

Scientia et Humanitas: A Journal of Student Research

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Submission guidelines

Original unpublished undergraduate and graduate research from the natural and social sciences and from the humanities is now being accepted for the 2016 issue of *Scientia et Humanitas* from MTSU students and recent graduates either by themselves or in conjunction with a faculty mentor.

Articles should have approximately 10 to 30 typed, double-spaced pages and may include revisions of papers presented for classes, conferences, Scholars Week, the Social Science Symposium, or Honors theses. Papers should include a brief abstract of no more than 250 words stating the purpose, methods, results, and conclusion.

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Preface

An undertaking on the order of a peer- and faculty-reviewed journal always results from a team effort. *Scientia et Humanitas*, the academic journal of student research at Middle Tennessee State University, is no exception. A team of student authors, peer reviewers, copyeditors, and administrators collaborated to produce the volume you hold in your hands. We are proud of this collective effort not only because it represents some of the finest scholarship MTSU students have produced in academic year 2014-2015. This edition of *Scientia* only came together because each person contributed her/his diligent work toward a combined periodical that we can be especially pleased to present to the faculty and student body of this institution.

Our student writers have achieved an important distinction as published authors in a journal that follows the same rigorous process as other more notable journals in the various disciplines: calls for papers, submissions, peer review, revision, faculty review, copyediting, awards, layout, and eventual publication. This year, our staff tried hard to include academic fields heretofore underrepresented in the journal, hence the variety of articles, ranging from Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* to Carl Jung to Tay-Sachs disease. Each of the individual author's names accompanies her/his essay. We salute these scholars for their outstanding writing.

Two essays have merited special mention as winners of the Dean's Distinguished Essay designation. Joseph Meyer's excellent essay "Ethnic Conflict in the Former Soviet Union: Ethnic Demography and Its Influence on Conflict Behavior" is excerpted from a longer piece he wrote as an undergraduate student. His level of sophisticated analysis shows tremendous scholarly acumen. I am honored to present my light-hearted piece "Oh, Terrible, Windy Words': Witty Wordplay in Jonson's *Poetaster*," in which I attempt to add "linguist" to the many distinctions earned by English playwright Ben Jonson.

The team who deserves the most credit for this journal is our staff. Their work soliciting submissions, reading essays, responding with cogent comments, and poring over sentences for grammatical accuracy is nothing short of exemplary. This year's *Scientia* staff includes the following hard-working individuals: Arlo Hall, Katherine Estes, Aaron Shapiro, Dennis Wise, Margaret Johnson, Rachel Donegan, Jacquelyn Hayek, Joseph Mosqueda, Chelsea Harmon, Courtney Wright, and Nausheen Qureshi.

A team of administrative staff leads this journal. Dr. Philip E. Phillips, associate dean of the Honors College and professor of English, gives estimable oversight to *Scientia*, ably assisted by Marsha Powers, coordinator of special projects and publications for the Honors College. The faculty reviewers for this volume include Dr. Vile, Dr. Phillips, Dr. Sieg, Dr. Gebert, and Dr. Shi. We wish to thank them for their meticulous reading of these submissions.

Finally, I would like to thank personally our managing editor, Morgan Hanson. She has kept this journal on schedule, communicating with authors and reviewers consistently

throughout the process. As well, she is responsible for designing the look of the journal's pages. She is a spirited, enthusiastic colleague and friend.

I have thoroughly enjoyed serving on the *Scientia* staff for the past two years. As I look back on my time in graduate school at Middle Tennessee State University, many fond memories are attached to this journal. With the present team in place, the future of *Scientia et Humanitas* looks very promising.

Warm regards,

Clint Bryan

Editor in chief

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Ethnic Conflict in the Former Soviet Union: Ethnic Demography and Its Influence on Conflict Behavior

Joseph Meyer

Deans' Distinguished Essay Award undergraduate recipient

Abstract

With the end of the Cold War, conflict in the international system increasingly manifested within states rather than among them. The collapse of the Soviet Union led to the creation of 15 independent states, many with diminished state power and simmering inter-ethnic tensions. Scholarly research in the post-Cold War era has focused on the determinants of ethnic conflict, including ethnic demography. In this study, I examine the relationship among three measures of ethnic demography—ethnic fractionalization, polarization, and dominance—and conflict behavior in states of the former Soviet Union. Results illustrated a negative relationship between fractionalization and polarization and conflict behavior, representing a break from traditional theory regarding demographics and ethnic conflict. As such, I advocate a constructivist approach to ethnic conflict, focusing on the fluid nature of ethnic identity. As ethnic identity changes over time, it may exacerbate or mitigate the chances of ethnic conflict, regardless of what demographic indicators may be present. This demonstrates a need to expand our understanding of how identities and narratives change over time.

Author's Note: This version of the essay is excerpted from a longer version, condensed to meet the page-length requirements of Scientia et Humanitas. A case study was eliminated to suit this journal's needs.

