



The Gold Star Journal
2014



Matriculation by Nick Pinelli and Randall Adcock

About the Staff



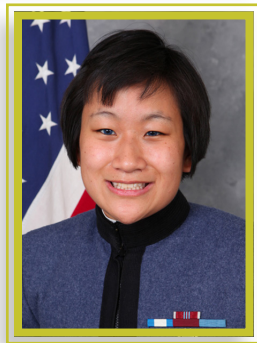
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The Gold Star Journal. Thank you.*

A Letter From the Editors

As editors, we are especially proud of our eighteenth installment of *The Gold Star Journal*. We hope you will enjoy the academic papers submitted by some of the best academic minds the Citadel has to offer. For this year, as with others, we have selected for you an assortment of papers we found to be outstanding. This rich variation of subjects is mainly due to the individual talent of the authors and the diverse academic environment fostered by the Citadel.

First we have a paper by Robert Keener, which investigates the life and legacy of Thomas Edward Lawrence, better known as Lawrence of Arabia. Following that, we have Luis Parrado, and his paper, discussing the political concerns of Estonia. Then we have a paper from Jane Ma decoding the complex similarities and differences in Milton's *Paradise Lost* and in Marlowe's *Faustus*, primarily discussing the concept of what types of heroes both iconic stories employ. After this we have Andrew Kersey and his paper which illuminates the effects of Rhodesia's transformation into Zimbabwe. Following that, we have Michael Santana's history and analysis of "La Malinche" and her far reaching effects into modern day Mexican culture. Finally, we have Sarah Katchen's exploration into the world of biological research, primarily the study of H3 Histone Proteins.

We are pleased to add that the following outstanding submissions have been chosen for special honors: Nick Pinelli's photo entitled "Folding the American Flag" was awarded "Best Photograph"; Sarah Katchen's paper entitled "Use of Percoll Gradient for Purifying Mitochondria Preparation in Brassica Olerace with Histone H3 implications" was awarded "Best Undergraduate Submission"; Jane Ma's paper entitled "From Satanic to Sublime: Marlowe's *Faustus* and Milton's Satan as Prototypes of the Romantic Hero" was awarded "Best Overall Submission".

Recognition and appreciation are also due to Karl Mack of the Sun Printing Co. for his continued help in keeping the journal looking as nice as he can, and to John Whitten of Citadel ITS for his assistance and expertise in developing the design of this year's edition, and his instruction as to how many of the editing software systems work. Additional thanks to our readers and their constructive feedback as to how we can make a stronger journal, year after year.

Finally, we would like to give our final thanks to our faculty advisor Dr. Mabrouk for her tireless patience and invaluable advisement in each year's *Gold Star Journals*. Her dedication to *the journal* has helped us countless times, and we are sure that she will be a guide for editors who write editions to come, long after we have left this school.

Ryan J. Boodee

Robert P. Keener III

Jane Ma

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Snatching Defeat from the Jaws of Victory- T. E. Lawrence and the Arab Revolt

By Robert Keener



Robert Keener is a Senior Political Science Major from Alpha Company. He has studied in England, Ireland, and France, and has been featured on Dean's List multiple times, President's

List, and is the 2012 winner of the "Best Submission Award" for The Gold Star Journal. After graduation he hopes to pursue a career in international business.

Abstract

Considering the poor history for western relations with the Middle East, Thomas Edward Lawrence's ability to help organize the Arab Revolt stands as a rare success story in the difficult dialogue between the two regions. But who exactly was T. E. Lawrence and, more importantly, how was he able to establish healthy relations and win popular support in a land about which most British knew nothing?

Tomas Edward Lawrence was born in Northern Wales, the 16th of August, 1888. His educational interest actually began with castles, and he spent two summers before college studying castles in Northern France. While studying at Jesus College at Oxford University Lawrence graduated in modern history with 1st class honors. To begin work on his final thesis on castles, later to be named "Crusader Castles", Lawrence returned to France to study castles, during this time he demonstrated exceptional physical fitness by bicycling over 2,000 miles. To complete his thesis he then went to Syria to study the castles the French had built during the crusades.¹

His time in Syria is presumably the first time he discovered how much he would come to love the Arab people. In a letter to his mother (he wrote the vast majority of his personal wartime correspondence to his mother) he said "I will have such difficulty becoming English again, here I am Arab in habits..."². After three months Lawrence was forced to return home due to lack of money, but by this time he had walked over 1100 miles from castle to castle, going from Beirut, Aleppo, Urfa, Camera, back to Aleppo, to Damascus, and eventually from there back home to London.³

After returning to London in 1909, Lawrence continued to work on his thesis, which he finished in 1909. In the winter of 1910 he left for Syria again to study Arabic and archeology in a mission run by family friends, but soon after he left for an excavation dig in Carchemish (Jerablus) on the Syrian/Turkish border frontier. In one particular dig he found Byzantine, Crusader, Roman, Hittite, and French architecture.⁴ One person Lawrence was certain to communicate his findings to was his mentor, Professor David Hogarth, who was later to have some of the biggest impact on Lawrence's life.⁵

One of the most important aspects of Lawrence's short lived archeological career was his interactions with his workers. He explains in another letter to his mother:

*"(In the dig sites)... we are continually bothered by blood feuds, by getting into the same trench men who have killed another's kin or run off with their wives.... There is no desire to kill, and public opinion does not insist on vengeance, if there is 50 feet of earth between the offender and the offended"*⁶

Although no one could have suspected at the time, managing these blood feuds between Arab families in dig sites is what ultimately would build the foundation for managing blood feuds in his army of tribes during World War I.

What is important to remember, as well, is the fact that during this time Lawrence was technically in the Ottoman Empire. During his tour of castles and his time excavating he was being exposed not only to the culture and customs of the Arabs, but those of the Turks as well. Any military tactician will argue how important it is to know your enemy, and Lawrence's later success in the war demonstrates quite well how he got to know the Turks.

When World War I finally broke out Lawrence found himself in England, but more importantly, his mentor, David Hogarth, had joined British Intelligence and effectively established the Arab Bureau. After his mentor founded what would become the principle espionage outlet in the Middle East, it was no surprise that Lawrence joined soon after.⁷

The Arab Bureau was based in Cairo, Egypt, and there Lawrence spent the first two years of the war in a mundane, Kafkaesque job as an intelligence officer with his associate Stewart Francis Newcombe. He describes this in another letter to his mother;

...maps, maps, maps, hundreds and thousands of them, to be drawn & printed, & packed up, & sent off: - my job;- also in keeping track of Turkish Army movements, which is like hunting an inebriated needle with St. Vitus through whole fields of hay & for it we send violent and rude telegrams to Sofia, Belgrade, Petrograd, Athens,

Basra, & Tiflis. The last sounds rather a decent place. We then file up these telegrams & our ideas into a book called the Turkish Army Handbook, now in its fourth edition. A very dull volume, with an extensive circulation (third thousand).

*Then we do funny little pamphlets telling our soldiers how to speak to a Greek, & compendia of Turkish manners: and we advise all sorts of people in power on geographical points. The ignorance of these people would give them impossible-ever-to-sit-down-again experiences in a preparatory school. 'Who does Crete belong to?' 'Where is Piraeus?'*⁸

Needless to say, at first Lawrence was unimpressed and unsatisfied with the Arab Bureau, he was also seemingly a rare breed of person, who was both unpopular and overqualified for it. In debates over strategy in the Arab region he was known for taking the Arab side when European and Arab interests collided and he was known to have less-than-desirable hygiene. That being said he spoke Arabic and understood the culture better than anyone else in the Arab Bureau.

As the failed Gallipoli campaign came to an end, Great Britain decided to take another approach to effectively fighting the Ottoman Empire. British occupation of Egypt (and more importantly the Sinai Peninsula) was, at this point, the only major success in the region. The British needed a new offensive drive against the Ottomans, and they found the push in Sir Henry McMahon, the newly appointed British High Commissioner in Egypt, and Serif Hussein, the ruler of Mecca, a descendent of Muhammad, and a key political and spiritual leader in the region and among the Arab people. The agreement implied that if the Arabs aligned their revolt against the Ottomans with British interests the British would help build an Arab state.

After the Hussein-McMahon agreement was made the Arab bureau decided it would be best to send an envoy to help ignite the revolt (almost an unnecessary step since the idea of revolt was very

popular among the Arab nation). More important was to have someone who could lead the revolt, lead it tactically and along with British interests. T. E. Lawrence was the ideal candidate since he knew the language, geography, cultures, and customs. The fact that he was considered a nuisance in the office of the Arab Bureau also likely played at least a small part.⁹

One of the first challenges Lawrence faced was getting choosing a leader of the revolt. He quickly met with three of Sherif Hussein's four sons, Abdulla, Ali, and Zeid. At first they all seemed like fine choices, but none of which stood up to scrutiny. Lawrence thought Abdulla as the brains for his father and had the potential to be a fantastic statesman, but determined his mind was not going to be able to focus on any one thing for too long, and that this would put him at a tremendous disadvantage during the war.

Ali was polite and very intelligent in law and religion, T. E. Lawrence described him in his autobiography "7 Pillars of Wisdom" as:

*"...of middle height, thin, and already looking more than his thirty-seven years... His manner was dignified and admirable, but direct; and he struck me as a pleasant gentleman, conscientious, without great force, of character, nervous, and rather tired... He was too conscious of his high heritage to be ambitious; and his nature was too clean to see or suspect interested motives in those about him."*¹⁰

In short he was deemed too nice, too physically weak (his weakness was born of sickness), and much too trusting to lead a revolt, never the less, Lawrence felt if Faisal was not impressive enough Ali would be the best choice.

Zeid was the third option, and the easiest

to deny. He was shy and nervous, but also only nineteen years old. His age however was not even the most disqualifying condition, although he was an avid supporter of the Arab Revolt he was ½ Turkish and at that point not even an option as a revolt leader.

During his search for a revolt leader Lawrence had heard much about the fourth son of Sherif Hussein, Price Faisal. Lawrence took a trek through the desert to find the leader at al-Hamra with a force of four-thousand Arab irregulars; who

had already been fighting since the fall of Medina to the Turkish Army months earlier and the Arab attempt to take it once more. Faisal described the attack a desperate attempt, where most of the tribesmen fled after experiencing artillery for the first time. Faisal rode in front of his men out in

the open as an attempt to inspire victory, but it was in vain. The assault was, in short, a failure.

Many Arabs, Lawrence had leaned, had gone to speak with the Turkish high command, offering to surrender if there tribes would be spared. The Turks accepted their terms, but went on to slaughter many Arab camps, even those who had promised to stay out of the revolt.¹¹ This massacre led the Arabs to want further revolt since women and children, who were forbidden to be hurt in war, were killed, and much like the Boston Massacre in the colonial United States, this act of suppression only led to further desire to rebel.

Needless to say, Lawrence had found his leader for the revolt to gather around, at least in the field. He was immediately impressed with Price Faisal as he wrote in a letter to the director of the Arab Bureau (at the time it was Major Kinahan Cornwallis) "Feisal is the Beau Ideal of the tribal leader". He found Feisal's command presence,

The fact that he was considered a nuisance in the office of the Arab Bureau also likely played at least a small part.

tactical mind, and political standing among the Arab tribes to be exceptional and the two became close friends quickly.¹²

Feisal and Lawrence helped defend and attack in a few minor conflicts, just big enough for Lawrence to make a name for himself among the Arabs. One issue was that Feisal didn't like the image of a British military man coming into his tent and influencing change on his course of action, his men might believe he is becoming a puppet of British interests, but Feisal needed Lawrence's advice on how to lead the revolt. He also needed to make sure that Lawrence would be supporting Arab interests at the end of the war, so he did something that would also make Lawrence feel like more like a member of the Arab Revolt and less like a member of the British Army, he gave Lawrence the traditional Arab clothing that he would come to be famous for wearing.

During this early phase Lawrence also obtained the funding needed for the Arab Revolt, which eventually led to be £125,000 paid in gold, each month, until the end of the war. Included, as well, was the promise of artillery support from the Royal Navy. Many Arabs were skeptical of Lawrence's promise; it was only natural to be skeptical of westerners trying to be involved in Middle-Eastern affairs. It was not until the first major advancement of Feisal's army 180 miles along the Red Sea coast from Yenbo to Wejh in early 1917 the Arabs as a whole began to look up to Lawrence as a leader. During this advancement the Royal Navy followed closely behind providing artillery support. The use of artillery against the Turks instead of against the Arabs was a huge morale booster for the Arabs on the advance and

they gave credit to the most immediate British element, Lawrence.¹³

The advance from Yebo to Wejh also helped isolate the Hejaz railway for further attacks on Turkish trains going through the area and led to Lawrence's famous guerilla campaign against the Turkish. This transition from a conventional army to a guerilla campaign came about for two main reasons.

