The *Xavier Journal of Undergraduate Research* (XJUR) is a journal published in print and online by students at Xavier University. The mission of the journal is to promote and share high quality research and creative works produced by Xavier University undergraduate students. Research and creative works published in the journal exemplify the College of Arts and Sciences' effort to achieve a more integrated understanding of humanity, the world, and God through studied reflection of the enduring questions raised by the core curriculum and departmental curricula.

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Dear readers,

The Editorial Board, Faculty Advisors, and Editorial Staff are pleased to present Volume 3 of the Xavier Journal of Undergraduate Research (XJUR).

This year, XJUR takes an important step forward: Volume 3 appears online and in print, thanks to generous support from the College of Arts and Sciences. Here in the print edition of Volume 3, you will find eight essays representing a range of disciplines, as well as abstracts for five additional essays which appear in the digital edition. To read the digital edition, Google “xjur” or point your browser to:

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XJUR’s dual publication format has several advantages. First, and perhaps most importantly, it allows XJUR’s authors to reach a large audience, one that includes not only Xavier students, faculty, and staff, but also the wider academic and professional communities with which Xavier’s student-researchers engage. Digitization and the move to open access formats are among the most important trends in scholarship today; Volume 3 reflects this momentous shift in the production of knowledge.

A second advantage to Volume 3’s format is that allows XJUR to engage with non-print media, including visual art, videos, and other websites. The digital edition of XJUR features images as well as videos, maps, links, and other interactive features. Browse around and explore the insightful, surprising, and even delightful connections made possible by online publishing.
Finally, XJUR’s dual format makes room for more voices. Volume 3 features the work of fifteen student-authors, doubling the journal’s previous size. This expanded scope gives more students the valuable experience of publishing their work. It also allows more students to gain experience assessing their peers’ work as part of the student Editorial Board.

Enjoy this copy of XJUR, and when you’re finished, check out the online edition. I hope you will join me in congratulating Xavier students on another successful year of research.

Dr. Lisa Ottum
XJUR Faculty Advisor
Assistant Professor of English
Faculty Introduction

Dr. Christian End

Children reach a developmental phase when it seems like they speak solely in question format. “Who invented books? Why are there so many Batman movies? Why doesn’t everyone speak English? Why are there so many rules in baseball?”

Unfortunately, some people’s progression through this phase results in a tempered curiosity.

Albert Einstein once stated:

The important thing is to not stop questioning. Curiosity has its own reason for existence. One cannot help but be in awe when he contemplates the mysteries of eternity, of life, of the marvelous structure of reality. It is enough if one tries merely to comprehend a little of this mystery each day.

Fortunately, the students published in this issue kept questioning. The research presented in this issue is diverse. Topics range from marginalized heroines (Alexander) to heroin dealers (Gill); from the American Dream (High) to Italian futurism (Burns). A sampling of the data utilized includes small business loans (Foxx), Oprah-inspired book club discussion guides (Nimmo), and works of art (Wegmeyer & Miller). Historical data were mined to establish an empire (Ruter), and digit ratio was measured to understand the current empire of gaming (Lehan & Smith).

Though diverse in nature, all the research in this issue shares a common characteristic: the students who produced the studies were driven by curiosity to engage in the arduous, but rewarding, research process.
A headline in *The Onion*, a farcical newspaper, once read, “Science is Hard.” I would argue the headline is true, and one could easily substitute research for science. Einstein’s quote above references, “comprehend(ing) a little of this mystery each day.” The student-researchers published in this issue “comprehended a little each day” for months, semesters, and maybe even years to produce these articles. Their persistence and efforts should be commended, as should the efforts of their research advisors.

One of the core tenets of a Jesuit education is fostering a love for lifelong learning. After reading these outstanding articles, I hope you will agree that Xavier University continues to contribute to this noble tradition.
The Reality of the American Dream

Finding The Good Life in the 21st Century

Madeline High

The American Dream is best defined by James Truslow Adams as a “dream of land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for every man, with the opportunity for each according to his ability or achievement” (Adams 404). Throughout the centuries of the United States, a better and fuller life has meant different things to different people. Today, a better and fuller life is often viewed in terms of economic and material prosperity such as buying your dream house or car. Since the founding of the United States, the American Dream has continued to become more and more materialistic. The value of people’s success is not measured in their quality of life, but through the amount of property they have.

Our society is very consumer driven and greatly emphasizes the importance of material gain. It is undeniable that the material prosperity of our country has made life easier and more efficient for many people and that it plays an important role in the American Dream: economic success can help people attain certain dreams such as financial security. However, I believe that people’s view of a better and fuller life is grossly unbalanced and narrowly defined. Many people tend to associate the Dream only with economic prosperity. The association of the Dream with quality of life is largely neglected. I argue that two of the greatest challenges facing the American Dream today are 1) the emphasis on material prosperity and 2) the wealth inequality in the United States. In order for the American Dream to
become fully available to more people, there needs to be a balance between economic prosperity and the quality of life.

The focus on material gain instead of the quality of life has created an unequal playing field for people in the United States which has led to wealth inequality. There are many people who work hard and are unable to make ends meet while there are others at the top who are at an unequal advantage because they received an inheritance or some type of financial support. The focus on materialism and consumption has decreased people’s ability to be satisfied. Americans work so hard for material gain that they often are unable to find joy and excitement in their lives. James Truslow Adams described it best, writing: “we forgot to live, in the struggle to ‘make a living’” (406).

The issue of materialism and wealth inequality is not a modern issue. At the time of perceived upward mobility during the mid-1800’s, over 90 percent of the people at the top inherited money, and only 2 percent of the people at the bottom were able to rise from the bottom to the top (Fortin). While the nation believed that individuals could rise from poverty to wealth, this scenario was not very realistic. One example of this misperception was the election of Andrew Jackson. The Age of Jackson has often been interpreted as the age of the common man. Jackson in fact represented the uncommon man rising from rags to riches. Many Americans identified with the ideals of hard work, self-reliance, and determination that Jackson represented. However, while Jackson was personified as a symbol of the American Dream to the people, it was truly uncommon circumstances (and men of wealth) that helped Jackson get into the White House. For the first time in U.S. history, one million dollars was spent on advertising Jackson’s campaign.

The wealth gap in the United States remained relatively the same over the next century. During the Industrial Revolution the U.S. made a dramatic shift from an agriculture society to a predominately industrial society. The new industry created advancements that enhanced the lives for many. While the lives of almost all people, including those at the bottom did improve materialistically, it did not
High / The American Dream

lessen the wealth gap. One percent of the population still controlled 20 percent of the wealth, and 10 percent of the population controlled 50 percent of the wealth (Fortin).

Since the Industrial Revolution, the wealth gap in the United States has increased dramatically. In an article, “Who Rules America: Wealth, Income and Power,” Professor William G. Domhoff researched the trends of wealth inequality in our country in the year 2010. Domhoff asserts that “in terms of financial wealth (total net worth minus the value of one's home), the top 1% of households had an even greater share: 42.1%” (Domhoff). This is over double the amount of wealth controlled by the top 1 percent during the Industrial Revolution. Through these statistics, it is evident that the wealth gap in our country is growing. I believe that the growing wealth gap is making it easier for the people at the top to achieve their dreams but more difficult for the people at the bottom to succeed.

In the past many people came to the United States to leave the stratified European society. However, upward mobility is becoming increasingly difficult in the United States. According to research by the PEW charitable trusts, “43 percent of Americans raised at the bottom of the income ladder remain stuck there as adults, and 70 percent never even make it to the middle” (1). The data shows that the dream of rising to the top economically is only available to a select few. The wealth gap in the U.S. is also much more dramatic than in the majority of European countries. According to the CIA Factbook, the United States has the 41st highest “degree of inequality in the distribution of family income in a country” (“The World Factbook”). The CIA’s list consists of 141 different countries. The countries at the bottom of the list, which are the countries with the greatest equality of wealth, are mostly European countries. The United Kingdom has the 35th most equal distribution of wealth and Germany has the 12th most equal distribution of wealth. (“The World Factbook”). This information strongly contradicts the belief that the United States is a less stratified society compared to Europe. The extreme difference between the degree of inequality of wealth between the U.S. and other
European countries emphasizes that much wealth inequality exists in the United States.

Wealth inequality in the United States has also played a large role in people’s perception of achieving the American Dream. In a study of the American Dream entitled, “Can the American Dream Survive the New Multiethnic America? Evidence from Los Angeles,” Mara A. Cohen-Marks and Christopher Stout interviewed people of different ethnic groups regarding their perception of the American Dream. The results show that the people interviewed believed materialism and the notion of economic prosperity played a large role in people’s perception of the American Dream. The results confirm a “strong association between homeownership and the American dream” (834). The study also showed that “income is highly correlated with perceptions of achievement of the American dream. Angelinos with the highest household incomes are 50% more likely to believe that they have achieved the American dream than are the poorest respondents in our data set” (835). The statistics suggest that the Dream has come to seem exclusive. People who are poor are less likely to believe that they can achieve the American Dream.

Reasons for the increasing wealth gap in the United States are presented in Heather Beth Johnson’s book, *The American Dream and the Power of Wealth*. Johnson interviewed and analyzed black and white families regarding the power of wealth and the American Dream. In her interviews with families, many people attributed their success to their own hard work, and many of the families that were struggling blamed themselves for their failures. Johnson however, affirms that financial success is not based solely on hard work. She attributes many families’ success to intergenerational transfers. “Intergenerational transfers” refers to the passing along of assets both at death and throughout one’s life” (8). Through her research, Johnson discovered that the majority of wealth, “between one-half to more than 80 percent all accumulated wealth is received through intergenerational transfers of assets” (7).
In her interview with the Johnsons, a middle-aged, educated black family, they stated that they did not understand how their college friends, who made similar incomes, were more financial secure than them. Johnson explains that the reason for this family’s insecurity was not related to income, but wealth. While the family had a good income, their “net financial assets were negative $14,000” (138). The family did not have the support of intergenerational transfers from their family members. This lack of financial support was a major cause for their financial insecurity. However, the Johnsons blamed themselves for their failures because of the ideology of the American Dream: hard work leads to success. The story of the Johnson family shows that the belief in the American Dream is so strong that many people do not realize the role intergenerational transfers play in exacerbating the wealth gap in the U.S. I do not claim that intergenerational transfers are bad or that people who receive inheritance do not work hard. However, it is important to understand that the difference in wealth creates an unequal playing field and inhibits some individuals from achieving their Dream.

Today, when people view the American Dream, I believe that they focus too much on economic prosperity. I believe that from this limited perspective the Dream is not very successful. While people still readily agree to the ideas of hard work, individualism, and upward mobility, realistically, these values are not always enough. Johnson’s research shows that economic success is not available to everyone based strictly upon how much they work. The role of family wealth and inheritance are two major factors that lead to people’s success. While the American Dream has become more exclusively materialistic over the past decades, economic success is not the only way to view the Dream. A better and fuller life consists of much more than material prosperity.

In order for the American dream to be fully attainable to the most people, we must begin to recognize the importance of the quality of life and redefine their perception of a better and fuller life. In the Edward and Robert Skidelsky’s book, How Much is Enough?: Money
and the Good Life, the authors characterize the good life by breaking it down into five categories; health, security, leisure, friendship, and one’s own unique personality. These five aspects of the “good life” are clearly echoed by the beliefs of the Founding Fathers and other scholars such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Edward Bellamy, and John Maynard Keynes. I believe that the ideas presented by these scholars show how the American Dream is alive today and also present ideals to strive for in the future.

Many of the aspects that represent the good life stem from the Founding Fathers’ belief in the importance of education and virtue. During the time of the Industrial Revolution and continuing on today, many people have equated happiness to material gain. When the Founding Fathers created the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, they did not believe that the best society was created through wealth, but through education and virtue. John Adams claimed that “the form of government which communicates ease, comfort, security, or, in one word, happiness, to the greatest number of persons, and in the greatest degree, is the best” (85). Adams’s vision of the best government was very similar to the American Dream. Both ideas emphasize the desire to create a better life for all people. Adams’ idea of a better life was not focused on materialism, but the quality of life among the people. He believed that a quality life was created through virtue and education. “Virtue and simplicity of manners,” he writes, “are indispensably necessary in a republic among all orders and degrees of men” (182).

Thomas Jefferson agreed with Adams about the importance of education and believed that the best society was created by educating the masses. Jefferson advocated for “a crusade against ignorance,” and wanted to “establish and improve the law for educating the common people” (312). He believed that educating the people would protect them from any injustices and manipulations in government. Jefferson claimed that education was the key to preventing a monarchy from forming and allowing people to live more freely. The letters from Adams and Jefferson both show that the U.S. government
provides security for the people not only militaristically, but more importantly through education and virtue.

Adam Smith, the founder of capitalism, held a similar view to the Founding Fathers. He agreed that virtue was the key to real happiness. In his *Happiness: A History*, Darrin McMahon quotes Adam Smith who wrote, “wealth and greatness are mere trinkets of frivolous utility no more adapted for procuring ease of body or tranquility of mind than the tweezer cases of the lover of toys” (qtd. in McMahon 329). For Smith, McMahon explains, “tranquility and enjoyment . . . had less to do with economic condition than it did with virtue” (329). Smith believed that in order to achieve a better, fuller, and richer life people needed to stop focusing on material wealth and needed to start focusing on their virtues and values. Smith pointed out that wealth alone does not bring individuals the satisfaction and enjoyment. Satisfaction and enjoyment must come from within us, which can be achieved by following our own ideas, thoughts, and values.

Another key aspect to the good life was health. In one of his letters, Thomas Jefferson discussed the importance of walking. While the Founding Fathers were devoted scholars, they understood that the mind needed to rest. They knew that their health was very important. Jefferson recommended two hours of exercise a day because “a strong body makes the mind strong” (309). Walking was a healthy way to relax, relieve stress, and enjoy your time.

Today many people walk and exercise not out of enjoyment, but to lose weight or stay in shape. Many people go to gyms to work out and walk on treadmills instead of outside. Instead of a fun and relaxing activity, walking becomes a chore. Some people do not have time to walk because they are too exhausted from working while others simply do not like to be active. People become so focused on material gain that they do not take time to take care of their health.

“Results from the 2011–2012 National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES), using measured heights and weights, indicate that an estimated 33.9% of U.S. adults aged 20 and over are overweight, 35.1% are obese, and 6.4% are extremely obese”
This survey shows that health is a major concern in our country. There are many contributors to weight gain and walking is not the only cure. However, Jefferson’s letter about walking reveals that the Founding Fathers were aware of the importance of exercise. Jefferson’s letter on walking puts in perspective what should truly be valuable to us. Our society has become so rushed and consumer driven that people do not spend enough time caring about their health.

Another important aspect of the good life is leisure time. John Adams advocated for quiet time. He even believed that the entitlement of quiet time should be recorded in the Declaration of Independence. I really appreciate the idea of having quiet time. Today, we live in such a rushed society where we are constantly surrounded by media. This lifestyle contributes greatly to the amount of stress we have in our lives. Adams’s notion of quiet time could truly help relieve our stress. It would allow people to get away from their worries and relax and reflect. Today, Americans often misinterpret leisure with being unproductive, and to activities such as watching TV or playing on a computer. However, the Founding Fathers asserted that leisure time does not mean laziness or idleness. The leisure time they valued is when you spend time doing something active that you enjoy such as educating yourself through a good book or learning to cook a new meal. These are both ways that you can be productive while still enjoying yourself.

The belief in the importance of leisure is also reflected over a century later by Edward Bellamy and John Keynes. They envisioned a future not of more material gain, but a future of less work and more leisure time. In 1887 Edward Bellamy published Looking Backward. The book appeared during the time of industrialization in the United States. In Looking Backward Bellamy claimed that in the year 2000, the United States would become a Utopian society where people would work together to build a more virtuous society. Clearly, the future Bellamy dreamed of is not accurate today and highly idealistic. However, I do believe that his book points out issues in our society such as poverty and reiterates the certain ideas of what constitutes the
good life. In his future world people are able to retire at a much younger age. This gives them time to have leisure and enjoy the rest of their lives. The future characters in the text regarded labor “as a necessary duty to be discharged before we can fully devote ourselves to the higher exercise of our faculties, the intellectual and spiritual enjoyments and pursuits which alone mean life” (Bellamy 27). For the characters of Bellamy’s future, their leisure time after retirement was not filled with laziness, but participating in activities they enjoyed.

In 1930 economist John Maynard Keynes had a similar view of the future to Edward Bellamy. He believed that the growth of technology would allow people to work less, and society would become less focused on material goods. “I see us free,” Keyes writes, “…and the love of money detestable, that those walk most truly in the paths of virtue and sane wisdom who take least thought for the morrow” (qtd in Skidelsky 6). Keynes imagined not only a new world of more leisure, but he also imagined that the country would grow more morally to reflect the view of virtue of the Founding Fathers.

A final aspect of the good life was the association of own unique personality. Ralph Waldo Emerson was a great advocate for pursuing your own unique personality. In his famous “Self-Reliance,” Emerson states that “to believe your own thought, to believe that what is true in your own private heart is true for all men,—that is genius” (259). He believed that self-reliance meant living for yourself, not just living to fit into society. Today, materialism has led to conformity. People desire mass produced items such as the newest iPhone. In the epilogue to The Epic of America, Adams pointed out how dependence on mass production has led to a lower quality of thought and expression among men (409). Technology can inhibit people from thinking on their own and cause them to blindly follow information that they hear on the TV or internet.

I believe that education also plays an important role in self-reliance. As Jefferson explained in his letter “A Crusade Against Ignorance,” education is important to make sure that people do not
become manipulated. Education can also teach people not to follow the crowd. I believe that the more educated people are, the more capable they are to think for themselves and be confident in their opinions. Education plays an important role in staying true to your own unique personality.

In order to have a fulfilling and enjoyable life Americans need to recognize the importance of the quality of life. Aspects of the good life such as education, health, and own unique personality all play a role in creating a better and fuller life. I believe that if people begin to focus on these values, instead only material prosperity, it will broaden the scope of the American Dream and make it more available to all people. I do not believe that people should stop viewing economic prosperity as an aspect the Dream, but they should incorporate the ideas of economic success with the good life to achieve the Dream. When looking at the Dream from a broader perspective and incorporating both the aspects of the good life and economic prosperity, it becomes clear there are many different ways people can pursue their Dreams. It is also important to note that the American Dream is different for different people. What brings fulfillment to one person may bring stress or unhappiness to others. What makes the American Dream so great and unique is the freedom for anyone to pursue their own personal Dream.

Colleges and universities are a great representation of living a better and fuller life. Many colleges offer the opportunity for people of different race, ethnicity, culture, and economic background to come together for the ultimate goal of achieving a higher education. An education not only prepares students for the future, but it also teaches them to think for themselves. College is the first time many students are independent from their parents. Many students live away from their families and are able to make their own decisions. This independence allows students to practice self-reliance and develop their own unique personality. During college students also have the ability to meet new people and make new friends, as well as form relationships with their professors and professionals in their career.
path. Certainly not all colleges are as diverse as others and not every student is independent and breaks out to make new friends. Everyone college experience is different. However, I do believe that no matter what university students attend, all universities offer the opportunity of a higher education for those who desire it.

Another way that I believe the American Dream is expressed today is through local community markets such as Cincinnati’s Findlay Market. Findlay Market offers a diverse background of people of all ages that come together to share the experience. The vendors are able to find self-fulfillment and expression through their food, crafts, and music, while the buyers are able to spend their time leisurely, walking through the market enjoying the different foods and items for sale. The market is an example of how economic prosperity and the good life become intertwined to create a better and fuller life for many different people. The people at the market work hard to sell their products, but they are also able to find satisfaction from what they produced. The majority of buyers at the market worked hard to be able to afford the variety of food and other goods at the market, but they are not continually working. They are able to relax, come together with friends, and enjoy their time at the market. I believe that universities and local markets are sites where the American Dream is alive today. Both places present a broad and more balanced scope of how economic prosperity and the aspects of the good life work together for people to obtain their Dream.

The examples of universities and local markets show that the American Dream is alive today, but people must also realize that the American Dream is not equally available to everyone. The wealth gap in the U.S. has excluded many people from the Dream, and the focus on materialism has left many people unsatisfied with achieving the economic aspect of the Dream. The American Dream does not fare well from an economic perspective. However, the Dream is alive when the ideas of the quality of life are intertwined with economic prosperity which is presented in the Findlay Market example. I believe the American Dream will fare better and be available to the
most people if people embrace the ideas of the Founding Fathers and scholars such as Emerson and James Truslow Adams who advocated for better education for all, a greater sense of virtue, and awareness of the importance of health and leisure, and self-reliance.

Bibliography


The “Right” Way to Read:

Book Clubs, Literary Culture, and Cormac McCarthy’s *The Road*

Sarah Nimmo

Book clubs, although widespread and popular among members of today’s society, are often criticized for the type of books they read and the way they read them. Comprised mostly of women, book clubs are accused by critics of reading books the “wrong” way: the discussions are too emotional and focus too much on the personal experiences of the members (again, mostly women). The books that are read in book clubs are also often looked down upon by the literary elite of society—academics or others who are presumed to be experts in recognizing “good literature”—as being too “middlebrow.” Book club members fail to appreciate, or perhaps are not capable of appreciating, “true” literature. And for the most part, Kathleen Rooney argues, “most people seem fairly comfortable with this long-established tradition by which we, the public, are told how and what to read by various powers that be, many of whom are members of some kind of specialized literary class” (10).

However, these notions have not gone entirely unchallenged. With the creation of Oprah’s Book Club and the increasing pervasiveness of the book club discussion guide, books that used to be considered “middlebrow” are now being viewed through a more serious, intellectual lens, and books originally deemed too “highbrow” for the masses are being made accessible to the average reader.

In this paper, I argue that book clubs and book club discussion guides, rather than facilitating purely emotional discussions, promote a much more scholarly and “serious” kind of reading that allows
readers to navigate the confusing affective responses provoked by intellectually and emotionally challenging fiction. As a case study of this phenomenon, I use Cormac McCarthy’s *The Road*, a novel that held considerable cultural capital until being chosen for Oprah’s Book Club in 2007. Although some people felt that the literary merit of the work was diminished as a result of being a book club pick, I argue that with the aid of discussion guides, readers can actually read “seriously” and in the process work through the affective response of distress that is provoked by the novel.

There are many conversations that inform my project, the first of which is the history of book clubs and the current conversations surrounding the perceived literary culture that book clubs promote. It is often thought that book clubs encourage a middlebrow type of reading, focusing too much on the emotions and personal experiences of their members. I also examine literary culture in general and what exactly determines a book’s value in the eyes of the “literary elite” of society.

The second section of my paper takes a closer look at one book club in particular—Oprah’s Book Club, a televised book club begun in 1996 by Oprah Winfrey. The creation of Oprah’s Book Club exposed the biases and assumptions about book clubs and challenged them in a very public way. Along those same lines, the third section of my essay examines Winfrey’s choice of Cormac McCarthy’s novel *The Road* for her book club and people’s (mostly negative) reactions to this choice. McCarthy is often considered one of the literary elite and some would say that associating one of his works with book clubs is not quite cause for celebration. *The Road* is also a difficult novel emotionally for many readers, although critics would argue that focusing on the emotional aspect of the novel promotes a more “middlebrow” reading.