I. Introduction

The fall of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in December 1991 was a shock to the world. It was pathial-like the social state of the World. to the world. It was unthinkable that one of the world's superpowers would collapse so peacefully. The USSR was a state of arbitrary construction, built out of the ashes of the once mighty Russian Empire. Sheer force kept the USSR's many ethnic groups under control. When it collapsed in 1991, 15 new states were born, each with its own set of problems, and many with large minority populations of Russians. Many of the new states struggled to create stability, leading to civil disorder and conflict between ethnic and political forces vying for control.

During the Cold War, ethnic conflicts were seen through the lens of the great ideological war between the free world led by the United States, and the Soviet bloc. The United States and Soviet Union took sides in civil wars not because they were interested in ethnic fairness or homogeneity, but because the Cold War was a zero sum game. By arming one ethnic group against another, the superpowers could gain an ally in the effort to gain the upper hand in what seemed like a never-ending struggle for global domination. The end of the Cold War forced reconsideration of this paradigm, prompting scholars to search for new explanations of ethnic conflict.

With the fall of the Soviet Union, many ethnic disputes held in check by Moscow soon began to escalate, with some developing into all-out civil war. Spanning from a few months to several years, most of the violence was ended in the late 1990s, but the conflicts have not been resolved. These "frozen" conflicts continue to plague the former Soviet Union, occasionally erupting into interstate war, such as the 2008 August War between Russia and Georgia. As the international community turns its attention to the rising tide of intrastate conflict, it is important for us to understand the factors that lead ethnic disputes to cascade from political bickering to violent conflict, especially as ethnic conflicts begin to cross borders leading to interstate conflict.

The study of ethnic conflict is a relatively new phenomenon in international relations. The current theoretical framework is far from complete, with many gaps in the theory related to factors leading to both the onset and resolution of ethnic conflict. This study examines the impact of ethnic demography on the likelihood of ethnic conflict by exploring the relationship among ethnic fractionalization, polarization, and dominance-and-conflict behavior in the states of the former Soviet Union.

II. The Study of Ethnic Demography and Conflict

Interest in the study of ethnic conflict rapidly increased after the end of the Cold War. During the Cold War, the importance of ethnic conflict was downplayed because most conflict was subsumed in the bipolar paradigm of the Cold War world. With the fall of the USSR and the rise of ethnic tensions in regions previously locked in place by ideology, researchers looked to develop systematic explanations for the origins of ethnic divisions and conflict. Although the analogy of a "lid" coming off has been used to describe the outbreak

of ethnic conflict, it is largely inadequate as it does not explain why conflict has occurred among some ethnic groups but not among others (Brown, 1993, 6).

Three Main Lenses of Ethnic Conflict

There are three broad, conceptual paradigms that seek to explain ethnic conflict, which I will examine as they pertain to the former Soviet Union. The first and most basic of the conceptual paradigms is primordialism, which states that ethnic conflicts occur because of ancient group identity pertaining to biological and geographic factors (Horowitz, 57, 1985). Primordialism holds that the concept of kinship will inevitably create cleavages in complex societies, leading to competition between ethnic groups. Primordialism asserts that ethnic identity is static and does not change over time. Many researchers have rejected this view in the post-Cold War era following the rise of constructivism (Lake & Rothchild, 1996, 41-42). Some have suggested that the peace Europe has experienced as a result of the European Union supports the idea that ethnic tensions can be eased over time and are not innate aspects of human nature.

The next concept used to explain ethnic conflict is instrumentalism, which views the ethnic group as a means to an end. Groups are mobilized to achieve political goals other than simple ethnic dominance. Proponents of this view point out that simple ethnic differences are not enough to constitute conditions for war and that other factors must be present in the development of violent conflict. (Smith, 2003, 10-11) It has been noted that wars fought over power and resources are portrayed as ethnic conflicts because of the utility of mobilizing ethnic groups on opposing sides of the conflict (Tishkov, 1997, 200-206).

The third major view of ethnic conflict comes from constructivism. This theory holds that ethnic conflicts may result from a combination of constructed traditions and identities as well as instrumental factors cited by Tishkov. Proponents of this view cite the Rwandan Genocide as an example, noting that Hutu-Tutsi animosities were created during the Belgian colonial period rather than being inherent to the ethnic groups (Mamdani, 76-103, 2003).

Other researchers have focused on the security concerns of ethnic groups in the post-Cold War world. After the fall of the colonial powers in the 1960s and 1970s as well as the collapse of the Cold War paradigm in the late 1980s, many sovereign authorities became too weak to prevent conflict between ethnic groups. Thus, ethnic groups began preparing their own security strategies creating an escalation dynamic between neighboring ethnic groups. Additionally, the breakup or weakening of states may create a situation that favors an offensive strategy rather than defensive. That is, ethnic groups may perceive an immediate threat to their continued existence and lash out at neighboring groups to secure their position (Brown, 1993, 6-8).

While no single theory dominates the field, recent studies have begun to take a more constructivist stance on ethnic conflict. Modern research seeks to explain determinant factors in ethnic conflict by examining the environment in which the conflict occurred. The study of the relationship between ethnic identity and conflict has shifted to view

interaction as key, rather than the concept of the group. Most researchers view "groupness" as a "contextually fluctuating conceptual variable" (Brubaker, 2004, 38). This perspective incorporates many factors from both the instrumental and constructive paradigms of ethnic conflict, recognizing that patterns of ethnic conflict can fluctuate based on a number of variables, rather than simply focusing on the "ancient hatreds" emphasized by primordialism (Coakley, 265–268, 2009).

