bates, Darrow had proclaimed about
the Harmonists that “God has wrought a great work among that people.”
Finally, they used this conflict as an opportunity to once again express
their spiritual differences with the Harmonists. Meacham and Bates be-
lieved that the Shakers were more mature in their faith than the Harmo-
nists; however, this did not constitute spiritual superiority for the Shakers.
According to them, God had simply revealed more to them the present
moment.

The only other source describing the incident came from the
Shakers at Union Village. It apologized for some of the specific actions of
Bachholder and provided the greatest insight to what happened. The letter also contained a specific examination of the Shaker Faith and its relation to the Harmonist Faith. Nathan Sharpe, who authored the letter on behalf of the church at Union Village, explained that Rapp and his followers “have been led step to step by the self same Spirit that hath led us.” Like the Shakers, the Harmonist rejected false teachings, confessed their sins, denied lust, and sought to do what is good. To Sharpe, the Harmonists and Shakers were united in their spiritual efforts and convictions. Sharpe then addressed the issues of conflict among the societies, noting that disagreements were common among Shakers and Harmonists. The Harmony Society, for instance, rejected the notion that Mother Ann represented Christ. Sharpe explained that the Harmonists followed the word of God sent through the Father while the Shakers followed the word of God sent through the Mother. According to Sharpe, “if our Mother & your Father hath taught us the same things is it any just ground of quarrel among children that one is nursed or chastised by the Mother & another by the Father?” Finally, Sharpe asserted the spiritual maturity of the Shakers compared to that of the Harmonists. Just as Meacham and Bates emphasized their spiritual maturity did not mean spiritual superiority, Sharpe also offered such an explanation to the Harmonists.32

Sharp concluded his letter by mentioning two important concepts. First, he expressed a desire to maintain a cooperative relationship with the Harmony Society. He stressed that the relations between the Harmonists and Shakers “never be puffed up for one against another, but shut out every occasion of offense and & cultivate that friendship which hath heretofore subsisted.” He also encouraged Rapp to open a spiritual dialogue, asking him “to consider the contents of this letter as foundation for any communication to us in writing it will be received with all readiness of mind.”33 A reply to this letter has never been found and any mention of the Bachholder incident remains nonexistent in the documentary record of the Harmony Society, therefore skewing the series of events to a Shaker bias. In a footnote to the Sharpe letter, Karl Arndt explained that a Harmonist reply, at least one addressing the theological differences, would have been unlikely. Arndt states that while there were many attempts by the “Shakers to come to a doctrinal understanding with the Harmonists… …they never achieved it because Rapp and his followers were strong Trinitarians…. …even to their Shaker neighbors they never revealed their deepest convictions…” The Harmonists saw themselves as God’s chosen people. Holding such a view and expressing it openly, even with the Shakers, could have caused additional criticism and potential persecution for the Society. Remaining silent on such issues, they believed, would be a safer policy.

In many ways the Sharpe letter is bolder than the November 21
letter from West Union, probably because of the relationships between those involved. West Union arguably had the strongest social connection to the Harmonists, certainly stronger than their relationship to Bachholder. The economy of West Union also relied more heavily upon the Harmonists than the economy of Union Village. Therefore, maintaining a strong relationship with the Harmonists was more important for the Shakers at West Union than for those at Union Village. Finally, because of their greater distance economically, socially, and physically, the Shakers at Union Village were in a stronger position to discuss controversial issues with the Harmonists.

After the Harmonists returned to Pennsylvania by 1825 and the West Union community dissolved in 1827, Harmonist-Shaker relations decreased. The Harmony Society began a series of internal conflicts that led to an eventual schism in 1832 in which about 175 members left under the leadership of Count de Leon, who claimed to be descended from the Lion of Judah. To deal with the resulting law suits brought by various families and individuals who left during the Schism, George Rapp sought aid from the Shakers at Pleasant Hill. The Shakers had experience with lawsuits from dissenting members and had even compiled a pamphlet on the matter which they willing sent to Rapp.

In 1839, Meacham, who was living at the Shaker establishment at White Water in Ohio after the break up of the community at West Union, again attempted to persuade the Harmonists to accept Shaker theology with particular emphasis on recognizing the spiritual significance of Mother Ann. The tone of Meacham’s letter differs drastically from the Sharpe letter or even some of the early correspondence between Harmony on the Wabash and West Union. By 1839 Meacham had developed “kind and friendly feeling” towards the Harmonists. He lamented in his letter sent on August 16, 1839 that the Harmonists and Shakers “could not come into union, seeing the faith and practice in many respects coincide.”

Meacham continued to explain the various interactions the Shakers had with the spirit world. He reported that many Shakers had begun to speak in tongues, fall into trances, experience visions, and “see great many multitudes of heavenly hosts.” On some occasions, the Shakers would even receive direct commands from Mother Ann. In other instances spirits would make themselves known to certain Shakers; in many cases these spirits included deceased Harmonists. Meacham then described an event that occurred at one of the Shaker gatherings:

Fredric Rapp, and John Baker were seen standing close by my side. They spoke through one of our sisters who was then in vision, and said they knew me and were well acquainted with me
while they lived in earth... They said they remembered the testimony that I bore to them while they lived on earth, in relation to the second coming of Christ, being made manifest through the chosen female, whom we call Mother Ann. They said they rejected my testimony, and would not receive it, but they were now sorry for it. They said they were willing to acknowledge the Father, but would not acknowledge the Mother. But they were now thankful to be under the care of a kind Mother.

The spirits of Rapp and Baker then asked Meacham and the Shakers for forgiveness, and stressed that the Shakers share these revelations with the Harmony Society. Meacham concluded his letter by expressing his sincerity about the course of events he described and invited Rapp to send “capable brethren and sisters” to White Water so they too could hear and see the revelations.