The first was that it made more strategic sense to assault the railways. The only other alternative would be to assault the cities along the railway directly, but it was not preferred since the trains along the railway were poorly guarded against attack. Even as the campaign went on and the Turks adapted to the Arab irregular army's tactics, the Arab irregular army would change them. For instance at first only simple land mines were used to blow up the trains along with sections of

the track, but the Turks eventually grew wise to this tactic, so they began to send inspection trolleys, each loaded with a small platoon of men (around 11 regular infantry) to secure the rails before the trains passed. The trolleys would hit the mines and a platoon of men would be lost, but this was much more economical to losing part of a train and delaying the men and supplies.

The Arab response to this tactic was to set TNT charges on the train tracks with an assault force of Arabs hiding along sand dunes to rush the damaged train after the initial explosion. This did require many more man-hours but it guaranteed no survivors along the railway and it also allowed the Arabs to raid the trains for supplies.

This method of guerilla warfare helped the Arab forces drain the (already much in debt)



T.E. Lawrence in Traditional Garb¹

Ottoman Empire of resources as they tried to supply the cities the Arabs would have otherwise attacked in a conventional war. This resulted in the Ottoman resources being drained over a long period of time and, in effect, wasted. This was much more damaging to the Ottoman Empire than outright losing a city, since the amount of supplies would eventually run out for all the cities as they were wasted on the Hejaz railway. From March 24th to April 6th 1917 Lawrence and his men dynamited 343 rails, blew up a 4 arched bridge, cut 9 telegraph lines, destroyed 2 station buildings, 7 box wagons, seriously damaged a locomotive, killed 36 Turks, and took 70 as prisoner.¹⁴

The second reason the guerilla campaign worked so well was it was the course of action most compatible with the Arab irregular army he was put in control of. He explained in a letter to his mother:

*"... they are tribesman and as such rebellious by instinct. They hate the Turks, but they don't want to obey anyone's orders, and in consequence they turn out only as a mob of snipers or guerilla-fighters. They are wonderfully active, quite intelligent, and do what they do fairly well. They are, however, not fit to meet disciplined troops in the open, and it will be a long time before they are"*¹⁵

From this Lawrence eventually went on to what is now considered his most famous and daring assault of the war, his surprise attack on Akaba (also spelled Aquaba), which was port city critical in maintaining a Turkish foothold in the region. Lawrence attacked with a small force of Arab irregular cavalry and took the entire port only sustaining a few casualties. This was an important strategic victory since it was the last Turkish port on the Red Sea, and more importantly was used earlier in the war as a base in attacking the Suez Canal.¹⁶

Lawrence ended the war and his triumphant march into Damascus under the permission and direction of the other British celebrity in the region,

General Allenby. Lawrence's forces were not able to be a part of the final assault on Damascus since they were too far out to reach it in time by three days. Lawrence personally felt it was a disappointment, magnified when Allenby told them about the final results of the Sykes-Picot negotiations, that the French were to become, as Allenby described "The protecting power over Syria", meaning, in short, that imperialism had won.¹⁷

To Lawrence and Feisal this was an unexpected shock, earlier in the war Lawrence sent a short, bitter letter to General Clayton displaying his sympathy with the Arabs.

*"Clayton. I've decided to go off alone to Damascus, hoping to get killed on the way: for all sakes try to clear up this show before it goes further. We are calling them to fight for us on a lie, and I can't stand it"*¹⁸

After the futility of the Arab Revolt and the inevitable success of the Sykes-Picot agreement started to settle in, Lawrence attempted this suicide-by-Turk. Lawrence was taken prisoner and brutally tortured but, fortunately for the Arabs, he was eventually able to make his escape.¹⁹

The inevitable grasp of colonialism was approaching, and the post war negotiations completely displayed where Lawrence's real loyalties were. He assisted Feisal in the Paris Peace Conference as a translator and helped him strategize his alliances trying to get the Arabs the best deal they could. "I have not freed Syria to make it French" Feisal said. During the Peace conference Lawrence even went so far as to defiantly wear his Arab clothes out of unity with the Arabs.

During the opening remarks Lawrence translated for Feisal during his opening statement,

"We entered the war not to improve our own position, but to liberate our brothers in blood and in religion who have been throughout the centuries less fortunate. Above all else we did not enter the war to have our brothers and their lands apportioned among the Allies, although, of course we recognize that this new servitude would be

quite different from the yoke of the Turks. We are not asking for a favored position, but merely for justice and the fulfillment of solemn promises... We have paid a heavy price for our liberty, but we are not exhausted. We are ready to fight on, and I cannot believe that the great rulers here assembled will treat us as did our former oppressors. I think they assembled will act from higher, nobler motives, but if not, they should remember how badly it turned out for our former oppressors."

Needless to say Feisal did not like the idea of being subject to French rule.

This begs the question, why the French? The answer lies with many other justifications for post WWI colonialism in Isaiah Bowman's 1921 book "The New World". Isaiah Bowman was the advisor to Woodrow Wilson during the Paris Peace conference and chairman of the American geographic society concurrently.

Before Dr. Bowman described why the imperial powers decided to divide the world up the way they did, he fist spoke about their internal problems. France, for example, had suffered massive losses during the war, in terms of people and resources, and money was very tight. What France had meant to establish was a sustainable sphere of influence over Syria to rekindle the silk trade the two areas had developed centuries ago during the end of the crusades. This is where the French castles T. E. Lawrence had spent college studying came from. The French also felt as if they had a claim to Syria's railroads since almost all of Syria's railroads had been financed by the French.

A 1919 U. S. commission even asked the Syrians as a whole what they wanted, and they came down to just two demands, for Emir Feisal to

be named king and for Lebanon and Palestine to be included as part of Syria. Feisal was eventually made King of Syria, but Lebanon and Palestine were taken out to protect other imperial interests. It is also important to note that the French had never agreed to the Hussein-McMahon agreement, they were left out.

It is also worth mentioning that the western powers also felt that the Arabs were too divided to create a single state. Dr. Bowman, who was one

of the more neutral players in these discussions even blatantly said: "(the) Hejaz could not rule Syria". This also goes back to Feisal's opening statement, which brings to light the real debate at the end of the war, could the world powers even trust the Arabs to run a single state?²⁰

As far as the British were concerned, trust wasn't an issue. The Hussein-McMahon agreement was extremely unpopular among the British. T. E. Lawrence also weighed in that he did not think it would

work (it is what eventually led him to his attempted suicide discussed earlier). In his autobiography Lawrence said that the entire agreement started as a suggestion from the British intelligence office in Cairo to sir McMahon since they didn't expect the revolt to be successful (part of why they sent such an unpopular liaison, Lawrence, to represent their interests in the first place), and even if it was it was also important to consider Hussein's age, many of the British thought he wouldn't survive the war. The only reason they thought the revolt was necessary in the first place was to compensate for the early losses against the Turks in Gallipoli and Kut.²¹

The Hussein McMahon agreement was not even officially ratified by the British high



T.E. Lawrence²¹

command, it was really just a promise made to a man, expected to be dead by the end of the war, to help jumpstart the new momentum against the Turks. It was even considered strange for the British to not provide their standard aid, which was just limited to guns and money.

The Sykes-Picot agreement was made under much more supervision between the British and French authorities. All Sir Mark Sykes was trying to do was to protect British interests, while François George Picot was trying to maintain the French trade to Syria. The spheres of influence plan established by this plan more than covered both of their interests, but left out the Arabs, who were never part of it anyway.²²

This was born out of necessity from the British as well. At this time the British were not only managing ¼ of the world's landmass and population, but they also had a massive war debt to manage. According to Dr. Bowman their debt was around \$26,000,000,000 with an additional \$9,000,000,000 loaned to allies. Concurrently with this debt, British trade had also had a major toll. The entire domestic and international British economy centered around being able to ship goods overseas. During WWI the German U-boat campaign had made a severe dent in the British economy to where it would cripple any growth the war debt hadn't already managed to destroy. The British were simply spread too thin and in too much debt not to take advantage of every opportunity they could, especially if the only thing standing between them and Mosul's (a city in modern day Iraq) oil is an agreement made between a man who didn't have the authority to make it and a man who was supposed to be dead.²³

The western powers had also hedged their bets with the Arab Revolt. They had negotiated

a non-aggression treaty with "King" Hussein's rival and mortal enemy, Abdul Aziz "Ibn Saud". The agreement was a monthly stipend of £5,000 and Britain officially recognized all of Ibn Saud's territories as sovereign. The British were looking to establish good relations with the Saudis as well, there were even so far as rumors of oil in some parts of their territory. Ibn Saud had no problem with this; he said "I have nothing in common with the English. They are strangers to us, and Christians. But I need the help of a Great Power, and the British are better than the other powers like France and Italy." Ironically, the Saudis gained more independence by remaining neutral than Hussein got from align himself with them.

Poor political ability fused with no popular support for the Arab causes finally forced the otherwise successful T. E. Lawrence to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory.

Despite the overwhelming element of European interest in dividing the Arab nation, Feisal and Lawrence fought tooth and nail for the unified Arab state during the Paris Peace conference. Their main goal was the unified state, but they were ready to settle for any non-French rule of Arab lands. Lawrence's main

argument was that the British had conquered Syria, and keeping the land would only serve British interests in the area. Lawrence was so defiant in supporting the Arab interests that he even refused knighthood in October, 1918 as a sign of protest.

The one person on their side during the conference was President Woodrow Wilson. After listening to Feisal argue his case he said: "I think to hear the voice of liberty, a strange and, I fear, a stray voice, coming from Asia". They also found on their side a surprise group of supporters who had no weight in the Paris Peace conference, but a secret pro-Arab society in Palestine also vocalized their support for Lawrence and Feisal, they called themselves Fath al-Sham or "conquering the Levant", but for short they were called the Fatah.

In the conference Sir Mark Sykes also

showed up to argue his case for colonialism. He argued his case February, 9th, 1919 and died just a few days later, before Lawrence and Feisal could give a counter argument. After Sykes's death the negotiations were postponed until April of that year, when pacifist protesters under the direction of Mahatma Gandhi were fired on by a group of British troops. This sparked major civil unrest in India and by this time the conference committee had heard enough from Lawrence and Feisal and decided to move to protect the Suez Canal, Mosul's oil, and France's silk. The spheres of influence were established and Arab unity a thing of the past, if it ever existed. Poor political ability fused with no popular support for the Arab causes finally forced the otherwise successful T. E. Lawrence to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory.²⁴

ENDNOTES

1. Introduction in "T. E. Lawrence, The Selected Letters" Edited by Malcolm Brown
2. Letter from T. E. Lawrence to his mother, 29th of August, 1909
3. Letter from T. E. Lawrence to his mother, 22nd of September, 1909
4. Letter from Lawrence to his mother, 23rd of May, 1911
5. Letter to D. G. Hogarth, 8th of June, 1911
6. Letter from Lawrence to his mother, 18th of June, 1911
7. David Andelman, "A Shattered Peace" 2008, pages 49-51
8. A letter from Lawrence to C. F. Bell, 18th of April, 1915
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10. T.E. Lawrence, "Seven Pillars of Wisdom" 1926
11. T. E. Lawrence, "Seven Pillars of Wisdom" 1926, pages 89-94
12. Letter from Lawrence to Major Kinahan Cornwallis, 2nd of December, 1916
13. Malcolm Brown, "T. E. Lawrence the Selected Letters", editorializing
14. Letter Form Lawrence to Colonel C. E. Wilson, 16th of April, 1917
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18. Letter from Lawrence to Clayton, June 1917
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- vi. Letter from T. E. Lawrence to his mother dated 29th, of August, 1909 (pg. 19)
- vii. Letter from T. E. Lawrence to his mother, 22nd, September, 1909 (pg 20)
- viii. Letter from T. E. Lawrence to his mother, 23rd, May, 1909 (pg 36)
- ix. Letter from T. E. Lawrence to D. G. Hogarth, 8th, June, 1911 (pg 37)
- x. Letter from T. E. Lawrence to his mother, 18th, June, 1911 (pg 39)
- xi. Letter from T. E. Lawrence to C. F. Bell, 18th, April, 1915 (71)
- xii. Letter from T. E. Lawrence to Major Kinahan Cornwallis, 2nd, December, 1916 (pg 91)
- xiii. Letter from T. E. Lawrence to Colonel C. E. Wilson, 16th, April, 1917 (107)
- xiv. Letter from T. E. Lawrence to Brigadier General Clayton, June, 1917 (111)

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- xv. Andelman, David. A Shattered Peace. Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2008.
- xvi. The editorialization of Malcolm Brown in (same as above): Brown, Malcolm. T. E. Lawrence: The Selected Letters. New York, New York: Paragon House, 1988.



Recycling Boo by Nick Pinelli

Democratization and Civil-Military Relations of Estonia

By Luis Miguel Parrado



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Abstract

History has shown that democracy has continually ebbed and flowed towards more states embracing the democratic ideals of free and fair elections and the rule of law. This paper analyzes the democratization of Estonia at the end of the Cold War. It starts by providing the historical context for the Soviet domination of this Baltic state, then considers the external and internal variables that drove the process of democratization in Estonia, concluding with considerations of the modern political institutions and current state and future prospects for the security sector of Estonia.