In recent years, efforts have been made to combine various schools of thought on ethnic conflict, incorporating models of both ethnic diversity and power relations to explain the outbreak of violence. This approach is sensitive to both instrumental political factors as well as socially constructed concepts, such as historical narratives. In the publication associated with one of the datasets used in this study, Cederman, Wimmer, and Min conclude that ethnic rebellion against the state is a function ethnic representation and inclusion in the political process, ethnic mobilization capacity, and previous history with conflict (Cederman, Wimmer, & Min, 2010, 2). Measures of ethnic demography seek to capture the distribution of power among ethnic groups by examining the impact of numerical parity and superiority.

Research on Fractionalization, Polarization, and Dominance

A significant amount of research focuses on the dynamic effects of demographics on conflict and state development. Recognizing that the conceptual foundations do not explain every instance of ethnic conflict, researchers have collected empirical evidence in a search for relationships between specific variables and the outbreak and course of ethnic conflict.

The inspiration for this study comes from the work Stefano Costalli and Francesco Niccolo Moro, who examined the effects of ethnicity on the course of the Bosnian Civil War. Using disaggregated data from each municipality in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the researchers performed a quantitative analysis, comparing indices of ethnic fractionalization, polarization, and dominance to the number of casualties in each municipality. Their research found that the ethnic distribution of the population had a major impact on the severity of violence. Particularly, increased ethnic polarization was connected to more intense violence at the outset of conflict. The authors emphasized the importance of spatial and temporal analysis in discovering the dynamic effects of ethnic demography on the development of violent conflict. They found that the impact of ethnic demography on conflict behavior changes over the course of a conflict. Violence was more intense upon the onset of conflict in fractionalized and polarized regions. However the impact on ethnic demography on the nature of conflict decreased as the conflict continued. Additionally, they concluded that ethnic groups seek to gain both internal homogenization and external consolidation (to constitute larger areas that are more easily defensible), supporting the focus on security concerns emphasized by Brown (Costalli & Moro, 2012, 801-815).

The researchers Montalvo and Reynal-Querol examine the explanatory power of polarization and fractionalization in the context of economic development (2003). Their study indicates that for low values of religious polarization, the relationship with the religious fragmentation index is positive and nearly linear; conversely when polarization

values were high, they found that the relationship with the fragmentation index was near zero (2003, 203). Their research showed that polarization, rather than fragmentation, has a noticeable negative effect on economic development (measured through GDP per capita and GDP growth). These findings emphasize the importance of looking at several different measures of ethnic diversity to further illuminate the true effect of diversity on a particular dependent variable.

In 2005, Montalvo and Reynal-Querol address the explanatory power of fractionalization and polarization, noting that, "even though ethnic fractionalization seems to be a powerful explanatory variable for economic growth, it is not significant in the explanation of civil wars and other kinds of conflicts" (2005, 798). Polarization indices are more sensitive to the distribution of power in a society based on ethnic demography, particularly pertaining to concept of majority rule (2005, 798). The authors suggest a stronger correlation between polarization and conflict than fractionalization and conflict, with 9 of the 10 most polarized countries in their study experiencing civil war, while only 4 of the 10 most fractionalized countries experienced civil war (2005, 802).

My study features both fractionalization and polarization as independent variables. The inclusion of both measures of ethnic demography serve to illuminate the nuanced effects of population distribution on ethnic conflict in the former Soviet Union. Some states in the region have high levels of polarization and fractionalization, while others are more homogenous. The use of both variables also adds to the explanatory power of the methods that I have chosen by measuring both local level and more national levels of rebellion.

Ethnic dominance (asymmetry), the presence of a numerically dominant ethnic group and one or more small minorities with limited numbers and access to resources, is the final measure of ethnic diversity in my study (Costalli & Moro, 2012, 804). Previous research has found that ethnic dominance can reduce the occurrence and cost of ethnic violence due to a factor of deterrence; conflict would be too costly for the weaker party to attack the dominant party (Welch, 1998, 7). Costalli and Moro find support for the deterrence argument in their study, observing that ethnic conflict is low in regions of dominance because "there is no real opportunity" for smaller groups to act, as they cannot "reasonably expect to subvert the status quo" (Costalli & Moro, 2012, 804). The work of Costalli and Moro, which examined the outbreak and severity of violence in Bosnian War on a province-to-province basis, will serve as a model for my project. The former Soviet Union will parallel Bosnia and Herzegovina, with each of the 14 republics mirroring the province-to-province measurement model in the Costalli-Moro study.

Because researchers have only begun to focus on this type of conflict since the end of the Cold War, much work remains to be done regarding the origins of ethnic conflict. Clearly there is much disagreement about which measure of ethnic demography is most related to the outbreak of ethnic conflict. These differences suggest that many situational factors may play a role in the mobilization of ethnic groups for war. The research up to this point in time has reflected this, focusing primarily on ethnic mobilization and institutions. Much more research needs to be done in the field of constructed factors such as ethnic identity and

threat perception in order to further develop our understanding of the escalation of ethnic tension into violent conflict.