Whether or not the Harmonists visited Meacham at White Water is unknown, but even after such pleas from the Shakers, the Harmony Society sustained its own identity until its dissolution in the early twentieth century. Although the Shakers tried on many occasions to seek a union with the Harmonists, their unions were seldom more than economic and social interactions. Discussions of theology between the Harmonists and Shakers, often divided the communities rather than united them. While the Harmony Society and the Shakers maintained economic and social connections and practiced similar communal lifestyles rooted in their interpretation of the early Church in the book of Acts, their fundamental beliefs about Christ’s return differed greatly, preventing the formation of any significant spiritual union between the societies.
NOTES

7 Archibald Meacham and Issachar Bates to George and Frederick Rapp, October 30, 1815 in Arndt, *Indiana* vol. I 146-147.
8 George Rapp to Frederick Rapp, June 22, 1816 in Arndt, *Indiana* vol. I, 228-229.
15 Benjamin S. Young to Frederick Rapp, May 20 1819 in Arndt, *Indiana* vol. I, 712-713.
20 See footnote in Arndt, Indiana vol. I, 322.
21 Frederick Rapp to Abram Wilhite, May 7-1818 in Arndt, Indiana vol. I, 517.
23 Francis Voris to Frederic Rapp, December 5, 1821 in Arndt, Indiana vol. II, 333.
25 David Darrow and the Shakers of Union Village to George Rapp, October 20, 1822 in Arndt, Indiana vol. II, 481.
27 Nathan Sharpe in behalf of the Shaker Church at Union Village to the Harmony Society, December 24, 1822 in Arndt, Indiana vol. II, 518-519.
28 Archibald Meacham and Issachar Bates to George and Frederick Rapp, November 21, 1822 in Arndt, Indiana vol. II, 502.
29 Meacham and Bates in Arndt, Indiana vol. II, 503.
30 Sharpe in Arndt, Indiana vol. II, 519.
31 Meacham and Bates in Arndt, Indiana vol. II, 502-503.
33 Sharpe in Arndt, Indiana vol. II, 521.
34 Medlicott, “Conflict and Tribulation on the Frontier,” 134.
37 R.L. Baker to W. Forward, March 14, 1835 in Arndt, George Rapp’s Years of Glory, 94.
38 A. Meacham to R.L. Baker, August, 13, 1839 in Arndt, George Rapp’s Years of Glory, 399.
39 A. Meacham to R.L. Baker, August, 13, 1839 in Arndt, George Rapp’s Years of Glory, 400-401.
40 A. Meacham to R.L. Baker, August, 13, 1839 in Arndt, George Rapp’s Years of Glory, 401.
41 A. Meacham to R.L. Baker, August, 13, 1839 in Arndt, George Rapp’s Years of Glory, 402.
AMY L. BROWN

A CITY FLOODED WITH INEQUALITY

INTRODUCTION

This study investigates the possibility of environmental inequality within the city of Evansville through a case study of exposure to flooding. The project is situated within environmental justice literature, which examines the unequal distribution of environmental hazards across a population in terms of where they live and work. Income and race are correlated with vulnerability to many environmental hazards. Assessing vulnerability lies in analyzing the relationship between the expected severity of a hazard and a population’s ability to cope, adapt, and recover from that hazard.

Empirically, the project examines the distribution of the environmental hazard of flooding in Evansville. Flooding is an important environmental hazard in that it substantially affects people residing in vulnerable locations, causing displacement, exposure to contamination, and both physical and psychological injuries. Literature on the subject suggests that citizens of higher socioeconomic standing are more mobile and can relocate to suburban areas away from flooding. This movement also has had the effect of increasing impervious surfaces and runoff, increasing the potential for flooding in some inner city areas. Because the type of flooding within Evansville is an institutional problem, and not a natural one, understanding the hazard itself becomes key in assessing vulnerability. This understanding can allow for policy recommendations that can more effectively target populations that are both more vulnerable and more likely to be exposed to flooding events.

HISTORY OF STORMWATER FLOODING

On September 12, 2006, up to eight inches of rain fell on areas within the city of Evansville. In less than six hours, 17 homes were destroyed, 47 homes had major foundation damage and at least 246 families had over two feet of water in their homes (Nesbitt, 2006, Sept. 26; Clark Deitz, 2007). By the end of the month, 591 families had applied for assistance from the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) due to flood damage to their homes and property (H. Kellogg, email communication October 20, 2006). Although the federal government declared Evansville a disaster zone, the city reported only 18 FEMA damage payouts were received by the end of one year (Clark Deitz, 2007). While devastating, however, this incident was just one of many others. The repetitive
assaults to homes, property, and families profoundly affected lives in the Evansville region, making recovery the most challenging. A new resident to Evansville, Anthony Galletta, voiced his stress, stating “If I had known what I was facing, I would have stayed in Mississippi and fought Katrina.” In the past three years, Mr. Galletta’s home flooded seven times, but his experiences reflect a larger problem concerning flooding hazards in Evansville (Rohrig, 2006 Nov. 21). At least 46% of Evansville’s population reside in flood prone areas, which raises a number of questions about the circumstances: what are the human influences causing flooding, and what is the effect of flooding on this community? As this research project will show, the relationship between racial demographics and income influences the risk associated with living near environmental hazards (Downey & Hawkins, 2008; Mascarenhas, 2009).

Evansville, Indiana, sits directly in the floodplain of the Ohio River and within the fluvial patterns of the Mississippi watershed, the third largest watershed in the world. Flood management has been the foundation of infrastructure for the city since 1939. According to the Evansville Levee Authority, today’s dam and levee engineering has worked well to keep out the river system flooding that would naturally be expected for Evansville. Unfortunately, the perpetual occurrence of devastation from flooding is directly related to human development, impervious surfaces, and the elimination of natural drainages for stormwater runoff (Brown & Damery, 2002; Howe & White, 2004; Gaffield, Goo, Richards, & Jackson, 2003; Johnson, Penning-Rowsell & Parker, 2007; Parkinson, 2003; Riley, 1998; United Nations [UN], 2000 Mar. 23).