BACKGROUND HISTORY

Estonia suffered a series of occupations by Russian and German forces throughout the 20th Century culminating in the final occupation of the Soviet Union following the end of World War II. The Soviets, operating under the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (MRP), occupied troops in Estonia and established a Soviet Republic as it did throughout most of Eastern Europe. As Nazis forces evacuated and before the Soviets could capture the capital, Tallinn, a group of prominent political individuals, known as the National Committee of the Republic of Estonia, established a national government appointed by Acting President Jüri Uluots on September 18, 1944. The government was only able to function for eight days before Soviet forces captured the city. Although most officials were arrested and deported to Siberia by Soviet secret police, President Uluots escaped to Sweden and appointed a successor, August Rei, who, upon the death of Uluots, appointed the Estonian Government in Exile in 1953 ("22 September 1944;," 2013). The Republic of Estonia, renamed the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (ESSR), endured authoritarian rule for nearly five decades as a member of the United Soviet Socialist Republics.

The impetus for popular democratization did not occur until succession of Mikhail Gorbachev in March of 1985. Gorbachev laid the framework of the populist movement to democratize and seek out independence through the establishment of his two famous policies, perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (openness). Initially, the advocating for reforms and dissidence was slow. Eventually, Estonians mobilized when it became apparent that the government in Moscow wanted to establish a phosphate mine in north-central Estonia from the spring of 1986 to 1987. The mine would pollute the air around the processing plant in Maardu near the capital and approximately forty percent of Estonia's water supply due to uranium extraction. This critical environmental issue electrified public discourse for the first time in

decades. University and high school students organized demonstrations; the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences, along with other formerly pro-Soviet institutions publically opposed the mining operation. The public outcry was successful in pressuring the USSR Council of Ministers from continuing the project (Raun, 2001). The victory in the “phosphorus war” ignited many other efforts at reform. In September 1987, under the direction of economist Edgar Savisaar, the newspaper *Edasi* published a proposal calling for the economic independence for Estonia (“Estonia’s return to independence 1987-1991,” 2013). The project, *Isemajandav Eesti* (although it was commonly referred to by its acronym IME which is the Estonian word for “miracle”), was initially welcomed by Gorbachev and encouraged the prospect for demanding more change (Raun, 2001). On the anniversary of the signing of the MRP, August 23, 1987, the first public Estonian demonstration against the MRP took place in Hirvepark which intensified demands for freedom.

The spring and summer of 1988 witnessed the rise of the Popular Front, a democratic mass movement group founded by Edgar Savisaar, and a cultural revival that was orchestrated by the Estonian Heritage Society (Raun, 2001). The Heritage Preservation Days, held in mid-April in Tartu, witnessed patriotic outbursts and the flying of the national Estonian tricolor in spite of all official bans. Such popular movements also led to the replacement of the unpopular Estonian Communist Party first secretary, Karl Vaino. Vaino was replaced by Vaino Väljas, who had been serving as a Soviet ambassador to Latin America. Väljas, even though appointed via Moscow’s recommendation, spoke out against the Soviet Union and demanded more Estonian national rights (Raun, 2001, p. 224). The presence of a more pro-Estonian ECP leader encouraged the Popular Front to begin fomenting more grass-roots political mobilization that would lead to the foundation of new and independent political parties. By August

of 1988 the Estonian National Independence Party (ENIP) became the first non-Soviet political party to organize itself Union. Shortly thereafter there was a huge rise in the number of political parties from all across the political spectrum that all spawned from the Popular Front (Raun, 2001, p. 226). The first legitimately free and fair multicandidate elections were held in Estonia for Congress of People’s Deputies in Moscow in March 1989, the ESSR Supreme Soviet elections in March 1990, and the non-Soviet Congress of Estonia, an alternative parliament founded by the Estonian Citizen’s Committees, in February 1990 (Raun, 2001, p. 227; Kaasik, 2012). The Supreme Soviet, now referred to as the Supreme Council, and Congress of Estonia made a joint effort to re-establish complete Estonian independence. This effort culminated with the establishment of a Constitutional Assembly, with delegates from both legislative bodies, and the setting of parliamentary elections to be held in 1992 pending a referendum on the constitution (Raun, 2001, p. 244).

ANALYSIS OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL VARIABLES

The democratization process consists of the interplay of a myriad of internal and external variables that work in conjunction with each other to shape the ultimate outcome for a state. Estonia’s independence movement and democratization was the product of such interplay of variables that led to the consolidation of the modern Republic of Estonia. An analysis of the key internal and external variables will help to explain the significant forces at play that pushed Estonia towards independence and democracy with the collapse of the Soviet Union. The key internal variables for Estonia’s democratization can be summarily categorized as political and cultural. Each of these factors was rooted in key movements that spurred Estonia to embrace independence and democracy. Externally, the reform efforts of Gorbachev, glasnost and

perestroika, diplomatic recognition, and influence of international organizations also instigated and consolidated the independence and democratic movement.

The political and cultural factors jointly contributed to a potent Estonian independence movement. The role of political groups cannot be underestimated. They served as the main actors through which the national dialogue for independence was established. The Popular Front, given legitimacy by the Estonian communist government through its official operating license, was the main voice advocating the reforms that would lead to democracy and independence. This movement gained incredible support garnering around 60,000 members in its first few months (Liivik, 2012). The Popular Front was

responsible for organizing a variety of mass cultural events that stimulated an Estonian civil society. It was also through the Popular Front that new political parties sprung up, the most significant of which was the National Independence Party (Raun, 2001). Another key political actor was the Estonian Citizens Committees. These committees, formed by the ENIP, Heritage Preservation Society, and the Christian Union in February of 1989, were critical in directing more public support for independence. Their primary task was to organize voluntary voting registration for all individuals who were citizens of the pre-1940 republic or descendants of citizens. The efforts of the citizen committees, based on the principle of legal continuity of the Republic of Estonia which had been established in 1918, were very successful; starting with only 100,00 people registered in July of 1989, the movement managed to expand registration to over 700,000 individuals by February 1990 (Raun,

2001). Due to committees' success, elections were organized and conducted for the Congress of Estonia. The Estonian Citizens' Committees profoundly impacted the course of democratization by "push[ing] other groups and parties toward accepting the goal of complete independence" (Raun, 2001, p. 228). Public opinion data during this time period clearly highlights the impact of the Citizens' Committees. In April 1989, just two months after the formation of the committees, only fifty-six percent of ethnic Estonians favored independence; a year later the proportion of Estonians who favored independence jumped to ninety-six percent (Raun, 2001).

Several cultural events fostered an intense sense of pride among Estonians that snowballed into a huge democratic nationalist movement.

The initial cultural event that began the snowball effect was the Heritage Preservation Days in mid-April 1988 in which nearly 10,000 people had gathered in Tartu to celebrate Estonian culture. The excitement from these celebrations carried over into the summer with the Estonian song festival. The movement, which was romantically named the "Singing Revolution", culminated with rally in Tallinn which witnessed the gathering of nearly 300,000 people (Surzhko-Harned, 2007). It was during the "hot summer of 1988" that the national flag and national songs re-appeared establishing "a sense of historical continuity" (Raun, 2001, p. 224). The removal of Karl Vaino as first secretary can be attributed the intense national feelings and grass-roots mobilization of the "Singing Revolution" that revealed the extent of his unpopularity. Without the "Singing Revolution" the replacement of Vaino would probably not have occurred; without his removal many of the political groups mentioned

Each of these factors was rooted in key movements that spurred Estonia to embrace independence and democracy

above could not have mobilized. The importance of the “Singing Revolution” is also supported by decision of the ESSR government to declare Estonian as the national language and a declaration of sovereignty passed by the Estonian Supreme Council at the end of 1988 (Surzhko-Harned, 2007). Additionally, the success of the “Singing Revolution” would not have been possible without the independence granted to the mass media which played a prominent role in advocating democratic ideas (Ruus, 1999).

Externally, the main factors that contributed to the development of democracy in Estonia were Gorbachev’s reforms, glasnost and perestroika. These reform policies provided Estonia with the fertile ground to begin seeking out reforms which were initially economic in nature but expanded to include political reforms and eventually independence (Readman, 2006). These reform policies were also augmented by the increasingly liberal foreign policy adopted by Gorbachev: he repudiated the Brezhnev Doctrine and all forms of political violence; he was “willing to let states of the ‘outer Soviet empire’ go their own way” in the hopes of winning “huge respect among Western leaders” (Readman, 2006, p. 5). This only emboldened democratization efforts even further in Estonia because there was no longer any external consequence that would be directed towards the Baltic state from the Soviet Union. Additionally, the diplomatic non-recognition by the United States and Western Europe of the annexation of Estonia by the Soviet Union gave the Estonian independence movement the international legal legitimacy which gave it “the most solid backing for [Estonia’s] struggle to regain full sovereignty” (Readman, 2006, p. 10).

Two other key external influences in the consolidation of democracy in Estonia were the European Union (EU) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The EU’s main influence concerned the issue of ensuring the protection of the Russian minority within Estonia. The inclusive social policies that were established for the acceptance of the Russian minority came about as a result of direct pressure from the EU. Estonia had to “give greater independent oversight to the way social policies were implemented” if it wished

to be fully integrated with the EU (Galbreath, 2003, p. 45). The influence of the EU also encouraged Estonia to adopt more liberal policies with regards to citizenship laws that would have disenfranchised ethnic Russians who considered Estonia their territorial home (Galbreath, 2003). NATO’s role has been one of instigating the



development of a democratically controlled defense sector. Estonia’s involvement with NATO began in 1994 when it joined the Partnership for Peace program (BASIC FACTS ON THE ESTONIAN DEFENCE FORCES, 2001). Beginning its MAP process in 1999, Estonia with NATO cooperation received “much-needed advice in defense planning, efficient allocation of resources, and structure reform” (BASIC FACTS ON THE ESTONIAN DEFENCE FORCES, 2001, p. 7). Estonia’s main reasoning behind wanting to join these international organizations is rooted in their desire to seek out a guarantee for their security. This self-interest has led Estonia to adopt policies of democrat consolidation that ultimately sustained its transition from a former Soviet Republic to an independent, democratic, and sovereign state.

STRUCTURE OF CURRENT POLITICAL SYSTEM

The modern Estonian state is a democratic republic whose political system is outlined by the fourth constitution that was adopted in 1992. This constitution lays out the framework for the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Republic of Estonia. The legislature consists of a unicameral parliament, the Riigikogu, which has 101 members elected four years. The elections are based off a system of proportional representation in which all citizens over the age of 21 may vote. The Riigikogu implements all the laws of Estonia. The executive branch divides the roles of head of state and head of government into the president and prime minister respectively.

The president is the supreme commander of the Estonian Defense Force and nominates the prime minister. The president also has the power to veto any parliamentary bills. He or she is elected by the Riigikogu to a term of five years and can only serve two consecutive terms. The prime minister fills the role of head of government. He or she is responsible for nominating the Council of Ministers that are also appointed by the president. The prime minister and Council of Ministers holds the executive power in Estonia and implements national domestic and foreign policies. The judicial system is modeled off of German civil law. The independent judiciary system is divided into three levels: county and city courts, circuit courts of appeal, and the Supreme Court ("Estonia: Internal affairs," 2012 September 11). Estonian security sector is rooted primarily in its membership and cooperation with NATO. Estonian Defense Force consists of an army, navy, and air force. The small

force is not sufficient enough to act as a deterrent on its own, thus Estonia has developed a strategic partnership with the member states of NATO. Estonia's main contribution to the European Security and Defense Policy is in cyber security ("Estonia: Armed forces," 2013 January 10).

CURRENT STATE OF SECURITY SECTOR AND FUTURE PROSPECTS



The Singing Revolution "

The current state of internal security is very strong. The Estonian Police force is comprised of three national agencies: the Central Criminal Olice, the Central Law Enforcement Police, and the Forensic Service Center ("Estonia: Security and foreign

forces," 2010 June 16). The only potential external threat is from the former Soviet Union. The Russian ethnic minority can sometimes be quite troublesome for the security apparatus in Estonia as illustrated by the controversy surrounding the removal of a Soviet war memorial from Tallinn ("Estonia: External Affairs," 2012 September 11). The tension between the two former Soviet Republics is constantly manifested in some form or another.

The prospects for Estonia are rather good nonetheless. Its cooperation with NATO and contribution in cyber security warfare has established Estonia as an important player in the fight for European stability. Relations with Russia will never heat up to the point of pre-independence due to Estonia's increasingly important role in NATO.

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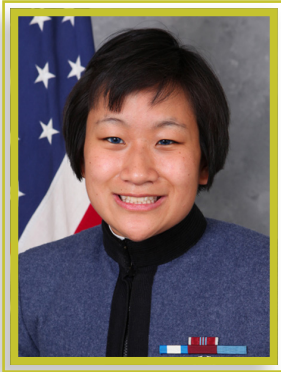
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Medal of Honor by Jane Ma

From Satanic to Sublime: Marlowe's Faustus and Milton's Satan as Prototypes of the Romantic Hero

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Abstract

The concept of the romantic hero is conventionally considered a product of the Byronic era. These transgressive individuals are self-fashioning, dark and passionate, and transcend the boundaries of normal human experience. However, if we go back in time and examine earlier works of literature, such as Christopher Marlowe's famous play Dr. Faustus, or John Milton's Paradise lost, we can find many elements of the modern romantic hero. This paper seeks to show that the two main characters from these two great works are in fact prototypes of the romantic hero.