III. Research Design

The objective of this project is to develop our understanding of the demographic factors that contribute to the outbreak of ethnic conflict. The cases examined in the study are 14 of the states that comprised the former Soviet Union from 1992 to 2002. Russia has been excluded due to its size and varying levels of ethnic diversity, which make it difficult to measure ethnic demography on a national level. Additionally, a dummy control variable indicating whether or not a country shares a land boundary with Russia is included in the multivariate analysis, eliminating Russia from possible cases. My study will examine likelihood of violence for 27 minority ethnic groups across 14 cases comprise the former Soviet Union for the years 1992-2002.

The challenge of ethnic conflict is of particular concern to the multi-ethnic states of this region, where ethnic conflicts were suppressed for decades by the Soviet Union. As these governments continue the state- and nation-building process, they will confront ethnic tensions that challenge the integrity of the state and the stability of the region as a whole. Each of these states features varying populations and ethnic makeup, creating sufficient demographic variation needed to examine the relationship between ethnic demography and conflict behavior.

Specifically, my study focuses on the relationship between ethnic fractionalization, ethnic polarization, and ethnic dominance. Ethnic fractionalization represents the probability that two randomly selected people in a country will not belong to the same ethnic group (Alesina et al., 2003, 158). Ethnic polarization represents that probability that two individuals belong to different groups when one of them belongs to group x have weight equal to the relative size of the group in the given territory (Costalli & Moro, 2012, 803). Ethnic dominance represents a situation in which at least 75% of the population of a country belongs to a particular ethnic group or when the largest group includes at least 70% of the population and the second largest group does not exceed 20% (Costalli & Moro, 2012, 804). Ethnic conflict, as defined by Minorities at Risk, shall be considered any open hostility between minority ethnic groups, as well as any violent act against the internationally recognized government of the country in question (Minorities at Risk Project, 2007, 19-21).

Hypotheses

Considering previous literature on the subject, both in the global perspective as well as research specific to the former Soviet Union, I have developed the following hypotheses for the project:

H1: Increased ethnic fractionalization will result in increased likelihood of communal violence and decreased likelihood of rebellion.

H2: Increased ethnic polarization will result in increased likelihood of communal conflict and rebellion.

H3: The presence of ethnic dominance within a country will result in decreased likelihood of communal conflict and rebellion.

Discussion of the Variables

The measures of ethnic fractionalization, polarization, and dominance derive from the Ethnic Power Relations Dataset compiled by Cederman, Min, and Wimmer (2009). While polarization and dominance data will be derived from the entire population of the country, fractionalization data is calculated only from politically relevant ethnic groups as determined by Cederman et al. The fractionalization and polarization indices reach higher levels as the value of the index nears 1.00.

Data on conflict is compiled from the Minorities at Risk Project variables measuring rebellion (REB) and annual communal conflict (COMCO) for each ethnic group within a state defined as "at risk" by the Minorities at Risk Project. The Minorities at Risk project defines "At-Risk Minorities" as an "ethnopolitical non-state communal group that collectively suffers, or benefits from, systematic discriminatory treatments vis-à-vis other groups in a society and/or collectively mobilizes in defense or promotion of its self-defined interests" (2007, 5).

In this instance, it was not useful to combine the two conflict variables into a unified violence variable. The two variables measure different types of violence, and theory suggests that ethnic demography may have a different effect on each type of violence. Thus, violence is disaggregated for all three hypotheses. Zurcher suggests that fractionalization can increase communal conflict among local ethnic minorities, but serves to reduce rebellion against the government because of the difficulty associated with amassing enough power to achieve victory in a highly fractionalized environment (2007, 224).

The Minorities at Risk variables have notable limitations in regards to my study. Communal conflict data for 2000-2002 is missing in all cases. Additionally, the occurrence of conflict itself is quite rare, meaning that the MAR dataset contains numerous "0" values across all cases. This has resulted in relatively low mean communal conflict and rebellion scores for the dataset, which can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Minorities at Risk Conflict Behavior Coding

Code	Communal Conflict (COMCO)	Rebellion (REB)
0	None manifest	None reported
1	Acts of harrassment	Political banditry
2	Political agitation	Campaigns of terrorism

3	Sporadic violent attacks	Local rebellion		
4	Anti-group demonstrations	Small-scale guerilla activity		
5	Communal rioting	Intermediate guerilla activity		
6	Communal warfare	Large-scale guerilla activity		
7	N/A	Protracted civil war		
99	No basis for judgment	No basis for judgment		

The Minorities at Risk variables used in this study are coded as for each group annually.

Control Variables

Several control variables are included in the analysis in order to identify possible alternative explanations of the outbreak of ethnic violence. A dummy variable was created for Russian border, with a value of 1 indicating that the state in question shares a border with the Russian Federation. This variable was included in order to identify the impact of the powerful influence of the Russian Federation in post-Soviet space. Of the six states with a population of at least 500,000 expatriate Russians; all but Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan share a border with Russia. Of these six, the three states with the largest expatriate Russian population (viz., Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus) all share long borders with Russia. Thus, the inclusion of the Russian Border variable serves to gauge some of the impact of the presence of a large population of Russians.