The fourth section of my essay introduces an often overlooked component to conversations surrounding book clubs and reading culture: the book club discussion guide. Discussion guides can aid book clubs in performing what many would consider much more
serious, “academic” readings of books, and in the process work through the difficult emotional experience of reading a book like *The Road*. The final section of my paper then looks at discussion questions for *The Road* specifically and examines how they function in encouraging a more academic reading of the novel. Ultimately, instead of representing a lower form of reading, book clubs and book club discussion guides have the power to make difficult, “elite” novels accessible to the average reader in a way that does not sacrifice any of their literary merit.

1. Book Clubs and Literary Culture

A brief look at the history of the book club in both America and Europe reveals that book clubs were not always regarded with such disdain, at least not in the same way they are today. When book clubs began in Europe in the sixteenth century, they were important vehicles for social change. At this time book clubs were not only about discussing specific books; they were a forum for sharing ideas as well. At their inception they were also primarily women’s groups, since women did not have as many opportunities for education as men did. Elizabeth Long explains that “for the large numbers of middle-class women who could not attend college, the literary club offered the possibility of lifelong learning” (36). These groups were a way for women to read, discuss, and “claim intellectual and moral authority” (Long 33) in a world dominated by men.

Today, although book clubs are still considered to be primarily “women’s groups,” they are not so highly regarded. Instead, they are often accused of damaging a book’s reputation through shallow, emotionally-driven discussions about the story. However, before examining how exactly book clubs function in their discussions, it is important to understand what determines a book’s (or an author’s) status in today’s society.

Two important factors influence a book’s “status” in society, whether it is considered “highbrow” or “middlebrow.” The first is
what Pierre Bourdieu terms “cultural capital.” Cultural capital refers to a work’s legitimacy within the “bourgeois” circles of society, or the approbation “bestowed by the dominant factions of the dominant class and by the private tribunals” of society (Bourdieu qtd. in Rooney 7). In other words, there is a select cultural elite, often including academics, politicians, or other important figures in society (Rooney argues Oprah belongs in this category), who decides what deserves to be considered good or “highbrow” literature.

A book’s “economic capital,” on the other hand, corresponds to a work’s popularity with the masses—the “average” readers or common people of society. Rooney explains, “Huge swaths of the population may love reading the latest John Grisham on the train or at the beach . . . but it remains unlikely that you’ll find such novels being taught—widely, anyway—at the college level, or see them appearing on the short-lists of preeminent annual literary prizes” (7). Books that are popular with the masses are not considered worthy of high praise within literary circles. In other words, the perceived ratio of a book’s cultural to economic capital determines its cultural legitimacy: the higher a work’s economic capital, the lower its cultural capital. And the lower a work’s cultural capital, the more likely it is that the work will be considered “middlebrow” or unworthy of literary praise. Thus, the books that are read in book clubs are almost by default considered lower quality simply because they are commercially popular.

In addition to their perceived lack of cultural legitimacy, book clubs are also criticized for the type of reading they encourage. Book club discussions are accused of being too emotional, too personal to be taken seriously. As a result, certain books have “been ignored in literary circles because of their genre or their emotive style and subject matter” (Ramone and Cousins 9). If a particular author’s book is chosen to be read in a book club, the literary elite would argue that it reflects poorly on that author. Book clubs, although they aid in increasing a work’s economic capital, only hurt its cultural capital.
Yet unlike book clubs of the past, book clubs today are no longer limited to groups of people who meet in person; they can take place in online forums or on television, with the participants never actually “meeting” at all. The merging of media and book clubs has added another dimension to conversations about “high” literature and the “right” way to read it. However, few events exploded these conversations quite like the creation of Oprah’s Book Club.

2. Oprah’s Book Club

Founded in 1996 by television personality Oprah Winfrey, Oprah’s Book Club (OBC) challenged the previously established literary status quo by blending cultural capital and economic capital. Rooney asserts, “With over thirteen million regular viewers per book segment, and even more readers (Max 6), the televised club exercised a measurably high influence over the reading public, over authors, and over the publishing industry itself” (8). Without Winfrey’s immense cultural influence, OBC could not have achieved what it did. The book club not only exposed the assumptions that had existed for years about literary taste and book clubs, but it contributed to a shifting of those assumptions that unsettled many people.

When OBC began, it was unlike anything that television, or book clubs for that matter, had ever seen. OBC was a segment of Oprah Winfrey’s talk show in which she selected a book for her audience to read and held a discussion about it with her audience, often inviting the author to come on the show to aid in the discussion. Supporters of the book club praised its inclusive nature, while critics bemoaned its advocacy for the “wrong” way to read: “Both sides made reductive use of the club to galvanize themselves either as populist champions of literature for the masses or as intellectual defenders of literature from the hands of the incompetent” (Rooney 4). Some critics went so far as to say that the club “represented a debasement of the state of American literature, or a subversion of so-called literary taste” (Rooney 2). In reality, Winfrey was merely involving the public in
literary culture, making books accessible to them that had previously only been reserved for the cultural elite, works by revered authors such as Toni Morrison, John Steinbeck, William Faulkner—and Cormac McCarthy. What was perhaps most unsettling for people, and the source of most of the criticism, was Winfrey’s merging of elite literature with the two factors normally associated with middlebrow literature: popularity with the masses and emotionally-driven discussions.

Studies have shown that, while some books chosen for OBC were bestsellers before being stamped with Winfrey’s seal of approval, Winfrey’s endorsement greatly helped sales of the books she chose. In this way, books that were previously considered low in economic capital (and therefore superior) became commercialized, losing cultural capital in the process. Danielle Fuller and DeNel Rehberg Sedo write, “Ironically, it was the very success of this process of popularization, combined with the commodification of the Book Club selections and the branding of the Book Club, that devalued books and reading for the readers in our study” (Fuller 39). For some authors (such as McCarthy) who were used to their books being read by a fairly narrow and specific audience, this newfound popularity represented a threat to their status in the cultural elite. These authors also feared that Winfrey was encouraging her viewers to read their books the “wrong” way. Jennifer Szalai of *The New Yorker* explains:

> The typical complaint has to do with how she [Winfrey] talks about the books. “The Book Club has carved its niche among readers by telling them that the novel is a chance to learn more about themselves,” went one salvo, in *The New Republic* a couple of years ago, taking particular issue with her reading of the classics. “It’s not about literature or writing; it’s about looking into a mirror and deciding what type of person you are, and how you can be better.” (“Oprah Winfrey: Book Critic”)

This sentiment echoes the long-held opinion of book clubs as spaces that lack a serious form of reading and discussion, spaces that instead
take pains to connect the book to the readers’ personal experiences or emotions. This type of reading is considered highly un-academic and as a result, not something to be taken seriously.

In spite of its criticism, OBC was able to expose the flaws in the literary hierarchy as no other book club could. Because of Winfrey’s influence, OBC provided a much more public challenge to traditionally held ideas about book clubs, something that had never been done before. In describing the effects of the very similar Richard & Judy Book Club, Fuller and Rehberg voice what also holds true for OBC: “The Book Club threatened readers’ ideological investment in reading as a ‘high culture’ activity, not only by making book reading seem accessible and attractive to those outside the ‘reading class’ (Griswold 2008) and thus less of a ‘niche’ pursuit, but also by blurring the markers of ‘good taste’” (Fuller 28). OBC threatened the power of the reading elite and the rigidity of the literary hierarchy. 5 Rooney contends, “If we are willing to let it, OBC—with its sometimes surprising heterogeneity and eclecticism—stands to prove that there exists a far greater fluidity among the traditional categories of artistic classification than may initially meet the eye” (5). Perhaps a book’s value cannot simply be reduced to the binary of cultural vs. economic capital; there is a wider range of gray areas than people initially thought.

3. OBC and Cormac McCarthy

In 2007, Oprah Winfrey chose Cormac McCarthy’s novel *The Road* for her book club. The Pulitzer Prize-winning novel seemed like an unconventional choice for any book club, due mainly to its style and emotionally difficult nature—and, some would argue, because of McCarthy’s status as one of the cultural elite. *The Road* is a prime example of a book that has relatively high cultural capital and relatively low economic capital—in other words, it is read by a select few who are thought to have a higher understanding of literature, and it is thus valued because of its narrow audience reach.
However, after being chosen as an OBC book, the economic capital of *The Road* soared. According to Nielsen.com:

Winner of the Pulitzer Prize and named to Oprah’s Book Club in 2007, this title became a movie in 2009, so it’s no surprise that the book has sold more than 1.5 million copies in total. However, P.O. (pre-Oprah), ‘The Road’ sold just 156,000 units (178,000 copies of the hardcover edition to date); the Oprah trade paperback edition has sold a whopping 1.4 million units. (“The Oprah Effect”)

We know that in theory, once a book has achieved a high economic capital, its cultural capital diminishes. Does that mean, then, that after Winfrey popularized *The Road* and allowed millions of people to engage with the story, it becomes a “lesser” book as a result?

McCarthy, for one, thought so, although to the surprise of many he agreed to appear on Winfrey’s show OBC—his only television appearance to date. Austin Allen comments, “Given McCarthy’s legendary reticence . . . and exalted literary stature . . . this was one of the greatest ‘gets’ in the history of television. It was also one of the strangest . . . [I]t evoked a collision between opposing subatomic particles: a smashing together, by sheer force of will, of mass media and solitary art” (“Cormac and Oprah, Revisited”). Here were two powerful cultural figures from different ends of the spectrum: McCarthy as one of the literary elite and Winfrey as a representative of the masses. In all of Winfrey’s author interviews and book discussions, the discrepancy was never so obvious as during McCarthy’s interview. Allen aptly describes McCarthy’s demeanor as “courteous but effortlessly deflective” during the interview (“Cormac and Oprah, Revisited”). When Winfrey asked, “Do you care if, now, millions of people are reading your books, versus when there were only a few thousand reading your books?” McCarthy vaguely replied, “You would like for the people that would appreciate the book to read it, but as far as many, many people reading it, so what?” (“Cormac McCarthy on Writing”). Although he did not give a straight-up “No,” McCarthy’s answer seems to indicate that popularity with the masses
was never on his agenda. But it did become popular, although its popularity did not make it any less challenging.

*The Road* is certainly a tough read for many people, in more ways than one. Aside from McCarthy’s unique writing style, the book presents the reader with a confusing and challenging emotional experience. The plot focuses on a father and son as together they traverse the wasted landscape of a post-apocalyptic Earth, trying to reach the coast and in the process avoiding the bands of cannibals that roam the streets. Readers find themselves simultaneously drawn to the father-son duo and repulsed by the world they inhabit. The book contains elements of suicide, violence, and cannibalism, made all the more disturbing because one of the main characters is a young boy. In one scene, the man and the boy explore a seemingly abandoned house only to find themselves in a basement full of emaciated people waiting to be eaten (110-111); in another, one of the roaming cannibals seizes the boy and is promptly shot by the man. The cannibal’s brain matter sprays over the boy, still locked in his arms, from the force of the bullet (62-66). It is moments like these that evoke some of the stronger and more negative affective experiences in readers, yet readers are still filled with empathy for the man and the boy—perhaps even more so as a result of these moments.

In her interview with McCarthy, Winfrey asks, “Is this a love story to your son?” McCarthy hides his face behind his hand and sinks further down in his chair before replying, “You know, I suppose it is, although that’s kind of embarrassing” (“Oprah’s Exclusive Interview”). McCarthy’s shame at admitting this deeply emotional aspect of his novel is reflective of the existing attitude about literature as high art—it should not have an emotional component, or at least not a feminized one. However, it is also confirmation that there are indeed some deeply emotional elements at the core of this novel, an aspect that cannot and should not be ignored in discussions of the novel. Fortunately, there is one aspect of book clubs that can be helpful in a situation such as this, and one that critics seem to have overlooked: the discussion guide.
4. The Book Club Discussion Guide

Many book club meetings, in person and online, are conducted with the aid of discussion guides, the purpose of which is to generate discussion about certain aspects of a particular book, aspects which vary depending on the guide. If discussion guides are not provided within an actual text, a quick Google search reveals discussion questions for most books—contemporary and classic—from publishers’ websites, authors’ websites, and blogs. These discussion guides are not only important to understanding what kind of reader book clubs encourage, but how this particular kind of reading is actually much more intellectual than people think.

So what kind of reader do book club discussion guides seem to construct? William McGinley and Katanna Conley, both literature scholars, conducted a study of 120 discussion guides in order to determine, based on the kinds of questions these guides were asking, the kind of reader publishing companies hope to shape (“Literary Retailing”). McGinley and Conley detected trends across these guides in regard to which particular aspects of a book the guides focused on. They determined that the most common elements of a novel covered by the discussion guides included “aesthetic or stylistic features”; an author’s literary reputation; character analysis or techniques used by an author to develop characters; and narrative techniques (214, 215, 217). All of these elements point to a more thoughtful, conventionally “academic” reading of a novel rather than the emotionally-driven readings that book clubs have been accused of endorsing. McGinley and Conley conclude that “book club guides represent a relatively new social mechanism through which the modern book industry is capable of authorizing not only ‘preferred’ books for the reading public, but also ‘preferred’ ways of reading and responding to such books in the company of other readers” (220). This “preferred” way of reading, however, is exactly what book clubs are accused of falling short of. McGinley and Conley address this concern as well:
As an approach to reading, or to books more generally, the guides do not ‘market’ a simple or vernacular gaze for prospective readers. Rather, they recommend that books be approached through a particular aesthetic lens defined by attention to form, style, and generally in terms of formal literary features that would seem to discourage or even deny more colloquial enjoyment or facile involvement with books, and perhaps with other readers. (214)

Based on their research, McGinley and Conley conclude that these guides in fact promote more intellectual readings of books by encouraging readers to pay attention to specific authorial choices rather than discussing the book in the context of their own experiences.

Book club discussion guides provide “a new mechanism for competing with a range of other social and commercial organizations for positions of cultural authority among the reading public” (McGinley and Conley 219). In other words, these guides, like OBC, blur the line between the literary elite and the masses; they provide a way for the common reader to engage in academic discussion of a book; they can be especially helpful when presented with a book like *The Road*, which is not only difficult intellectually, but emotionally as well. By discussing the book in terms of narrative technique or character analysis, readers have a means of working through some of the difficult emotions evoked by the book in a more “intellectual” way.

5. Reading *The Road* in Book Club

In her review of *The Road*, Janet Maslin of *The New York Times* writes, “‘The Road’ offers nothing in the way of escape or comfort. But its fearless wisdom is more indelible than reassurance could ever be” (“The Road Through Hell”). Indeed, the book is psychologically challenging in more ways than one. In his study of readers’ responses to *The Road*, Marco Caracciolo writes, “Out of the 453 reviews that
explicitly refer to the spatial setting of the novel, 242 (about 53%) convey an emotional response, either through emotionally charged adjectives or through detailed accounts of the reviewer’s emotional reactions” (434). However, the most poignant emotional aspect is the dual experience of empathy and revulsion, which I will refer to as distress. Psychologists Michael D. Large and Kristen Marcussen write that “[stress] refers to the relationship between external conditions and an individual’s current state (Burke 1991b), or certain characteristics of the individual including values, perceptions, resources, and skills (Aneshensel 1992). Distress is defined as an internal, subjective response to stress (Burke 1991b)” (49). The distress that readers feel during and after reading The Road is a response to the stress of being simultaneously drawn with empathy toward the two main characters (a father and son) and repulsed by the world they live in. Caracciolo later quotes one of the reader responses directly: “This book is an emotional blow to the gut on a full belly” (Lizwah qtd. in Caracciolo 434). Shelly L. Rambo also argues that “without reading the book, the reader might sense the possibility of hope, of divine presence, even of redemption . . . But those who have made it through the 240 pages of The Road may have a more complicated reaction to [its] final paragraphs” (Rambo 100). In short, there is substantial evidence that indicates reading The Road is not an easy emotional experience for many people, the majority of them “average” readers.

A look at the discussion guides provided for The Road on both Winfrey’s website and the publisher’s (Random House) website confirms much of what McGinley and Conley found in their study. The majority of the discussion questions focus on close reading and analysis of specific quotes, character analysis, and symbolism. Only one question attempts to connect the novel to the personal experiences and emotions of the reader, and this is but a follow-up question to one about narrative technique: “What do you find to be the most horrifying features of this world and the survivors who inhabit it?” Even so, these questions prove useful in promoting a
discussion that is both intellectually stimulating and emotionally satisfying.

The first parts of the previously mentioned question pose a more traditionally “academic” perspective: “How is Cormac able to make the post-apocalyptic world of The Road seem so real and utterly terrifying? Which descriptive passages are especially vivid and visceral in their depiction of this blasted landscape?” (“The Road” Discussion Questions). As Caracciolo says, “Narrative space seems to be intimately bound up with the emotional impact of this novel” (434). By discussing narrative techniques such as imagery and tone, readers are able to give a voice to the revulsion and discomfort they feel about the world that McCarthy creates in a more “serious,” academic way.

As an example, let us look at how McCarthy depicts the landscape of The Road. Ciarán Dowd uses the term “geophysiology” to describe McCarthy’s technique of blending the earth with the human in his descriptive language. Essentially a type of personification, this technique describes aspects of the earth in terms that would normally be used to describe the human body, human illnesses, etc. For example, McCarthy describes the landscape “like some cold glaucoma dimming away the world” (3) and as an “ashen scabland” (16). Caracciolo echoes Dowd’s claim by pointing out that McCarthy’s “metaphors blend the landscape with a human being by attributing to it either bodily states and injuries (paleness, burns, hydropsy) or emotional states (‘sullen’ and ‘mortified’)” (Caracciolo 436). This narrative technique by McCarthy provokes a strong affective response in the reader by enhancing the descriptions of the already bleak landscape with very human characteristics. But by using the discussion guide to discuss these characteristics in a more intellectual way, the reader is able to not only voice his/her emotions, but to do so in a way that validates them because they are able to point to specific techniques used by McCarthy to evoke these emotions.
Another question that is useful is, “Why do you think Cormac has chosen not to give his characters names? How to the generic labels of ‘the man’ and ‘the boy’ affect the way in which readers relate to them?” (“The Road Discussion Questions”). This question focuses again on a specific narrative technique, but also brings up characterization; no part of it directly relates to the emotions or experiences of the reader. However, in answering this question, the reader can again give voice to his/her emotions in a way that validates them, but also points to specific textual evidence and deliberate techniques by McCarthy.

This question focuses more on the father and son, characters that the readers are no doubt drawn to because of their “emotionally compelling relationship” (Rambo 107). Throughout the novel the father’s intense love for his son is obvious: “He knew only that the child was his warrant. He said: If he is not the word of God God never spoke” (McCarthy 5). Dowd asserts that the novel has “an affective power which fosters a response of gratitude and appreciation in the reader for the world as it currently stands, imperfect though It may be” (Dowd 39). Within that gratitude for the safety and peace of our own lives is a sense of pity for the father and son, forced to survive in this world. However, in focusing more on the way McCarthy chooses to characterize them as “the man” and “the boy,” readers can approach an emotionally heavy issue in a more intellectual way. Instead of lamenting the fate of the characters, book club members may instead discuss how the absence of proper names for the characters makes it easier to relate to them, because “the man” and “the boy” could be any man or boy. The discussion guide once again serves to unite the emotional and the intellectual in book club discussions.

6. Conclusion

During his interview with Oprah, when asked what he wants readers to get out of The Road, McCarthy responds: “To care about
things, and people. And be more appreciative. Life is pretty damn good, even when it looks bad. We should appreciate it more. We should be grateful. I don’t know who to be grateful to, but . . . you should be thankful for what you have” (“Cormac McCarthy on Writing”). As I have shown, it is simply incorrect to assume that by reading The Road in the context of a book club, people will somehow read it the “wrong” way or miss the larger meaning of the work. Instead, book clubs and book club discussion guides can help readers explode the binary between cultural capital and economic capital. It is possible for a book to have both without losing any of its artistic integrity. Discussion guides do not reduce books to less than their intended meaning; rather, they help readers engage with this meaning in a way that both allows them to work through their emotions and focus on what many would consider the more “literary” aspects of a work.

Notes

1 The terms “cultural capital” and “economic capital” were first coined by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in his essay “The Field of Cultural Production: The Economic World Reversed.”

2 Jennifer Szalai of The New Yorker attests that “the presumptive divvying up of cultural artifacts into high and low, the notion that there exists a province of high art that happens to be both inviolable and vulnerable—such ideas can harden into certitude, no matter how contradictory and inconsistent they are” (“Oprah Winfrey: Book Critic”).


4 Although Fuller and Sedo are referring to the Richard & Judy Book Club, a televised book club in England modeled after OBC, the same principles apply to OBC. For more on the Richard & Judy Book Club, see Jenni Ramone and Helen Cousins, eds., The Richard & Judy Book Club Reader, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011.

5 Szalai contests, “For literary purists, everything that Winfrey brings—the sales bump, the best-seller status, anything having to do with the word ‘popular’—no doubt signifies trouble rather than salvation, further proof of
the irreconcilable gulf between mass culture and genuine art” (“Oprah Winfrey: Book Critic”).
6 Dowd explains: “This term, popularised by James Lovelock, refers to the study of the health of the planet considered as one vast superorganism” (35).

Works Cited


Introduction

The ratio of the second to fourth finger lengths has been studied an abundance of times, in an attempt to discover what it can possibly be a sign of. This 2D:4D (index finger:ring finger) digit ratio has been suggested to be a possible indicator for a number of traits, including athletic sporting success and visuospatial abilities (1). The second to fourth finger ratio is also thought to be related to gender identity and some sex-related characteristics such as motor, cognitive, and personality traits (2). Such traits include level of aggressiveness and one’s inclination towards thrill and adventure seeking (3). Additionally, one study discovered that there is a significant difference between the average 2D:4D ratios of heterosexual men and homosexual men, indicating that this ratio is also possibly able to be a marker for sexual orientation in men (4). This digit ratio has also been studied to see if it is altered in those with certain disorders or diseases. In research done by Manning et al., it is found that children with autism have lower 2D:4D ratios than the normative population values (5). Seeing some of the various traits that this ratio can be a sign of, what then follows is discovering what alters these ratios from person to person.

There have been numerous studies done about the relationship between this 2D:4D ratio and androgen exposure during fetal development. The relative length of the fingers is established early in the gestation period, with the general ratios determined by the
thirteenth week (6). *Hox* genes regulate the development of the digits, and different testosterone levels affect these genes (7). Free testosterone undergoes an androgen receptor-mediated mechanism to indirectly modify the *Hox* genes during development (8). These receptors are more prevalent in the fourth digit (9), so high levels of testosterone would likely cause the fourth digit to be longer than the second. This causes a low 2D:4D ratio, and is just one item of many that supports the conclusion that males tend to have a lower 2D:4D ratio than females (as they typically experience higher levels of free testosterone in the womb). Therefore, digit proportions are altered by testosterone *in utero*.

A study following digit development of fetuses found that not only is this digit ratio determined *in utero*, but also, like previously suggested, males tend to have a lower 2D:4D than females (10). This continues to indicate that a low 2D:4D ratio (index finger shorter than ring finger) means a person was exposed to more androgens in utero than someone with a higher ratio. This is further confirmed by research in which amniotic fluid is studied to see fetal testosterone and estradiol levels. Then, once the children turn two, their digit ratios are measured. Results show that individuals with low 2D:4D ratios have high fetal testosterone in relation to their fetal estradiol levels, and those with a high digit ratio have low fetal testosterone and high fetal estradiol (11). This negative association between fetal testosterone/fetal estradiol and the 2D:4D ratio further suggests that prenatal exposure to androgens affects digit length development.