It is a very curious exercise to consider heroes, and to try and delineate what precisely it is that makes heroes heroic. Heroes are elevated versions of humans; they epitomize the characteristics that we wish we displayed, perform the deeds that we wish we were capable of; they play out the lives that we want to have. The word hero derives from Greek, and it originally referred to a category of demi-gods with superhuman abilities. More than that, however, the traditional hero is a self-sacrificial character who gives of himself for the greater good of humanity overall. Another exercise--more fascinating, perhaps--is examining how villains and demonic archetypes arise. It would seem--through a dualist interpretation--that in many ways heroes cannot exist without satanic enemies. Without a villain, heroes wouldn't be needed, and vice versa. This dichotomy of dark and light as two extremes makes it apparent that while the act of creating a hero is an elevating one, equally elevating is the process of demonization. Just as idolizing someone as a hero gives that person a measure of power as a positive ideal, so does demonizing someone assign him a measure of power; by acknowledging his presence as a threat, you are granting him power. Now the most fascinating process of all may be examining how a demonized Satan figure can be elevated to the rank of villain but then transfigured into an ideal. Not the customary ideal, but a darker and slightly twisted version of his conservative and old-fashioned brother, the traditional hero. This modernized re-working of the original definition of a hero will ultimately result in the creation of the Romantic hero, the Byronic hero, and the anti-hero. These are all terms for the concept of a transgressive individual who somehow through the very same qualities that would make another man a villain becomes a hero, an idol in his own right. These romantic heroes are characterized by their isolation and detachment from normal society, their arrogance and ambition paired with their talent, their desire to seek something beyond the banalities of normal experiences to experience

something sublime, their passion and the dangerous volatility of their personalities, as well as their focus on the idea of the “self”. I believe that both Christopher Marlowe’s Doctor Faustus and Milton’s Satan are early prototypes of these heroes; both of their stories contain heroic elements and despite their perceived failures, there’s ultimately something present beyond both the typical villain and the typical traditional hero that rings of the modern conception of a romantic hero.

Partially as a function of the process of being marginalized and elevated from the rest of society, heroes and demons alike tend to be isolated figures. The difference is that heroes are held aloft, whereas demons seem to lurk on the fringes—sneaking around, skirting the edges, and spurning the general public. Both Doctor Faustus and Satan fulfill this criterion; Faustus as a brilliant, accomplished physician who wants to achieve more and so departs from his previous profession and Satan (at first) as the lone dissenter among the angelic hosts. They both make a conscious decision to reject the constraints of their given roles, and there’s something insolent and audacious about that in and of itself, particularly in the time period first Marlowe and then Milton were writing from. They—with Marlowe as a contemporary of Milton—create these characters even though they live within a highly structured hierarchical universe in which God reigns supreme. In the accepted presence of an omniscient and omnipotent God, Faustus and Satan rebelled. And that is precisely what makes these characters so remarkable, as well as creates the delineation that makes their isolation and segmentation away from the conventional social order something admirable and heroic, rather than condemnable and foolish: their conscious choice—their will, their self-motivation. They seize the choices they know are wrong purposefully, rather than making mistakes and being designated as wrong; they are no longer subject to the standards of the old social order.

Satan and Faustus are both talented and ambitious characters. Satan, in the Miltonian canon, was originally an angel who served God, along with the other angels. But he feels himself better than his peers, than the other angels, and this is where *Paradise Lost* opens, with Satan and his followers being exiled from heaven, rolling on the lake of fire. It is obvious from the very onset that God is both omniscient and omnipotent, he is constantly referred to as “the Most High”, “the Almighty Pow’r”, and “th’Omnipotent” (Milton 4-5). In Milton’s universe, God is most certainly in control. And yet—Satan rebels: “with all his host of rebel angels, by whose aid aspiring to set himself in glory above his peers” (Milton 4). He wanted to be more than the rest of his peers, the other members of his angelic society. He wanted to equal God, just as Doctor Faustus wishes to conquer death with magic and so be a “mighty God” (Marlowe 9). Milton writes that

*He [Satan] trusted to have equaled the Most High
If he opposed, and with ambitious aim
Against the throne and monarchy of God
Raised impious war in Heav’n and battle proud
With vain attempt... (4-5)*

The key phrase to note here is “vain attempt”; he knows that he cannot win, but he fights anyway. And he is genuinely surprised when he is “hurled headlong flaming from th’ethereal sky with hideous ruin and combustion down to bottomless perdition” (Milton 5), where he lies burning on the lake of fire, removed from heaven and light and God. But as he recovers, he rises up again and breaks the silence with “bold words” (Milton 6):

*All is not lost: the unconquerable will
And study of revenge, immortal hate
And courage never to submit or yield—
That glory never shall His wrath or might
Extort from me...
...Awake! Arise, or be forever fall’n!
(Milton 6-12)*

These are the words that Satan uses to rally and

fortify his legions of followers although he is “in pain...racked with deep despair” (Milton 7) over having lost heaven. Milton asserts that as he speaks “with high words that bore semblance of worth... gently raised their fainting courage and dispelled their fears” (Milton 18). There is something heroic in his actions, the force of his own will, the sheer indomitable nature of his personality, the inspiration he is able to instill in his supporters as a fearless speaker, against all odds.

Doctor Faustus is described as “graced with doctor’s name, excelling all whose sweet delight disputes in heavenly matters of theology” (Marlowe 6). He is obviously a learned man, and his chief pleasure is to argue and think on the subject of divinity/theology. But his knowledge certainly doesn’t begin or end there—the text goes on to describe his educational background; as he tries to choose his area of expertise, it becomes clear that he’s well-studied in multiple fields, not just theology: “Having commenced, be a divine in show, yet level at the end of every art.” (Marlowe 7) He then flips through multiple books, showing off his range of knowledge—through Aristotle and his analytical logic, Greek philosophy, medicine, Justinian law, and the Latin Bible. He then reveals that he has practiced as a physician, and he has been enormously successful: “Whereby whole cities have escaped the plague and thousand desperate maladies been eased” (Marlowe 8). Yet he is dissatisfied with his accomplishments, as he does not feel he has achieved anything immortal. Faustus says that a “Physician is eternized for some wondrous cure...Why, Faustus, hast thou not attained that end...Yet art thou still but Faustus, and a man.” (Marlowe 7-8) He wants to be

immortalized; he wants to be more than a mere man. He is being very dangerous here; in essence, he wants to be God. He believes that the way to do this is by conquering death-- to “make men to live eternally or, being dead, raise them to life again” (Marlowe 8). In order to seek this goal, he abandons his theology and turns to necromancy and black magic. It is important to note that he

does this willfully. He reads in the Bible that “The reward of sin is death” (Marlowe 8) and consciously decides to abandon this doctrine that seems “hard”(Marlowe 8), because he knows that sin is inherent within everyone, and so consequently everyone must die “an everlasting death” (Marlowe 9). It is even more important to note, however, that he is willfully ignoring the second half of the verse from the Latin Vulgate Bible: “For the wages of sin is death. But the grace of God, life everlasting, in Christ Jesus

our Lord” (Romans 6:26). It’s already evident how educated he is; to infer that he hasn’t learned the rest of the verse is simply incorrect. He knows the rest of the verse, but he’s choosing to read/interpret the text that contains the guide to his salvation wrongly so that he can embark down a pathway for absolute knowledge, for more, for “dominion that exceeds in this stretcheth as far as doth the mind of man.” (Marlowe 9) Furthermore, throughout the play, the good angel on his shoulder reminds him that he can be saved, that salvation can be his if he only repents and accepts God’s grace. Similarly, the bad angel on his shoulder tells him the precise opposite. The choice is presented to Doctor Faustus again and again, and he always chooses his own way.



Satan's fall¹

It is this concept of intentional self-fashioning that marks Faustus and Satan as Romantic heroes. They choose to reject their given roles and re-define themselves. The Romantic hero is a self-made man, and is characterized by a focus on, even an obsession with, the individual. They are defined by the power of their minds to project reality and truth, to create their own universes according to their own terms. Mephistopheles says it perhaps the most concisely: “Why, this is hell...” (Marlowe 17) Hell and heaven are constructs of your own mind. Milton also writes this more than fifty years later, in what may be a few of the most famous lines of *Paradise Lost*. Satan says:

*And thou, profoundest Hell,
Receive thy new possessor, one who brings
A mind not to be changed by place or time!
The mind is its own place and in itself
Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven
(Milton 10)*

He then goes on to say that “Here at least we shall be free...we may reign secure, and in my choice... Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven!” (Milton 10) This is the danger but also the attraction of becoming that mysterious character on the margins. Even though Satan’s exile from Heaven is meant to be (and in reality is) a terrible form of punishment, through the strength of his own mind, he is able to completely turn that on its head. It’s not a punishment. It’s an opportunity. He becomes a fiery preacher of freedom and an emblem of self-determination, instead of the fool who thought himself better than God and as a consequence lost a place in God’s kingdom. This can be seen in Doctor Faustus as well, perhaps in no better place than in his antics after selling his soul to Lucifer. Mephistopheles gives him a book of magic spells, and gives him the powers for which he asks. Faustus then travels around, using his

powers. He turns invisible and plays pranks on the Pope in Rome. He punishes a knight who scorns his power by making him grow a set of antlers. He plays pranks on people and lives “voluptuously” (Marlowe 17), doing what he pleases. However, at its



Faustus in his studyⁱⁱ

heart, much of this is nothing more than conjurations and trickery. When Faustus asks Mephistopheles to bring back Alexander the Great, Mephistopheles conjures only an image of Alexander. When Mephistopheles brings him a wife, he brings him only a woman demon. When Faustus asks for Helen of Troy, Mephistopheles conjures Helen of Troy, but she cannot stay. All of the feats that Faustus performs make him famous, but he is never able to do

more than parlor tricks and hoaxes. But none of this matters because he believes, right up until the end, that he is accomplishing everything that he set out to. He has some misgivings, but Mephistopheles reassures him. This is a function of his isolation; Doctor Faustus is continually portrayed as a lone scholar in his study; another of his old scholar companions comments “Belike he is grown into some sickness by being over-solitary” (Marlowe 50). Faustus is living in a fictional world of his own making—he is only reading half of the verse, only seeing what he wants to see—he displays the danger but also the desirability of living inside your own head with your own perceptions. He is the picture of the individual segmented away from a community, and even though the price he pays is severing all ties with other people (other scholars, a potential family, his friends), the reward is being the sole maker and molder of himself. His narrative has been displaced entirely into his own mind, and in his own mind is where he lives it out. To the very end, he holds himself within the constructs of his own cognizance. In the climactic last scene, when the bells are tolling for the demons

to come and take his soul down to hell, Doctor Faustus asks "I'll leap up to my God! Who pulls me down?" (Marlowe 52) it is overwhelmingly obvious that Faustus is pulling himself down. He has been reminded time and time again that his soul can be saved, that "Christ's blood...one drop, half a drop" would cleanse him of sin and offer him redemption. But he doesn't believe that he can be saved, and that makes all the difference.

It is tempting to point to these two stories and their ultimate endings and make the assertion that both Satan and Faustus were fools who made an endless string of mistakes against God. After all, Satan defines his success as being completely and totally free. But he cannot ever be free in the Milton canon, under an all-powerful and all-knowing God. Likewise, Faustus defines success and immortality as being able to defeat death—which he never does. He performs a series of feats and plays around with black magic for twenty-four years, and is then dragged down to hell when it comes time to uphold his end of the bargain. And yet, there is still something distinctly powerful and estimable about these two characters, particularly from a modern viewpoint. They are the beginnings of the portrait of the modern man, endowed with a certain brand

of restlessness and an ambition to strive beyond their respective stations; they are not satisfied, their minds are always reaching for some sublime experience such as immortality, godliness, absolute knowledge, and absolute power. Additionally, they are models for the Romantic hero in that they are centered around this idea of self-fashioning and an emphasis on the self-determined individual as they decisively act (however futilely) as the makers and masters of their own destinies. Taken from this viewpoint, Satan becomes the one contender against a tyrant God, while Doctor Faustus becomes

a self-made man. They are absolutely heroes in their own right, certainly a darker, stormier, more passionate and violent version of their more conservative counterparts, but no less heroic in terms of fearlessness and audacity, strength of will, and talent. These characters will become an archetype and an enduring focus in literature, art, and pop culture, reworked into the anti-hero and the Byronic hero. Decades later, the Romantic poet Lord Byron, for whom the concept of the Byronic hero is named, will write about Lucifer in these words:

*He could at times resign his own for others' good
But not in pity, not because he ought,
But in some strange perversity of thought
That swayed him onward with a secret pride
To do what few or none would do beside;
And this impulse would in tempting time
Mislead his spirit equally to crime. (Coetzee 33)*

***Satan becomes the
one contender against
a tyrant God, while
Doctor Faustus
becomes a self-made
man.***

In Coetzee's novel, *Disgrace* (published 1999), the main protagonist is a schoolteacher who longs to be a Byronic hero, to be irreverent and passionate, to be free from social constraints and the judgment that society may pass on the more intimate details of his character. He teaches these lines to his class and asks them, "What kind of creature is this Lucifer?" (33)

A student replies, "He does what he feels like. He doesn't care if it's good or bad. He just does it." (33) The schoolteacher responds, "Exactly... He doesn't act on principle, but on impulse...and the source of his impulses is dark to him..." (33) This is the Romantic hero fully emerged, fully formed—characterized not by his virtues and inherent goodness like the traditional hero, but rather by his passions, his dark whims, and his individuality. He is the man who lends a voice to the things that we dare not say, so we admire him; he is the man who acts upon the impulses we all carry to some

degree within ourselves, so we applaud him. He is absolutely a different brand of hero unto himself. The seeds for this type of hero were planted in Christopher Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* and John Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

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Inside the Barracks by Ryan Boodee

The Fall of a Country: the Negative Effects of the Transition From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe

By Andrew Kersey



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Programs. Andrew plans to earn his bachelor's degree and then work in the intelligence community.