In many cases, the culprits of flooding start with the very structures that were built to prevent it. Levee systems turn a community into a bowl shaped catchment area (Freudenburg, Gramling, Laska & Erikson, 2008). Current stormwater and sewer systems of Evansville were not built with the capacity to handle flooding events and are underdeveloped for current population sizes (Parkinson, 2003; Clark Dietz, 2007). In Evansville, most natural drainages have been filled in or developed over while water dynamics were ignored. Continued loss of wetlands and creeks eliminates retention and drainage, while increased impervious surfaces and development exacerbates the runoff problems (Howe & White, 2004; Parkinson, 2003; Clark Dietz, 2007).

Management and assessments by decision makers have neglected to adapt an integrated stormwater flooding policy that efficiently deals with this human-made hazard. FEMA enforces a flood insurance program based on risk assessments for fluvial flooding only; hazard mapping and mitigation does not include stormwater runoff. Local political and development choices are based on economic decisions, masking public risk while increasing vulnerability (Brown & Damery, 2002; Howe &
White, 2004). While FEMA is the regulating body for floodplain development, they are also driven by river system flooding maps based on 100 year floods, which have a 1% chance of occurrence during any given storm event, as opposed to internal catchment flooding (Freudenburg et al, 2008).

Although infrastructure is designed and built to prevent fluvial flooding into natural floodplains, developers are allowed to build in the floodplain, causing more flooding within the actual taxpayer’s community. This happens while victims and taxpayers pay for agency involvement, structural/non-structural mitigation, property loss and damage, health effects, and other losses. Engineers, contracted to solve stormwater flooding problems for the city of Evansville, admitted that infrastructure became overloaded “because of continued growth and service area expansion” (Clark Deitz, 2007). Vanderburgh County agencies permitted the construction of at least 5,657 new residential buildings and 433 new commercial structures from 2000-2006. This increased the already overburdened sewer utility with 75 miles of new sewers to maintain. Privileged citizens are more mobile and can relocate into suburban areas away from flooding, thus increasing impervious surfaces and runoff (Freudenburgh et al, 2008; Parkinson, 2003). In addition, 9% more sewer lines were constructed, even though the city has experienced a continued decline of almost 25% in population since 1950 (Area Plan, 2004-2024 Comprehensive Plan; Wilson, 2007 Oct 28).

EFFECTS OF FLOODING ON A POPULATION

Flooding substantially affects people, resulting in displacement, exposure to pollutants, and both physiological and physical injuries (Euripidou & Murray, 2004). The United Nations (2000) has found that the potential health implications of flooding involve an array of hazards: drowning, injuries, respiratory disease, shock, hypothermia, cardiac arrest, wound infection, conjunctivitis, gastrointestinal illness, ear, nose and throat infections, serious waterborne diseases, psychosocial disturbances and cardiovascular disease, food shortages, disruptions of emergency response, and rodent infestations in structures on high ground. The proximity to environmental hazards increases feelings of powerlessness and depression in affected individuals. For those who already have a perception of vulnerability, like economic stress, close proximity to the hazard will often perpetuate higher stress levels and mental health decline (Downey & Willigen, 2005).

Flooding produces multiple consequences to the population and environment that it impacts. Euripidou & Murray (2004) found pollutants in their study inquiry of stormwater flooding including sediment with
heavy metal and pesticides, hydrocarbons, oils, grease, and petroleum products, high sodium and chlorine from road salts, fertilizers, herbicides, and heavy metals from acid mine drainage. Hazardous chemicals from storage facilities, brownfields, and agriculture can become mobilized during flooding and settle in residential homes and neighborhoods. Even clean up can pose health risks to workers exposed to contamination contained in sediment. Fecal indicator organisms (FIOs) are found in most stormwater runoff (Ellis, 2004; Euripidou & Murray, 2004). The gastrointestinal illness from stormwater runoff had an estimated cost of between $2.1 billion and $13.8 billion for the United States in 2002 alone (Gaffield et al, 2003). Unfortunately, exposure to these types of environmental hazards from flooding are often overlooked as “chronic mishaps” and do not garner the recognition that major catastrophic disasters do. Therefore, both decision makers and the public will overlook the importance of changing policy or behaviors directly related to the risk (McComick, 2009).

Research has also found that deteriorated neighborhoods, often in low-lying areas with old infrastructure, advance poor drainage. When upgrades are not made to infrastructure, continued development intensifies runoff, urban pollution, flooding, and continued deterioration. Older homes are more affected by continued damage, increasing rates of poverty and vulnerability. These homes absorb more resources and costs including money, work time, and exposure to illness caused by molds or pollutants. Environmental hazards become more problematic as they become health hazards (Parkinson, 2003). Older, more deteriorated neighborhoods are most often in the lowest areas of the catchment, the farthest downstream of the city formed watershed, which is where contaminants are highly concentrated and this is where they settle (Ellis, 2004; Euripidou & Murray, 2004; Mascarenhas, 2009; McCormick, 2009; Mutter, 2008).

UNDERSTANDING RISK AND VULNERABILITY

Risk, as defined by social processing, generally includes an entity that claims to pose some form of “punitive harm” and “linkage alleging some causal relationship between the object and the harm” (Hilgartner, 1992, Hannigan, 2006). Although flooding due to stormwater runoff can certainly be considered a posed risk, the perception of the punitive harm will be based on individual experiences as well as cultural views within a community (Siegrist & Gutscher, 2006; Hannigan, 2006). Examples of individual ideas of risk could be based on a wide array of experiences and could include the perceived risk of punitive harm from numerous scenarios. Ideas of flooding risk can be based on stalling a car in flood water, not being able to access emergency medical care due to flooded streets, having part of a home cave in, or repeated loss of work from respiratory
illness due to mold exposure. All are biased claims, all are public observations, and all are going to challenge the level of risk an entity possesses.