Additionally, a lagged GDP per capita variable was included using World Bank Data. Recent literature has suggested a link between conflict and GDP (Fearon & Laitin, 2003, 86). It should be noted that the World Bank data is country-wide and is not spatially disaggregated to identify poorer regions within each country. However, the GDP per capita still serves as an effective control variable in that it identifies a potential factor that could exacerbate conflict resulting from the struggle for limited capital and resources.

Descriptive Statistics

Initial analysis of the data shows negligible change over time in all three demographic variables, meaning that the primary comparison in my study will be case-to-case, rather than single case across time. However, both violence variables from Minorities at Risk show notable change over time. Both the rebellion and communal conflict variables showed minimums of 0 for each case. The maximum value of rebellion across the entire former Soviet Union was 7, while the maximum value of communal conflict was 5. For all cases, the mean rebellion value was .359 while the mean for communal conflict was .354.

The mean fractionalization index across all cases was .389, a relatively low level of ethnic fractionalization, with a standard deviation of .155. The minimum value for fractionalization was Armenia, at .004, indicating the unique homogeneity of Armenian society. The maximum fractionalization value was Kazakhstan, at .622. The mean polarization index across all cases was notably higher, at .565 with a standard deviation of .224. The minimum polarization value was that of Armenia as well, with .070. The maximum value for polarization was Latvia, at .856. Of the 14 former Soviet republics examined, ethnic dominance was present

in 8 states. Armenia again showed the highest level of ethnic dominance, with over 97% of the population being ethnic Armenian. All descriptive statistics can be seen in Appendix I.

IV. Multivariate Analysis

Empirical analysis illustrates that a relationship exists between ethnic demography and the likelihood of violence. Analysis showed statistically significant relationships between the independent and dependent variables except in the case of rebellion and ethnic dominance.

Fractionalization

Table 2: Effect of Fractionalization on the Probability of Violence in Former Soviet States, 1992-2002

Simulated probabilities generated using logistic regression post estimation command CLARIFY (Tomz, Wittenburg, & King, 2003). Dr. Karen Petersen assisted with the estimation of simulated probabilities.

	Max Fractionalization, Max GDP, No Russian Border	1	Minimum Fractionalization, Minimum GDP, Russian Border	
Simulated Probabilty of Rebellion	0	.10	.99	
Simulated Probability of Communal Conflict	.03	.43	.91	

A very strong negative relationship existed between fractionalization and rebellion; when fractionalization values reached their maximum, likelihood of rebellion dropped to a 0% chance. Rebellion was least likely in situations in which fractionalization was at its maximum, states did not border the Russian Federation, and lagged GDP per capita was at its maximum. These results provides evidence in support of Zurcher's analysis of ethnic conflict in the former Soviet Union, which focuses on the difficulty of establishing a viable rebel movement in a highly fractionalized society (Zurcher, 2007).

Interestingly, fractionalization is also negatively correlated with communal conflict. Some theorists have suggested fractionalized societies will experience more conflict due to increased contact and friction among multiple ethnic groups (Humphreys & Weinstein, 2006). However, others have noted that increased fractionalization makes the prospect of mobilizing along ethnic lines much more difficult (Zurcher, 2007). The data illustrate that communal conflict was least likely, with a probability of about 3%, when fractionalization was at its maximum, the state did not border the Russian Federation, and lagged GDP per capita was at its maximum. In the evaluation hypothesis 1, results show a negative relationship between fractionalization and violence, meaning that I cannot completely reject the null hypothesis. Hypothesis H1 was partially supported by the data.

Polarization

Table 3: Effect of Polarization on the Probability of Violence in Former Soviet States, 1992-2002

	Max Polarization, Max GDP, No Russian Border	Mean Polarization, Minimum Mean GDP, No Polarization, Russian Border Minimum GDP, Russian Border	
Simulated Probability of Rebellion	0	.08	.99
Simulated Probability of Communal Conflict	.05	.44	.88

Much like fractionalization, polarization showed a strong negative correlation with violence. This finding is contrary to the existing body of theory regarding ethnic conflict. Traditionally, polarization has been viewed as one of the soundest indicators of likely ethnic conflict (Montalvo & Reynal-Querol, 2005, 2007). Polarized societies are considered more prone to conflict because opposing forces have a clearly defined opponent in struggle for power and resources. High levels of polarization indicate that ethnic groups within a society are larger and more capable of mobilizing sufficient force to engage in systematic violence.

In the former Soviet Union, of the top five most polarized states, only Moldova (the fifth), experienced major violent conflict during the time period of this study. The other highly polarized states (viz., Latvia, Kazakhstan, Estonia, and Kyrgyzstan) all had little to no violence whatsoever. Interestingly, Latvia, Kazakhstan, and Estonia share borders with Russia and have large populations of expatriate Russians. Results show that bordering Russia increases the probability of violence, but in these cases, no violence occurred. Again, I cannot reject the null hypothesis in this situation.

Violence was least likely, at a probability of 0%, when polarization values reached maximum, states did not border Russia, and lagged GDP per capita reached its maximum.