Abstract

The paper that I wrote is on the topic of the transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe and the effect of that transition on the country. I focused on the problems with the land policy, the economy, the politics, and the citizen's rights that were brought on by the civil war before the transition and how these problems had a devastating effect on the, then, newly formed country of Zimbabwe.

Originally a settler colony, Rhodesia was fairly successful economically as a colony and as a country when it gained its independence in 1965. After achieving independence, Rhodesia maintained the minority rule of Europeans in government that it had used when it was still a colony. The African citizens of Rhodesia, however, felt that the government should be run by majority rule instead of minority. This led to several factions such as ZAPU, the Zimbabwe African People's Union, and ZANLA, the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army, to start performing guerilla warfare against the European controlled government. Rhodesia entered a civil war against these guerilla factions in 1972. In 1979 Rhodesia held an election and the UANC, United African National Council, won a majority of the votes, and Rhodesia became Zimbabwe Rhodesia. The war continued after this election and until the 1980 election when Robert Mugabe won the Prime Minister position for ZANU. The transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe was not a smooth process; there were many negative effects that this transition had on the country including problems with land, economy, politics, and citizens' rights.

Land distribution and use was a major problem for Rhodesia both going into and coming out of the transition to Zimbabwe. The land issue involved politics; "The Rhodesian land issue is highly political, most especially at the time of constitutional talks when the nature of the transfer of power is at the centre of discussion" and the possibility of Europeans leaving Zimbabwe en masse, "the vocal European farming community that, without worked out guarantees for their future security, a constitution that gives wide powers to change existing institutions and structures is likely to lead to a mass exodus and the strong possibility of total economic collapse" (Morris-Jones, 1). Land was extremely political in Rhodesia due to the way in which it had been divided up between Africans and Europeans. "One hundred and sixty-five Tribal Trust Lands, which contain the

vast majority of African farming units, cover 16.3 million hectares and currently hold about 675,000 farming units giving an average of 24 hectares per unit. The European farming land consists of 15.2 million hectares and 6,682 farms, giving an average of 2,290 hectares per farm” (Morris-Jones, 3). Europeans and Africans received similar amounts of land, but Europeans were a serious minority compared to the number of Africans living in Rhodesia. Europeans were thus able to have bigger and more productive farms, while Africans had small amounts of land that was over grazed and farmed. “These inequalities are reinforced by the differing qualities of the African and European land; the European areas consist of twice as much of the most fertile agricultural land as the African areas” (Morris-Jones, 3). Another problem was that Europeans received good land that was rich in nutrients and easy to farm on, while Africans received the less than desirable land, which showed

a distinct favoritism towards Europeans by the minority rule government. During Rhodesia’s transition period, the loss of European farmers was a very real possibility that could prove devastating to its agricultural industry. European farms were the most productive in the country: “The 1976 total of 6,682 farms on European land provided the backbone of Rhodesia’s commercial agricultural sector and made an essential contribution to the growth of the modern economy” (Morris-Jones, 4). With European farmers providing the backbone of the country’s commercial agriculture and contributing to economic growth, Rhodesia would experience a huge economic loss should they decide to leave. One of the things that European farmers wanted to make sure that they received was financial assistance, “the Rhodesian National Farmers’ Union admitted in mid-1978 that some 40 percent of white farmers were technically insolvent. One is left with the conclusion that without considerable



financial assistance, both direct and indirect, much more European farming land would be vacated or be seen to be seriously underutilized" (Morris-Jones, 6). Land was already being underutilized by European farmers, but without any sort of assistance for them, there would be even worse use of the land that they have, and possibly an exodus of Europeans from their farms. Land proved to be a major problem for Rhodesia in its transition to Zimbabwe with Africans either not having enough or no land to grow produce, and Europeans, who provided the backbone for commercial produce, willing to leave at the drop of a hat.

The civil war that played a part in the transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe had a negative influence on the economy of the changing country. The security of the country slowly deteriorated with constant attacks from the guerilla nationalist forces trying to liberate Rhodesia from minority rule, "The allocation to the Ministry of Defence rose by 610 percent; the Police vote by

232 percent; that of the Ministry of Internal Affairs by 305 percent; and the Department of Road and Road Traffic by 257 percent" (Morris-Jones, 115). The government of Rhodesia answered the rising problems of these terrorist groups by increasing defense and security spending by outrageous proportions. Increasing spending in multiple areas by, at the least, over two hundred percent is not something that can be conceivably done over any extended amount of time, but that is exactly what Rhodesia did. This overextension did eventually make itself apparent to the government, "With the war costing around \$1 million a day there was no way in which the cost of the security burden could have been shouldered by the new state of Zimbabwe/Rhodesia on its own. A former Rhodesian Front Deputy Minister admitted as far back as late 1976 that South Africa had been subsidizing Rhodesia's defence bill to the tune of 50 percent" (Morris-Jones, 115). Rhodesia began to feel the economic effects of fighting a civil war with terrorists, while



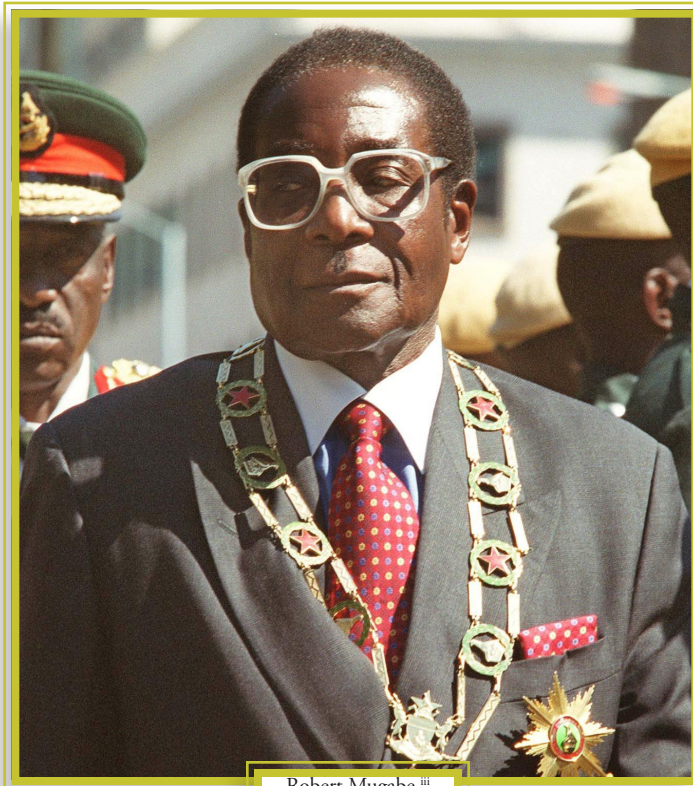
Rhodesian Flag "

draining its banks with a high defense budget. The war also had an effect on the productivity of the country, "Whereas there had been a steady growth in Gross Domestic Product up to 1974, there had since been a negative growth rate. In 1975 it was -1 percent, in 1976 -3.5 percent, and -7 percent in 1977" (Morris-Jones, 115). During the war, Rhodesia experienced a drop in its production due to attacks on civilians as well as spending money on the war. The effect that the war was having on the economy was so bad that "Without an end to, or at least a significant slackening of, the war the opportunity to recover lost ground by taking advantage of the economy's 'inherent strength and resilience' would be lost" (Morris-Jones, 116). The war was hurting the economy in more than just spending; Rhodesia experienced a large drop in tourism, "As the following figures indicate, the slump in tourism between 1973 and 1978 related directly to the deterioration in the security situation. The number of holiday visitors to Rhodesia dropped by 74 percent from a high point of 339,210 in 1972 (before the resurgence of the war) to a low of 87,943 in 1978" (Morris-Jones, 116). With a civil war going on between the government and terrorist groups, there is no surprise that tourism took a hit during these years. Rhodesia, and soon to be Zimbabwe, would be viewed as a dangerous and unstable place to be both during and after the war, leading people to question their safety if they were to ever go for a visit. The civil war placed Rhodesia

in a financial bind of spending more than it could on defense, relying on South Africa to help with the defense budget, put Rhodesia in the negatives for Gross Domestic Product, and destroyed the tourism industry, all of which remained after the transition to Zimbabwe. Rhodesia's civil war leading up to the transition created a weak

economy for Zimbabwe that would require a serious recovery.

Political tension created by the minority rule government and during the civil war remained a significant problem for Zimbabwe. One of the major points of this tension was the large amount of white emigration, "Two of the more politically significant demographic discoveries from the 1962 and 1969 censuses were the small size and frailty of the white population. Whites had long known about their



Robert Mugabeⁱⁱⁱ

relatively small numbers, at least abstractly, but this frailty, as indicated by the consistently high rates of migration in and out of Rhodesia, was a new revelation for most whites in Rhodesia" (Brownell, 71). Whites were used to being the minority in Rhodesia, but something that they had failed to notice was that there were high rates of migration going both into and out of Rhodesia. Not only that, but these were rates that had been at a high rate consistently, meaning that this was not just a onetime occurrence. Immigration rates had always outstripped emigration rates, which kept the population from noticing just how frail it actually was, instead of the sense of a continuous and stable population that they had believed

existed. Emigration did more than just show how frail the white population actually was in Rhodesia, “Rhodesia’s high rates of emigration had detrimental economic effects, many of which long preceded the war. From the early 1960s until the end of minority rule there was a net loss of skilled and professional workers: a ‘brain drain’” (Brownell, 79). The loss of professional workers hurt Rhodesia’s economy, and gave whites less of a foothold in the more specialized jobs, opening the way for Africans to do the work instead. This loss of professional works and whites in general also decreased the tax base, and according to Brownell this started “just as African demands for social services and other state expenditure were increasing” (Brownell, 80). So, Rhodesia had less money to work with when

Africans began to start asking for the state to provide services and expenditures for them. The government’s lack of response to these demands would result in an increased tension between Africans and the Rhodesian government. The white population’s ever fluctuating rates of immigration and emigration not only removed skilled workers from the country, but also gave whites the sense that they were surrounded and could be swamped at any time by the African natives, making them more defensive. Meanwhile, the Africans began to grow more aggressive as the government did not fulfill their demands for social services, which was caused by a small tax base due to emigrating whites.

Finally, the largest problem caused by the transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe was the infringement on the rights of the citizens of the new Zimbabwe. After coming into power, the members of the revolution that had fought to bring about Zimbabwe would crush the rights of anyone who even looked like they might turn

against the new party in charge of Zimbabwe, “My grandfather was quite a beacon in the fifties and sixties as he was an MP for the Nyazura area in Manicaland. He was killed in 1978 by the so called liberation fighters because he was said not to have been supporting the liberation war – which is contrary to my information, and I know, for a fact, that the guerrillas came to the farm regularly. They received a lot of help from him” (Staunton, 18).

If there was any whispering that anyone was plotting to go against the party or Zimbabwe, then you were subject to whatever these people felt that he deserved. This man’s grandfather had constantly provided his help to the guerillas, but all of that was forgotten when someone had said that he was not supporting the liberation. Other victims of

the government of Zimbabwe have been teachers, “Government officials have gone all out and lambasted teachers in every public forum. Teachers have become silent victims. Government has been trying to garner a lot of political mileage from attacking teachers” (Staunton, 22). Teachers, who had originally been highly respected, lost the respect of a vast majority of the people of Zimbabwe due to the government’s attacks on teachers. Criminal activity is no longer looked into, “Sometime in the early 1990s, some criminals came in burnt down the house and murdered the manager, his wife and her parents who were staying with them. I am not sure what has happened to the farm since then” (Staunton, 142). All sense of upholding laws had almost disappeared along with the Rhodesian government now that the Africans were in charge with majority rule. This gave people the sense that they can do what they want to do without any reservations. Something that began to develop was a sense of right to others’ property, “Then in

The transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe had many negative effects on the country as a whole, and that have stayed with Zimbabwe long after the transition.