Entrenched cultural values considerably influence the perceptions of risk. Risk perception based on economic gain/loss, safety and security, or environmental impacts can be found at different levels of community organization. Assessment and management of risk has to take an integrated approach to include the individual concern, cultural influence, and the structural impact to a community (Brown & Damery, 2002; Hampton, 1999; Hannigan 2006; UN, 2000). When flood risk management utilizes the integrated approach, gaps can be filled in assessing vulnerability. This holistic understanding allows for more helpful support factors in determining mitigation plans to reduce a community's overall risk and lessen disaster impact (Brown & Dowry, 2002; Hampton, 1999; Parkinson, 2003; Siegrist & Gutscher, 2006).

Quantifiable vulnerability is defined as the relationship between the severity of the expected hazard and such demographic factors as race, economic status, age or the proximity to the potential hazard. Assessing vulnerability within a population is not an easily defined task. Understanding an individual’s, neighborhood’s, or community’s ability to cope, adapt, and recover from an environmental hazard remains imperative for the success of mitigation (Brown & Damery, 2002; Youngman, 2009).

Mitigation plans must consider that community members will not be protected equally even if the physical proximity to a hazard is equally distributed across a population. Behavior modifications are often a key to successful non-structural mitigation in reducing vulnerability. More resources need to be designated to ensure the ability for educational and lifestyle changes among the highest risk. The disaster of hurricane Katrina serves as a good example of how non-structural mitigation was planned for a population with more mobility and resources, leaving those with high levels of vulnerability with the same level risk as victims of flooding a century ago (Mutter, 2008; Youngman, 2009).

CITY OF EVANSVILLE: ASSESSING RISK AND VULNERABILITY

The Evansville Area Plan Commission (EAPC) has defined areas of social risk and vulnerability based on descriptive variables utilizing data from the 2000 U.S. Census Tracts:

- Income
- Age
  - Juvenile
  - Over 65
The U.S. census subdivides physical areas of a county into statistical units designed for data interpretation. Population demographics, economic status, and living situations within each tract should be fairly similar with an average of about 4,000 residents. Evansville has a median household income of $31,963, 36.4% below the state average, and 11% of the citizens live below the poverty line. Of the 57,065 housing units, 25.7% were built before 1939, 418 units lack plumbing, 789 units lack kitchen facilities, and 254 units were classified as severely overcrowded. The urban core consists of 14 tracts that are also characterized by higher percentage of homes built before 1939, higher number of rental units, and increased vacancy rates. Although housing in Vanderburgh County increased by 34%, growth occurred in rural areas while the urban core lost housing units (Area Plan, 2004).

Within the urban core, six tracts were recognized as neighborhoods with substantial needs. These focus areas are characterized by an increased population with incomes below the poverty level, over the age of 25 but lacking a high school diploma, on public assistance, not owning a vehicle, and with a high percent of elderly and minority residents. Tracts that meet focus-area criteria include units 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, and 26 (Area Plan, 2004). These areas are noted for having the largest number of people with a high risk for vulnerability; additional social, economic, health or environmental stress would result in a greater cost to life.

**EVANSVILLE CITY FLOODING**

Evansville city government assesses flooding risk based on two flooding maps: the FEMA 2007 Ohio River fluvial flood map and a 1997 Flooding Problem Map from engineering firm Clark Deitz. The Evansville Area Plan Commission (EAPC) uses the 1997 Flooding Problem map for the Vanderburgh County Multi-Hazard Plan. The Flooding Problem map was designed to show the four primary types of institutional flooding based on the original stormwater master plan of 1997. Combined Sewage
Overflow (CSO) defined as flooding due to a back up of the antiquated sanitary sewer system. This type of flooding has the greatest health and safety risks because it produces raw sewage in homes and streets as the systems overflow during rain events. Neighborhood flooding typically involves streets and residential areas due to inadequate drainage, destruction of wetlands, and filled-in creeks and ditches. Stream Maintenance and Stream System flooding both indicate more natural stream or creek drainages that overflow their banks. Stream System flooding is often caused by too much stormwater runoff being diverted into a few natural drainages; neighborhoods along Pigeon Creek would be an example of this phenomenon. Stream Maintenance refers to natural drainages or roadside ditches that have been overgrown or filled with debris and no longer have the capacity to efficiently carry the load required (Clark Dietz, 2007 1.0).

Stormwater flooding occurs when a storm event produces a certain amount of rain in a short period of time. During these events, stormwater runoff overloads drainage capacity and fills sewer systems. Once the stormwater system and the sewer system are full, the water backs into streets and homes. Depending on the severity of the storm event, stormwater and sewage is stored in basements and roadways until the infrastructure is relieved into the Ohio River or Pigeon Creek. The greater the amount of rain in a short period of time, or the more rain events, the more time before water is drained back into the system again. In many areas it takes less than one inch of rain to back up sewers and flood the residential neighborhoods (Clark Dietz, 2007 1.0).