More testosterone exposure could possibly also be related to competitiveness. Androgens are responsible for many male traits, such as development of the male reproductive system (12). Androgens stimulate development and growth of skeletal muscle cells (13), which aids in strength and athletics. In a study with teenage males and females, there is a negative association seen between the 2D:4D ratio and their composite measure of physical fitness (14). This may be due either to a higher level of athletic abilities or these individuals being more inclined to competitively participate in
athletic events, both of which may be influenced by prenatal testosterone exposure.

This study was undertaken to see if there is a relation between this 2D:4D digit ratio and a person’s level of competiveness in areas such as school, athletics, and gaming. It was aimed at seeing if competiveness is not simply learned, but inborn. Subjects were asked to complete a survey that was comprised of a series of questions aimed at discovering what types of activities they participate in, both academically and otherwise. These subjects also answered the questions included in the Revised Competiveness Index (15), and rated, on a scale of 1 to 5, their level of participation in sports within the last five years. The subjects had their right hands photographed, and the length of their second and fourth digits were measured using ImageJ software. These ratios were analyzed to find possible correlations between the subject’s digit ratio and their answers to the aforementioned survey.

Methods and Materials

Participants

Before completing any part of the experiment, subjects read and signed an informed consent document. Additionally, before beginning this study, researchers were IRB certified to perform research on human subjects. There were 100 subjects total: 70 females and 30 males. All subjects were college students. Data was deidentified to ensure anonymity. Rather than names, codes signifying gender and participant number were assigned to subjects.

Competitiveness and Activity Survey

Subjects were given a survey that asked a series of questions, including: 1) What is your major? 2) Do you compete in sports/have you competed in sports in the last 5 years? 3) Do you competitively game (online games, Fantasy Sports, etc.)? 4) Do you feel a strong
need to get better grades than your classmates? 5) Do you often feel the need to be the best at the activity at hand?

These subjects also answered the questions included in the Revised Competitiveness Index (15), which has had follow up studies showing it to be a dependable indicator for competiveness as a trait and has a high test-retest reliability (16). The subjects were also asked to rate, on a scale of 1 to 5, their level of participation in sports within the last 5 years. The rankings were as follows: 1- no consistent sports participation, 2- small participation on and off through last 5 years, 3- moderate semi-consistent participation, 4- moderate-high consistent participation, 5- high level of participation in sports, both within last 5 years and currently.

All data for each participant were recorded in an Excel data sheet.

Digit Ratio Measurement

The participants had the upper portion of their right hands photographed, as it has been suggested that the 2D:4D ratio is most defined in the right hand (17). This was against a flat white surface with the palm of the hand facing up. Also in frame was a code that matched a code also written on the survey the subject filled out. The code signified the gender and number of the subject (e.g., female 26 had F026 in the picture of her hand and written on her survey). The length of their second and fourth digits were measured using ImageJ software. This was measured three times, and the average ratio was recorded in the Excel data sheet.

Analysis

The collected data was analyzed to find possible correlations between the subjects’ average digit ratio and their answers to the aforementioned questions and sports participation scale. Relations between average 2D:4D ratio and score on the Competitiveness Index were analyzed using a t-test to discover if there was a significant correlation. This was also done for the relationship between the ratio
and whether the subject majors in science, business, or the humanities.

**Results**

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between prenatal testosterone and competitiveness by analyzing a subjects’ 2D:4D digit ratio and their scores on the Revised Competitiveness Index, as well as their level of participation in various competitive activities (i.e., sports, school, and competitive gaming). To find this relationship, survey results and 2D:4D measurements were found for 100 subjects. As shown in Table 1, the average male 2D:4D ratio was 0.937, while the average female ratio was 0.961 (p=.008 by student’s t-test). There was a larger range in the digit ratios of males than there was in female ratios, with the range being 0.22 for males and 0.18 for females. The male ratios also had a greater standard deviation than females, at 0.048 and 0.035, respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average 2D:4D digit ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=30)</td>
<td>0.937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=70)</td>
<td>0.961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All (n=100)</td>
<td>0.954</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Average 2D:4D digit ratios for males, females, and all subjects combined. The difference between male and female digit ratio is statistically significant (p<0.05).

The 2D:4D ratio and scores on the Revised Competitiveness Index did not have any statistical significance between them. The only somewhat strong trend shown was between males who scored in the 34-47 (out of 70) range versus those who scored in the 59-70 group. Though this relationship was not statistically significant, the p-value was 0.13, which does tend to suggest an association.
The average digit ratio of those (all genders) who answered “yes” when asked if they competed in sports within the last 5 years was 0.947, as opposed to the average ratio of 0.977 for those who answered “no” (Table 2). This relationship is very statistically significant (p=0.002), but is even more so when only males are considered (p=0.0004). The digit ratios of females who participate in sports are not significantly different than the ratios of females who do not participate in sports (p=0.57).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male Average 2D:4D (n=30)</th>
<th>Female Average 2D:4D (n=70)</th>
<th>All Average 2D:4D (n=100)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Competitively Game: Yes vs. No</td>
<td>0.921 vs. .966*</td>
<td>0.970 vs. 0.959</td>
<td>0.937 vs. 0.960*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participate in Sports: Yes vs. No</td>
<td>0.924 vs. 1.00*</td>
<td>0.958 vs. 0.969</td>
<td>0.947 vs. 0.977*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2: Average 2D:4D digit ratio of those who answered “yes” vs. “no” on if they competitively gamed or play sports. As denoted by the asterisks (*), there is statistical significance (p<0.05) in these categories for males, and also when all genders are combined and considered.

In addition to being asked in a yes/no format if they participated in sports, subjects were also asked to rank their sports participation on a 1-5 scale. In males, there was significance between the 2D:4D ratios of the following groups: 1 vs. 3 (p=0.047), 1 vs. 4 (p=0.033), and 1 vs. 5 (p=0.023) (Figure 1). Again, there was no statistically significant difference found between any of the groups for females. However, for all genders combined, there was statistical significance in the difference of the digit ratios for the 1 vs. 4 groups (p=0.01), as well as when 1s and 2s were combined and compared against the 4s and 5s combined (p=0.04).
Figure 1: Average 2D:4D digit ratios of males (n=30) according to their ranking of level of sports participation within the past 5 years. There is a general decrease in digit ratio as the level of sports participation increases. An “ab” letter match notes statistical significance (p<0.05).

Participants also answered if they competitively game (online gaming, fantasy sports, etc.) in a yes/no format. The average digit ratio of the males that answered “yes” was 0.921, and was 0.966 for those who responded with “no” (p=0.01) (Table 2). When all genders combined were considered, there again was significance between these yes/no responses and digit ratio (p=0.009). However, there was no statistical significance when females alone were studied (p=0.5). There was no significant relationship between digit ratio and the yes/no answers to the questions regarding if the participant felt a strong need to get better grades than classmates or be the best at the activity at hand (p>0.05).

Finally, there was limited correlation found between 2D:4D ratio and the subject’s major (Figure 2). All majors were categorized into one of five groups: science/math, business, allied health and education, social science, and humanities. When all genders were included, there was a significant relationship between the digit ratios of science/math versus humanities majors (p=0.049). Also, there was significance between the digit ratios of social science and humanities
majors ($p=0.004$). There was very nearly statistical significance between social science versus allied health and education majors ($p=0.055$). When males alone were studied, there was no significance between the digit ratios of any of the majors. However, when females were studied, there was significant relationships between the 2D:4D of social science majors and humanities majors ($p=0.02$). The average digit ratio of a female social science major was 0.942, while the average 2D:4D for a female humanities major was 0.973. Though there was only limited significance found between majors, there did appear to be a trend, as seen in Figure 2. This trend shows that those majoring in the social and natural sciences tend to have lower 2D:4D digit ratios, as opposed to those who chose to major in the humanities.

**Discussion**

The difference between male and female 2D:4D digit ratios was statistically significant, as was the difference between the digit ratios of males who play sports versus those who do not. Males that competitively game had statistically significant different ratios than males that do not competitively game. Those who major in the social and natural sciences tend to have lower digit ratios than those who major in the humanities. Though the 2D:4D digit ratio was not found to be an indicator of competitiveness as a trait as expected, according to the Revised Competitiveness Index, it does seem to be a marker for participation in some competitive activities for males. Male and female 2D:4D digit ratios having a statistically significant difference between them supports the findings of previous studies that suggest this digit ratio is a sexually dimorphic trait, and that male ratios are significantly lower than female 2D:4D ratios (10, 18). Though there was significance in average digit ratios between the genders, there was no significant relationship found between these average 2D:4D ratios and scores on the Revised Competitiveness Index. Additionally, there was no significant relationship between the digit ratio and answers to the questions concerning if the subjects felt the need to do
better than their classmates or be better at the activity at hand. This suggests that no correlation is present between testosterone levels in utero and competiveness as a trait. However, there was significance found for digit ratios of males who play sports as opposed to those who don’t, as well as between those who play low amounts versus high amounts of sports. The significance with physical activity but not competiveness as a trait further suggests that competiveness may not be linked to physical fitness, as it has been proposed that the 2D:4D ratio is, in fact, related to physical fitness (14).

**Figure 2**: Average 2D:4D digit ratios according to gender and major. There is a general increase in digit ratio as one moves from social sciences towards humanities, but only a few categories show statistical significance (where p<0.05). For females (n=70), there was statistical significance between the average digit ratios of social science majors and humanities majors (denoted by the asterisk [*]). There was no significance for males (n=30). For all genders (n=100), there was statistical significance between social science majors and humanities majors, as well as science/math majors and humanities majors (an “ab” letter match notes statistical significance).
Although females were the majority of the participant pool, female digit often did not vary greatly from one group to another. Apart from one statistically significant difference between female social science and humanities majors, all statistically significant data was between male ratios or when all genders were considered and compared. The fact that there was this significance between the ratios of males that play sports versus those who do not, but not between females of these categories, could be attributed to the fact that there seems to be a difference in the societal pressure males receive regarding participating in sports and the pressure females receive. Males tend to get more encouragement and support to be highly involved in sports than females do (19). There being significance between actual levels (1-5 scale) of sports participation in males but not females is similar to the findings in one study that found the 2D:4D ratios of females who were professional gymnasts did not significantly differ from those of sedentary, non-athletic females (20). Although there is a difference in physical ability between these two groups, it did not translate to different digit ratios. However, another study found that competitive rowers who had smaller 2D:4D ratios had faster rowing times than those with larger ratios (21). This may not be translatable to effects of in utero testosterone exposure, but instead could possibly be due to advantages of certain body or limb dimensions that improve sporting performance (22). These advantages can be better applied in one sport over another.

This variance in significance found in males versus females could also be related to the reason behind participating in sports. As suggested in a previous study, there could be different motivation behind sports participation between males and females. College students were asked to rank their motives behind playing sports. Males ranked the number one reason for sports participation to be for the competition, while females ranked affiliation first, with competition being ranked the fourth highest motivating factor (23). This difference in motivation behind playing sports helps explain why there was significance between average digit ratio and sports.
participation in males, but not females. It also suggests that in males, competitiveness may be able to be linked to the digit ratio, which goes against other findings in our study. These conflicting results show that one cannot use 2D:4D digit ratio as a marker for competitiveness, but may be able to use it as a marker for likelihood that a male will participate in typically competitive activities.

In regards to academic majors, there was significance found only between a couple categories. A higher pool of data may have led to more categories being significant with 2D:4D digit ratio. While there were some significant differences between the digit ratios of certain majors, it is difficult to assume that the choice in academic major is largely influenced by competitiveness itself. The 2D:4D ratio may represent a different quality that attracts a person to a certain major. For example, Manning concluded that men with higher 2D:4D ratios have higher phonologically-based and semantically-based verbal fluency (24). This aptitude for language could explain why those with a higher average 2D:4D may be inclined to major in an area that applies language more, such as the humanities (shown to have highest average 2D:4D ratio in our study). Therefore, 2D:4D could be an indicator of other capacities that are beneficial for certain majors.

To improve this study, we could have increased our sample size. A larger sample size of both genders could have led to a higher amount of statistically significant results. Some categories (such as the lowest scoring group for the Revised Competitiveness Index) only had one or two subjects, which is not a large enough data pool. Also, Xavier University students were the primary subjects in this study (with a very small amount of University of Cincinnati students), and are possibly not representative of the overall college population. There may be a bias within this candidate pool, so expanding it to many other schools, as well as possibly high school and graduate students as well, may have given a more clear picture of the connections.

Overall, this study demonstrates that the 2D:4D digit ratio is not a reliable marker for competitiveness as a trait, suggesting that exposure
to different levels of testosterone *in utero* does not affect competitiveness later in life. However, our findings do suggest that, in males, this digit ratio may possibly be useful as a sign of participation in sports and competitive gaming. Future studies will likely want to look further into the psychology behind what leads one to participate in athletics at varying levels, as well as why there is this significance only in males and not females. Additionally, one could study if the relationship between digit ratios and majors is different at universities with very competitive acceptance statistics as opposed to universities with low admission standards.

**Acknowledgements**

We would like to thank Dr. Jennifer Robbins for all her input and guidance on this research. We also thank all the participants in this study, as well as Xavier University for facilitating this study.

**References**


The Relationship Between Small Business Loans and Wages

Alexander Foxx

Introduction

Ninety eight percent of small businesses do not utilize equity funding (Bates 1990), making debt a pivotal source of capital. Examining the underdevelopment and poverty of many urban areas, it is reasonable to question if an increase of available capital benefits these areas. While loans may be necessary to build wealth, they may not always be beneficial. Loans could benefit areas by increasing capital to fuel growth or, conversely, serve as an unnecessary debt burden. Using data on loans from the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA), this paper examines if the number of small business loans in a county affects the wages of its residents.

The Community Reinvestment Act enacted by "Congress in 1977 . . . is intended to encourage depository institutions to help meet the credit needs of the communities in which they operate."\(^1\) Banks are subsequently rated according to how well they serve their community and given a rating of Outstanding, Satisfactory, Needs to Improve, or Substantial Non-Compliance. The rules for these rankings are not standardized and may vary across banks, regulators, communities, and situations (Garrison and Lawrence 1995). However, the rankings are made public and are considered in bank requests of government approval (e.g., a merger or acquisition) and subsequently serve as an incentive for banks to seek a high rating. One way a bank can
increase this rating is by lending to small businesses, the thought being that as small businesses of a community are given access to capital, the businesses will grow and benefit the surrounding community. Indeed, small businesses receive a large portion, 18.75 percent, of their capital from banks (Berger and Udell 1995).

Do small business loans actually benefit a community? An inverse relationship between small business loans and the income of an area would suggest that small business loans are not benefitting communities. Conversely, a positive relationship may be cause to incentivize more small business loans. Not only do policy makers and small business owners have a stake in this question, in the form of improving their communities, but banks as well. As communities develop, default rates may decline and loans will be more profitable.

To estimate the relationship between small business loans and the growth of a community, I collected data from the IRS, CRA, and Census. The annual wages in a county are regressed against the number of loans originated in that year, controlling for poverty and population. This model demonstrates the effects of small business loans in counties, accounting for the size of the loan as well as the current economic development of the county, accounted for by poverty rate. I find that small business loans' ability to increase county wages varies depending on the type of county, with small counties demonstrating a positive effect and large counties a negative effect.

**Literature Review**

The efficacy of the Community Reinvestment Act is not agreed upon (Hylton and Rougeau 1997). The importance of small business loans to small businesses and the community can be seen in the dependency small businesses have on debt capital and relationship lending. Berger and Udell (2002) examine bank lending to small institutions, specifically how relationship based lending (versus a more metric based approach) functions between the banking industry
and small businesses. They, along with others (Chittendon 1996; Bates 1990), emphasize the importance commercial bank lending plays in the role of small business financing--it accounts for, on average, 18.75 percent of small business financing. Given this importance, Berger and Udell seek to explore the methods by which banks evaluate small business credit worthiness.

Berger and Udell create four evaluation methods, one of which is relationship-based lending. Their paper explores changes that can restrict or make more available financing under the basis of relationship-based lending. Their paper concludes that as the banking industry consolidates, relationship based lending will become more scarce and financing to small businesses more difficult, as banks will become much more institutionalized with more degrees of separation from the small businesses. Given this relationship-based approach between small businesses and banks, it is worth examining if small business lending is actually beneficial.

In addition to the necessity of loans to small businesses, lending may not be profitable in many areas. Economist Michael Porter posits the difficulty of effective lending in urban areas (Porter 1995). In regards to small business loans, Porter claims that lack of debt financing is a pervasive problem in the inner city, as these loans are only "marginally profitable." However, Porter notes that the Community Reinvestment Act has heightened lending competition in the inner city and, in some cases such as Boston, it is profitable. To take a broader view of this article, Porter maintains that inner city areas can be revitalized but only through catering to the strengths of the inner city which can be applied outside of the inner city, not by catering to strengths that exist outside of the inner city and attempting to internalize them. In order for this goal of an "exporting" the inner city to be realized, Porter claims that capital need be made available to urban, inner city areas. This will aid in creating an inner city that can serve its populace and the other populaces profitably.

Given Porter's claim that debt financing would improve the inner city, my topic seems an apt one. Will providing financing in an area
improve the wages of the residents? If so, it seems Porter's claim is founded. If not, perhaps another source of capital and stimulus need be considered for urban funding, such as equity or subsidies (to Porter's chagrin, he maintains that government subsidies often introduce businesses to an inner city area that cannot viably operate in the long-run). While Porter notes that the CRA might find difficulty in revitalizing communities and others note the poor implementation of the associated bank ranking system (Garrison 1995), viewpoints exist that support its continuance (Hylton and Rougeau 1997). This paper estimates the effect the CRA has on communities in the form of small business loans in order to provide a view of the Act.

**Theoretical Model**

The primary economic theory underpinning my empirical analysis is the Theory of a Multiplier Effect. This effect describes how an initial influx of money creates more value than its original injection due to a multiplicative circulation. The Multiplier Effect suggests that spending and investment will beget more spending and investment. In the context of small business loans, a single small business loan will multiply to an investment in the community larger than the size of the original loan. This growth is illustrated in the labor market. An initial loan will increase the size of a small business, which will subsequently need to hire more workers, increasing the demand for laborers from D to D' (Figure 1).
This initial stimulus raises the wages of workers, allowing for additional spending in the community. In turn, there arises a need for more workers to produce the newly demanded goods and services in the community. This shift in labor demand even further from D' to D'' raises wages from their initial position at W to a final position at W'' (Figure 2). This growth in wages and the quantity of labor is beyond the initial business loan.

The magnitude of the multiplier effect is determined by the marginal propensity to consume, or how much of every additional dollar earned a wage-earner will spend. The Multiplier Effect can also illustrate decreases, as some of my data illustrates. A negative multiplier would demonstrate that a stimulus is harming the labor market by causing labor demand to shift left. This would imply there is something inherently harmful in the stimulus.

**Figure 2**
Theoretical Model

**Data**

To examine the effect of loans on wages, I collect data from various sources. The CRA website reports small business loan originations and I used information from the years 2006-2012. For the
same years, I collect wages from the IRS and county poverty and population from the US Census Bureau. Summary statistics for these variables are reported in Table 1.

**Summary Statistics**

The summary statistics pertain to 88 Ohio counties over seven years for a total of 616 observations. Total number of loans is the total number of business loans in a given county year, combining the number of small, medium, and large small business loans. This serves as the primary regressor. Wages are measured as *total* county wages, as reported on form 1040 by the individuals of a county, for a county and year. The poverty rate measures the number of all individuals in a county year in poverty over the number of total individuals in that county year. It should be noted that in the loan categories, as well as in total wages and population, the three largest Ohio cities' counties (Hamilton-Cincinnati, Franklin-Columbus, Cuyahoga-Cleveland) consistently demonstrate the maximum values over all seven years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Loans</td>
<td>2515.6</td>
<td>5175.4</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>48020.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Small SB Loans</td>
<td>2332.3</td>
<td>4857.9</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>46225.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Medium SB Loans</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>166.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1088.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Large SB Loans</td>
<td>94.8</td>
<td>194.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1239.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages (Thousands of $s)</td>
<td>2217429.0</td>
<td>3918968.0</td>
<td>131431.0</td>
<td>24700000.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty Rate</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>131015.8</td>
<td>212082.6</td>
<td>13219.0</td>
<td>1305273.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*n*=616

**Table 1**

Summary Statistics
Empirical Model and Results

Using the data from the following section I construct a model to estimate total county wages in a year. My model estimates total wages in a county and year using the following regression specification:

\[ y_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{(Number of Loans)}_{it} + \beta_2 \text{(Poverty Rate)}_{it} + \beta_3 \text{(Population)}_{it} + \delta_t + \tau_i + U_{it} \]

The variable \( y_{it} \) is the total wages in a county for a given year; \( \beta_1 \) estimates how an additional loan in county \( i \) and year \( t \) affects the total wages in that county and year, in thousands. The coefficient \( \beta_2 \) estimates the change in thousands of dollars of county wages that a 1 percent increase in poverty rate has on county \( i \) in time period \( t \); \( \beta_3 \) estimates the effect of increasing population by one will have on thousands of dollars of total wages in a county year; \( \delta_t \) and \( \tau_i \) account for origination year and county fixed effects respectively. The baseline regression yields the results in Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DV: Wages in County-Year</th>
<th>All Counties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Loans</td>
<td>-57.2***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(17.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty Percentage</td>
<td>-1,789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5,889)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(8.62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-10,514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(275,791)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.997</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4
Regression of all county years
The coefficient in Table 4 indicates that additional small business loans decrease total wages of a county by $57,200 on average, holding poverty rate and population constant. The coefficient on loans is significant at the one percent level. This produces an unexpected result with a theoretical model that typically predicts growth.

To explore this result further, I divide counties into two sections based on loan volume. Table 5 illustrates differences in "small" and "large" counties. I define small counties as counties with less than an average of 600 loans over the seven year period while big counties have greater than or equal to an average of 600 loans.

### Table 5
Regression with divided counties specified

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DV: Total Wages in County-Year</th>
<th>with loans&lt;600</th>
<th>with loans=&gt;600</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Loans</td>
<td>54.2***</td>
<td>-58.6***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(12.7)</td>
<td>(18.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty Rate</td>
<td>-567</td>
<td>-2,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(666)</td>
<td>(8,966)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>-5.23</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3.91)</td>
<td>(8.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>417,953***</td>
<td>9660000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(111,078)</td>
<td>(10700000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.996</td>
<td>0.997</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

This stratification illustrates that small business loans appear to be associated with decreasing wages in large counties and increasing wages in small counties. On average, an increase of one small business loan in a small county leads to wages increasing by $54,200. In large counties, however, an additional loan creates a decline of $58,600. Both results are significant at the one percent level.
This result is also consistent across the dollar amount of the loans, which is calculated by substituting the total dollar amount of loans for the number of loans in the regression model. This yields the results of Table 6. Across all counties the model estimates a dollar loaned decreases total wages by $1.30. This result holds for large counties, but small counties have an estimated $1.54 gain for every dollar loaned to small businesses. This supports the claim that small business loans may have a positive effect in small counties and negative effect in large counties due to the negative coefficient for large counties and positive for small counties. This illustrates a multiplier effect that is negative in large counties and positive in small counties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DV: Total Wages</th>
<th>All Counties</th>
<th>with loans&lt;600</th>
<th>with loans&gt;=600</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amount of Dollars Loaned</td>
<td>-1.30***</td>
<td>1.54***</td>
<td>-1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty Rate</td>
<td>2,155</td>
<td>-754</td>
<td>810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>11.5***</td>
<td>-5.25</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-154,170</td>
<td>434,765***</td>
<td>8.85e+06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.996</td>
<td>0.996</td>
<td>0.996</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 6
Dollar Amount Results

The criticism of the effect of the data capturing county wages before the small business loans were made might also arise. Reverse causality might arise if a large number of loans are originated at the end of a year and the effects not seen until the following recording period for wages. To account for this the total loan number of each county was lagged one year. The results are reported in Table 7.
These results illustrate consistent results with loans in the same year; small business loans in big counties have an estimated negative effect and small counties a positive effect. These results also support the claim that small business loans originated in large counties harm wages, while small business loans originated in small counties raise wages.

### Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DV: Total County Wages</th>
<th>All Counties</th>
<th>with loans&lt;600</th>
<th>with loans&gt;=600</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lagged Number of Loans</td>
<td>-79.3***</td>
<td>32.3**</td>
<td>-80.6***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(12.5)</td>
<td>(13.9)</td>
<td>(12.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty Rate</td>
<td>-4,395</td>
<td>-94.2</td>
<td>-5,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5,140)</td>
<td>(655)</td>
<td>(7,619)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>-9.99**</td>
<td>10.9*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6.72)</td>
<td>(4.22)</td>
<td>(6.49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>91,296</td>
<td>581,008***</td>
<td>11400000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(220,912)</td>
<td>(119,982)</td>
<td>(8260000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.998</td>
<td>0.996</td>
<td>0.998</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

### Conclusion

The mechanism by which the effect of small business loans hurt or harm wages, depending on the county size in which the loan is originated, remains unclear. This may occur because small counties promote a more intimate lending environment where loans are not originated to small business that might perform poorly. By contrast, large counties may contain an environment of anonymity that allows small business loans to be obtained even by businesses that will not prosper. Small counties may have a better grasp on how successful
loan recipients will be because they are more familiar with the habits of the loan recipient. If this is the case, it would illustrate the importance of relationship-based lending over an automated metric-based approach because the relationship based lending of small counties would be proved superior to the anonymity of larger counties. The results illustrate an inherent difference in small and large counties; what this difference is may be the subject that can guide further policy or revision of current policy.

The importance of determining the efficacy of small business is important as it not only will serve to guide policy, but may determine what kind of capital is available to small businesses. If small businesses cannot aid the community through debt financing, it might be wise to consider policy that would raise their ability to gain equity financing. The result of the empirical model, estimating a detrimental effect of small business loan originations in large counties and a positive effect in small counties, may prompt a rethinking of policy toward credit accessibility. Perhaps policy advocating increases in small business loans should be redirected to small counties and eliminated from large ones, which would require a revision of current Community Reinvestment Act and other similar policies to account for the differences between counties.

Notes

1 http://www.ffcic.gov/cra/

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"SOI Tax Stats - County Data." SOI Tax Stats - County Data. Internal Revenue Service, n.d. Web. (Data Source)


A Tribute to Reality?

Herodotus and the Persian Tribute List (3.89-97)

Joseph B. Ruter III

Imagine an empire equal to the Roman Empire in every way: same length of rule (as the Western Empire), same population, and the same broad spread of imperial rule. Imagine an attempt to study this vast empire with only a handful of inscriptions, a few fire-baked administrative records, and the later literature of its enemies. Although such an empire is hard to imagine, the Achaemenid Empire is just such an empire.

In order to understand the fiscal machinery of the Achaemenid Empire, the majority of scholars have relied more or less uncritically on Herodotus’ Persian Tribute List (3.89-97). After Darius I ascends the Persian throne, Herodotus relates a list of the twenty tribute regions along with their amounts of tribute to the Achaemenid Empire.¹ As Pierre Briant says in his magisterial account of Persian history, “it is apparent that the numerical information Herodotus gives must be considered reliable.”² Despite Briant’s certainty, other scholars including O. Kimball Armayor doubt the accuracy of Herodotus’ figures.³ To gauge the accuracy of his figures and by implication the quality of his sources, I will compare Herodotus’ Persian Tribute List with the nearest record of regional taxation: the Athenian tribute list. Before that comparison, however, I will access Armayor’s radical argument against the accuracy of Herodotus’ list. I conclude that since Herodotus inflated the tribute of his first nomos Herodotus had no official source for his tribute list.

Before I attempt to access the numbers of Herodotus’ Persian Tribute List, I should address the radical argument of scholar O.
Kimball Armayor. From his analysis of archeological evidence, Armayor argues that the contents of Herodotus’ Persian Tribute List derive not from Persian evidence but from Greek literary tradition. On the one hand, the tribute list includes approximately 42 nations undocumented in any of the available inscriptions, including the six entire nomoi (or satrapies). Herodotus also misplaces and misnames several major nations. On the other hand, the tribute list numbers the nomoi following in Greek rather than a Persian manner. Whether in Behistun or in Suez, Achaemenid inscriptions describe consistently the empire nation by nation from the Persian heartland of Persis to its farthest periphery. By comparison, Herodotus enumerates the nomoi from his native Ionia eastwards in a generally geographic way. While Herodotus might be forgiven for “greeking up” his list, Herodotus cannot by his own principle of division explain his bizarre union of Armenia and India-bordering Pactyike into nomos XIV. Since Herodotus’ list fails to match Persian evidence, Armayor proposes another source for the content of his list.

From a number of oddities in the Persian Tribute List, Armayor proposes instead that Herodotus concocted his list from his Ionian literary tradition of logography and epic poetry. First, although Herodotus adds together his first 19 nomoi to derive his pre-Indian total of 7600 Babylonian talents, Herodotus’ sum could simply derive from the multiplication of his nomoi and his calculation of Ionian tribute. Unlike the other nomoi, Herodotus could reasonably estimate the amount of the tribute here, whether relying upon Artaphernes’ assessment of 493 (VI. 42) or perhaps upon Athenian tribute figures of the 440’s. Second, several numbers of literary significance tend to recur. For instance, the favored number of the Babylonians 360 recurs for the tax levy of four districts and the Cilician horse imposition. For a second instance, Herodotus names 67 nations in his tribute list and 67 contingents in his army list. Homer, as Armayor observes, names 67 commanders in the Iliad. To explain these instances, Armayor suggests that Herodotus borrowed from the logographic tradition of Hecataeus and the poorly understood Homeric tradition of epic
catalogue. While some of Herodotus’ numbers add suspiciously, I do not reckon Herodotus’ account a mere literary addition.

While Armayor points out a number of important geographic faults in Herodotus’ list, I think that Armayor’s wholesale rejection of Herodotus is unfounded. Due to the cultural and language barriers, even if Herodotus had official or semi-official sources, Herodotus would have likely erred about the precise placement of peoples and taxes. Furthermore, even if Herodotus had consciously structured his list in a tradition of epic catalogue, he could still have had true information about the Persian system from his travels and from his Ionian upbringing.9 In fact, two of Herodotus’ claims about the Persian tax system can be corroborated with other evidence.

First, recent ethnographic reports have confirmed the essence of Herodotus’ claim that Indians collected their gold for tax payments from animal activity, even if Herodotus reported marmots as large ants. As Herodotus explains with digressions and detail in Book 3.102-105, the residents of northern India (i.e. modern Pakistan) travel into the deserts of eastern India (i.e. modern Tibet) in mid-day to gather gold surfaced by the ants. Due to the aggressiveness of the ants, the Indians brought camels for the ants to eat while the Indians escaped with their gold. In recent years, through, ethnologist Michel Peissel has confirmed the essence of Herodotus’ story through an investigation of Minaro tribe’s claim to have gleamed gold from marmots in the past.10 Furthermore, classicist Thomas Reimer notes that in Hellenistic accounts the ants are described to have spotted skins like the marmots.11 With the essence of his claim confirmed, the question becomes why Herodotus confounds the details.

Herodotus errs on the details of his account because of his sources from which he distances himself. While Peissel suggests that Herodotus’ confusion emerged from the shared Persian word for marmot and for mountain ant, I suspect that the shared word reflects the Persian confusion about the sources of the gold.12 As Reimer observes, the frontier tribes who collected the gold from the marmots and mines of western Tibet had an incentive not to report to the
Persians the ease of its collection. Had the tribes told the Persians the truth, the Persians would have increased their tax assessments, while other tribes would have entered the area.\textsuperscript{13} To reduce their tax burdens, the tribes invented the aggressive ants. Besides stopping Persian inspections, the aggressiveness of the ants justified the limited quantities of gold: to procure a few handfuls required the sacrifice of multiple camels.\textsuperscript{14} To his credit, through, Herodotus distances himself from his sources, saying “the Persians say” twice in reference to the unlikely proposed process to take gold from the ants (3.105). Despite the suggestiveness of Herodotus’ accuracy about Indian gold acquisition (or at least Persian perceptions thereabout), Herodotus has another claim more directly corroborated with evidence.

Second, both archaeological and literary evidence confirm Herodotus’ claim that the Persian Kings horded surplus silver and gold form tribute collections. After reckoning that Darius collected from all sources approximately the value of fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Eubolic talents (3.95), Herodotus explains:

\begin{quote}
τοῦτον τὸν φόρον θησαυρίζει βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε: ἐς πίθους κεραμίνους τήξας καταχέει, πλήσας δὲ τὸ ἄγγος περιαιρέει τὸν κέραμον: ἐπεὶ δὲ δεηθῇ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει τοσοῦτο ὅσου ἄν ἐκάστοτε δέηται (3.96).
\end{quote}

The tribute is stored by the king in this fashion: he melts it down and pours it into earthen vessels; when the vessel is full he breaks the earthenware away, and when he needs money coins as much as serves his purpose (Trans. Godley).

If the 7,200 Babylon talents of silver from the first nineteen \textit{nomoi} are considered alone, Darius collected approximately 476,199 pounds or approximately 238 tons of silver each year.\textsuperscript{15} Although Herodotus proposes a tribute of almost unimaginable heft and breath, it is not necessarily unobtainable.
Because of its bureaucratic and logistical sophistication, the Achaemenid Empire would have had the capacity to collect tributes comparable to Herodotus’. In general, it is easy to underestimate the transportation capacities of the ancient world. Only a few hundred years later, Augustus managed the importation of 400,000 tons of grain from North Africa and Egypt to support Rome’s *annona* or grain distribution.\(^\text{16}\) Although the geography of the Achaemenid Empire is less favorable to transportation, since the Empire had a desert rather than sea at its center, the infrastructure investments of the Empire including an extensive royal road system and canal system equaled out the speed of transport.\(^\text{17}\) Beyond its physical infrastructure, the Achaemenid Empire had an extensive bureaucratic infrastructure, which could plausibly coordinate the hundreds of donkeys and ships necessary to carry 238 tons of silver.\(^\text{18}\) To supply official travelers in the military and the civilian service, the Empire had a system of supply depots spaced a day’s journey apart on the major royal routes. For the operation of the depots, the Empire developed a bureaucracy and a bureaucratic process to authorize provisions for travelers from Ionia to India. In fact, within the preserved records of the Persepolis Tablets, there is a whole category of so-called *helmi* tablets for this purpose.\(^\text{19}\) Given the evidence for the Achaemenid Empire’s advanced logistical capacities, the collection of tribute on a Herodotian scale becomes possible.

Had Darius I and his successors horded tribute, as Herodotus describes, their activity would have impacted the economies of both the Achaemenid Empire and its Hellenistic successor states. Since the Achaemenid emperors would have likely collected as much or more silver than produced each year, given Herodotus’ numbers, the supply of silver available for currency and trade within the empire would have declined over time.\(^\text{20}\) With a reduced supply of silver, the price of silver would have steadily increased within the Achaemenid lands. Since commerce within the majority of the empire depended upon silver, its ballooning price would have deflated the economy as a whole.\(^\text{21}\) In Babylonia, where Herodotus assigns the second highest
tax payment after India, high tax payments stalled its previous economic growth under the Neo-Babylonian Empire, reserving partly the monetization and urbanization of its economy. Since Babylonia lacks its own silver mines, the merchants of Babylonia had to import silver, diverting capital from other more productive agricultural investments. To pay the merchants for their silver, landholders pledged their lands and their hands. As tax obligations mounted, merchants like Murasu family and Persian officials came to control the majority of Babylonian land and peasants in the equivalent of the Roman *latifundia* system, suppressing local demand for goods. While the slowdown of the Babylonian economy in this period is suggestive of Herodotus’ tribute, the aftermath of Alexander the Great’s conquest is conclusive.

During his conquest of the Achaemenid Empire, Alexander the Great coined silver of the Achaemenid treasury as documented by literary sources and as confirmed by economic sources. As Arrian, whom historians consider the best source for the campaign of Alexander the Great, reports:

> ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς Σοῦσα Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐν ἡμέραις ἑ ἐκείσι: καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὰ τε χρήματα παρέλαβεν ὁν τα ἁργυρίου τάλαντας πεντακισμύρια καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν (3.16.7).

Alexander arrived in Susa from Babylon on day twenty, and having come into the city he got possession of the goods and fifty thousand talents of silver and the other royal fixtures. (Trans. A.G. Roos)

Corroborating Arrian, Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus also record Alexander the Great’s receipt of the Persian treasury, which Alexander managed to disperse approximately two-thirds of in his short lifetime to his soldiers. Due to the amount of “new” silver, estimated at 180000 talents of silver, the economy of the Greek world
underwent a period of economic expansion and price inflation. New cities and the new urbane lifestyle of the Hellenistic period emerged, stimulating new industry and commerce. Unlike the Achaemenid period, where silver proved too precious for personal wares, silverware became commonplace enough among the upper classes of Hellenistic society to become an essential marker of societal status.25 Due to this economic expansion, prices rose for basic commodities like Delian olive oil until about 300 B.C.E. when the silver freed from the Achaemenid treasury began to enter the treasuries of their successors.26 From this economic evidence, then, it is clear that Achaemenid emperors horded silver as Herodotus claimed.

Since Herodotus knew about the source of India’s gold and its destination for storage, he seems to have had an official or semi-official source for his work, suggesting that his ethnographic errors stem from cross-cultural misunderstanding. If he had an official or semi-official source, he could have obtained realistic estimates of the amount of tribute that the Achaemenids received from their nomoi. Due to the poor preservation of Persian records, I unfortunately cannot check Herodotus against the Persians themselves.

With a few reasonable assumptions, however, it becomes possible to access the revenue of Herodotus’ first nomos against the Athenian tribute list. By the “Athenian tribute list,” I refer to a set of stone inscriptions that detail the offerings of surplus tribute to the Treasury of Athena.27 Since the offerings were always one sixteenth of the total surplus tribute, scholars can with simple multiplication calculate the total amount of surplus tribute or the amount of tribute net of the localized military expenditures.28 Although unstated in Herodotus’ account, it is reasonable to believe that the tribute figures of his list reflect surplus tribute rather than total tribute. Beyond the similarity of collection type, it is fair to assume a similar level of taxation relative to the economic output of the first nomos. Because of its proximity to that the Achaemenid Empire, the Athenians could have easily “persuaded” the residents of the region to pay tribute at the set level of Artaphernes’ 493 assessment (VI. 42). Furthermore,
since the Achaemenids set tribute enough to stall the economic
growth of Babylonia, their tax demands upon the first nomos would
have had the same effect, even if the availability of silver mines and
Athenian silver imports into nomos mitigated some of the adverse
effects on the region’s money supply. With these assumptions, I can
derive an estimate of the nomos’ tribute from an interpolation of the
Athenian tribute list.

If I can estimate the percentage of the first nomos’ land under the
Delian League, I can estimate the nomos’ tribute based upon several
premises about the ancient economy. Since production technology
remained undeveloped within the Achaemenid Empire, even when
compared to the Roman Empire, economic output depended almost
entirely on the amount of labor available. In turn, the amount of
available labor depended upon the ability to feed the laborers,
whether through the produce of local farmland or through imported
produce. Due to the tight money supply, the cities of the first nomos
could not have imported significant amounts of grain into the region,
limiting the region’s population size to its agricultural productivity.
Furthermore, since modern experts classify the land of the first nomos
into the same agricultural region, it is reasonable to believe that the
land of the nomos in ancient times would have shared the same
agricultural region, given the historical stability of Turkish
agriculture. Given the shared region, the land of the first nomos
would have yielded the same produce on average. As such, with the
percentage of the first nomos’ land under the Delian League, I
estimate the tribute of the nomos.

Since the first nomos encompasses all the “Greeks” of the
Achaemenid Empire, whose primary settlement was on the coastal
plains of the Aegean and of the Mediterranean Sea, the Athenians
controlled approximately 60-80% of the nomos. As Herodotus
describes the first nomos in 3.90,

ἀπὸ μὲν δή Ἰώνων καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ
Αἰολέων καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Μιλυέων καὶ Παμφύλων
(εἷς γάρ ἦν οί τεταγμένος οὗ τος φόρος προσήιε τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου,

The Ionians, Magnesians of Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans, and Pamphylians, on whom Darius laid one joint tribute, paid a revenue of four hundred talents of silver. This was established as his first province. (Trans. Godley)

In each case, Herodotus refers to peoples rather than to places. However, since all of the peoples either spoke dialects of Greek or were represented the Delian League, all of these peoples would have settled within the coastal plains of the Aegean and of the Mediterranean Sea rather than in the interior, following the typical pattern of settlement prior to Alexander the Great. Since the Athenians controlled the majority of major coastal cities within the region, as demonstrated in visualization from the Stanford Polis Project in Appendix IV, it is reasonable to assume that the Athenians from approximately 60-80% of the first nomos’ land.

Given the previous assumptions, then, I estimate based upon the Athenian Tribute list of 450 BCE that the first nomos could have yielded between 99.45 and 132 Babylonian talents. First, I computed the number of talents that the Athenians received from their Ionian-Caric fiscal district as approximately 132.60 talents. Since the Athenian tribute list never specifies the currency of its figures, scholars generally assume that the list was denominated in Athenian drachmae, evidenced through the fractional numbers of the list. Second, I adjusted the figure for province size, leading to a tribute between 165.75 and 220 Athenian talents. Third, I translated Athenian talents into Babylonian talents, using the common 3/5 conversation rate. By these calculations, I estimate that the first nomos yielded between 99.45 and 132 Babylonian talents. Since Herodotus reports 400 Babylon talents as the tribute, Herodotus inflated the tribute of Ionia significantly, even given a wide margin of error.
I conclude that since Herodotus inflated the tribute of his first nomos Herodotus had no official source for his tribute list. While Herodotus may not have had an official source for his tribute list, Herodotus had semi-official sources with enough knowledge to point out both the Indian gold trade and the Persian tribute storage. Given Herodotus’ background, I suspect that he conversed with Greek merchants and ambassadors to gather facts for his History. In either case, scholars should be more critical of Herodotus’ numbers in their attempts to reconstruct the Persian taxation system. As to why Herodotus offers inflated numbers, I believe that he choose his numbers to communicate the comparative scale of the Achaemenid Empire to his Athenian audience, drawing from an underexplored tradition about number. Suffice it to say, Herodotus aims not necessarily to account for fact, but for truth.

Notes

1 See Appendix I for a table of the list.
3 Armayor 1973
4 Armayor (like Laird 1921) uses evidence from Herodotus’ List of Armies (VII.60-100) for his argument. Due to the sheer length of the list, I will not attempt to address Herodotus’ list in detail. Because of its relevance, I will outline Armayor’s argument against its veracity. Since Herodotus claims to characterize the actual Persian army on parade, Herodotus’ depiction should align with the pictorial evidence of Persepolis, especially since Herodotus’ fellow Ionians crafted the depictions for the Persians. However, Herodotus failed to describe either the Persians or more exotic nations properly, confusing weapon and armor types throughout. See Armayor 1973: 4-6 for his full assessment.
5 Armayor 1973: 3.
6 Laird 1921: 305. While India would be expected after XVI, Herodotus holds India until the end of his list to distinguish its golden payment from the silver payments of the other provinces. Furthermore, its terminal position allows Herodotus to transition more naturally into his digression about the ethnology of India. I will discuss his comments about India further later.
Laird 1921: 306. Laird critiques at length the common explanation that Herodotus refers to less famous Armenia-bordering nation of Pactyans. During his Indian digression, Herodotus in fact refers to the Pactyans’ land as bordering India (III.102). During List of Armies, Herodotus mentions the Pactyans with several other eastern peoples including the Sarangians and Utians (VII.68).

Armayor 1973: 7. Since Herodotus composed his *Histories* around 440 BCE in Athens, Herodotus would have had access to the official tribute list of the Delian League from marble stelae. On the eve of the Peloponnesian War in 431 BCE, Athenians earned approximately 390 talents from the Delian League. Even if we assume slightly lower revenue before this, the amount would still round to approximately 400 talents. For a further discussion of Delian League revenues, see Unz 1985.

Herodotus claims in the *Histories* to have traveled the Persian Empire extensively from the Black Sea to the Nile and from Ionia to Mesopotamia. While the majority of scholars including Casson 1994 believe Herodotus’ claims, Armayor argues that because of his ethnographic gaffes Herodotus clearly never traveled to these places. See Armayor 1978 for his arguments against Herodotus’ Black Sea travel and Armayor 1980 for his arguments against Herodotus’ Egyptian travel. For my part, I am willing to accept Herodotus’ claims in light of the cultural and language barriers.

See Peissel 1983 for further details.


Peissel 1983: 100.

Reimer 2006: 176. Gold rush areas have a long history of such supernatural scare strategies. Even during the California gold rush, prospectors crafted a similar tale of a “gold ghost” to scare off prospectives.

Ibid., 176-7. Reimer speculates that ants would have particularly terrified the Persians as Zoroastrians: ants emerge from the underworld. Due to the limited documentation for Zoroastrian practice at this time, I hesitate to consider this more than speculation.

According to modern estimates, a Babylon talent is approximately 30 kilograms.


Colburn 2013: 48. Despite imperial investments, the Achaemenid Empire would have still relied more heavily on higher cost land transport than the Roman Empire. While the relative high cost would hinder the transport of
bulk commodities like grain, silver would have suffered no effect. See also Briant 2002:357-387.

18 Colburn 2013: 32. Colburn notes the surprisingly large carrying capacity of donkeys (330 pounds) and of camels (660 pounds). If maximally laden, approximately 1444 donkeys or 722 camels would be required to carry the Persian tribute.

19 See Briant 2002: 364 for an example helmi and further explanation.

20 Patterson 1972: 228. Using an economic model of silver production and accumulation, Patterson estimates that an average of 25 tons of silver were produced during 350 B.C.E.-250 B.C.E. Since production techniques remained unchanged between circa 500 B.C.E. and the period of his estimate, it is reasonable to assume a comparable average annual production.


22 Jursa 2014: 34.

23 Van der Spek 2011: 407. Necessity to obtain silver for tax collections proved a problem in Judea too. As the prophet Nehemiah laments, ‘We have borrowed money for the king’s tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards’, with the consequence that ‘other men have our lands and vineyards’ (5: 4–5).