November 1997 the first list of farms to be acquired was published and we were on that first list. We were de-listed the following February or March [...]War vets came onto the farm chanting and singing and threatening murder” (Staunton, 145). The Zimbabwe government decided that it could take prosperous farms from the people that owned them and give that land to war veterans who had no idea what they were doing. Not only did the government infringe these people’s rights, but also the war veterans came to their property threatening to kill them if they didn’t leave even though they had no right to the land. After Rhodesia became Zimbabwe the rights of the people who didn’t necessarily support the party flew out the window and those who did support the party were entitled to whatever they wanted.

The transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe had many negative effects on the country as a whole, and that have stayed with Zimbabwe long after the transition. Zimbabwe experienced problems with the land distribution and use, the economy, the politics with race, and the rights of its own citizens.

This transition gives history an example of many of the problems that can occur when a country changes from one style of government to another through a revolution.

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Turn Down for What?! by Nick Pinelli

Deciphering the Myth, Observations on the Nature of the Legend of La Malinche

By Michael Santana



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Abstract

Who is La Malinche? The enigmatic woman, who served as a translator for Hernan Cortés' conquest of the Aztec Empire, has been widely vilified as a traitor to the indigenous people of Mexico. To others, she was considered a bridge between civilizations, and the mother of the mestizos, or people of mixed Spanish and indigenous descent. Her myth has grown, shrouding the truth behind layers of political views, nationalism, sexism, and feminism. This essay sheds light into the changing nature of the myth, and reasons as to why she remains such a controversial figure even today.

Few pivotal figures of history have engendered such a controversial image as that of the native Mexican woman who acted as translator for the Spanish conquistadors led by Hernan Cortés. She went by many names; Doña Marina, Malintzin, Malinalli, but her most infamous title is that of "La Malinche." To most Mexican and Mexican Americans (and, to a lesser degree, Americans of Mexican descent) she is the irredeemable traitor, "La Chingada".¹ La Malinche was the woman who handed Mexico over to the Spaniards by acting as their translator and the literal whore of Cortes. To many mestizos, those of mixed Native and Spanish descent, she is still somewhat a traitor, though they find it difficult to hate the woman who gave birth to what was arguably the very first Mestizo, Don Martin Cortés. Today, there are many attempting to remove the stigma that has come about with her name, such as Chicana² scholars, and are changing her image from one "of destructive social and sexual agency (a traitor and a whore) to one of affirmative agency (a cultural bridge and translator)."³ But just who was "La Malinche?" Remove the legend that has been built up for the better part of two centuries around her, and what does one find? The myth that has been built up around Malintzin has been fabricated to create a scapegoat that ties into a male dominated narrative to support Mexican nationalism.

What little contemporary sources exist of La Malinche are primarily Spanish, and they all agree on one key aspect. Without Doña Marina, as they respectfully called her after her baptism, they would have had no chance to conquer Mexico. Initially she was presented as a gift to the conquistadors with roughly 19 other women by the people of Potonchan. To the men present in the conquest, such as Captain Bernal Diaz del Castillo, she was held in the highest of esteem. "She was a fine figure, frank manners, prompt genius, and intrepid spirit; an excellent linguist, and of most essential service to Cortés whom she always accompanied."⁴ The Spanish noticed her ability to

translate on Easter Sunday, when a *cacique*⁵ by the name Teudilli came to visit the camp near Cotastla. Cortés' translator, Jeronimo de Aguilar, spoke only Mayan, while these natives spoke Nahuatl. Cortés' secretary records the incident in detail.

*"This vexed Cortés exceedingly, because he lacked the means of communicated with the governor and learning about the country; but he soon recovered from this vexation when he heard one of the twenty women given to them in Potonchan, speaking to the governor's men and understanding them very well, as if they were of her own language. So Cortés took her aside with Aguilar and promised her more than liberty if she would establish friendship between him and the men of her country, and he told her that he would like to have her for his interpreter and secretary; he asked her who she was and where she came from."*⁶

Primary sources conflict on her exact origin a bit. Gomara wrote that she was the daughter of wealthy parents from the village of Viluta, near Jalisco, and was stolen during one of the many Aztec Flower Wars and sold.⁷ Castillo gave a much more elaborate story, claiming she was the daughter of a dead *cacique* of Painala, who when he died his wife re married and her new husband had Malintzin sold in secret. He spread the rumor that she was dead, and she went from Xicalango, to Tabasco, to being presented to Cortés and his men.⁸ This equation of her being of high birth is most likely an exaggeration, a ploy by the Spanish to build a myth around her to make her joining them in their endeavor against the Aztec Empire more heroic and romantic. Modern scholars such as Rachel Phillips have since deflated this myth, showing she most likely grew up in Painala as a regular villager speaking Nahuatl and was taken or sold to another Indian tribe in Tobasco, where she learned Mayan.⁹ In time, she would learn Spanish as well, phasing out Aguilar and would work as the primary translator. Contemporary paintings show her at all times by Cortés' side, and she played such

an important part that it is possible the Aztecs thought her equal to Cortés. Castillo records of several instances where Aztec envoys address her first, not Cortés, and refer to the Spaniards as those in her company.¹⁰ She would later bear Cortés a child by the name of Don Martin, and would die in relative obscurity having married a Spanish cavalier by the name of Juan Xaramillo.¹¹

The idea of La Malinche as a traitor is directly tied to another myth. That is the myth of the Aztecs as the noble ancestors of the true Mexico. This is a mythology common in much of modern Mexico, as Aztec rulers such as Cuauhtemoc, the last Aztec emperor, are seen as heroic leaders of resistance in a hopeless and futile cause against a vastly superior invader.¹² Before we can go into how the Aztecs are viewed in modern historical memory, we need to look at who the Aztecs, and by consequence the actual makeup of native societies in Mexico, at the time of the conquest.

The Aztecs were conquerors. They were a warrior society akin to ancient Sparta, and were not even originally from what is considered Mexico today. Around the year 820 CE, they left their ancestral (and somewhat mythical) homeland of Aztlan, and their arrival to the valley of Mexico is where history and legend mix. Sometime in the 1100's, a confrontation broke out between their main god, Huitzilopochtli and his sister, Malinalxoch. According to legend, Huitzilopochtli, also known as the "Hummingbird God," was born of his mother's womb fully armed, and as such his next actions are hardly surprising.¹³ Huitzilopochtli gathered his followers, and urged the men of the tribe to "show by the valor of arms and their courage" they could conquer the people of Tula, if they left his sister (or, in some versions of the legend, kill her).¹⁴ Their basis for their climb to power was through direct force of arms, nothing more. They were warriors, so much so that tradition demanded that an emperor, who before being crowned, would have to launch a major military campaign against their neighbors. This is in the

tradition of the so called “Flowery Wars,” which served the purpose of capturing captives so that they could pamper them, drug them, place them upon a sacrificial altar, and rip their hearts out with a sacrificial dagger. As one historian put it, “The Mexica (Aztec) state was devoted to the concept of perpetual war; the notion that prolonged peace that, in a state bent on plunder, did not necessarily bring plenty was alien.”¹⁵ Their first act upon arriving in the valley of Mexico in a place called Chapultepec was to sacrifice the daughter of a chieftain whom was supposed to marry the Aztec chief, and assert control of women they took from neighboring kingdoms.¹⁶

There is a second meaning to the rise of Huitzilopochtli as the primary god of the Aztecs. The hummingbird god, who was claimed to be “the sustainer of the world”,¹⁷ shows the dynamic shift in the Aztec tribe. The lines of authority in which women had any control were broken. Women were relegated to the role of domestics, and vendors at market, in a society dominated by the male warrior. The idea that men were warriors would be engrained from the moment the child exited a mother’s womb.

“In the late Aztec period, just before the conquest, Soustelle describes that at birth boys were given a shield with four arrows; the midwife prayed that they might be courageous warriors. They were presented four times to the sun and told of the uncertainties of life and the need to go to war.”¹⁸

The military training school, which stressed highly concepts such as duty, almost institutionalized moral laxness for boys. After classes boys were to go to the “house of singing and revelry” and

encouraged to have sex with as many women as possible. In war, women were seen a booty to be shared by the victors, captive women were forced into brothels that sat alongside barracks for the “conquering Aztec heroes.”¹⁹ Male dominance in this society was absolute and more so it was a society that thrived on subjugating the dozens of other tribes (and their women) in the region. It was this society that for some reason has become glorified by the very people who in the same breath vilify the Spaniards for their conquests, and La Malinche for her inherent treachery against the system.

This is where the problem comes in. There was no one Mexican people for her to “betray,” she wasn’t Aztec. Many people in the Aztec empire weren’t either, the Aztecs didn’t make an effort to assimilate, only subjugate. To name a few people under the Aztec yoke, they included the Xochimilco, Culhuacan, Itztapalpa, Huitzilopochoco, Mexicalingo, Cuitlahuac,

Mizquic, Tlaxcalans, Texocans, and Chalcas tribes.²⁰ Some, like most famously and pivotally the Tlaxcalans, sided with Cortés and the Spaniards in helping overthrow the Aztecs. Yet popular Mexican history doesn’t attack them as traitors. They focus their hatred solely on “La Malinche.”

Malinchista is a term that, in Mexican vernacular, means someone who “adopts foreign values, assimilates to foreign culture, or serves foreign interests.”²¹ There is inherent sexism in the word itself. The Spanish language has a masculine and feminine tense for their words, but Malinchista is used to describe both male and female “traitors.” This misogynistic term indicates that the female condition is inherently treacherous.



La Malinche with Cortés¹

As stated before, Malintzin was not the only native Mexican who sided with the Spaniards. Tens of thousands sided against the Aztecs. Yet by blaming La Malinche, Mexican (and, poignantly, Chicano) men can preserve the false myth that the Aztec warriors (who, as stated before, were notorious victimizers of their neighbors) were noble souls victimized by the evil Spanish colonial aggressors.²² This idea is portrayed in the painting by Jose Clemente Orozco's painting, "Hernan Cortés and la Malinche," which is portrayed at the national preparatory school San Ildefonso, in Mexico City. In it, La Malinche is being held back by Cortés as he steps on a native, their union made only possible by the subjugation of "her people." According to Desmond Rochfort, "The image of Cortés and Malinche symbolizes synthesis, subjugation and the ambivalence of her position in the story of the nation's history of colonial intervention."²³

Octavio Paz, in his essay "Sons of La Malinche," calls Mexicans "Los hijos de la chingada."²⁴ In typical Marxist fashion, he goes into a long discourse over how Mexicans have time and time again been victimized by outsiders, and to them "La Malinche" is both the first victim and the one who opened the door for their victimization.

*"If the Chingada is a representation of the violated mother, it is appropriate to associate her with the conquest, which was also a violation, not only in the historical sense but also in the very flesh of Indian women. The symbol of this violation is Doña Marina, the mistress of Cortés. It is true that she gave herself voluntarily to the conquistador, but he forgot her as soon as her usefulness was over. Doña Marina becomes a figure representing the Indian women who were fascinated, violated or seduce by the Spaniards. And as a small boy will not forgive his mother if she abandons him to search for his father, the Mexican people have not forgiven La Malinche for her Betrayal. She embodies the open, the chingado, to our closed, stoic, impassive Indians."*²⁵

Just as Mexican popular history has vilified La Malinche, it has glorified another indigenous person, Cuauhtémoc. Cuauhtémoc was the last Aztec Emperor, a young warrior who, unlike his predecessor Montezuma I, marched out to face Cortés and the Spanish conquistadors. By the time he rose to power though, all seemed hopeless. The Spanish, with their Tlaxcalan allies, were closing in on Tenochtitlan. Disease was taking out vast swaths of the native population. According to Paz, he's taken on a near Christ like image, for just as Christ was tortured, beaten and murdered by foreign soldiers (the Romans), Cuauhtémoc was dethroned, tortured and murdered by Cortés and his men. He is a heroic figure in the national narrative, the antithesis of La Malinche. There are very clear sexist undertones in this narrative. Where Cuauhtémoc is the macho resister, La Malinche is the passive native who is raped and victimized.

Where La Malinche is viewed as la Chingada, another female figure is prominent in the minds of many Mexicans, the Virgin of Guadalupe. According to Paz, her rise comes about from a mixture of the Catholic teaching of the Virgin Mary and the "failure" of indigenous male gods, such as Huitzilopochtli. Unlike the days where the Aztecs were the aggressors, the champions, suddenly all Mexicans found themselves the oppressed, no matter what the tribe. As a result feelings of hopelessness began to fester, and people turned to the Virgin. "The Virgin is the consolation of the poor, the shield of the weak, the help of the oppressed. In sum, she is the mother of orphans."²⁶ In the early days of the conquest, there were many, many orphans to speak of. She was one who wiped away tears, consoled and comforted. She was "unopened", unviolated, unlike La Malinche. Yet she is also a passive figure, a trait which is attributed to femininity in Mexican culture.

The two female figures, La Malinche and the Virgin of Guadalupe, represent the good/bad, virgin/whore dichotomy in Mexican culture.