Dominance

Table 4: Effect of Dominance on the Probability of Violence in Former Soviet States, 1992-2002

	Max Dominance, Max GDP, No Russian Border	Mean Dominance,Minimum DominaMean GDP, NoMinimum GDP,Russian BorderRussian Border			
Simulated Probability of Rebellion	.		Not significant		
Simulated Probability of Communal Conflict	.73	.43	.06		

For the independent variable dominance, results were statistically significant only for the dependent variable communal conflict. In this case, dominance was positively correlated with violence, meaning that I cannot reject the null hypothesis. Violence was most likely when dominance was present, the state bordered the Russian Federation, and lagged GDP per capita was at its minimum.

It is important to note that the type of violence correlated with dominance was communal conflict, rather than rebellion. This conforms to the bulk of theoretical work on ethnic conflicts, which indicates that conflict is more likely to occur in situations in which an ethnic group has the potential to achieve dominance. Ethnic groups perform a cost-benefit analysis when planning political or military actions. If strong dominance is already present, a minority group may reason that rebellion is too risky and has little chance of success.

V. Alternative Explanations

The results of the multivariate analysis in this study do not conform to the existing body of research regarding ethnic demography and the outbreak of violence. Several factors may contribute to this departure from expected results, some of which are discussed below.

States Bordering the Russian Federation with Large Russian Populations

In the former Soviet Union, several of the most polarized societies involve polarization between the ethnic majority and a Russian expatriate minority. This is the case with Estonia, Latvia, Belarus, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. Despite a long history of colonization at the hands of the Russian center, whether during the imperial era or the Soviet Union, animosity between ethnic Russians and the local populations has remained low. My statistical analysis showed that ethnic violence was most likely in states that share a border with Russia; however, these states did not feature violence. Relations between Russians and local ethnic groups in these states can be broken into two groups. The first group includes states in which the majority ethnic group developed an inclusive national identity that counteracted animosity between the majority and Russian populations. The second group involves states in which the dominant ethnic group is historically or culturally tied to Russia in some way. The Baltic States belong to the first group and are examined in more detail below, followed by the East Slavic states and Kazakhstan, which belong to the second group.

The Baltic States

The Baltic States of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia have achieved domestic stability and economic success in the post-Soviet era. Of these states, Latvia and Estonia have large populations of Russians who make up approximately 25% of the total population. Despite a history of animosity between Russians and the Baltic ethnic groups, including the Soviet occupation of these territories prior to World War II, little to no violence has occurred between groups since the fall of the Soviet Union. Latvia experienced low levels of communal conflict in the late 1990's while Estonia experienced no measurable violence during the time period of this study. Disputes have arisen with the Russian Federation regarding Baltic history during the Soviet era and the status of the Russian language in the Baltic countries, but neither of these has escalated into widespread violence.

Latvia and Estonia worked to create democratic institutions after the fall of the Soviet Union, establishing market economies and quickly taking measures to integrate with Europe. As noted by Clemens (2010), the Baltic States worked to construct a civic national identity after the fall of the USSR that allowed for the incorporation of the large Russian expatriate populations into the political process. The establishment of inclusive political institutions supported by civic national identities allowed the Baltic States to alleviate ethnic tensions early on, paving the way for a peaceful era of development after the fall of the USSR.

The East Slavic States & Kazakhstan

The states of Belarus, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan all retained large Russian populations after the fall of the Soviet Union. Unlike the Baltic States, these three states share much in common with Russia in addition to have large Russian populations. Russian is an official language in both Belarus and Kazakhstan, and in Ukraine over half of the population is fluent in Russian. The Ukrainian and Belarusian languages are of the East Slavic language group with Russian, and the languages bear many similarities. Kazakh, although a Turkic language, is written in Cyrillic shared by Russian and the other East Slavic languages.

Much like the Baltic States, the Belarusians, Ukrainians, and Kazakhs all fell under Russian dominance during the imperial period and remained so until the fall of the Soviet Union. However, the interaction between Russians and the local population in these countries took a slightly different course. Russians share much more in common with Belarusians and Ukrainians than any other groups in the former USSR. These cultural groups developed from a common ancestor, Kievan Rus, and often intermingled throughout the history of the Eastern Slavic peoples. A shared script, Cyrillic, as well as the shared faith of Orthodox Christianity have created a lasting bond between the cultures. Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian remain mutually intelligible languages, allowing for increased inter-cultural linkages not possible between groups of different languages.

Similarly, the Russian and Kazakh cultures have blended due to a long history of peaceful contact. Thousands of Russians migrated to Kazakhstan during the imperial era. During the Soviet period, over 40% of the population of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic was ethnically Russian. After the fall of the USSR, many Russians in Kazakhstan returned to Russia to seek economic opportunities, but a significant Russian minority remained. The exodus of large amounts of Russians after the fall of the USSR eased tensions between Russians and Kazakhs, as Kazakhs no longer feared Russian pre-eminence in politics (Smagulova, 2006, 306). Despite contestation over language policies and perceived economic discrimination during the early years of Kazakh independence, relations between Russians and Kazakhs have remained peaceful. Similarly to the East Slavic republics, there is much language blending in Kazakhstan. Many Kazakhs are fluent in Russian and many government agencies and businesses continue to use Russian in day-to-day affairs. The high amount of contact between Russian and Kazakh language in culture has resulted in a mutually benign attitude regarding ethnic affairs in the post-Soviet era (Smagulova, 2006, 311).