24 See Plutarch, Life of Alexander, 31 and Diodorus Siculus, XVII, 66, 71


27 Samons 2000: 35.

28 I follow Unz 1985’s reading of the Athenian Tribute list in light of Thucydides.

29 See Wilson 2002 for an enlightening account of Roman developments in production technology.

30 Erinc and Tunçdilek 1952: 194.

31 See Appendix II for a map of Greek poleis from the Stanford Polis Project.


33 When the Athenians imposed taxes, the reasoning goes, the Athenians would have charged whole numbers to simplify their accounting. Since the list includes fractional numbers, the Athenians had to have translated regional currencies into the unified reporting currency of the drachma. See Eddy 1973 for this argument.

34 Hallock and Wade 1906: 27
Works Cited


### Appendix I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nome</th>
<th>Peoples</th>
<th>Tribute in Talents</th>
<th>Non-Monetary Tribute</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ionians, Magnesians in Asia, Aeolians, Lycians, Milyans, Pamphylians</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, Hytennians</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>[Hellespontine] Phrygians, Thracians of Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, Syrians</td>
<td>360</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Cilicians</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>360 white horses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Posideium to Egypt (Arabs exempted)</td>
<td>350</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Egypt, Libyans, Cyrene, Barca</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>Income from the fish of Lake Moeris +120,000 medimnes of wheat for the Persian garrison at Memphis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Sattagydians, Gandharans, Dadicae, Aparytae</td>
<td>170</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Susa and the country of the Cissians</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Babylonia and the rest of Assyria</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>500 young eunuchs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Ecbatana, the rest of Media, Paricanians, Orthokorybantes</td>
<td>450</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Caspians, Pausicae, Pantimathi, Daritae</td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>Bactrians and . . . (?)</td>
<td>360</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>Pactyans, Armenians, and neighboring peoples as far as the Pontus Euxinus</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>Sagartians, Sangians, Thamanaeans, Utians, Myci, and inhabitants of the Erythrean Sea</td>
<td>600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td>Saka and Caspians</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Arians</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>Paricanians, Ethiopians of Asia</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>Matieni, Saspires, Alarodians</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX</td>
<td>Moschians, Tibarenians, Macrones, Mossynoechi, Mares</td>
<td>300</td>
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<tr>
<td>XX</td>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>360 (Gold-Euboic Talents)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Silver: Babylonian Talents). Adapted from Briant 2002: 391
Appendix II

Created through the Stanford Polis Project data visualization tool (polis.stanford.edu), this map shows majority Greek cities that were founded prior to 400 BCE in the Greek mainland and Asia Minor.
Appendix III

Created from the map of Appendix III in the Stanford Polis Project, this map shows known Delian League cities as dots and known non-Delian Cities as circles.
The Problem of Religious Dogmatism in Spinoza’s Theological-Political Treatise

Alexander Kah

Introductory Remarks

“You didn’t deserve to be born in America” were the words with which I was condemned by a particular fundamentalist Christian demonstrator one evening when I attempted to engage him in friendly philosophical conversation while attending a festival in downtown Cincinnati, Ohio. This condemnation came in response to my question to the demonstrator about why an all-loving God would favor the United States over every other nation in the world. At the end of our discussion, the man proclaimed to me that the Bible contains the answers to life’s greatest mysteries and that the only way I could be saved from eternal damnation was by believing in the Bible as God’s infallible, holy Word and accepting Jesus Christ as my personal Lord and Savior. For the sake of fairness, I promised to spend some time reading Scripture if in return he promised to examine some philosophical literature (Baruch Spinoza’s work was among my recommendations). Reluctantly he obliged, but as we parted ways he remarked, “Your philosophers don’t have all the answers!” I replied, “Exactly. And neither do you.”
At first, this anecdote seems trivial. The demonstrator had his opinions, I had mine, we exchanged these opinions, and we went our separate ways. There were times when the discussion became intense, and there were times when the demonstrator conveyed palpable disdain in response to my probing questions. But even though the demonstrator advocated a radical position and his words certainly were less than ecumenical, he did not resort to violence to defend his beliefs. Some would argue that I should not have approached the man at all. Sure, there are a few fundamentalists like this man who roam the streets, but if we ignore them, they will cease to be a nuisance. If we simply ignore fundamentalist demonstrators (for instance, the Westboro Baptist Church), they will stop protesting because the positive reinforcement they gain from our attention to them will be eliminated. Seems plausible, right?

In reality, I do not believe this to be the case. Not all fundamentalists display their faith in such a grandiose and militant fashion as do the Westboro Baptist Church and similar groups. Although the United States has become more secularized, there still exists a substantial number of religious dogmatists. This is not to say that all these people are openly violent in displaying their faith, but these beliefs are certainly capable of inspiring contempt for fellow citizens who are outside the faith. Additionally, dogmatism appears in multiple forms and should not necessarily be construed as exclusive to religion. For example, proponents of scientism also may be deemed dogmatic. But once again, while dogmatists of this kind typically do not spread their message through violent means either, they still may inspire contempt for fellow citizens who do not grasp the “truth” that they apparently hold.

Religious dogmatism, along with the contempt or outright hate for unbelievers that it can inspire, is not just a contemporary issue. This sociopolitical dilemma was alarmingly present during the time of the philosopher Baruch Spinoza. In his *Theological-Political Treatise*, Spinoza first offers an account of the human condition, in which he locates the roots of superstition. Then, Spinoza explains
that natural superstition later can morph into dogmatism and intolerance, which he decries. Finally, Spinoza proposes a political project whose goal is to combat intolerance both by establishing freedom of thought and by removing religious leaders from their position of political authority.

I hope to answer the following research questions with my thesis: For Spinoza, what is the relationship between reason and religion, and how does Spinoza manage the problem of religious dogmatism? There is evidence in the work suggesting that Spinoza writes esoterically. How does this esotericism inform his management of the theological-political problem?

In this paper, I will argue that Spinoza uses an esoteric strategy to combat dogmatism. In presenting contradictory versions of the Divine Law, he directs religion toward the political goal of social stability and paves the way for freedom of thought. I will begin by explaining Spinoza’s assessment of the human condition and how superstition emerges and persists. Second, I will show how Spinoza’s esoteric strategy informs his presentation of multiple definitions of the Divine Law, or true religion. Third, I will explain Spinoza’s framing of dogmatism in terms of his divorcing philosophy from theology. Finally, I will argue that neutralizing dogmatism helps Spinoza achieve his political goals.

The Human Condition and the Origins of Superstition

Before diagnosing the problem of dogmatism within a Spinozistic framework, it is necessary to understand Spinoza’s assessment of the human condition, which complements his conjectures regarding the origins of superstition. In this section, I will discuss first the interplay between Spinoza’s conception of the human condition and the origins of superstition. I will focus on two key attributes of superstition that can be derived from Spinoza’s account: its naturalness and its permanence. Then, in the following section, I will discuss Spinoza’s
distinction between superstition and “true religion,” and how the two are related.

From the outset of the *Theological-Political Treatise* (TTP), Spinoza paints a bleak portrait of humanity’s natural state. He states, If men were able to exercise complete control over all their circumstances, or if continuous good fortune were always their lot, they would never be prey to superstition. But since they are often reduced to such straits as to be without any resource, and their immoderate greed for fortune’s fickle favours often makes them the wretched victims of alternating hopes and fears, the result is that, for the most part, their credulity knows no bounds. In critical times they are swayed this way or that by the slightest impulse, especially so when they are wavering between the emotions of hope and fear; yet at other times they are overconfident, boastful and arrogant.¹

Already, one can see Spinoza’s connection of the human condition and superstition as he locates the origins of the latter in human ignorance or “credulity.” Not understanding natural phenomena, human beings invent the notion of “fortune” because they do not know what will take place in the future. Lamentably, human beings’ ignorance causes their susceptibility to “alternating hopes and fears,” which, along with a lack of “control over all their circumstances,” renders them “prey to superstition.” Due to ignorance, the passions come to dominate humanity. Spinoza elaborates on this ignorance of the causes of natural events: “[T]here is no end to the kind of omens that they imagine, and they read extraordinary things into Nature as if the whole of Nature were a partner in their madness.”² Here Spinoza claims that in their ignorance human beings tend to think about natural events anthropocentrically, conceiving of “Nature” as a “partner,” an agent of some kind. Spinoza considers this ignorance a precursor to superstition, as the passions of hope and fear color people’s judgments of natural events. Thus, in Spinoza’s view, ignorance with regard to nature and the subsequent dominance of the passions lays the foundation for superstition.
Spinoza’s pessimism about the human condition is elaborated in Chapter 16. He argues, “[N]ot all men are naturally determined to act in accordance with the rules and laws of reason. On the contrary, all men are born in a state of complete ignorance . . . [and] they have to live . . . by the urging of appetite alone, for Nature has given them nothing else and has denied them the actualised power to live according to sound reason.”3 Spinoza reaffirms the dominance of the passions, or “appetite,” over reason: Human beings by nature are primarily irrational. This passage also hints at Spinoza’s determinism. A critical way that human beings are in “complete ignorance” is that they do not understand fully that “all individual things are determined to exist and to act in a definite way.”4 Again, Spinoza emphasizes that the influence of the passions coupled with ignorance naturally promotes superstitious thinking.

Spinoza wants to emphasize that both ignorance and the passions are the cause of superstitious thinking. At times, his deterministic comments suggest that superstition stems from an intellectual misunderstanding of the workings of nature. While this may be true to some extent, superstition is rooted deeply in the passions, by which, Spinoza claims, all people are influenced in varying degrees (as some are more rational and can mitigate the influence of the passions): “It is fear, then, that engenders, preserves, and fosters superstition . . . [Thus,] it clearly follows that all men are by nature liable to superstition . . . For it arises not from reason but from emotion, and emotion of the most powerful kind.”5 For Spinoza, “emotion” dominates the human psyche. As he locates the origins of superstition in “fear,” an “emotion of the most powerful kind,” it follows that the prevalence of fear will lead to the prevalence of superstition.

To support this claim, Spinoza draws on historical examples. For instance, Spinoza reminds readers that Alexander the Great, in the midst of military defeat and illness, was incited to “employ seers.”6 According to Curtius, Alexander was filled with great fear when placed in tangibly dangerous situations, and as a result, he sought the
counsel of “seers,” who likely knew no more about the causes of natural events than he did. With this example, Spinoza illustrates that the predisposition to superstition due to the dominance of the passions occurs even in some of the most powerful and rational figures in history. On the other side of this coin—and arguably more important, because political leaders’ manipulation of theological leaders for self-benefit and to inspire fear is one aspect of the theological-political problem that Spinoza is trying to solve—Alexander the Great preyed on his subjects’ fears and thus on their superstitious tendencies. Spinoza claims that rulers like Alexander “to render themselves secure . . . tried to persuade men that they were descended from immortal gods, thinking that if only their subjects and all men should regard them not as their equals but should believe them to be gods, they would willingly suffer their rule and would readily submit.”7 Alexander proclaimed himself as a descendant of the “immortal gods” for the sake of the security of his position of power. His subjects, moved by their passions and likely influenced further by the rhetoric of theological leaders, feared Alexander as a deity and hoped for his divine blessing. This practice gets at the heart of Spinoza’s political project to reduce the influence of religious figures on the populace. As we will see, Spinoza views these political motives as misguided: Theocracy propagates dogmatism, which is exactly what Spinoza is attempting to alleviate.

Spinoza goes so far as to claim that the emotions of hope and fear constitute the sole basis of superstition. Spinoza acknowledges that religion has played a role in fueling superstitious thinking, but religion cannot be regarded as the basis of superstition. He writes, “[O]nly while fear persists do men fall prey to superstition, that all the objects of religious reverence have been no more than phantoms, the delusions springing from despondency and timidity.”8 While people superstitiously treat some things and people as “objects of religious reverence,” Spinoza argues that the superstition stems not from the objects themselves but instead from “despondency and timidity.” Human beings are slaves to fortune, and superstition is driven by the
fear of the unknown. Spinoza adds that superstition does not stem from “a confused idea of a deity possessed by all mortals.” Spinoza seems to use the word “idea” in a Cartesian sense, signifying an innate concept which has been formulated through reason. As previously stated, Spinoza believes that a misuse of reason may promote superstition, but superstition is ultimately rooted in the passions. On these grounds, Spinoza dismisses as a viable candidate for the basis of superstition the content of innate religious beliefs. Religion, then, is neither the equivalent nor the basis of superstition, although it has played a significant part in promoting superstition. Again, Spinoza wishes to highlight the natural origins of superstition in the human condition. This is significant because as we will see, the naturalness of superstition is an obstacle around which Spinoza must work in implementing his political project.

In addition to explaining superstition as a natural phenomenon, Spinoza also discusses superstition’s relative permanence. Unfortunately, this susceptibility to superstition is difficult and often impossible to shake, according to Spinoza. He writes,

I know how deeply rooted in the mind are the prejudices embraced under the guise of piety. I know, too, that the masses can no more be freed from their superstition than from their fears. Finally, I know that they are unchanging in their obstinacy, that they are not guided by reason, and that their praise and blame is at the mercy of impulse.

Spinoza makes several claims in this passage. First, he acknowledges that people have “prejudices” that are “deeply rooted.” In this case, Spinoza seems to be referring to religious prejudices, but as he has argued before, superstitions promoted by religion are rooted ultimately in the human condition. Spinoza then goes on to claim that the multitude (“the masses”) cannot be “freed from their superstition.” This sentence is Spinoza’s most direct assertion of the permanence of superstition. Because it is rooted in their “fears,” and fear is a natural and dominant emotion, superstition reigns supreme for the vast majority of people. Finally, Spinoza argues that the
multitude is “obstinate,” “not guided by reason,” and “at the mercy of impulse.” In Spinoza’s view, people grow accustomed to superstitious thinking; so, human beings are predisposed naturally to adopt superstitious thinking, and their aversion to change facilitates the persistence of superstition throughout life. Thus, superstition persists not only as the result of innate fears, but also as a result of human beings’ unwillingness to critically examine and change their thinking patterns when superstition has already taken root. This consideration plays a significant role in Spinoza’s political project because, assuming his theory of superstition is correct, it would be more feasible for political leaders to re-channel the superstitious thinking of the multitude for the betterment of the state rather than try to eradicate superstition once and for all.

Spinoza’s Two Versions of “Divine Law” and Esotericism

Because superstition is such a fundamental and malignant condition, Spinoza takes considerable care to set it apart from what he considers to be “true religion.” Spinoza proclaims that “[true] religion stands in no need of the trappings of superstition. On the contrary, its glory is diminished when it is embellished with such fancies.”11 Spinoza’s statement implies that religion is something of value. It is Spinoza’s aim to rescue religion from corruption and harmonize it with the well-being of the state. Spinoza also asserts that “true religion” is “divinely inscribed . . . in men’s minds.”12 True religion is innate; on the other hand, the “trappings” of corrupted religion are artificial and play on people’s natural fears, which results in superstitious thinking. True religion and superstition are diametrically opposed.

Despite his insistence on the inherent goodness of true religion, Spinoza does not always define true religion consistently in the TTP. Spinoza often uses the term “Divine Law” to signify true religion. Spinoza presents his first formulation of the Divine Law in Chapter Four. He distinguishes between “human law” and “divine law,”
stating, “By human law I mean a prescribed rule of conduct whose sole aim is to safeguard life and the commonwealth; by divine law I mean that which is concerned only with the supreme good, that is, the true knowledge and love of God.”13 It is important to note that here Spinoza defines “human law” in terms of morality and social stability but defines “divine law” in terms of the intellect.

Of great relevance to this first version of the Divine Law is Spinoza’s identification of God with Nature:

By God’s direction I mean the fixed and immutable order of Nature, or chain of natural events; for I have said above...that the universal laws of Nature according to which all things happen and are determined are nothing but God’s eternal decrees, which always involve eternal truth and necessity. So it is the same thing whether we say that all things happen according to Nature’s laws or that they are regulated by God’s decree and direction.14

God and Nature are identical in Spinoza’s account. It follows from this that divine laws are the same as natural laws. Therefore, the first version of the Divine Law that Spinoza presents in this chapter can be summarized as the comprehension of natural events.

We may recall that in the preface Spinoza characterizes the multitude as primarily irrational and bound by superstition. It is curious, then, that true religion would consist in the “knowledge and love of God,” which can only be apprehended through “philosophic thinking and pure activity of mind.”15 It is strange that Spinoza seems to set such an unattainable end for true religion. The multitude, in his view, is obstinate and not predisposed to “philosophic thinking and pure activity of mind”; rather, most people are predisposed to superstitious thinking due to their natural ignorance and fear. It would be naïve to leap to the conclusion that Spinoza has contradicted himself unwittingly by setting such a high standard. But, this is neither the only nor the final version of the Divine Law that Spinoza presents in the treatise.
Spinoza reformulates the Divine Law in Chapter 12 of the *TTP*. He begins the chapter with an attack on proponents of Biblical infallibility. For Spinoza, “God’s eternal Word” is not constituted by a holy book alone, and he criticizes those who maintain the infallibility of holy books as such: “[They] are carrying their piety too far, and are turning religion into superstition; instead of God’s Word they are beginning to worship likenesses and images, that is, paper and ink.”\(^{16}\) True religion is not dependent on “paper and ink,” but many prefer to think that this is the case. As a result, religion has degenerated into superstition because the true message has been lost.

In light of this attack, Spinoza revisits the concept of the Divine Law, or true religion. Spinoza has not lost all hope for Scripture to be instructive and constructive. While he expresses his skepticism with regard to Biblical authorship and warns against worshipping “paper and ink,” he stresses the truth of Scripture’s overarching message. Spinoza argues that Scripture is holy only insofar as “its message [is]…to love God above all, and one’s neighbour as oneself.”\(^{17}\) For Spinoza, true religion boils down to “the doctrine of charity.”\(^{18}\) The minutiae of a particular holy book are of no concern to Spinoza because they are not sufficient for the existence of true religion. Moral action, then, is the essence of true religion.

This is an interesting change in tone from Spinoza's assertions in the fourth chapter that true religion consists in intellectual love and knowledge of God. The shift likely is purposeful. It can be argued that in the expression of his ideas, Spinoza uses language or appeals to a tradition that his audience is familiar with and can better understand. In this way, Spinoza’s writing may at times be considered esoteric, in the sense that his message is disguised by a common language or tradition. Bagley goes even farther to argue that Spinoza’s method is deliberately deceptive.\(^{19}\) Citing as a key example Spinoza’s “inconsistency” with regard to the validity of knowledge derived from revelation, Bagley asserts that “the esoteric or true teaching of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* often amounts to the realization that the doctrine asserted most conspicuously is
exoterical or untrue, as is the case with the claim that what is attained
from prophecy or revelation offers an assured disclosure of some
‘certa cognitio’.”

In other words, Spinoza may be conveying an
esoteric message that is antithetical to the message gleaned from a
superficial reading of the treatise.

It is likely not the case that Spinoza is adapting his diction and
appealing to tradition solely for the sake of accessibility. To a certain
extent, Spinoza is intentionally inaccessible from the outset of the
work. In keeping with his pessimistic attitude toward the multitude,
he “prefer[s] that they disregard this book completely” because they
will “misinterpret” it. While this remark may not be sufficient to
deter certain people from reading the treatise, it is still illustrative of
his intentions. On the other hand, it is conceivable that this serves as
a ploy to induce critical thinkers to read further, acting as an
invitation for those capable of philosophy to think critically.

Spinoza adds that at the time of his writing philosophy is not
“liberal” enough, as the majority attempt to make it the “handmaiden
of theology.” Spinoza thus addresses the treatise not to the general
public, but to those who try constantly to assert the primacy of
theology over philosophy. The Preface seems to be the most
forthright section of the work; however, the Preface simultaneously
makes Spinoza less accessible as evidenced by the fact that he limits
his audience significantly. Spinoza does not intend to be accessible to
all, but he may want to attract potential philosophers to his cause.
The contradictions in the work may be reflective of his intentions.

The tension between the two versions of Divine Law that Spinoza
presents in the TTP may be viewed as less contradictory when taking
Spinoza’s political project into account. Rice states that Spinoza’s
primary goal in the treatise is the complete “freedom of
philosophizing” because “[f]reeing human society from the burden of
religious dogmatism opens the door to a pluralistic view of human
cognition and the liberation of human science.” This “human
science” of which Rice speaks in actuality sounds similar to
Spinoza’s first framing of true religion as the intellectual knowledge
and love of God, as Spinoza takes God to mean Nature. In this way, the pursuit of natural science is true religion; however, Spinoza’s negative view of human nature seems to preclude this possibility.

Nevertheless, Rice provides another insight that is integral to reconciling the apparent contradiction in Spinoza’s two versions of Divine Law, claiming that “superstition [is propagated by] the transformation of religion from practical to speculative doctrine. This distinction between religion and superstition becomes a cornerstone of Spinoza’s argument for academic freedom in TTP.” Here Rice reiterates that Spinoza distinguishes between superstition and true religion. Superficially it seems that Spinoza’s first version of the Divine Law is a “speculative doctrine,” but interpreting God to mean Nature changes the meaning of the first version entirely: Instead of true religion consisting in speculation about the God of Scripture, it actually consists in the comprehension of natural events through reason. Spinoza then proposes a “practical doctrine” in the second version of the Divine Law, the aforementioned “doctrine of charity.” Loving one’s neighbor, then, is true religion, as well, and one can see easily how this would be beneficial politically. Interpreting the two versions of the Divine Law in this manner allows Spinoza to have his cake and eat it too, so to speak. The first version allows for Spinoza’s political goal of “academic freedom” by sanctioning the practice of natural science. The second version both keeps religion from becoming speculative and devolving into superstition (or at least re-channels the superstitious thinking of the multitude) and accommodates the multitude by giving them practical rules to follow.

Levy puts this in another way. He writes that for Spinoza the purpose of religion is “to educate the citizens toward obedience . . . by appealing to understanding, but not by coercion.” The multitude can be persuaded to understand that the message of Scripture is to love one another. “Education” implies refinement of reason and desires, which is consistent with Spinoza’s first version of Divine Law, which is framed in terms of the intellect. Religion does not
relinquish its practical purpose either, as it inspires the public’s “obedience” to the sovereign power without resorting to force.

I suspect that the second version of the Divine Law is Spinoza’s way of coming down to earth, so to speak. It seems that a secure and stable society would be a necessary precondition for the open and free refinement of the intellect. Given his view of human nature, it seems that Spinoza is conceding that his political project—of which intellectual freedom is a crucial part—will involve re-channeling superstition rather than eradicating it completely. To a great extent, the second version of the Divine Law can be understood as a precondition for the first version. Even though the multitude’s superstition and their common ground (i.e., Scripture) are not destroyed outright, the meaning of Scripture is limited significantly insofar as it cannot contradict the doctrine of charity. While it can be objected that this is detrimental to freedom in general, the limitation of Scriptural meaning paves the way for philosophers like Spinoza to engage in free inquiry more or less safely.

Spinoza’s esoteric strategy is manifested in his ability to present seemingly contradictory conceptions of Divine Law or true religion as if their coexistence poses no problem. Vigilant readers will notice that Spinoza asserts that true religion is housed in the mind innately, which is where ignorance and the domineering passions also reside innately. This cohabitation seems impossible given Spinoza’s view of the human condition. The irrational multitude cannot be expected to attain knowledge of God. As suggested above, the esoteric truth of the first version of the Divine Law seems to be the comprehension of natural events, given Spinoza’s pantheistic doctrine.