Storm events are rated based on statistical frequency. Although meteorologists and other experts may identify a flood event by how often it occurs over time, such as the 100 year flooding maps used by FEMA, it is more accurate to describe an event based on the percent probability that a certain amount of rain would fall (inches) in a certain amount of time (approximately 6 hours). This frequency designation was designed and is used by FEMA as the flood regulating agency. Recent actual frequency of rain events has shown the predicted statistical frequency to be less accurate in the past 12 years. Analysis of rainfall in Evansville from 1995-2007 shows the following occurrences. Between 6 hour windows, 23 storms exceeded a 2-year rain event (2.3”), 9 storms exceeded a 5-year rain event (2.89”), 7 storms exceeded a 10-year rain event (3.36”), 4 storms exceeded a 25-year rain event (4.03”), 3 storms exceeded a 50-year rain event (4.57”), and 1 storm exceeded a 100-year rain event (5.15”). Current models predict there is a 1% chance any storm will produce a rain depth of 5.15” or more within 6 hours. Either way, however, the statistical frequency for storm events does not match the prediction models for rain depth and duration in this area over the past 12 years (Clark Dietz, 2007).

The “Flooding Problem Map” was designed by the first Stormwa-
ter Master Plan Task Force in 1997; it has become the primary resource for hazard risk assessment for Evansville city agencies. This map was utilized by the Vanderburgh Area Plan Commission to fulfill a multi-hazard risk assessment in partnership with the Evansville Emergency Management Agency and FEMA. It is still the most current city flooding risk map the city utilizes; it has also been used as the flooding boundaries for the second Stormwater Master Plan Task force in 2007 (EAPC, 2009; Clark Dietz, 2007). Although the 2007 study has pinpointed more accurate data to flooding in specific homes and street intersections, the 1997 map gives boundaries of stormwater flooding that are recognized by governmental agencies.

OBJECTIVES

The objective of this research is to examine whether the risk of flooding is unequally distributed based on racial and income data in Evansville. Median household income and racial demographics can be indicators of a level of vulnerability within a population. Studies indicate vulnerable populations have a higher probability to live or work in closer proximity to environmental hazards (Downey & Hawkins, 2008; Downey & Willigan, 2005; Mascarenhas, 2009). This investigation overlaps U.S. Census tract data from 2000 for Evansville with the 1997 Stormwater Flooding Hazard Map to determine if the racial and income data for the population within the flooding hazard boundaries was equal to the overall racial and income demographic of the city as a whole.

METHODS AND RESULTS

This research compared data from every census tract within the corporate city limits of Evansville. Utilizing geographical information system (GIS) software, the stormwater hazard map was delineated into a new layer so that parameters could be made on all flooding areas. GIS census tract maps were used to find the demographic parameters within those flooding boundaries. Data was collected within a flooding area based on seven variables. The type of flooding referred to whether the event occurred as result of CSO, neighborhood, or stream maintenance influences. Race, which referred to the race or ethnicity of affected individuals, was defined as White, Black, American Indian/Eskimo, Asian, Hispanic, and Multi-Race. Other variables included population size, income, whether one rented or owned living arrangements, the number of vacant living spaces, and age (18 and under as well as 65 and over). Data results based
on age and residential type were eliminated from this study due to inadequate census information.

A median income was derived from the collection of all census tract income data within flooding areas. Income was separated for each of the three flooding types and for the entire flooding parameter. Maps were developed to reflect the median household income levels for all of the tracts within the city of Evansville. The areas of hatching are the flooding boundaries within those tracts. The highest amount of poverty is found in the downtown, urban core. Although not homogenous, there is a tendency for households with higher incomes to reside near the outer limits of the city boundaries.

The median household income of residents within all flooding boundaries is $29,809.00 in comparison to $31,963.00, the median household income for the entire population of Evansville. Residents in flooding areas show an annual median household income 6.74% less than residents living in non-flooding areas. Unfortunately, results from this data calculation utilized income information from each entire tract, providing an unweighted outcome. A more accurate comparison of income data would represent that impact of flooding is not distributed evenly throughout each tract; some tracts included in the income equation had very little flooding or flooding had little to no impact on residents in the tract.

Racial information from US census data gave the population demographics in each tract. The percentage of flooding in each affected tract was compared to an equal percentage of each racial demographic to produce a population size in each of the 30 flooding areas. The racial population demographic was then compared to the overall population information for the entire city of Evansville. Results from this comparison show the median racial demographic of all flooding areas and the percent difference from overall city population demographics: 79.69% White (10.8% decrease), 13.10% Black (16.9% increase), .44% American Indian/Eskimo (54.55% increase), 1.3% Asian (46.15% increase), 6.32% Hispanic (82.6% increase), and 2.32% Multi-race (39.66% increase). These results show an increased presence of racial minorities within flooding boundaries.

The map for Stormwater Flooding Types, shows the tracts of the city that incur problems of CSO, neighborhood flooding, or storm maintenance. Racial demographic data for all flooding areas shows a significant increase in minorities. Different types of flooding have different levels of risk based on frequency, health and safety. Determining the income and racial demographics from each area based on the flooding type can specifically identify vulnerability to the type of flooding hazard a population may be at highest risk for.
The graph for each flooding type shows the population demographics based on density. Because the total area in acres varied in size the population of people per acre was determined and a weighted percent was found. The results found areas with flooding of CSO have a racial population of: 83% White, 7% Black, 6% Hispanic, and less than 1% for other races; the median household income for CSO is $28,751.00. Neighborhood flooding areas have a racial population of: 79% White, 12% Black, 3% for both Hispanic and American Indian/Eskimo, 2% Asian and 1% Multirace; the median household income for neighborhood flooding is $34,991.00. Stream Maintenance flooding have a racial population of: 68% White, 18% Black, 9% Hispanic, 3% Multirace, and 1% for both American Indian/Eskimo and Asian demographics; median household income for stream maintenance is $25,865. These findings suggest specific types of flooding can be targeted to certain vulnerable populations. Areas that flood due to stream maintenance problems tend to affect greater minority populations than the overall population of Evansville. In addition, areas that flood due to combined sewer overflow tend to see an increase in Hispanic populations as compared to the overall population within the city.