According to modern Chicana authors, such as Sandra Cisneros, the two are “ghosts” which haunt every woman of Mexican descent.²⁷ The Virgin, who some still call “Guadalupe-Tonantzin”²⁸ in relation to the Aztec goddess of fertility because she supposedly appeared in a former shrine of the deity, is Native icon that combines the Catholic religion with native beliefs. She is “unopened,” untainted, and most importantly, doesn’t betray the indigenous peoples. She comforts them. Compare this to the idea of la Malinche. Cherrie Moraga explained it as such.

“Malintzin, also called Malinche, f---d the white man who conquered the Indian peoples of Mexico and destroyed their culture. Ever since, brown men have been accusing her of betraying her race, and over the centuries continue to blame her entire sex for this ‘transgression.’”²⁹

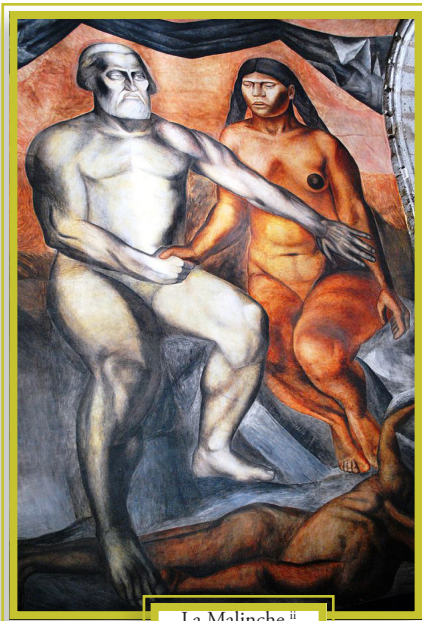
The men who have been writing how Malintzin has been remembered have written off her rather impressive strengths as resulting from her weakness of being the “weaker” sex. To illustrate, this is a woman who mastered several languages, including one that nobody in the region had ever heard before, negotiated the crucial alliance between the Spaniards and the Tlaxcalans, and gave sound strategic advice³⁰ along with an insight into Aztec religious beliefs. As explained before, by siding with the Spanish she was elevating her position from simple trophy, from booty captured and traded in war, to someone of importance. But as if trying to demean all women instead of analyzing all the factors behind her joining the conquistadors, creators of Mexican ethnonationalism have glorified the rape culture that still pervades society today by claiming she was merely seduced and abused by the Spaniards. Worse, that it’s her fault

that she was sexually “victimized” due to the very nature of her sex. Norma Alarcon writes:

“The myth contains the following sexual possibilities: woman is sexually passive, hence at all times open to potential use by men whether it be seduction or rape... Nothing she does is perceived as a choice. Because Malintzin aided Cortés in the conquest of the New World, she is seen as concretizing woman’s sexual weakness... always open to sexual exploitation.”³¹

There are conflicting views on La Malinche, but one thing is clear. Her place in history, for good or ill, has been cemented into the psyche of the Mexican people. She is viewed both as a traitor, and as a bridge between two worlds. But as stated earlier, the view of her as a traitor has no basis in actual history. To

call her a traitor would be like calling a Ukrainian a traitor for siding with the Nazis against the USSR³² during World War Two. She was caught between two forces of history, two conquerors that both victimized and subjugated people. The view of the Aztecs as noble warriors is false, the only reason they’ve been romanticized is because history loves its losers. In order to aid with the national narrative of victimhood, as perpetrated by scholars like Octavio Paz, she has become the Mexican Eve, allowing the original sin of the Spaniards into their land. She has been vilified, in the same breath that the land she helped shape is glorified, due to the sexist tendencies of those writing the histories and the need for a scapegoat to understand why their misguided idols, the Aztecs, failed. In choosing Malintzin, and transforming her into La Malinche, they have used her to repress generations of women into believing that opening up to other cultures, and using your intellectual talents, was a bad thing equivocal to selling your body on the street. The Mexico that exists today could not, nor would not,



La Malinche "

have existed without her aiding of the Spaniards in the early 16th century. Octavio Paz wrote that in order for the Mexican people to advance, a "...separation was a necessary and inevitable act, because every life that is truly autonomous begins as a break with its family and its past"³³ implying that the Mexicans should forget all that formed them to move on. Perhaps it is not the place of an outsider merely observing the obvious flaws in the narrative to make an interjection on true solutions, though it is doubtful how fruitful forgetting one's past would be in the proper course for progress. The point of this paper, however, was never to offer one. It was, as stated before, to simply attempt to decipher how the legend of La Malinche came to be, and why continuing to enforce her as a model of a "bad" woman is inhibitive towards the process of equality.

ENDNOTES

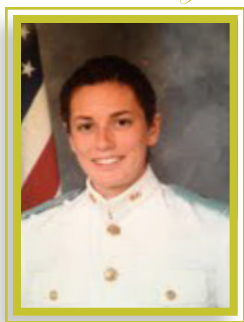
1. Paz 1985, 79,86; "The Chingada is the mother forcibly opened, violated or deceived."
2. Female Mexican-American
3. Sanchez January 1998, 118
4. Castillo Reprinted 1927, 79
5. Old Spanish term for "Chief"
6. Gomara Reprinted 1965, 56
7. Gomara Reprinted 1965, 56-57
8. Castillo Reprinted 1927, 79
9. Petty Summer 2000, 121
10. Castillo Reprinted 1927, 160,166; Page 160, one envoy claims he is there to take her, and "those lords," to her quarters. Page 166, Montezuma states after Cortés expresses his gratitude for their wondrous welcome, which Malintzin translates. "Malintzin, here you and your friends are at home; now repose yourselves"
11. Castillo Reprinted 1927, 79
12. Pratt Autumn 1993, 860
13. Davies 1987, 5
14. Nash Winter 1978, 351
15. Davies 1987, 51; Parenthesis added.
16. Nash Winter 1978, 351
17. Davies 1987, 255
18. Nash Winter 1978, 356
19. Nash Winter 1978, 358
20. Davies 1987, 191-192
21. Pratt Autumn 1993, 860
22. Pratt Autumn 1993, 861
23. Taylor Spring 2006
24. "Sons of the screwed mother"
25. Paz 1985, 86
26. Paz 1985, 85
27. Wyatt Autumn 1995, 244
28. Paz 1985, 84
29. Wyatt Autumn 1995, 248
30. She also helped the Spanish uncover a plot the Aztecs had to have a good number of them put to death. "Cortés sent Donna Marina to bring back the two priests whom he had before spoken to. In this she succeeded, and Cortés obtained from them the following intelligence. They told him, that Montezuma, on our approach to Mexico, had become very unsettled in his mind, sometimes ordering that we should be received with honor, and at other times that she should not be permitted to pass; but that having lately consulted his gods, they had declared, that here in Cholula we were to be put to death, or made prisoners, for which he had sent twenty thousand of his troops, one half of which number was in the city, and the other concealed half a league from it. That the plan of their attack was settled, and that twenty of us were allotted to be sacrificed to the gods of Cholula." (Castillo Reprinted 1927, 149)
31. Wyatt Autumn 1995, 248
32. Who had forced collectivization of Ukrainian land and may have orchestrated a famine that caused the deaths of roughly 6 million Ukrainians
33. Paz 1985, 88

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Use of Percoll Gradient for Purifying Mitochondria Preparation in Brassica Olerace with Histone H3 implications

By: Sarah Katchen



Sarah is a senior Biology major from Galesburg, IL. She is a varsity soccer player, part of the honor's college, this year's Regimental Religious officer, president of the Jewish Student Union, a member of pre-health

club, BioCid, WASA, and women in science and engineering (WISE). Sarah has also had the opportunity to work in Dr. Zanin's lab learning a wealth of knowledge about lab work and mitochondria. This past December Sarah attended the Annual Cellular Biology Conference in New Orleans to present the research. After graduation she plans to attend medical school to pursue family medicine.

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Abstract

Histone H3 has contributed to many cell processes between the mitochondria and the nucleus. Researching histone H3 in the mitochondria could help us understand how eukaryotes evolved from prokaryotes. Our research could provide insight into the mechanisms that are involved in nuclear genes that encode mitochondrial proteins believed to have been exported to the nucleus from the mitochondria at one point and later gained mitochondrial targeting sequence (Zanin et al. 2010).

1. INTRODUCTION

Histone H3 is highly conserved across all eukaryotes and is an integral part of chromosomes. H3 is a core component of nucleosomes which make up chromatin in the nucleus. It plays important roles in transcription regulation, DNA repair as well as chromosome stability (Karp). In the past, histone H3 has not been found in the mitochondria, only in the nucleus. Histones are proteins that package DNA which forms a complex called a nucleosome. They condense when DNA is not being transcribed. When DNA is being copied a modification occurs to the histones to allow the DNA to loosen around them for replication or transcription to occur. During meiosis and mitosis the histones are modified for the DNA to tighten up (Peterson et al. 2004).

Our lab has previously found that histone H3 is present in the mitochondria as well as in the nucleus. Tests show H3 protein in the mitochondria of cauliflower Brassica olerace (Zanin et al. 2010). Criticisms of this research imply that the preparations of mitochondria that contain H3 are not free of nuclear proteins and that some of the nuclear histone H3 was not completely separated from the mitochondria fraction resulting in contamination. In order to get rid of any contamination we used a Percoll (density) gradient centrifugation to more completely purify the mitochondrial sample.

Previous data from our lab has shown that while Histone H3 is found in the mitochondria using an antibody to its C-terminus, its N-terminus is modified in a way that blocks binding of an antibody which should bind to the N-terminus (Zanin et al. 2010). This could be due to a particular posttranslational modification of the N-terminus that's unique to H3 present in the mitochondria. Western blot show the mitochondrial H3 band to be slightly higher molecular weight than the nuclear H3 band. This further indicates a modification on the N-terminus.

In order to attempt to identify the post-translational modification of the N-terminus of mitochondrial Histone H3 we plan to submit for MALDI-TOF analysis a gel band of H3 obtained from mitochondria purified by Percoll gradients. Then we will analyze this data and extrapolate our modification from there.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

Initially we prepared a mitochondria sample from cauliflower *Brassica oleracea* by shaving off some of the cauliflower and using a mortar and pestle to grind it, then filtered the solution through the cloth into tube. The tube was centrifuged multiple times in order to pellet the mitochondria. This pellet was then re-suspended. The mitochondria sample was further purified using Percoll. The Percoll gradient separates organelles based on their own densities. In order to test the protein concentration in the purified mitochondria sample we used Bradford Assay. Bradford Assay uses UV absorption curves of known proteins in order to plot the absorption of the unknown protein. Through this comparison one can find the concentration of the unknown protein. Bradford Assay also helps with calculation of the amount of protein fractions based on concentration in order to load it into the gel. Then using Microsoft Excel we calculated the linear relationship of absorbance versus concentration. After obtaining the absorbencies for the protein in nuclei and mitochondria, the standard curve equation was used to determine the protein concentrations. Then we used these protein concentrations to determine what volume of each fraction should be loaded to obtain equal protein content on the gel (See Tables 1-4 and Figure 2). We used the same procedure above on the Cell Biology class mitochondria after it settled in the gradient. (Table 5). We then calculated the amount needed for the electrophoresis based on the Bradford Assay (Table 6). Proteins from nuclei and mitochondria preparations were separated with Polyacrylamide Gel Electrophoresis (PAGE).

PAGE is used to separate macromolecules like protein by their mobility. After PAGE we used Western blots to detect the specific protein, histone H3.

3. RESULTS

3.1 Purifying of Sample

Making the first gradient was time consuming with having to layer the protein on each different density gradient. The first Percoll gradient that we used separated the mitochondrial protein from the contaminants. After the 30 minute centrifuge there was a diffuse band of mitochondria between the 21 and 45 percentiles of the Percoll gradient. This band was faint and difficult to see. (See Figure 1) We were hoping for a much more defined band of mitochondria. Then after the three washes of the preparation there was a very minute quantity of mitochondria left. To be sure that there were enough mitochondria to run a gel we decided to do a Bradford Assay. The assay confirmed our thoughts; there was not enough mitochondria pipetted out after the gradient was spun to use in a gel electrophoresis. We decided to run a gel on this mitochondrial sample. This may have been due to not transferring all the mitochondria out of the gradient needing more mitochondria fraction to begin the gradient or the samples may have been affected by being frozen for a week.

The next gradient that we used was the Cell Biology class' mitochondrial preparations. We used a larger sample of mitochondria to load on top of the Percoll. The Cell Biology class had used a mannitol buffer in grinding the cauliflower which was different then our first cauliflower preparation which was made with the 0.4 sucrose, 500 mM tris HCl (Figures 6-7). After the first 30 minute spin the mitochondria had barely moved from the top of the gradient. We spun the preparation again for four hours and still the mitochondrial sample had barely moved into the gradient. Then we spun it for 8 hours and the mitochondria had moved a little bit further into the gradient. We then let the mitochondria settle in the refrigerator for another

two weeks. After the two weeks the mitochondria had settled perfectly between the 21%/ 45% gradients. The band was now very well defined (see Figure 1).