A reexamination of the second version of Divine Law proves equally fruitful. The doctrine of charity that Spinoza proposes is metaphysically groundless. If God and Nature are one, there is no divine command to love one another and humans can be viewed as machines driven by their passions. However, Spinoza does not expect any religious believers reading his treatise to notice this inconsistency. The esoteric truth of the second version of the Divine
Law may be that the state’s health is contingent on the citizens’ love of one another. Jobani goes even farther to argue that the political is in tension with the ethical and the former supersedes the latter in Spinoza’s project: “Obedience to God, which in the first part of the *Treatise* was identified *only* with ‘love of [one’s] neighbor,’ is identified in the second part with blind obedience to the political authority.”\(^{27}\) In Jobani’s account, Spinoza uses “obedience to God” as a political tool, at least in the section of the work where he presents his political project. In effect, Spinoza esoterically declares religion as a means to a healthy state.

As we have seen, Spinoza invests a considerable amount of effort in the *TPP* assessing the human condition and locating the origins of superstition within it. From Spinoza’s claims it may be deduced that superstition is a natural and permanent condition. The naturalness and permanence of superstition is a function of the naturalness and permanence of ignorance and, more important, the dominance of the passions (e.g., fear). Because superstition is so deep-seated and persistent, it is one of the greatest obstacles to a healthy state. Spinoza’s conception of true religion provides a healthy alternative because it demands that people love one another. In Spinoza’s view, true religion becomes imperative for a healthy state because of the widespread peace it promotes. Even if people choose to hold on to extraneous superstitions (as the enlightenment of the multitude is likely impossible), as long as they hold the belief that others should be treated in the same way that they would want to be treated, the state can function well or flourish. These considerations pave the way for a discussion of how Spinoza frames religious dogmatism and its political implications.

**The Roles of Philosophy and Theology: A Spinozistic Framing of Dogmatism**

In the Preface of the *TPP*, Spinoza criticizes those who try to make philosophy the “handmaiden of theology” and surmises that
they “will derive great profit from this work.”28 For Spinoza, philosophy and theology (which also will be called reason and religion, respectively, in this section) both have important roles to play in society, and he cautions against their interference with one another. Spinoza elaborates on this theme in Chapter 15, which has the effect of clarifying his views on dogmatism.

Spinoza argues vehemently against the view that we can make theology consistent with philosophy, and vice-versa. With respect to the first alternative, this adaptation is not possible because “Scripture teaches only piety, not philosophy, and . . . all its contents were adapted to the understanding and preconceived beliefs of the common people.”29 This assertion is reminiscent of Spinoza’s second version of Divine Law insofar as “piety” consists in moral action (i.e., loving one’s neighbor). “Philosophy” can be taken to mean the investigation and comprehension of Nature, the freedom for which is allowed by his first version of Divine Law. With respect to the second alternative—that is, that philosophy can be adapted to theology—Spinoza warns that if this were possible, we would have to “accept as divinely inspired utterances the prejudices of a common people of long ago, which [would] gain a hold on [our] understanding and darken it.”30 These admonitions serve to illustrate Spinoza’s views about the limited knowledge of the Biblical authors and, in turn, about proponents of superstition. Spinoza clearly does not take Scripture as literal truth, and he warns that others doing so is pernicious. Dogmatists uphold these “divinely inspired utterances” that comprise Scripture and have no qualms about spreading them as truth. Spinoza thinks that the dogmatist propagation comes at the expense of a healthy “understanding,” or reason.

Spinoza, like many Enlightenment thinkers who came afterward, champions reason as the “gold standard” of human cognition. Accordingly, he is keenly aware of what he perceives as affronts to reason. Spinoza laments,

I am utterly astonished that men can bring themselves to make reason, the greatest of all gifts and a light divine,
subservient to letters that are dead, and may have been corrupted by human malice; that it should be considered no crime to denigrate the mind, the true handwriting of God’s word, declaring it to be corrupt, blind, and lost, whereas it is considered to be a heinous crime to entertain such thoughts of the letter, a mere shadow of God’s word. They think it pious to put no trust in reason and their own judgment, impious to doubt the trustworthiness of those who have transmitted to us the Sacred Books. This is not piety, but mere folly.31

To be sure, Spinoza does think that Scripture can be something of great value to the multitude, insofar as it inspires love toward fellow citizens. However, in this passage it is evident that Spinoza has no sympathy for those who uphold the authority of Scripture (“letters that are dead”) at the expense of reason (“the true handwriting of God’s word”). Dogmatists do not condone skepticism toward “the letter” or toward “those who have transmitted to us the Sacred Books,” and they consider this unconditional trust to be a virtue.

Spinoza wishes to debunk the false notion of piety that is equivalent to doctrinal faith. Spinoza dismisses this notion of piety when he proposes the second version of Divine Law. He adds to this, claiming that the unquestioning belief in Scriptural narratives is not constitutive of true theology, and theology’s message does not come at reason’s expense: “[B]y theology I mean the Word of God properly so called, which does not consist in a set number of books…. [I]f you look to its purpose and end [i.e., loving one’s neighbor], it will be found to be in no respect opposed to reason, and is therefore valid for all men.”32 More important, Spinoza establishes formally the respective roles of reason and religion, stating that the former is concerned with “truth and wisdom” while the latter concerns “piety and obedience.”33 As we have seen already in Spinoza’s proposal of two versions of Divine Law, the assignment of roles to reason and religion accommodates both philosophers and the unphilosophical multitude. The key word in this assignment of roles is “obedience.” This word signifies a shift in the focus of the treatise to Spinoza’s
political project. Citizens’ obedience to the laws made by the sovereign power will be crucial to the health of the state. For Spinoza, the state’s focus should be on inducing this obedience rather than on intellectual and moral cultivation.

These are fighting words for dogmatists. Religion as it stands in their view is under attack by Spinoza. The claim that the canon of sacred texts is irrelevant amounts to a threat to the essence of religion. After all, the Scripture constitutes the infallible Word of God, and who could possibly have the nerve to question that? Apparently, Spinoza does. Although Spinoza does acknowledge the truth of Scripture’s core message, the love of one’s neighbor, he is skeptical of the purported infallibility of the specific books of the Bible and their respective authors. Furthermore, Spinoza warns against taking the present-day theologians at their word. In Chapter Seven, Spinoza argues that, opposed to “charity,” theologians “imagine that the most profound mysteries lie hidden in the Bible, and they exhaust themselves in unravelling these absurdities while ignoring other things of value. They ascribe to the Holy Spirit whatever their wild fancies have invented.”

It is just as dangerous to believe theologians’ faulty interpretations of Scripture not necessarily on account of the content of the speculative doctrines they profess but more because they uphold baseless speculation (and “zeal” for this speculation) over moral action.

Spinoza frames the problem of dogmatism in terms of the respective roles of theology and philosophy. These roles are very specific, and neither discipline should attempt to go beyond its competency. Spinoza denounces dogmatism by chastising those who are afraid to use their reason and dismissing blind faith in Scriptural narratives as “folly.” As if this were not enough, Spinoza eventually advances the claim that, to a certain extent, religion should be subjected to political authority. Fradkin notes that for Spinoza, “religious opinion is free to be expressed, [but] religious action is still entirely subject to the sovereign.” Spinoza is so dismissive of the possibility of theology being a speculative discipline that he does not
care which views concerning the divine that theologians perpetuate as long as these views are consistent with the love of one’s neighbor. In turn, the love of one’s neighbor is consistent with the well-being of the state. Although Spinoza sees the political utility that religion can have, his complete apathy toward “religious opinion” is a huge slap to the face for dogmatists.

**Dogmatism and Freedom**

Just as reason is the gold standard of human cognition, freedom (especially freedom of thought) is Spinoza’s paragon of political life, and he defends it vigorously in Chapter 20 of the *TTP*. In fact, Spinoza claims that freedom is the “purpose” of the state in the sense that it should “free every man from fear so that he may live in security as far as is possible, that is, so that he may best preserve his own natural right to exist and to act, without harm to himself and to others.” While it is beyond the scope of this essay to provide an extensive account of Spinoza’s political philosophy, several important principles are contained within this short passage. First, Spinoza mentions that the state exists to “free every man from fear.” Citizens’ freedom from fear is a necessary precondition for stability, and this generates feelings of “security.” Second, Spinoza declares freedom “to exist and to act” as a “natural right.” The state exists to maintain human beings’ natural rights. Specifically, the state protects citizens’ power of self-preservation. Third, Spinoza adds the caveat that the state maintains the freedom of its citizens only when citizens act “without harm” toward themselves or other people. Thus, for Spinoza, security and stability are the ends of the state, and freedom in a very basic sense acts as a means to these ends.

The third point, the boundaries of freedom, is crucial and most closely related to dogmatism. Spinoza builds on this: "While to act against the sovereign’s decree is definitely an infringement of his right, this is not the case with thinking, judging, and consequently with speaking, too, provided one
does no more than express or communicate one’s opinion, defending it through *rational* conviction alone, not through deceit, anger, hatred, or the will to effect such changes in the state as he himself decides.40

There are limits on freedom, in Spinoza’s view, and these limits most often take the form of prohibiting certain actions (i.e., “to act against the sovereign’s decree”) and even some speech. One can see that hate speech falls among the prohibited because of the threat to social stability that it carries. Dogmatists have been known to verbally denounce people of other faiths and occasionally act violently toward them, and this is not acceptable in Spinoza’s state. Another limit on freedom of speech pertains to the way opinions are defended. It is important to note that Spinoza only allows for *rational* defense of opinions in his political arrangement. This is a win for philosophers, as Spinoza has repeated throughout the work that the multitude is primarily irrational and bound by superstition. The rational can defend their opinions openly, but those who argue using “deceit, anger, hatred,” or seditious ideas are silenced. Of course, the reasonableness of this expectation may be contested, especially because most people are indeed irrational in Spinoza’s view; but, in theory, the state could intervene in extreme cases. In effect, this spells trouble for dogmatists because they cannot resort to blind faith to advance their interests, and any who attempt to use force to promote their agenda already are stifled by the state’s laws that punish militant behavior.

The limitations that Spinoza imposes on political freedom (i.e., in actions prohibited by law as well as in specific instances of speech detrimental to the well-being of the state) are in essence a method for reducing the influence of religious leaders on political life, as they are the ones who want to limit freedom of thought, the most important freedom for Spinoza.41 Mignini ascribes to Spinoza a negative attitude toward all of theology: “Spinoza’s judgement about theology…is thus clear and unequivocally negative: not only are the theologians enemies of reason and freedom…but they are equally
against those who, appointed to govern states, refuse to use theology as an instrument of power.”

If by “theology” we are referring to religious belief, then this assessment is accurate. Spinoza does not concern himself with religious “opinion” because he believes it irrelevant. On the other hand, we must take into account Spinoza’s definition of theology that he provides in his second version of the Divine Law as well as in the chapter detailing the roles of theology and philosophy. Theology involves “piety” or “obedience”; it does not involve speculative matters. Also, for the sake of clarity, it seems that “instrument of power” in this quotation constitutes control of citizens’ thoughts rather than control of their actions. This is a warped kind of obedience not in line with Spinoza’s political project. Dogmatism is characterized by the emphasis on having the “correct” thoughts about the divine. Thus, we could rephrase this in terms of dogmatism rather than theology, and the assessment makes more sense.

Spinoza’s conception of religion as presented in the two versions of the Divine Law is a limited religion, and it can be used as a tool for achieving stability and freedom in society. In support of this interpretation, Jobani remarks, “The core of religion is thus the creation, preservation, and cultivation of stability, which is also the ultimate goal of politics. Religion, according to the Treatise, is thus distinct from superstition, not by dint of the truth of its concept of God, but only by virtue of its ability to stabilize society.” Spinoza’s type of religion enables the achievement of “the ultimate goal of politics” through redirecting the multitude’s superstition toward obedience to the sovereign power. One may raise the following objection: Isn’t Spinoza limiting freedom dramatically by not allowing interpretations of Scripture contrary to the doctrine of charity? In short, yes; but, he is simultaneously increasing freedom from fear (i.e., the precondition for stability and security) by attenuating dogmatism and consequently increasing the freedom to philosophize because the latter depends on this more basic freedom.
Conclusion

Although Spinoza may not have influenced the American Founding Fathers directly, Spinoza is often considered one of the first major proponents of liberal democracy, and the United States emulates this form of government. In light of this fact and considering the contemporary persistence of religious dogmatism in the United States, it is worth pondering whether the Spinozistic political project to re-channel superstition and promote security and stability has been or could be successful. Rice notes that the “political dangers of speculative theology, the threats to freedom of inquiry, the rule of the mob rather than of reason…[are] no less a threat to freedom and human liberation today than they were in Spinoza’s time.”44 Would Spinoza have foreseen our current state of affairs—that is, with respect to dogmatism refusing to relinquish its grip entirely on a considerable number of individuals?

Regardless of the answer to this question, we can learn a great deal from Spinoza’s account of religion that is presented in the *Theological-Political Treatise*. It is evident that dogmatism is a complex issue with acute sociopolitical implications. If Spinoza’s account of the human condition and superstition is accurate, then it may be impossible to eliminate dogmatism once and for all. Nevertheless, Spinoza holds out hope that at least we may be able to weaken dogmatism’s negative influence on the public through a state that is strong but at the same time preserves freedom of thought. While my view is not wholly consistent with Spinoza’s project, despite Spinoza’s pessimism about the human condition, I would argue that everyone could benefit from improved education. Open-mindedness about and scrutiny of religious beliefs must not remain a social taboo. If we can alleviate the discomfort that tends to pervade religious discussions, then we will be in a better position to combat intolerance effectively.
Notes

2 Ibid.
3 Spinoza, 174.
4 Spinoza, 175.
5 Spinoza, 2.
6 Ibid.
7 Spinoza, 188.
8 Spinoza, 2.
9 Ibid.
10 Spinoza, 7-8.
11 Spinoza, 145.
12 Ibid.
13 Spinoza, 49, emphasis added.
14 Spinoza, 36.
15 Spinoza, 51.
16 Spinoza, 145-146.
17 Spinoza, 151.
18 Ibid.
20 Bagley, 400.
21 Spinoza, 8.
22 Ibid.
24 Rice, 186.
26 Spinoza, 164; 225.

Spinoza, 8.

Spinoza, 165.

Ibid.

Spinoza, 167, emphasis added.

Spinoza, 169.

Ibid.

Spinoza, 86-87.

Ibid.

Spinoza, 167.


Political freedom must be distinguished from the belief in freedom (especially in the metaphysical sense), which some have deemed a “natural superstition” for Spinoza. See Steven Frankel, “Determined to Be Free: The Meaning of Freedom in Spinoza’s ‘Theologico-Political Treatise’,” *Review of Politics* 73, no. 1 (December 2011): 55-76, accessed October 26, 2014, http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0034670510000860.

Spinoza, 223.

Spinoza, 224, emphasis added.

Spinoza hints at this in several places in the treatise. See p. 227 for one of his most passionate denunciations of religious leaders trying to use “legislation” to enforce particular beliefs.

Fillipo Mignini, “Theology as the Work and Instrument of Fortune,” in *Spinoza’s Political and Theological Thought*, ed. C. De Deugd (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1984), 132.

Jobani, 402-403.

Rice, 194.
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Women of Feeling:

Understanding Austen’s Marginalized Heroines

Melissa Alexander

In the twenty-first century, it is difficult to rationalize heroines who let others push them to the sidelines, those who do not speak up for themselves or take action. Especially in the Jane Austen fandom, audiences gravitate toward characters that have the boisterous confidence of Emma Woodhouse (Emma), the impenetrable wit of Elizabeth Bennet (Pride and Prejudice), or the intense fits of passion of Marianne Dashwood (Sense and Sensibility). Even in Austen studies, the bias towards Austen’s “popular” heroines is clear; scholars write fewer studies focused on her meeker heroines Catherine Moreland (Northanger Abbey), Anne Elliot (Persuasion), and Fanny Price (Mansfield Park). Although these characters seem passive and timid at the start, their characterization is unprecedented in the genre category where they are usually placed: sentimental fiction. The beautifully crafted emotional landscapes of characters Fanny Price and Anne Elliot rather resemble a new, emerging literary genre, dubbed “The Romantic Novel,” which is an offshoot of the poetic period of Romanticism, and emphasizes the private experience of emotion and the workings of the mind. By contrast, Sentimental fiction emphasizes outward expression of emotion, namely fainting and blushing. I endeavor to study why Jane Austen focuses on the interior experience of emotion rather than externalized displays of emotion in her novels Persuasion and Mansfield Park, how the novels respond to the tradition of sentimental literature in the late 18th century. Finally, I assert that Austen’s works deserve to be the central point of the genre of the Romantic Novel.
Critics have argued with much difficulty about the proper place that Jane Austen holds in the history of the novel. As Clifford Siskin points out, she straddles the 18th and 19th centuries exactly, producing the first drafts of *Pride and Prejudice*, *Sense and Sensibility*, and *Northanger Abbey* at the end of the 18th century, followed by works *Mansfield Park*, *Persuasion*, and *Emma* produced at the beginning of the 19th century. Often, her works are cited as part of the “long” 18th century, which contains everything from sentimental fiction to gothic novels to travel narratives and the like. Others prefer to narrow in closer, claiming that, since Austen’s works were largely reactions to sentimental works, they belong in the same category. This is especially problematic when looking at *Northanger Abbey*, which reacted to gothic novels rather than the “cult of sensibility,” and examining her later works which seem to digress from sensibility entirely.

Some critics attempt to establish a new subcategory to the poetic period of Romanticism for Austen and authors such as Frances Burney, Mariah Edgeworth, and William Earle dubbed “The Romantic Novel.” This genre seeks to set apart certain novels in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, since many do not seem to fit in the “rise of the novel” narrative. As Jillian Heydt-Stevenson and Charlotte Sussman note:

Rather than the linear trajectory we have been schooled to expect by the arrow-like image of ‘the rise of the novel,’ the novel during the Romantic-era ‘took off’ in all directions. It seemed to lose the coherence of a single genre, and to explode into a multiplicity of sub-genres: the gothic, the historical novel, the national tale, the oriental tale, the radical or ‘Jacobin’ novel, and the novel of manners, to name only some of the most studied.

The acceptance of a departure from the “rise of the novel” is fundamental to recognizing the existence of the “Romantic novel,” a movement in the spirit of the six poets who traditionally exist in the category of Romanticism. Romantic novels are characterized by
“images of the sublime; the capacity for and fall from transcendence; an emphasis on the natural world as a critical space for revelation, danger, and salvation; acute sensitivity to the ties between the body and mental states; liminal and subliminal spaces for exploration of sexuality; and... inwardness... ‘everlasting longings for the lost.’”

Austen, in fact, stands as a model of the emerging category of the Romantic novel, though most critics disregard or take her influence in the genre for granted. Through further study of Austen’s works, especially on Mansfield Park and Persuasion, one can see how Austen’s connection to sentimental fiction deteriorates and Austen truly is a hallmark for the genre of the Romantic novel.

As a means of understanding Austen’s literary moment, it is crucial to look at the function Austen, herself, saw in novels. In chapter 5 of Northanger Abbey, Austen famously argues against those who dismiss novels as frivolous, claiming that, “[In novels,] the greatest powers of the mind are displayed... the most thorough knowledge of human nature, the happiest delineation of its varieties, the liveliest effusions of wit and humour are conveyed to the world in the best chosen language.” Austen’s main purpose in this section of Northanger Abbey is to call out other novelists who write characters that are ashamed by novel reading; however, this quotation provides an excellent backdrop for studying the techniques Austen employs in her own novels, and those novels before her that she identifies with.

Authors have categorized Austen with writers in the late-18th century Sentimentalism literary movement because her novels often follow certain conventions of that period. For example, literary critic Matthew Wickman argues that sentimental fiction “bore a close but complex relation to the genre of romance,” which emphasized largely feudal scenes in which women of the upper classes were locked up in castles, swept away by knights, and occupied a very passive position overall. In Sentimentalism, the end goal is very similar; “instead of progress toward maturity, it deals sympathetically with the character who cannot grow up and find an active place in society.” Sentimental plots are marked by the heroine pursuing
marriage at any cost, rather than focusing on the development and maturation of the heroine, which results in a problematic and often disturbing treatment of emotion. Characters such as Evelina in Frances Burney’s *Evelina* often find themselves so pitifully overwhelmed with emotion that they faint, blush, or otherwise withdraw from situations. For example, when Evelina receives a life-changing proposal from the wealthy Lord Orville, she is shocked into silence. She recounts:

> I attempt not to describe my sensations at that moment; I scarce breathed; I doubted if I existed,—the blood forsook my cheeks, and my feet refused to sustain me: Lord Orville, hastily rising, supported me to a chair, upon which I sunk, almost lifeless. . . I cannot write the scene that followed, though every word is engraven on my heart: but his protestations, his expressions, were too flattering for repetition: nor would he, in spite of my repeated efforts to leave him, suffer me to escape; in short, my dear Sir, I was not proof against his solicitations—and he drew from me the most sacred secret of my heart!\(^{11}\)

The reader can see that Evelina is absolutely petrified by the idea that Lord Orville would even propose to her, causing her to nearly faint. However, she refuses to mention her actual feelings on the subject, and simply says that she is overwhelmed. A heroine’s internal emotional experience is, in this way, disregarded in sentimental literature since it does not contribute to the marriage plot. Evelina’s experience is limited solely to external displays that might cause her suitor to take notice.\(^{12}\) On the other hand, novels with male protagonists such as *The Man of Feeling* emphasize an absolutely overwhelming emotional experience. Henry Mackenzie’s overwrought Harley feels passionate love but rejects marriage because he might then be subjected to the ills of the world.\(^{13}\)

Austen’s earlier novels *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility* might fulfill some of the conventions of sentimental literature; however, Austen largely uses conventions in order to
satirize sentimental novels and expose their misrepresentations of reality. The similarities between Austen’s works and sentimental fiction degrade when one looks at her later novels, namely *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion*. Pam Perkins argues that Austen utilizes early-19th century sentimental comedy in order to “show virtuous protagonists acting nobly in the face of adversity and eventually triumphing over impending disasters.”

She notes especially the manner in which Fanny communicates, for she often, “[expresses] herself most effectively through nonverbal signals,” and is very infrequently able to truly communicate through language. Perkins points out, “At times Fanny speaks as well as she observes, and especially at the beginning of the novel she does so in a manner that is almost comically evocative of the moral guide-books that Burney’s heroines live by and exemplify. One of the first speeches we hear from the adult Fanny has a stilted, exclamatory style.”

Through this, Perkins argues that Austen is parodying the “moral guide-books” of the late 18th century through Fanny’s character, especially in her mode of speaking. Instead of speaking in a natural way, “she often seems to be echoing uncomfortably closely literature—particularly educational and didactic literature.” Despite Perkins’ argument that Austen uses Fanny to parody sentimental comedy, she emphasizes that the characters in *Mansfield Park* are, “complex, realistic characters whose conflicting behavior and principles are not reducible to preexisting sets of literary rules.”

Austen’s adherence to sentimental comedic modes in *Mansfield Park* serves purely to provide irony; this is not enough to categorize her novels as part of the sentimental fiction movement.