States Bordering the Russian Federation Without Large Russian Populations

The probability analysis in this study indicated that conflict is more likely in states that share a border with the Russian Federation. However, the group of states I have just examined all exhibited minimal conflict during the period of the study. What, then, is driving the results of the statistical analysis? Two states bordering Russia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, experienced severe violence during the time period of this study in both communal conflict and rebellion. In fact, both states showed the maximum values for both variables across all cases; Georgia reached a communal conflict level of 5 and a rebellion level of 7, while Azerbaijan reached a communal conflict level of 3 and a rebellion level of 7.

Georgia, which suffered from a civil war from 1992-1994 and simmering ethnic tensions between the separatist Abkhazians and the Georgian government for the remainder of the decade, showed medium levels of fractionalization and polarization (Jibladze, 2007, 45-48). This high level of violence with relatively unspectacular levels of fractionalization mirrors the results of the Costalli-Moro study, which found "the most violence areas show medium levels of fractionalization...once the war has started, violence tends to be particularly harsh where relatively large groups face each other in a situation of power parity" (2012, 810). Russia actively supported Abkhazian separatists in the conflict, escalating the conflict and assuring de facto Abkhazian independence from Georgia.

In Azerbaijan, ethnic conflict developed as a result of a large exclave of ethnic Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh declaring their intention to join their region with Armenia during the fall of the Soviet Union. The internal conflict soon developed into an inter-state war as the Soviet Union crumbled, with Armenia supporting separatist Nagorno-Karabakh against the Azerbaijani government. Russia supported both sides at various times during the conflict, maintaining the old Soviet strategy of "divide and rule." After six years of fighting from 1988-1994, a Russian-brokered peace agreement was signed, giving Nagorno-Karabakh de facto independence from Azerbaijan (Melander, 2001, 48-53). Azerbaijan, as a very homogeneous state, showed very low levels of fractionalization and polarization. However, with the largest minority, Armenians, all grouped in one region near the border with Armenia, conflict became much more likely. The Nagorno-Karabakhans had a much higher chance of success in achieving their political goals through violence than groups in a more fractionalized society might have.

In both Georgia and Azerbaijan, minority ethnic groups, although not large enough to create a polarized situation in the society, benefited from advantageous geography and were thus able to engage in violence with lower risk to themselves. For the Abkhazians and Armenians, close proximity to neighboring allies was a major factory in the cost-benefit analysis in determining which course of action to take in achieving their political goals.

States Not Bordering the Russian Federation

Of the seven former Soviet republic not bordering the Russian Federation, only Moldova and Tajikistan experienced major ethnic conflict. Moldova, nestled between Ukraine and Romania, experienced significant violent conflict in the Transnistrian War

of 1992 and lingering clashes for the next 5 years, reaching a maximum average of 4 in the Minorities at Risk rebellion variable. Moldova showed a medium fractionalization score of .514, again illustrating a connection between violence and low to medium levels of fractionalization. The type of violence in Moldova was exclusively classified as rebellion by MAR. Minorities at Risk data indicated no communal conflict between ethnic groups in Moldova. This reflects the relative geographic separation of ethnic groups within Moldova. The data used in this study for conflict does not capture the nuances of the ethnic situation in Moldova because it is aggregated at the national level. While Moldova as a whole has a majority of 70% Moldovan ethnicity, the separatist Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic (Transnistria) has a population of 32% Moldovans, 30% Russians, and 28.8% Ukrainians. Transnistria is in the extreme east of Moldova, bordering Ukraine. It is separated from the rest of Moldova by the Dniester River. In this instance, we can again see the pattern of ethnic separatist entities benefiting from geography in their quest to achieve political goals. Similarly to Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh, Transnistria benefited from a sympathetic neighboring power (Ukraine), and was also unofficially supported by the Russian 14th Army (Ozhiganov, 1997, 197). Despite not sharing a border with Russia, Moldova was host to a large contingent of Russian army soldiers. The Russian 14th Guards Army had been stationed in Moldova during the Soviet era and had yet to be withdrawn at the outbreak of the Transnistrian War in 1992, only six months after the fall of the USSR. Many local Transnistrian Russians continued to serve in the army after the fall of the Soviet Union, despite the fact that they were now technically Moldovan citizens serving in the army of the Russian Federation (Ozhiganov, 1991, 179).

Tajikistan is an interesting case because of the circumstances under which its civil war (1992-1997) took place. Although the Tajik Civil War was fought along regional lines, Minorities at Risk has considered the participants to be largely of the same ethnic group, "Tajik." The opposition to the Tajik government during the conflict was a mixed group of regional alliances, Islamists, and liberal reformers, representing not a single ethnic but rather a large swathe of political groups all united in their opposition to the ruling Tajik coalition. Thus, despite a high death toll in the conflict (over 75,000), only at the end of the conflict does the presence of rebellion appear in the Minorities at Risk dataset, with a countywide average value of 2.5 for 1998. Communal conflict was present in Tajikistan throughout the time period of this study, illustrating the relationship between ethnic dominance and communal conflict, as the Tajik majority consisted of upwards of 80% of the total population.