We then used these mitochondria in a gel electrophoresis and western blot. The Coomassie gel confirmed that we loaded the correct amount of mitochondria and nuclear protein into the gel and that the proteins had not degraded. The bands on the Coomassie were distinct and visible (Figure 2). In the immunoblot using antibody (Sigma H0164) a strong H3 band was present in the nuclear fraction and a faint histone H3 band in the mitochondrial lane (Figure 5). The Fibrillarin blot showed no difference from the previous blot (Figure 4). Figure 3 blot using antibody (8580) showed the presence of histone H3 in the nucleus, but no mitochondrial band.

4. DISCUSSION

Our future studies will be aimed at testing more N-terminus modifications that are associated with cell stress as well as continuing the use of the Percoll gradient. In future studies we may use MAULDI-TOF to figure out the N-terminus amino acid sequence of histone H3 as well as use cell cultures instead of Cauliflower. This will provide us with the ability to induce stress on the cells in the culture and run gels on cells in stress which will provide for more hard evidence for our research.

In the first trial our mitochondrial band in the Percoll gradient was not defined and barely visible. We hypothesized that we needed a larger sample; for the next trial we used a larger sample of mitochondria to layer onto our gradient. These mitochondria took around two weeks to settle into the gradient, but formed a distinct and large band at the 21/45% mark. The gradient worked, but there still needs to be further research into the amount of time that the mitochondria takes to properly settle into the predicted density. We think that the brake on the centrifuge may be dislodging our gradient. The next time we use the gradient we will continue

to use a large amount of mitochondria on top of the gradient and let the centrifuge slow down on its own to avoid any mixing the centrifuge may facilitate due to breaking.

The presence of histone H3 in the blot using primary antibody (Sigma H0164) gel for the C-terminus is a positive sign. This means that H3 is showing up when blotted against the C-terminus supporting our earlier research. The blot using primary antibody (8580) against the N-terminus did not show histone H3 in the mitochondrial lane. This is disappointing because this is not the modification for histone H3, but it supports the prior research in saying that the modification is on the N-terminus. Further blots will need to be run with purified mitochondria using the Percoll gradient as well as using other antibodies for modifications on the C-terminus that have to do with cell stress. More trials are needed to find the modification as well as repeating the blots using the purified mitochondria from the Percoll gradient.

5. CURRENT WORK, UPDATED DATA

Since the writing of this paper our lab has made some headway with purifying mitochondria. We have used a different Percoll gradient and found success in obtaining pure samples from calf liver preparation and drosophila (fruit fly) preparations. As well as obtaining a pure sample we have found via Western blot the presence of a modification for apoptosis on the histone H3. Further research is being conducted. Some of these results can be seen in the figures/tables following this section.

6. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks to Dr. Zanin for guiding us in our research and being open to new ideas in the lab as well as fielding our many questions. Also thank you to the Citadel for funding our work in a generous faculty grant. Finally, a special thank you goes to Dr. Donnell for allowing us to use some of his drosophila for our research.

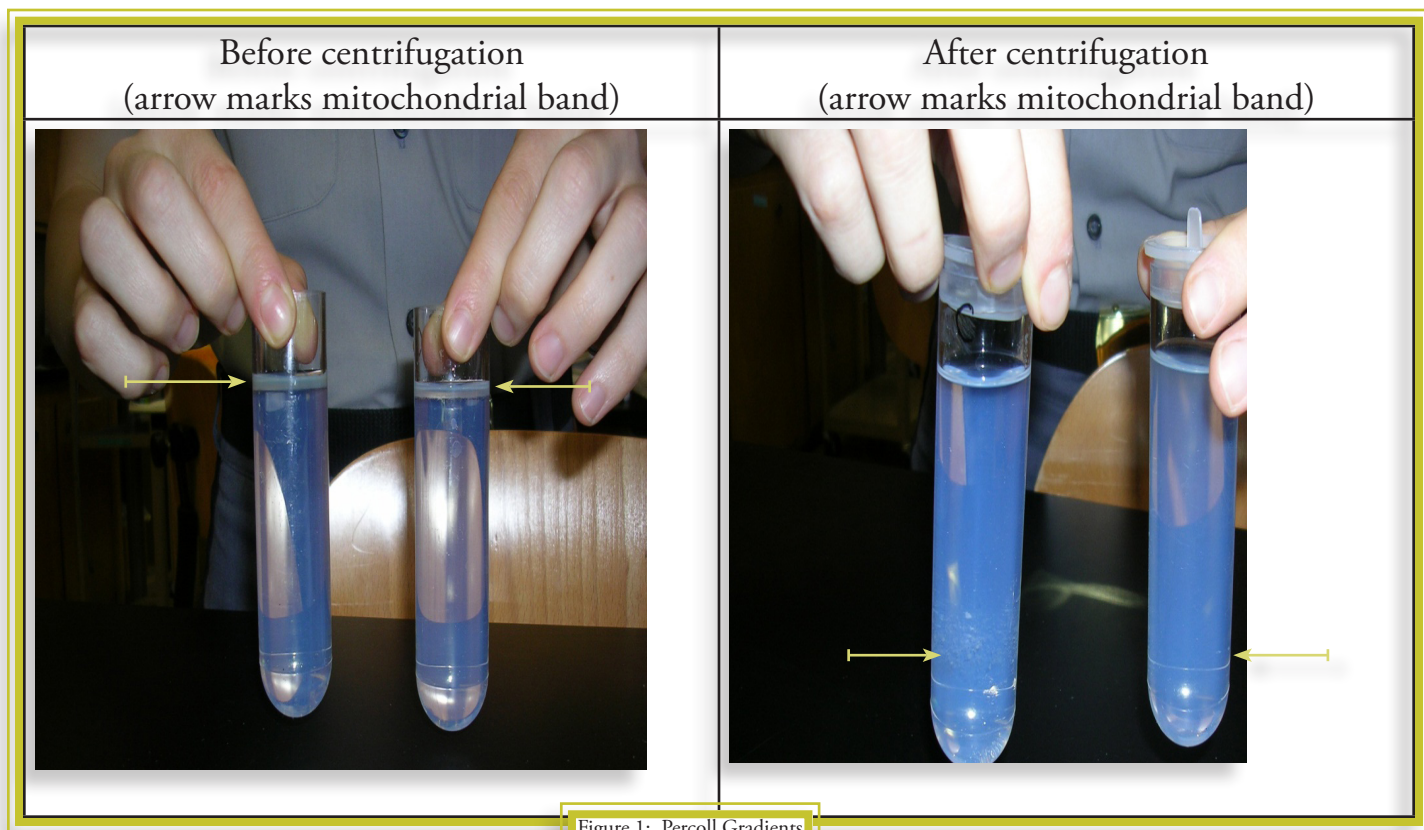


Figure 1: Percoll Gradients

Organelle	Absorbance at 595 nm	Slope Absorbance/Concentration (Abs mL/ μ g)	Intercept Absorbance at 595 nm	Concentration (μ g/ml)	Concentration Corrected for dilution (μ g/ml)
1/40 nucleus	0.15	0.005	0.017	26.6	1064
Mitochondria	0.13	0.005	0.017	22.6	22.6

Table 2: Determination of Organelle Protein Content

Solution Concentrations	Absorbance at 595 nm
BSA 0 micrograms/ml	0
BSA 25 micrograms/ml	0.158
BSA 50 micrograms/ml	0.292
BSA 75 micrograms/ml	0.373
BSA 100 micrograms/ml	0.523
Nucleus 1:40	0.15
Mitochondria undiluted	0.13
Mitochondria 1:4	0.086
Mitochondria 1:2 dilution	0.058

Table 1: Comparison to Standard Values

	Concentration (μ g/ml)	Volume (μ l)	Mass of Sample (μ g)
Mitochondria	22.6	.025	0.565
Nucleus	1064	0.000531015	0.565

Table 3: Determination of Volume to Load for PAGE

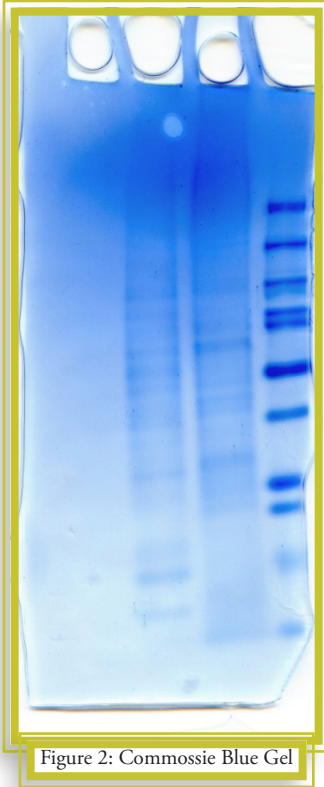


Figure 2: Coomassie Blue Gel



Figure 3: 8580 Blot



Figure 4: Fibrillarin Blot



Figure 5: H0164

Figure 2 is the Coomassie stained gel which shows the protein bands in the nucleus and mitochondria. Figure 3 is the blot with the primary antibody (8580) which was for a modification of the N-terminus of the mitochondria known to be in histone H3. It appeared in the nuclei lane, but not in the mitochondria lane. Figure 4 is the same blot as Figure 5, but it has been counter blotted with antibody (ab4566). It showed no for the mitochondrial lane. Figure 5 is the blot for primary antibody (Sigma H0164) for the C-terminus shows histone H3 being present in the nuclei and mitochondrial lanes.

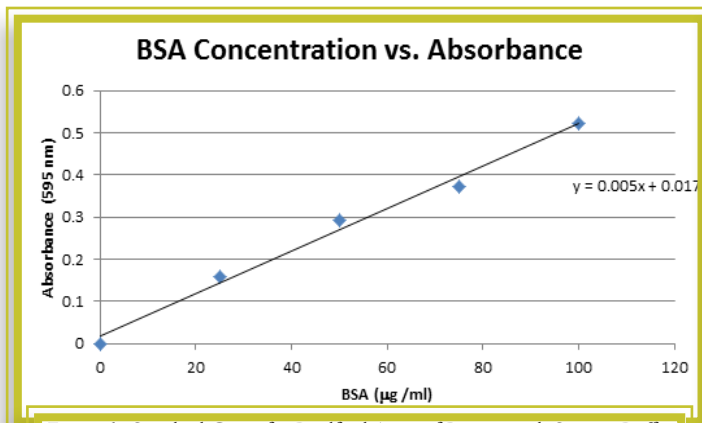


Figure 6: Standard Curve for Bradford Assay of Protein with Sucrose Buffer

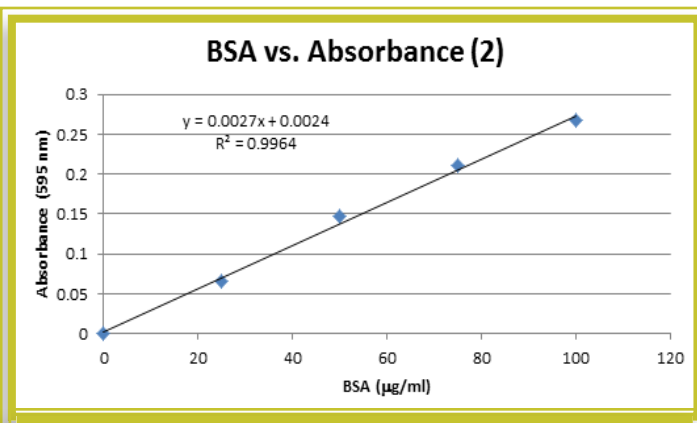


Figure 7: Standard Curve for Bradford Assay of Protein with Mannitol Buffer

BSA Concentration (µg/ml)	Absorbance at 595 nm
0	0
25	0.066
50	0.147
75	0.21
100	0.267

Table 4: Data associated with Figure 7

*BSA is the acronym for Bovine Serum Albumin, which is widely used as the standard for protein concentration determination.

Organelle	Slope Absorbance/Concentration (Abs mL/µg)	Intercept Absorbance at 595 nm	Y Absorbance at 595 nm	X Concentration (µg/mL)	Dilution Factor	Concentration Corrected for dilution (µg/ml)
Mitochondria	0.0027	0.0024	0.263	96.51851852	2	193.037037
Nucleus	0.0027	0.0024	0.128	46.51851852	20	930.3703704

Table 5: Corrected Concentrations for Mitochondria and Nuclear Protein

Organelle	Volume (µl)	Volume (ml)	Concentration (µg/ml)	Mass of Sample (µg)
Mitochondria	15	0.015	193	2.895
Nucleus	3	0.003113	930	2.895

Table 6: Amount of Protein Needed to Load in Gel

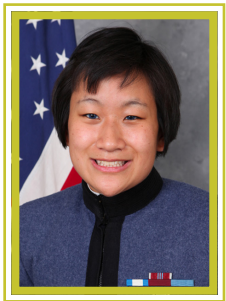
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Cadet Ryan Boodée:
Inside the Barracks



Cadet Jane Ma:
Medal of Honor



Cadet Nick Pinelli:
Folding the American Flag
Matriculation
Recycling Boo
Turn Down for What?!
In the Evening
Dark Tower
Graduation



Graduate Student and Tactical Officer Randall Adcock:
Matriculation
Graduation



In The Evening by Nick Pinelli



Dark Tower by Nick Pinelli



Graduation by Nick Pinelli and Randall Adcock