Critics frequently cite Austen as part of the new genre of the Romantic novel, but do not focus on her characters’ experience of emotion. In fact, most authors who claim Austen as part of the Romantic novel “canon” focus, instead, on topics such as nostalgia, poetic language, or global issues. Indeed, Austen’s position within this literary genre is precarious since *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion* are not often seen as the “hallmarks” of the genre. Austen’s emphasis
on marginalized heroines, in fact, ought to be seen as crucial parts of the Romantic novel “puzzle”, since it is such a departure from her earlier novels and novels of the late 18th century in general. I argue that Austen is truly a hallmark of the Romantic novel due to her treatment of emotion in *Persuasion* and *Mansfield Park*. In these novels, instead of seeing expressive and boisterous heroines, the reader sees heroines who are pushed to the sidelines because of their inability to communicate their emotions. This is crucial to the development of the Romantic novel, of which “inwardness” is key. The pure fact that Fanny and Anne are unable to express themselves outwardly exposes their interior emotional landscape to the reader, a landscape previously disregarded by other novelists. Austen, in fact, echoes the Romantic poets in her exposure of the all-encompassing emotions which Fanny and Anne are affected by in her novels.

Mary Jacobus argues that the emotional scar of *Persuasion* is particularly Romantic because “it is [interstitial] space that renders *Persuasion* the most Romantic and private of Austen’s novels.” Although Anne as a character is frequently muted by her surroundings, and rarely ever says what she feels, the way that the narrator describes her longing to close the distance is remarkably Romantic in language and theme. Other critics attempt to understand Austen through other venues: Valerie Shaw categorizes Austen as a “social novelist”, attempting to paint a social and emotional landscape in these novels so that the reader might understand the experiences of her heroines. Shaw points out that, “the ironic Austen seems as subdued as her heroines Fanny and Anne,” and Austen’s classic narrative voice is no longer quite the same as in her earlier novels. She goes on further to argue that the quiet irony in these later novels “grows out of the author’s intimate involvement in her heroines and their feelings.” She particularly emphasizes Austen’s descriptions of Fanny’s obsession with “right reason”, which causes her to “mistrust decisions based on feeling.” Furthermore, in opposition to the conventions of sentimentality, Shaw argues that, “In *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion* it is the hero, not the
heroine, who misjudges appearances, and this puts the happy ending more at risk since he had the marriage initiative.” Despite Shaw’s apt descriptions of the misgivings of both Fanny Price and Anne Elliot, she fails to mention the importance of how Fanny and Anne communicate their emotions and express themselves in social situations. If one takes into account their mutual inability to express their feelings in the public sphere, Fanny’s obsession with “right reason,” and Anne’s paralysis when encountering Captain Wentworth, become even clearer; these are not character flaws, but rather Austen’s experiments in crafting delicate and subtle heroines.

Beth Lau argues that Austen epitomizes what Anne Mellor labels “feminine Romanticism”, which does not only reflect the Romantic “spirit of the age”, but also reinvents the genre in order to fulfill the ideal of feminine literature. Feminine literature refers not only to literature written by women, but also literature written for largely female audiences; the expansion of the period of Romanticism to include these authors is crucial, since the “Big Six” poets of Romanticism were all male, writing for largely male audiences. Lau specifically emphasizes Austen’s “dramatic ventriloquism,” along with her “negative capability,” a term coined by Keats in order to describe how an author negates their own personality, to “project oneself into the thoughts and feelings of others, and remain open to a variety of points of view.” Lau uses this order to compare her to poetic authors of the movement of Romanticism, especially in the way that Austen utilizes free indirect discourse to expose the inner emotional workings of her characters. Lau’s argument, however, focuses on the language and structures Austen utilizes, rather than actual emotional capability and external expressions of emotion. Her argument falls short because she disregards the importance of the actual characters Austen writes, focusing instead on literary structure.

Fanny Price’s experience in the first volume of *Mansfield Park* is absolutely essential to upholding Jane Austen as a hallmark of the Romantic novel. In the first volume, the reader traces Fanny’s experience from a very young age, up to the age of eighteen. While
this structure might resemble a coming-of-age story, in fact, Fanny changes very little throughout the span of the first volume of *Mansfield Park*. She begins the novel as an awkward, quiet girl, and very much ends the first volume as the same girl with more womanly features and more moral turmoil. She frequently withdraws from situations that press her to express emotion, and avoids people who express ideals that are at odds with her own moral code. Her character in the first volume is crucial because it exposes the intricacies of Fanny’s character and sets the foundation for her interactions in the rest of the novel.

The narrator very aptly describes Fanny when she says, “Her diligence and her silence concealed a very absent, anxious mind.” Fanny frequently uses the excuse of morality (diligence) and a simple refusal to speak (silence) in order to hide what she truly fears, since she is so terrified of the consequences of actually exposing her emotions. Edmund, her cousin, is the only person in whom she can confide in the first volume, but when her attachment to him grows even weaker, she grows all the more quiet. Early in the novel, an interesting instance occurs which sets *Mansfield Park* apart from the cult of sentimentality altogether. When Sir Thomas leaves for his plantation on Antigua, Julia and Maria Bertram find Fanny a very unsatisfactory sentimental heroine. The narrator recounts:

Fanny’s relief, and her consciousness of it, were quite equal to her cousins’; but a more tender nature suggested that her feelings were ungrateful, and she really grieved because she could not grieve. ‘Sir Thomas, who had done so much for her and her brothers, and who was gone perhaps never to return! that she should see him go without a tear! it was a shameful insensibility. . .’ But [Sir Thomas] had ended his speech in a way to sink her in sad mortification, by adding, ‘If William does come to Mansfield. . . I fear, he must find his sister at sixteen in some respects too much like his sister at ten.’ She cried bitterly over this reflection when her uncle was gone;
and her cousins, on seeing her with red eyes, set her down as a hypocrite.\textsuperscript{35}

In this instance, Maria and Julia are frustrated with Fanny because of her inability to project her emotions; since she does not cry when her uncle departs for Antigua, she must be a wicked, “insensible” girl who is “ungrateful” for all that Sir Thomas has done for her and her family. Their conviction in her ungratefulness is strengthened when they catch her crying after Sir Thomas insults her, accusing her of being able to cry but not utilizing her tears in the most important circumstances. Since Fanny does not live up to these feminine ideals of the cult of sentimentality, Julia and Maria take it upon themselves to chastise her. Bearing this instance in mind, it is impossible to claim that all of Austen’s works fall in line with the traditions of sentimental fiction. Since Fanny is so unable and so unwilling to cry at the departure of Sir Thomas, and instead cries by herself as a reaction to insult, she cannot be marked as a sentimental heroine.

Fanny Price is emblematic of a Romantic heroine, especially exposed through her sensitivity to the ties between the body and the mental state.\textsuperscript{36} One instance of this, in particular, occurs when Fanny witnesses the mutual joy of Edmund and Mary Crawford while they ride together.\textsuperscript{37} The narrator describes, “A happy party it appeared to her, all interested in one object: cheerful beyond a doubt, for the sound of merriment ascended even to her. It was a sound which did not make her cheerful; she wondered that Edmund should forget her, and felt a pang.”\textsuperscript{38} Fanny’s “pang” is truly the marriage of emotions and body, for she feels physical pain at the thought of Edmund forgetting her needs. Despite this deeply felt emotion of betrayal, Fanny says nothing to Edmund or Mary, and, in fact, is all civility and kindness. She bears it all silently, ignoring her “pangs” and suffering in silence. She allows for Mary to ride her pony for so many days that Fanny actually falls ill because she is unable to “take the air” on her horse. When Edmund finally realizes the state of her health, he attempts to comfort her, but it is truly “too little, too late.” The narrator describes Fanny’s turmoil in response to his attention: “the
tears, which a variety of feelings created, made it easier to swallow than to speak. . . she had been feeling neglected, and been struggling against discontent and envy for some days past. As she leant on the sofa, to which she had retreated that she might not be seen, the pain of her mind had been much beyond that in her head."39 Here, Fanny cries because she is overwhelmed by so many emotions, much like sentimental heroines; however, instead of making her crying public, she rather retreats to a place where she might hide her face and refrain from public view. Her struggles with “discontent and envy,” along with her attempt to hide her emotions when they did rise to the surface, make Fanny a model for the romantic heroine. Fanny’s “inward” experience of emotion led to the connection of her body and her mental state, albeit briefly, two markers of the Romantic novel which are upheld in Austen’s work.

One very important feature of Fanny as a heroine is her “negative capability.” Along with being extremely in touch with her emotions, Fanny is also able to sense the nuances of other characters’ emotions, especially those that are unsaid. After the visit to Sotherton, which included a very comical and innuendo-filled garden scene (much to Fanny’s chagrin), Fanny takes respite from reflecting on her own feelings of disappointment in the visit40 and takes note of the other individuals in the party. The author notes, “She felt, as she looked at Julia and Mr. Rushworth, that hers was not the only dissatisfied bosom amongst them: there was gloom on the face of each.”41 Fanny’s ability to understand the unspoken emotions of those around her strengthens her position as a Romantic heroine, since she has the “negative capability” which John Keats spoke of as so important. This ability is greatly in contrast with other Austen heroines, for example, Elizabeth Bennet, who is so engrossed with her own feelings and emotions that she frequently is unable to see things from others’ points of view.

Yet another hallmark of the Romantic novel, Fanny has the unique ability to reflect on natural surroundings in a very poetic
manner. One evening she calls Edmund to step away from the party and reflect on their natural surroundings. The narrator recounts:

The scene . . . where all that was solemn, and soothing, and lovely, appeared in the brilliancy of an unclouded night, and the contrast of the deep shade of the woods. Fanny spoke her feelings. "Here's harmony!" said she; "here's repose! Here's what may leave all painting and all music behind, and what poetry only can attempt to describe! Here's what may tranquillize every care, and lift the heart to rapture! When I look out on such a night as this, I feel as if there could be neither wickedness nor sorrow in the world; and there certainly would be less of both if the sublimity of Nature were more attended to, and people were carried more out of themselves by contemplating such a scene." 42

Fanny’s reflection, here, is unabashedly Romantic, invoking so many hallmarks of the Romantic novel and Romantic poets in general that it would be silly to list them. Along with echoing Romantic poetic language, Fanny also connects the scene to feeling, claiming that such a scene might “lift the heart to rapture.” This speech, also, is one of the first times in which the reader sees a lengthy reflection by Fanny outside of her normal circumstances. Speeches previous to this one are usually much shorter and involve much less poetic language; here is an instance in which one might see the adult Fanny really gaining a foothold. Her use of poetic language, as well as emphasis on the connection between nature and emotions, is another strong reason as to why readers and critics ought to uphold Fanny as a true Romantic heroine, and Jane Austen as a true Romantic novelist.

Anne Elliot’s experiences are also highly internalized, as are Fanny’s, but in Persuasion she experiences a very different facet of the Romantic novel than Fanny does: what Heydt-Stevenson and Sussman call “everlasting longings for the lost.” 43 Anne is substantially older than Fanny and experiences the pain of encountering a previous suitor, Captain Wentworth. 44 When he comes into contact with her family again, interactions with him are
almost unbearable, causing palpable tension in the situations in which they meet. Anne, although she says very little to Wentworth or her family about her discomfort around Wentworth, is obsessed with the idea of the years they have spent apart from each other and the value of the time that they were so close. The narrator recounts her reflections on their reunion: “[Anne] began to reason with herself, and try to be feeling less. Eight years, almost eight years had passed, since all had been given up. How absurd to be resuming the agitation which such an interval had banished into distance and indistinctness!”\(^{45}\)

Anne attempts to stave off the feelings that arise in herself after meeting Wentworth again, but she cannot stop dwelling on all of the years she spent apart from him. Seeing him again dredges up new feelings, those that took years to bury, which completely encompass her soul whenever Wentworth is around. Anne even shames herself for the perceived pain she caused Wentworth so many years ago, beating herself up because of her lack of fortitude at such a young age: “She had used him ill, deserted and disappointed him; and worse, she had shewn a feebleness of character in doing so, which his own decided, confident temper could not endure. She had given him up to oblige others. It had been the effect of over-persuasion. It had been weakness and timidity.”\(^{46}\) Anne’s inner turmoil over the consequences of her previous attachment to Captain Wentworth fester inside of her, causing her to close herself off to those in her family who obsess themselves with his presence. One can see that Anne is also a true Romantic heroine due to her “everlasting longings for the lost” (her friendship with Captain Wentworth), as well as the inward nature of her reflections.

In order to solve the fundamental problem of Jane Austen not fitting into the cut-and-dry narrative of the “rise of the novel,” one might uphold Jane Austen as an emblem of the Romantic novel, rather than attempting to argue for her connection to sentimental fiction, 18\(^{th}\) century fiction, or 19\(^{th}\) century fiction. Although some critics argue that Austen is a part of sentimental fiction due to her satirizing of those literary conventions, these comparisons are
baseless when considering two of her later novels, *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion*. Instead, Austen ought to be upheld as a center point of the emerging genre of the Romantic novel due to how her heroines, Fanny Price and Anne Elliot, experience emotion. Austen’s inclusion as a hallmark author of the Romantic novel shifts the focus of the genre away from diction and conventions of poetry, towards the human experience. Through this genre, one can see that the novel does not “rise” so much as “branch out,” not following a linear trajectory, but forming many subcategories and genres with their own conventions. In *Mansfield Park*, Fanny Price is very soft-spoken since she is often overcome with emotions that she cannot put into words. She is also uniquely able to understand the emotions of others, as well as the importance of nature to the human experience. In *Persuasion*, Anne Elliot exposes another facet of the Romantic novel in that she has “everlasting longings for the lost,” namely, her estrangement from her former lover, Captain Wentworth. Austen’s characterization of these two heroines is vital to the development of the emerging genre of the Romantic novel, since they experience emotion so internally, a feature unprecedented before Austen.

Notes

1 The dates of which vary extremely depending on the scholar or publication one is working with. For example, *The Norton Anthology of English Literature: The Restoration and the Eighteenth Century* places the long 18th century between the years 1660 (Restoration) and 1785 (the end of the French revolution). However, others claim it extends to 1815, the Battle of Waterloo, while others extend this period as far as the year 1830.

2 Jillian Heydt-Stevenson and Charlotte Sussman, Anne K. Mellor and Richard E. Matlak, and David Perkins have all written extensively about the difficult 1780-1830 period of British literature and poetry.

3 See Heydt-Stevenson and Sussman, 13-14.

4 William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Blake, John Keats, Percy Bysshe Shelley, and Lord Byron are the “Big Six” of Romantic period.
5 See Heydt-Stevenson and Sussman, 17.
6 It is important to note that *Northanger Abbey* was published posthumously in 1818, and since it was written in the late 18\textsuperscript{th} century and edited almost 20 years later in the early 19\textsuperscript{th} century, it represents two very different portions of Austen’s writing career. It is impossible to know whether the Chapter 5 discourse on novels was included in the first draft, or added by an older Austen.
8 See Wickman, 59.
9 See Bender, David, Seidel, 197.
10 Sentimental heroines often die at the close of the novel if they do not marry.
11 See Burney, 352.
12 See Bender, David, Seidel, 197.
14 “Comedy”, in this sense, rather refers to “any movement from despair to happiness”, and the term “sentimental comedy” is used in contrast to a “laughing” comedy one might find in *Pride and Prejudice*. See Perkins, 3.
15 Ibid, 3.
16 Ibid, 5-6.
17 Ibid, 6. One of these speeches occurs after Lady Bertram told Fanny that she was to move in with Aunt Norris. Fanny says, “[Edmund.] you are too kind. . . how shall I ever thank you as I ought, for thinking so well of me? Oh! cousin, if I am to go away, I shall remember your goodness, to the last moment of my life.” See Austen, *Mansfield Park*, 21
18 Perkins, 7.
19 Ibid, 10.
20 “Scar” is used in reference to the cancelled relationship between Anne Elliot and Captain Wentworth.
21 See Jacobus, 237.
22 Miranda Burgess describes the connections between methods of transport and transmission of affect in Romantic poetry and prose. In using this concept, the reader can see that Anne’s desire to close the distance between her and Captain Wentworth is, in a way, symbolic of her desire for his feelings to synchronize with hers. See Burgess, 234.
23 See Shaw, 284.
24 Ibid, 293.
26 She describes Anne Elliot as “literally nobody” due to her deep-seated desire to feel needed.
27 See Lau, 81.
28 “Dramatic ventriloquism” emphasizes Austen’s unique ability to voice her own thoughts through the persona of her narrator. See Lau, 87.
29 Ibid., 84.
30 The reader first sees Fanny when she is sent away from her mother’s house in London to stay with her aunt, Lady Bertram, in the country, because Fanny’s mother does not have room for her. Austen, Mansfield Park, chapter 1.
31 The concept of acting is especially abhorrent to Fanny because it involves the scandalous practice of exposing the emotions of other people.
32 The Crawford siblings, for example, and Julia Bertram all trouble Fanny because of their loose concepts of loyalty and morality.
34 Although Fanny relies heavily on Edmund as a confidant, she forsakes him when she realized his romantic attachment to Mary Crawford and trusts him even less when his personality and conviction are altered by his connection to her.
36 One of the markers of Romantic novels, as noted by Heydt-Stevenson and Sussman, 17.
37 In this instance, Mary Crawford is actually riding Fanny’s pony, which Edmund has lent to Mary with Fanny’s consent. Although he promised that Fanny would be able to ride her pony after Mary, time slipped away from them and they were out riding for much longer than Fanny expected.
38 See Austen, Mansfield Park, 53.
39 Ibid., 59. Emphasis added.
40 The best example of Fanny’s success in hiding her emotions from her family also comes as a result of the Sotherton trip. Her aunt Norris, having completely ignored Fanny for the whole trip, exclaims to her on the carriage ride back, “Well, Fanny, this has been a fine day for you, upon my word . . . . Nothing but pleasure from beginning to end! I am sure you ought to be very much obliged to your aunt Bertram and me for contriving to let you go. A pretty good day’s amusement you have had!” Fanny, of course, sits in quiet
complaisance, since she had a very rotten day, indeed. See Austen, *Mansfield Park*, 83.

41 See Austen, *Mansfield Park*, 83.
42 Ibid., 89.
43 See Heydt-Stevenson and Sussman, 16.
44 It is important to note that Anne originally denied Captain Wentworth’s offers of marriage because her family greatly disapproved of the match, since Wentworth occupied a lower position in the Navy at the time of his advances.
46 Ibid., 54.

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What is a human being? For centuries, and even today, many have considered man to be a breathing organism endowed with a higher intellect—a rational animal. This classification seems to serve the twofold purpose of presenting man as quite similar to other beings while highlighting his one key distinction. For Aristotle (arguably the most influential of the Greek philosophical giants), the faculty of reason suffices to distinguish mankind from the rest of nature. Implicit in this understanding is that the existence of a being with such a faculty is purely contingent. Therefore, it is not at all far-fetched to imagine a world devoid of humans. Nature would simply continue to operate and even to be perceivable in just the same way as it is now. Since we are merely beings that happen to be present along with the multiplicity of other beings, all aspects of nature, even the elusive concept of time, reside outside of ourselves; they may be perceived by us, but they do not arise from or depend upon us.

Standing forth as one of the greatest philosophers of the twentieth century is Martin Heidegger. A prolific yet enigmatic German, Heidegger regards the above metaphysical/Aristotelian definition of mankind as entirely inadequate. By asserting the historicality and ultimate temporality of Dasein (the being for whom Being is an
issue), Heidegger seeks to return to the originary question of Being, the *Greek Inception* that long ago became obscured and concealed by metaphysics’ reduction of all entities to mere presence-at-hand, finally establishing that humanity—*Dasein*—is *time itself*.

I. The Demise of the Inception

Throughout Heidegger’s works runs what seems to be a continuous strain of nostalgia for the Ancient Greeks. However, his longing for a return to the ancients is far more than mere romanticism. Having come from a background imbibed with Christianity (spending time himself in Jesuit formation), he reacted in an intensely negative way towards Catholic dogma. One who adheres to a faith has already had the question of Being answered for him; thus, he cannot approach it authentically—he no longer lives with the question¹ Rather, the question of philosophy, the broadest, deepest, and most originary question—Why are there beings at all instead of nothing?—never comports itself to its times, but imposes itself upon the times. It “either projects far beyond its own time, or else binds its time back to this time’s earlier and *inceptive* past.”² In response to modernity’s “rootless organization of the average man,”³ Martin Heidegger seeks some sort of restoration of the *Greek Inception*: when untimely philosophy first stood forth among humanity. What did this inception consist in? Why and how did it devolve?

At the dawn of philosophy, a particular “fundamental orientation to Being”⁴ had been set forth by the thinkers and poets such that beings were thought of as a whole as *phusis*—what emerges from itself, an unfolding and persistence, the emerging-abiding sway “by virtue of which beings first become and remain observable.” *Phusis* encompasses both Being and becoming, embodying all of heaven and earth, past and present, high and low.⁵ It shaped and informed the Greek society as a whole—its underlying relation to Being. While effects of this great inception still reverberate today, all philosophy
since then has been a mere devolvement of understanding of the true nature of Being as such.

“[The philosophy of the Greeks] came to an end in greatness with Aristotle.” As is Heidegger’s custom, he reverses common perceptions of time and relationality. The philosophy of the Greeks came to an end with Plato and Aristotle. But, really, the philosophy of the Greeks began to come to an end with these thinkers. Its “end” was actually the end of its beginning, its inception. The end of the inception was not an end of the Greek relationship to Being, but rather the beginning of its downward trajectory away from phusis and towards beings. The Greek relation to Being does continue (vestigially) to remain even today, gradually concealing itself. Plato and Aristotle lay only on the cusp of this downward trajectory. Yet this was somehow the end, the greatest and most lamentable moment: the reduction of Being—phusis—to “beingness”—ousia.

Perhaps the greatest and the closest philosopher to the rightful conception of Being, Aristotle receives the bulk of Heidegger’s criticism. In his Metaphysics, Aristotle almost follows the understanding of Being as phusis, seeking the “first causes of being as being.” However, from the start, the reduction of philosophy to prose and logic gives away the fall from the initial inception. “Only poetry is of the same order as philosophical thinking,” both of which bring beings out of their monotony and everydayness. In contrast to Aristotle, the pre-Socratics admired by Heidegger and most closely associated with the Greek Inception—Parmenides and Heraclitus—wrote in verse.

Aristotle seemed to direct his thoughts inward upon beings at the expense of Being in his focus on ousia, the underlying substance behind things. Thus begins the Greek “ontology of Vorhandenheit,” or the present-at-hand. In their search for the essence of Being, the Greeks narrowed their focus upon the observable world (Vorhandenheit), intending to then abstract the meaning of Being as such. However, this approach has shown itself to be fruitless. This error pervades and persists to this day: the end of the inception
occurred when philosophy had begun to mistake nature for the world.\textsuperscript{11}

II. Aristotle, Mankind, and Time

For the moment, let us leave Heidegger behind and explore Aristotle on his own terms, particularly his \textit{Metaphysics}. “All human beings by nature stretch themselves out toward knowing.”\textsuperscript{12} Knowing comes from the senses. Therefore, we take pleasure in using the senses. The greatest sense (and this underlies Platonism as well—images) is sight, for it is the most comprehensive, most discriminating, and most freeing sense. For Aristotle and Plato, to know something is to see it as it is. From this concept comes the Platonic term \textit{eidos}, which is translated “idea,” but literally means the “look” of a thing. To seek wisdom in philosophy is the highest form of seeing, the fulfillment of wonder, and the highest activity in which man can engage.