CONCLUSION

For nearly half of the citizens of Evansville, the risk of flooding is a true concern almost every time the sky clouds over. Environmental hazards, like the city’s stormwater flooding problem, are not the product of the natural environment itself, but of social and political development. A hazard has different levels of risk and society’s responsibility to mitigate that risk relies on the keen understanding of the cause. Mitigation of risk can only be successful through an integrated approach of both structural plans and very well developed non-structural mitigation. Non-structural mitigation requires planners and decision makers to have knowledge of the risk and vulnerability of the population.

A population has greater vulnerability when residents have lower income, belong to a minority group, are young children or elderly. Vulnerability is increased when a population has limited mobility to escape, fewer resources to recover, and a higher risk for health problems. These factors decrease the ability for the population to “bounce back” from an environmental or social disaster. The distribution of risk to an environmental hazard that heavily affects a more vulnerable population is considered environmental inequality (Brown & Damery, 2002; Downey & Hawkins, 2008; Downey & Willigan, 2005; Freudenburg et al, 2008; Johnson et al, 2007; Riley, 1998; Youngman, 2009).

Evansville experiences high incidences of flooding, but the effect
of that flooding is not equally distributed throughout the city’s racial and socioeconomic populations. The results of this study show that citizens with a higher vulnerability rate due to income and race may also incur increased risk from flooding due to that vulnerability, causing further debilitation in quality of life. Flooding has a high cost, not only to governmental pocketbooks but to the ability of a community to support each individual’s life chances.

NOTES

1. City data (including the engineer’s 2007 Stormwater Master Plan) only report 18 payments from FEMA totaling $403,533.13 in flood disaster payouts. However, one email in 2006 from a FEMA employee describes 36 who were denied coverage totaling over $250,000 of unmet need. This suggests of the 591 victims who applied more than 18 were reimbursed for some loss.

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The mythic woman is a legend found in many cultures. These stories can often serve as a warning to young girls, such as to take precautions when dealing with men or where there is concern about their burgeoning sexuality. The stories can also celebrate women and the positive influence they have over a community. The two stories I examine in my paper employ the “mythic woman” as a source of female empowerment. In Sandra Cisneros’ “Woman Hollering Creek” and Leslie Marmon Silko’s “Yellow Woman,” the oral tradition of storytelling is very important in both of the main female character’s lives. The mythic woman in these stories is not only a way for the characters to transcend their lives, but a figure that they relate to as well. Cleófilas identifies with La Llorona in the sense that she is a woman in a male-dominated culture that views female suffering as something women bring upon themselves. The abuse that she endures is regarded as normal in her community. The narrator of Silko’s story covets the kind of carefree life that Yellow Woman embodies and believes that her true identity is that of the Yellow Woman. Culture is significant to the context of each story; Cisneros comes from a Chicana background and Silko is of Native American Indian descent. How American culture and the female characters’ outside, marginal culture intertwine is crucial to how they view themselves.

The two stories would seem to be opposites of the other in terms of what kind female myth they are creating. The Yellow Woman found in Laguna Pueblo culture is almost always portrayed as a free spirit, she is not tied down by gendered expectations, and she embraces difference. The Yellow Woman is sexually free and crosses traditional behavioral boundaries often found in the majority culture. In comparison, La Llorona, the traditional Chicano myth, is often portrayed in a more negative light. As the legend goes, La Llorona was an Indian woman who had several illegitimate children. Her lover left her due to this, and as a result, La Llorona drowned her children in a river out of her grief. Now she continues to search for her children, dressed in all white, and weeping. Unlike Yellow Woman, La Llorona is often used as a warning to townspeople, particularly in the context of female/male relationships. However, when placed in the context of these two pieces of fiction, the legends’ meaning can change entirely.

The ways in which the legends construct femininity play an inte-
gral part in how each character constructs her personal version of femininity. La Llorona was a myth created by men to serve as a warning to both women and men. The legends states that La Llorona will seduce men that follow her and drown them and she will do the same to curious women who stray too far from home. The defining aspect of La Llorona’s femininity is her lamenting over her children. Her inconsolable weeping is comparable to the female characters on the telenovelas Cleófilas tries to emulate, not only in regards to how they present themselves physically through dress but also in their grandiose ideals of love and relationships. The oral tradition of La Llorona and the modern day media both construct female characters whose most redeeming feature of their femininity is their lack of self-regard in terms of how males treat them. The medium through which the stories are told has changed, but the story has not. As she is “immersed in romance novels and the telenovelas, Cleófilas is initiated into a culture of weeping women, the tale of ‘La Llorona’ retold in countless ways around her” (Doyle 66). While La Llorona suffers out of anger and grief, the telenovela actresses suffer from love. Cleófilas learns from the shows that “to suffer for love is good. The pain all sweet somehow” (Cisneros 1401). The feminine ideal demonstrated through the telenovela actresses is a woman who will do anything to please her boyfriend/husband, any male figure in her life at the cost of her emotional health. She will endure any kind of abuse put upon her by male figures or will allow herself to be taken advantage of, all in the hopes that particular a male figure will eventually care for her. Cleófilas seems to be combination of the two, as her need to prolong her unhappy relationship with her husband as a way to validate her love turns to anger when she makes the decision to leave him later in the story. Cleófilas could be seen as embodying the aspects of both La Llorona and the telenovela actresses as she feels the need to constantly please her husband and not create any problems for herself and him by telling anyone about the abuse, but she also seems to feel a great deal of anger toward him, as she identifies with La Llorona’s anger at the men in her community that drove her to madness.