Wonder leads to both \textit{poetry} and \textit{philosophy}. These answer the great questions of mankind. Ought they both to be pursued? The poets’ assertion of divine jealousy provides the reason for Aristotle’s assertion that poets lie and should not be followed—“many lyrics are lies.”\textsuperscript{13} Therefore, philosophy is the one avenue to the satisfying of wonder. This wonder is unique to man—the animals do not wonder because they do not have such a faculty; the gods do not wonder because they already know all things. Philosophy is the highest activity of man because it aims higher—and it can only do this because man is not the highest being, but occupies a particular space in the realm of being.\textsuperscript{14}

It would seem that man is that being who wonders, who thinks. However, Aristotle, in defining the essence of man, decides not to do so starting with what makes man unique, but from what makes him the same. While the \textit{Metaphysics} emphasizes mankind’s reaching towards knowing, i.e., wonder, Aristotle elsewhere (\textit{De Anima} III.11) compiles human nature into a concoction of the essence of a plant,
with the addition of the essence of an animal and the addition of wonder/intellect. A substance is defined by its essence—the combination of all these things. Therefore, Aristotle defines man’s essence from things which are present in the world.\textsuperscript{15}

Here, we see the above-mentioned shift from \textit{phusis} to \textit{ousia} at work. Man, as the being that wonders, is yet grouped with all other objects of the senses, analyzed, and categorized in the same way that trees, rocks, and gods are categorized. All sense of the unfolding of Being is gathered into the small sense of discovery—the wisest person knows all things.\textsuperscript{16} Therefore, for the wisest person, there would be nothing left to be disclosed. To live is merely to be present.\textsuperscript{17}

One of the few things studied by Aristotle that absolutely resists being placed into the world as present-at-hand is the concept of time. In his \textit{Physics}, the question of “Does time exist?” is posed before an inquiry is made as to its nature.\textsuperscript{18} Time is difficult to deny as part of our existence; yet it cannot be pinpointed as existing in the way in which other objects of study exist. Perhaps time is the chain of “nows,” but the now ceases to be immediately as it comes into existence. Can it, then, be said to be at all?

We can indeed say that time \textit{is} by virtue of there being change. However, our experience of time, despite the uniformity of days, weeks, and years, is not at all consistent. Hours seem to fly by in an instant while asleep. Time moves quickly when we are occupied and slowly when we are bored. Yet based on the motions of the heavens, it seems that it is our experience only of time, and not time itself, that varies. This poses interesting new questions as to the nature of time.

It seems, \textit{prima facie}, that time is identical with change or movement; when things are changing rapidly, time seems to go quickly; when things do not seem to be changing at a sufficient rate, time moves slowly. When we are asleep and do not perceive change at all until we rise, it seems that the “now” of rising happened immediately after the “now” of falling asleep, although we know that hours have passed. However, while change gives us some sense of
time, it cannot be identical with time itself. Change is movement in space, yet time has no position in space. Furthermore, our only direct way of experiencing time is through the now. The memory tells us that there have been other “nows” that are no longer accessible, and we know that this now will immediately pass into oblivion and be replaced by a new now. In its very becoming, the now is destroyed. Therefore, it is not a unit of time, but an infinitely divisible connection that can never be fully present as such. Because of this, time, in a sense, can be said not to be; it is never fully present. Yet, without time, there can be no presence; all things appear in a now.

Time as it actually is, according to Aristotle—future and past connected by the always-present now (“it is the now that measures time”)—is not identical with change or movement. Rather, it is the measure of change in respect to the before and after. The now links the before to the after, the past to the future. It marks the end of the past and the beginning of the future in the same way that a circle is both concave and convex. The essence of time is the now, which is always the same as every other now, yet completely unique because things in the world have changed. Although time is not present to us in the way that things in the world are present, it is undoubtedly there and necessary. The now cannot “stop,” for in its becoming, it immediately gives way to another now. “Time will not fail, for it is always at a beginning.”

III. Heidegger, Destruction, and Restoration

The task at hand in Being and Time—to set metaphysics free from the accretions which have gathered since the Greek Inception—must be accomplished through destruction of the ontology of Vorhandenheit. In section II of this essay, Aristotle’s Physics was the primary source used. According to Heidegger, it is actually the Physics of Aristotle which grounds his Metaphysics by establishing the ontology of Vorhandenheit: the fall of man—Dasein—to mere presence-at-hand.
The Greek approach to beings—seeking out the *look*, the *eidos*, of a thing—was taken for granted as the sole way to approach Being. However, the look of things is only perceived through the interpretive lens of the being of *Dasein*. Failing to acknowledge or account for this, the post-inception Greeks turned their inquiry inwards upon themselves, attempting to circularly arrive at the substance of mankind through the very lens of mankind—an absurdity akin to seeking the inner workings of a telescope by using the telescope to search. The assumption was made that man must be merely one being among others. This insufficient classification does not become an ontological problem for these philosophers, as Heidegger claims it should have.

In defining man as rational animal, something living which has reason, man is understood as being present-at-hand: *Vorhandenheit*. However, “over and above the attempt to determine the essence of ‘man’ as an entity, the question of his Being has remained forgotten. . . [it] is rather conceived as something obvious or ‘self-evident’ in the sense of the *Being-present-at-hand* of other created Things.” It is this conception of the being of man that Heidegger attempts to completely subvert. This is what he intends by the destruction of metaphysics: not to eradicate it, but to shake off all that has followed from the reduction of man to present-at-hand and then to rebuild from the original, foundational, inceptive *Phusis*.

What, then, is Heidegger’s answer for the Being of man, of *Dasein*? While the scope of this essay is not to explicate exhaustively the Being of *Dasein* as described in *Being and Time*, the following, cursory considerations should be sufficient to adequately draw several conclusions in comparison with Aristotle.

We know that “the person is not a Thing, not a substance, not an object.” We know that the answer cannot be derived from empirical science or from the *look* of a thing, for this already presumes an ontical understanding of Being; but the ontological foundations are always already ‘there.’ These foundations, overlooked by Aristotle
and concealed for centuries by the very nature of Being itself, are what Heidegger explores and seeks out in *Being and Time*.

What is our relationship to *Vorhandenheit*? For *Dasein*, things are meaningful, not quantitative. “All ‘wheres’ are discovered and circumspectively interpreted as we go our ways in everyday dealings; they are not ascertained and catalogued by the observational measurement of space.”28 Our understanding of things in space is not that they are plotted out in a system of coordinates; our spatiality is entirely relational. Something is “above,” “below,” “on the floor,” or “in the sky.” We carry with us ideas of left and right.29 “*Dasein* is ‘spatial’ with regard to its Being-in-the-world.”30

Relationality and concern in regard to the present-at-hand, however, hardly exhaust the Being of *Dasein*. The most profound expression of this Being is *Dasein*’s relation to itself. Everyday *Dasein*, in its normal failure to take notice of Being as such, falls into the *they-self*, into averageness and inauthenticity. This is so common a state that Heidegger asserts that, proximally and for the most part, *Dasein* is “they.”31 Rather than live in the “they,” *Dasein* should seek to arrive at “*Authentic Being-one’s-Self*.”32

To be authentic, *Dasein* must understand itself as “thrown, fallen projection.” As thrown, *Dasein* is placed into its world not of its own accord. It did not decide where or when to be born, nor even to exist in the first place. As fallen, *Dasein* finds itself in the midst of and alongside other beings. As projection, *Dasein* futurally anticipates itself as possibilities; this is not formulating a plan, but letting those possibilities be as such.33 *Dasein* is what it *has been*, what it *is*, and what it *becomes*—allowing it to say with understanding to itself: “Become what you are.”34

In these ways, *Dasein* can be said to *be* in both the *what has been* and the *what will be*. *Dasein* is temporal. It is not merely “in time;” its very being is rooted in this temporality, this unity of past, present, and future in thrown, fallen projection.
IV. What is Time?

Reversing chronology, Heidegger intends to be the ancient of the ancients, “to proceed up towards the hidden roots of Greek thought in a more radical way than Aristotle himself ever did.” Aristotle was the greatest and the closest to the proper understanding of Being, reaching a “more original ground” than even Plato.

Let us now recall Aristotle’s Physics. It is clear that time indeed is, but it is not in the way that other things are. His most concise formulation of time is: “those aspects of motion which we count with regard to before and after.” With all this in mind, it certainly cannot be denied that Dasein is. Yet, we see that Dasein (like time) is not in the same way that other things are. The mistake of ignoring the latter statement destroyed metaphysics, ended the Greek Inception, and sent philosophy spiraling downwards, further and further from the true essence of Being—phusis.

We now see clearly that Aristotle’s description of time, the one thing that he encountered as existing in an entirely different way than all other things (present-at-hand), ought to be applied to mankind itself. The connection of past, present, and future in Aristotle is at stake here. To Aristotle, being means that which is in the present. The past no longer is, and the future is not-yet. These are all, however, connected in his concept of time—no now can come into being of its own accord, but is rather begotten by the demise of the previous now. It takes its existence from all of the nows that preceded it, connecting them to all of the nows yet to come. This concept is precisely the thrown, fallen projection, the ultimate historicality, of Dasein.

Furthermore, the problem of individuation runs deeply within Aristotle’s Metaphysics. Heidegger asserts that time itself, Dasein’s temporality, is what individuates: it allows for Dasein’s “unique thisness and one-time-ness of its thereness, which it alone can seize, thus becoming entirely non-substitutable by any other being.” In Aristotle’s lowering of the essence of a being to its genus, he allows for ultimate and unbounded substitutability that is contrary to our
experience of the self and of others. In contrast to the modern “rootless organization of the average man,” the platitude “you are unique” still rings true, despite its triteness.

“To appreciate and study time, one must genuinely ask: ‘Am I time?’” The question is not formulated, “is humanity time?” Rather, arriving at an authentic understanding of oneself is intensely personal. While no Dasein can exist on its own (even a hermit has come from society/historicality), to live as thrown, fallen projection towards death, authentically embracing mortality is a feat that only the individual him or herself, in resoluteness, can achieve. The ultimate question of Being—of phusis—is lived with and explored, approached and re-asked, by each generation and each individual. To have an answer, however, is to eliminate the question. Rather, we must seek to live with the question. Being and Time ends, quite poignantly: “Does time itself manifest itself as the horizon of Being?”

Notes

2 Ibid., 9.
3 Ibid., 41.
5 Heidegger, Introduction to Metaphysics, 15.
6 Ibid., 17.
7 Guignon, A Companion to Heidegger’s Introduction to Metaphysics, 36.
11 Ibid., 65.
12 Aristotle, Metaphysics, 980a 21.
13 Ibid., 983a 2.
15 Ibid.
19 Ibid., IV 11.
21 Ibid., IV 13.
23 Ibid., 71.
25 Ibid., 75.
26 Ibid., 73.
27 Ibid., 75.
28 Ibid., 136.
29 Ibid., 143.
30 Ibid., 138.
31 Ibid., 167.
32 Ibid., 168.
33 Ibid., 185.
34 Ibid., 186.
37 Ibid., 67.
38 Ibid., 87.
39 Ibid., 70.
40 Ibid., 71.
41 Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 488.

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The Language of Il Duce’s Nation

Youth and War Rhetoric in Italian Futurism and Fascism

Cassandra Burns

Abstract

Italian Futurism and other early 20th century Italian intellectual movements contained the seeds of Fascism, demonstrated by Mussolini’s use of Futurist rhetoric throughout the entirety of his regime. This essay briefly summarizes Italian politics from unification in 1870 until the height of Mussolini’s regime in the 1920s, investigating the histories of Italian Futurism and Fascism to compare their respective glorification of youth and warfare in opposition to Italian liberalism. Research consists of primary sources, including writings by Mussolini, Prezzolini, and other Fascists and Futurists, as well as scholarly secondary sources. This thesis illustrates how the Futurists used youth and war rhetoric in order to advance a radical political agenda. On the other hand, while Mussolini initially used the same rhetoric to gain support among the Italian liberal regime’s radical opponents, he then pragmatically departed from the radical Futurist agenda using the same rhetoric to sustain power and inspire loyalty to himself and the nation.

Read this Article Online: http://wp.me/P6AtH6-B
Saint Cecilia

The Patron Saint of Music

Logan Wegmeyer & Samantha Miller

Abstract

This paper discusses the importance of Saint Cecilia in the realm of music, art, and literature. We also delve into the story behind Saint Cecilia’s life, as well as the issue of constructed sanctity due to conflicting facts regarding her life and untimely death. As the patron saint of music, Cecilia has shaped music in the Catholic church, but her influence has expanded to all other forms of art as well. Cecilia has significantly influenced Catholic churches around the world, including here in Cincinnati at the Saint Cecilia Parish in Oakley, which graciously contributed to this study. Other sources used in this paper include Thomas Connolly’s *Mourning Into Joy: Music, Raphael, and Saint Cecilia* and Prosper Guéranger’s *Life of Saint Cecilia: Virgin and Martyr*. We examine works of art including Raphael's *Ecstasy of Saint Cecilia* and Moderno’s *The Martyrdom of Saint Cecilia*. Overall, this paper aims to inform readers about the life of Saint Cecilia, the issue of constructed sanctity, Cecilia’s influence on the arts, and her impact on the Saint Cecilia Parish community.

Read this Article Online: http://wp.me/P6AtH6-E
On the Appropriation of Shelley’s “Ozymandias” in AMC’s *Breaking Bad*

Austin Gill

Abstract

As lead character Walter White increasingly transforms from relatable everyman to overzealous despot, AMC’s television show *Breaking Bad* uses Percy Bysshe Shelley’s “Ozymandias” both implicitly and explicitly. Partly functioning as a marketing technique to draw attention to the show, the appropriation also links *Breaking Bad* to the classic narrative Shelley’s poem remains rooted in—tyrannical hubris climaxing in devastation. Walter, especially from the beginning of season five to the show’s end, evokes the tyrannical aspirations of invincibility and arrogance of Ozymandias himself as represented in Shelley’s poem. Ultimately, the foolish vanity and overzealous aspirations of both Walter and Ozymandias result in a destructive path culminating in each figure’s demise.

Read this Article Online: http://wp.me/P6AtH6-t
Tris Prior, Selfless Female Hero:

How The *Divergent* Trilogy Satisfies Society’s Hunger for Positive Female Role Models

Kathleen Bosse

Abstract

The *Divergent* Trilogy by Veronica Roth has become a cultural phenomenon and evoked polarizing responses. In an effort to understand why, this essay pulls from scholarly research about dystopian fiction—specifically young adult dystopian fiction and the conversation concerning how women are portrayed or represented in these novels—along with the scholarly exploration of women as heroes. Using as a framework Lori Campbell’s theory of the “female hero” in modern fantasy literature, I argue that Tris has four important characteristics: one, she is a role model of true virtue and femininity; two, she is a believer in human dignity and equality; three, she is a teacher of the truth of selflessness; and finally, she is a beacon of hope. Understanding Tris’s role as a “female hero” reveals how the trilogy responds to a need in society and therefore has been a cultural success despite the polarized reactions to it. Society is hungry for examples of strong females who can serve as role models, and literature such as The *Divergent* Trilogy can provide readers of all ages with this fully-formed female character who is much more complex and desirable than the stereotypical female.

Read this Article Online: http://wp.me/P6AtH6-K
John Dewey and the Ashcan Artists:
Radical Voices in the Progressive Era

Shannon Price

Abstract

Although the disciplines of art and philosophy are often studied in the context of political history, rarely are the two combined as a lens through which to view political events. In the case of the Progressive Era, cultural and political events are so integrally tied that the work of artists, politicians, and philosophers can be aligned to provide a deeper understanding of the American public in a time of national transformation. Separately, John Dewey’s pragmatism and the Ashcan School of art are both significant cultural developments of the Progressive age. Examined together, the two go beyond the progressive reform impulse to question the very foundations of their respective disciplines, not only driving cultural changes but providing a radical reevaluation of American democracy. This essay explores links between Dewey’s pragmatism and the Ashcan artists in terms of politics, aesthetic philosophy, and cultural impact, emphasizing art history as an essential and often underutilized method for understanding political and philosophical developments.

Read this Article Online: http://wp.me/P6AtH6-M
Contributor Biographies

Madeline High (Class of 2016) is currently working towards B.A. in History with minors in Economics and Political Science. She is the community service coordinator of Xavier's Phi Alpha Delta Pre Law Chapter and is involved in other various community service activities. After graduation she hopes to pursue a degree in law. In her free time she enjoys biking, exploring Cincinnati, and spending time with friends. "The Reality of the American Dream: Finding The Good Life in the 21st Century" was sponsored by Dr. Roger Fortin, Professor of History.

Sarah Nimmo (Class of 2015) earned a B.A. in English with minors in Spanish and Electronic Media. As an undergraduate, she served as president of the Xavier Book Club and worked as an editor for the 2014 edition of XJUR. Sarah also spent two years tutoring at the Xavier Writing Center and presented as part of a panel on working with non-traditional students at the 2014 East Central Writing Centers Association Conference. “The ‘Right’ Way to Read: Book Clubs, Literary Culture, and Cormac McCarthy’s The Road” was part of her senior thesis project and was sponsored by Dr. Lisa Ottum, Assistant Professor of English.

Nick Lehan (Class of 2015) completed his B.S. in Biology, with minors in chemistry, gender & diversity studies, and peace studies. As someone who was heavily involved in Alternative Breaks, Companion Groups, and the Approach retreat during his time at Xavier, he was (and still is) an avid fan of the Center for Faith & Justice. These passions have led him to pursue a year of post-graduate service with the Jesuit Volunteer Corps in Tucson, AZ starting in August. Ultimately, he wishes for this opportunity to serve as a stepping stone towards his future career as a family pediatrician. His research with Kayla Smith was sponsored by Dr. Jennifer Robbins, Professor of Biology.
Kayla Smith (Class of 2015) earned a B.S. in biology, with minors in English, chemistry, and peace studies. She graduated cum laude and was a University Scholar. During her time at Xavier, Kayla worked for the Recreational Sports Department and was heavily involved with intramurals. She will be attending medical school, with plans of eventually working in pediatrics. Her research with Nick Lehan was sponsored by Dr. Jennifer Robbins, Professor of Biology.

Alexander Foxx (Class of 2015) graduated with a B.S.B.A. in Accounting and Economics and a minor in philosophy. He was involved in a number of business organizations, including Beta Alpha Psi and the Beech Acres Project through the Economics Club and Department. He will begin work as an Internal Auditor at Fifth Third Bank in Cincinnati this summer. “The Relationship Between Small Business Loans and Wages” was sponsored by Dr. Bree Lang, Assistant Professor of Economics.

After beginning his college career as a pilot studying Aerospace Engineering at Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University in Daytona Beach, FL, Michael Poussard (Class of 2016) began to consider the more profound questions of human existence. The realm of such questions, however, was not to be found in technical pursuits. After a year of philosophical studies as a seminarian at the Pontifical College Josephinum in Columbus, OH, Mr. Poussard decided to continue these studies at Xavier University. Between philosophical discussions with friends, he continues to indulge his passions for aviation and the arts, singing in the choir at Old St. Mary's Catholic Church in Cincinnati. He hopes to be a lifelong pursuer of truth and wisdom in all of life's situations. “The Greek Inception, Phusis, and Ultimate Temporality: Humanity as Time Itself” was sponsored by Dr. Tim Quinn, Professor of Philosophy.

Joseph Ruter (Class of 2016) is majoring in both the Honors Bachelor of Arts Program and Economics with minors in Business
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**Alex Kah** (Class of 2015) graduated from Xavier with a B.A. in Philosophy and minors in Psychology and Business. He is currently enrolled in an MBA program at Belmont University, and eventually he plans to earn an advanced degree in the humanities. In his free time, he sings and plays guitar in several local rock bands. “The Problem of Religious Dogmatism in Spinoza’s *Theological-Political Treatise*” was sponsored by Dr. Steven Frankel, Professor of Philosophy.

**Melissa Alexander** (Class of 2015) graduated with a B.A. in English, with a minor in history. While at Xavier, Melissa participated in history club as well as the Board of Undergraduate Studies. This fall she will enter the M.A. program in history at the University of Cincinnati. Melissa is also an active living historian, hearth cook, and member of the Jane Austen Society of North America. She will be presenting her paper, "A Very Fine Dish: Culinary Class Distinctions in Jane Austen's England" at the JASNA Annual General Meeting in Louisville this October. "Women of Feeling: Understanding Austen's Marginalized Heroines" was sponsored by Dr. Lisa Ottum, Assistant Professor of English.

**Cassandra Burns** (Class of 2015) earned a B.A. in the Philosophy, Politics, and the Public honors program and history. As a student, she was a part of the Alpha Sigma Nu Jesuit honors fraternity and worked as a tutor in Italian, history, and philosophy for the Learning Assistance Center. Starting in August 2015, Cassandra will attend Vanderbilt University Law School to pursue a legal degree. “Youth
and War Rhetoric in Italian Futurism and Fascism” was sponsored by Dr. Sandy Korros, Professor of History.

Logan Wegmeyer (Class of 2015) was a History major and Environmental Studies minor at Xavier University. He works for the National Park Service as a GS-05 Park Ranger at Mount Rainier National Park. “Saint Cecilia: The Story of the Patron Saint of Music” was sponsored by Dr. Marita von Weissenberg, Assistant Professor of History.

Samantha Miller (Class of 2016) is a History major, Secondary Education minor, and Gender and Diversity Studies minor at Xavier. She is interning this summer as a Pathways Intern at the William Howard Taft National Historical Site. She tutors students at Hillcrest Training School and she volunteers at STAF, a local animal shelter. “Saint Cecilia: The Story of the Patron Saint of Music” was sponsored by Dr. Marita von Weissenberg, Assistant Professor of History.

Austin Gill (Class of 2015) earned a B.A. in English with minors in sociology and writing. As his fascination with English writing increased, Austin became a writer and editor at the Xavier Newswire and a contributor to the Xavier Athenaeum from which he received the 2015 Athenaeum Award. He plans to further develop his command of the English language and interest in media-related legislation by pursuing a J.D. degree. “On the Appropriation of Percy Bysshe Shelley’s ‘Ozymandias’ in AMC’s Breaking Bad” was presented at Butler University’s Undergraduate Research Conference 2015 and was sponsored by Dr. Niamh O’Leary, Assistant Professor of English.

Kathleen Bosse (Class of 2015) graduated with a B.A. in English and minors in Business, Theology, and Music. While at Xavier, she was a University Scholar and was involved in campus ministry and the
Xavier choirs. She dreams of pursuing further education while working in collegiate or parish ministry. Kathleen’s passions are reading and writing, singing and performing, learning and sharing, crafting and organizing, and most of all, spending time with her family and friends. “Tris Prior, Selfless Female Hero: How The Protagonist of The Divergent Trilogy Satisfies Society’s Hunger for Positive Female Role Models” was sponsored by Dr. Lisa Ottum, Assistant Professor of English.

Shannon Price (Class of 2017) is a double major in the Philosophy, Politics, and the Public program (PPP) and art, with a concentration in art history. She is a member and captain of the Xavier Mock Trial team and hopes to attend law school after graduation. In her free time, Shannon enjoys painting, reading, and playing basketball. "John Dewey and the Ashcan Artists: Radical Voices in the Progressive Era" was sponsored by Dr. John Fairfield, Professor of History.