The Yellow Woman of Silko’s story however, provides a more positive view of women. As Paula Gunn Allen explains, “virtually any story [in Laguna Pueblo culture] that has a female protagonist can be a Yellow Woman story as long as its purpose is to clarify aspects of women’s lives in general” (Allen 610). The very nature of these folktales aims to provide insight into the lives of women therefore giving their presence value in the community. Yellow Woman’s femininity is depicted through her sexuality and freedom, two aspects that Cleófilas is alienated from in her life with her abusive husband. Yellow Woman’s femininity does not seem to be based on any traditional female characteristics, as she often crosses what would be traditional female behavior in her actions and
she is viewed as the spiritual connection between the human and natural world. There are no cultural expectations that Yellow Woman must abide by, she has total freedom over her femininity and how she chooses to express it. The Yellow Woman stories reveal that Native American Indian culture placed women in a more gender neutral role in all aspects of the community, whether it was working with the crops, taking care of the family, or building shelter. Women were viewed as equals in the community and any task that could be deemed as “masculine” was still appropriate for a woman to do. Silko’s narrator is in the unique position that she is living between two cultures, American and Native American, and must create her femininity around those two perspectives.

The notion of a traditional, ideal beauty is closely tied in with how femininity is constructed in both stories. In “Woman Hollering Creek,” Cleófilas learns how to “become” a woman through studying the actresses on her favorite telenovelas. She and her friends would “try and copy the way the women comb their hair, wear their makeup” (Cisneros 1400). Cleófilas views these characters as the standard of beauty in her world. She also connects the telenovela characters’ attractiveness to obtaining a boyfriend or husband. In order to have a fulfilling life, a woman must always have a partner which in turn can only happen if she is considered beautiful. Cleófilas learns that in order to be validated, a woman must have a man in her life.

In Silko’s “Yellow Woman” the narrator herself who is implied to the real Yellow Woman is never described in any physical terms. The reader is never told if she is conventionally beautiful or has features that would be viewed as unattractive by mainstream culture. Silko’s essay “Yellow Woman and a Beauty of the Spirit” explains how native Pueblo culture did not place any value on an individual’s physical appearance. Silko states that in the culture “beauty was as much a feeling of harmony as it was a visual, aural, or sensual effect… the whole person had to be beautiful, not just the face or the body; faces and bodies could not be separated from hearts and souls” (Silko 466). She states later that in every story, Yellow Woman is described as being beautiful, but this beauty mentioned in each story is pertaining to “her passion, her daring, and her sheer strength to act when catastrophe is imminent” (Silko 469). The narrator of Silko’s story is from modern times and would most likely be familiar with the emphasis on physical beauty that permeates contemporary culture. Her life as Yellow Woman could be seen as a reprieve from that pressure to conform from American culture, as difference is celebrated in the myths as well as in the “inner” beauty that comes from the soul.

If both stories are viewed through the perspective of border culture, the relationship between the oral legends and how they influence each female narrator can change dramatically from their original interpre-
tation. This is seen most clearly in the legend of La Llorona in regards to “Woman Hollering Creek.” Cisneros takes the ancient legend and incorporates the myth with modern day stories found in the telenovelas that Cleófilas views daily. The television shows provide a contemporary version of La Llorona in the sense that the female characters are suffering for the love of the men in their lives very much like La Llorona did. Cleófilas is caught between the expectations that her Mexican heritage has taught her to behave around men and how popular culture has told her to act. Jean Wyatt explains the connection between La Llorona and the telenovela stars by stating that “identifying with La Llorona’s frozen sorrow and with the telenovela heroines immobilizes Cleófilas in the posture of beaten wife, ’suffering for love,’ unable to articulate her experience or to find release through action” (Wyatt 163). Her ethnic heritage has taught her it is best to always to keep her thoughts and emotions to herself, especially if it will be in conflict with her husband’s opinion. This proves to be dangerous not only emotionally, but physically as well, as Cleófilas is too frightened and ashamed to tell anyone that she is being abused by her husband in the beginning of the story. Her inability to stand up for herself is compounded with the lessons she learns from telenovelas which teach her that in order for a man to truly care for her, she must suffer for his affection in order to validate herself to him. Alesia Garcia points out that Cleófilas’ two neighbors, Dolores and Soledad, could also be viewed as La Llorona figures in the same way that the telenovela characters are perceived. She explains that “Soledad and Dolores each live alone—the result of either being a widow or of abandonment by a husband” (Garcia 18). The entrance of characters Graciela and Felice later in the story provides positive foils to Cleófilas’ neighbors.

How border culture changes the negative connotations of La Llorona comes in the second half of the story. After Cleófilas experiences a humiliating doctor appointment, a sympathetic nurse (Graciela) who has seen her bruises enlists her friend (Felice) to help her leave her husband. It is implied in the story that Cleófilas talks to Graciela about her abusive husband for the sake of her unborn child. She realizes that despite being pregnant, Juan Pedro will continue to hurt her and it is her responsibility now to remove herself from that environment. Cleófilas may have been influenced by the independence of the American women she sees who take care of their health, mentally and physically, not for the sake of a man, but for their own personal well-being. Felice, who identifies as a Chicana, embodies both the Mexican heritage of Cleófilas and the freedom and independence of an American woman. Cleófilas admires and is also intimidated by Felice, as she drives a pickup truck that she bought herself; “Cleófilas asked if it was her husband’s, she said she didn’t have a husband...she herself was paying for it” (Cisneros 1408) and “hollers” like La
Llorona when they drive over the creek back to Mexico. For Cleófilas, this is a positive reinterpretation of La Llorona, Cleófilas has taken back the myth that was once created as a way to hold back and control women and re-appropriated it as a symbol of strength to her. Cleófilas’ identification as a woman has moved from the highly feminized telenovela stars and romance novel characters to Felice, despite her being unable to truly relate to her more masculine aggressive attitude and personality. The trip back across the border is symbolic in that even though Cleófilas is returning to her father in Mexico, where it is implied she will once again be under the patriarchal influence albeit a more positive one than her husband’s, she is crossing the border back into her sense of self, her freedom.

The effect of border culture on Silko’s “Yellow Woman” is more subtle than that of the La Llorona folktale in Cisneros’ story, but it is still significant in how it changes the Yellow Woman mythology. The narrator of “Yellow Woman” is caught between the mundane life she lives in modern day New Mexico and the unpredictable events that occur in the realm of Yellow Woman. She questions her existence due to the man (Silva) she has spent the night with who refers to her as Yellow Woman, as she is certain “that he is only a man—some man from nearby—and I will be sure that I am not Yellow Woman. Because she is from out of time and I live now and I’ve been to school and there are highways and pickup trucks that Yellow Woman never saw” (Silko 1334). Unlike Cisneros’ “Woman Hollering Creek” that focuses a great deal on how border relations and heritage affect Cleoflas’ sense of identity and femininity, “Yellow Woman” addresses the issue of indigenous culture more thoroughly, especially at the end, when Silva and the narrator come across a white rancher who threatens Silva for rustling cattle. The narrator flees out of fear of what might happen and as she is leaving, hears Silva shoot the rancher. The interaction could be viewed as the struggle between the indigenous Pueblo tribes and the white settlers who took over their land. It might also be viewed as a way for the narrator to be brought back to “reality” after traveling with Silva as Yellow Woman. The encounter with the rancher brings her back to her life living on the border and from there she decides to return home.

One way that “Yellow Woman” addresses indigenous Native American culture is through how the story approaches oral storytelling in Laguna Pueblo community. Yellow Woman stories in particular provide a complex and rich assessment of Laguna Pueblo culture as these folktales include “story structures, the Pueblo origin myth, the idea of an ancestral homeland, and the continuity of the stories” (Garcia 9). This notion of an oral storytelling tradition also plays into the idea that Silko’s narrator is struggling with her identity both as a modern woman and as a Pueblo Indian. The narrator seems to feel disconnected from her life in modern day
New Mexico and its lack of cultural stimulation, her only real tie to her Native Pueblo culture seeing through the Yellow Woman stories her grandfather once told her. The modern themes and setting of the story allow Silko to “recontextualize the entire story within a 20th century setting, showing that, though ‘progress’ and ‘national’ unification have affected the lifestyles of Laguna Pueblos, Yellow Woman remains a part of their oral tradition” (Garcia 11).

The act of oral storytelling and the Yellow Woman myth in Silko’s story is a way for the narrator to come to terms with the modern life that does not fulfill her emotionally and her “fantasy” life as Yellow Woman. At the end of the story, the narrator decides to return home to her life with her family, knowing that it would be unreasonable to stay in the world of Yellow Woman. Similar to Cleófilas asking Graciela for help to leave her husband, it is the narrator’s responsibility to uphold the promises she has made to her family as a mother and wife. She seems to have a newfound sense, however, of herself through her experience as Yellow Woman and believes that she will be able to return to that life whenever she needs to. This is a striking parallel to how Cleófilas also uses the oral tradition of La Llorona as a way to gain strength when her abusive relationship takes control of her life.

Both stories display how femininity, identity, and border culture are connected. Cleófilas and “Yellow Woman’s” narrator are caught between the standards their indigenous cultures and communities set for them and what is expected of them within American culture. Cleófilas finds a kind of role model in Felice, a Chicana woman who embodies Mexican characteristics that Cleófilas identifies with and more American aspects, such as her independence which Cleófilas wishes for, at the very least, from her abusive husband. Silko’s narrator, however, finds her self-identity not in the American culture, but in the traditional Pueblo oral folktale. She seems to be isolated by the new, modern way of living in the United States, which is more ritualistic and predictable. During her time as Yellow Woman, the narrator is free to be herself and act in a manner that does not restrict her sexually or emotionally.

Border culture influences each character’s identity due to the American influence that is brought in. While femininity in American culture can obviously be seen as less than empowering, the way it is viewed by each character changes based on the context. Cleófilas admires Felice’s more masculine femininity, though the reader is never told whether Cleófilas believes this the way every woman behaves in the United States. The narrator of “Yellow Woman” however, seems to be rejecting the docile and passive image of femininity that is found in American culture when she gravitates towards living her life as Yellow Woman and enjoying the freedom it brings in regards to ignoring traditional female behavior.
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Christopher Westfall is a history major and will graduate in spring 2010. Next year, he will be attending Louisiana State University and working towards a Masters degree in American History. He hopes to pursue a Ph.D. in History and pursue a career in academia. His paper was written for HIST 307: The United States and World War, 1914-1945. Christopher chose to write about the 75th because his fiancé’s great-uncle served in the division, and this served as a small memorial to him and the men he served with.

Celeste R. Mandley is a non-traditional student, working toward a bachelor's degree in English Rhetoric and Composition. This essay was written for History of the U.S. to 1865. She has discovered that she likes to find the hidden story behind a story, it is usually more interesting. Celeste decided to return to school after seeing her youngest child graduate from high school. She hopes to graduate in the spring of 2011 and join a publishing house to edit textbooks.

Sheena Pfefferkorn is a senior Sociology major with minors in Biology and Gender Studies. She wrote the paper for Dr. Melinda York's women and violence course. She has been a member of the Sociology, Anthropology, Criminal Justices Studies club, Biology Club, Activities Programming Board, and Philosophy club. Additionally, the last two years she has participated in the Vagina Monologues at USI in order to raise money for Albion Fellows Bacon Center and to help end violence against women. In the future she plans to continue her education and earn a Masters degree.

Joshua Orem is a senior history major at the University of Southern Indiana and plans to pursue a Master of Arts in Museum Studies at IUPUI in the fall of 2010. Throughout his college career he has been actively involved with Historic New Harmony. His experience in New Harmony has included leading tours, participating in archeological excavations, and conducting research for exhibitions. Through his connection with Historic New Harmony, he has developed an interest in communal studies and antebellum reforms.

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