Common Themes

A closer look at the specific scenarios in which conflict developed in the former Soviet Union reveals much about the current theoretical approach to ethnic conflict. The most polarized societies—the Baltic States, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan—all experienced little to no violent conflict during their first decade of post-Soviet existence. Some of these peaceful states, including Kazakhstan, Latvia, and Estonia, were also some of the region's

most fractionalized states. Although the existing body of theory regarding the relationship between ethnic conflict and demographic data predicts a negative relationship between fractionalization and rebellion, a negative relationship between polarization and conflict was not expected. Similarly, previous studies have suggested that fractionalization, while making conditions more difficult for ethnic rebellion, would result in increased likelihood of communal conflict among minority ethnic groups. My analysis of the former Soviet Union has shown that this is not always the case.

Also counter to my hypothesis was the positive relationship between dominance and violence. Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, and Ukraine (to a lesser extent) all experienced communal conflict in the presence of ethnic dominance. As noted by Zurcher, ethnic dominance increases the propensity for violence only in situations "when a group is potentially capable of assuming a dominant position" (2007, 223). In each of the nine cases in my study that featured ethnic dominance, the likelihood of a minority ethnic group to achieve a dominant position was low.

Consequently, we must look to alternative explanations for the positive relationship between dominance and communal conflict. A possible explanation for this may be found in the struggle for resources among minority ethnic groups. Outright rebellion may be considered too risky in the face of overwhelming numerical odds, with the prospect of carving out an autonomous ethnic entity unlikely. However, the struggle for limited resources and political capital among minority ethnic groups may lead to communal conflict.

When considering the economic factors related to ethnic violence, conflict was more likely when lagged GDP per capita was at its minimum, a result that fits into the larger framework of research linking low economic growth to conflict. The significant of this correlation should not be overstated though. As Zurcher (2007) notes, "the poor Central Asian republics...avoided violence, with the exception of Tajikistan." The most severe violence in the former Soviet space occurred in Moldova, Georgia and Azerbaijan, states with neither the highest nor the lowest GDP per capita during the time period in question. While it is true that Tajikistan, in fact, had the lowest GDP per capita during the time period and that this certainly exasperated tensions between the opposition and the government, one case is not enough to illustrate a strong trend. Additionally, national GDP per capita does not capture the distribution of income levels within a country, which is of particular importance to large and diverse states. Thus, we can conclude that the relationship between GDP per capita and ethnic violence needs further explanation.

VI. Conclusion: Toward a Constructivist View of Ethnic Conflict

This study has illuminated several key facets of ethnic conflict in the former Soviet Union. In accordance with traditional notions about the relationship between ethnic demography and conflict behavior, the study found that highly fractionalized societies were less likely to experience violent rebellion. However, my analysis also showed that polarization was negatively correlated with violence, representing a break from conventional wisdom regarding the effects of polarization on conflict behavior. Additionally, the presence of ethnic

dominance showed no statistically significant relationship with ethnic rebellion. However, dominance was positively correlated with communal conflict, again contrary to existing notions of demographic dominance and ethnic conflict. Previous studies have indicated that the potential to achieve dominance may lead to conflict, but that if dominance is already present in a given region, conflict is less likely.

As the results of this study depart from the previous examinations of ethnic conflict, I advocate further emphasis on the constructivist lens of ethnic conflict. The constructivist approach's emphasis on changing narratives can help to explain the inconsistency between my project and previous studies. Ethnic conflict cannot be explained or predicted based simply on demography, opportunity, and "ancient hatreds." Although these factors are important to understanding the decision making calculus of political elites in an ethnic group, they do not tell the entire story of an ethnic group's interactions with other ethnic minorities as well as the state. In order to understand conflict, we must attempt to develop a framework that includes the shaping of narratives and lenses through which ethnic groups view other actors. Ethnic groups are defined not only by their shared characteristics such as language and religion, but also by their interactions with other groups. These interactions serve to construct a historical narrative that develops over time in a particular direction, with the occasional occurrence of critical junctures that may trend relations between groups in a different direction.

Central to constructivist understandings of conflict is the internalization of norms, the process in which social situations become embedded in a society's collective consciousness (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, 904-906). This process illustrates that ethnic identity is not static, but is constructed by the development of these norms. "Frozen" ethnic conflicts, such as the conflict in Moldova regarding the status of Transnistria, or the conflict between Abkhazians and Georgians, serve as powerful norm-builders. While conflicts in and of themselves often shape the way groups behave, the unresolved nature of ethnic conflicts across the Soviet Union provides an even more powerful identity-shaping narrative. Elite members of ethnic groups can use these lasting disputes in order to shape the identity of the ethnic group. A rational-choice decision calculus occurs when ethnic elites make decisions about the future of relations between an ethnic group and external actors. The decisions made at these critical junctures can serve as an important starting point to frame future relations between ethnic groups. For example, in Latvia the leaders of an ethnic group chose a peaceful path to achieve their political goals and demographic challenges such as ethnic polarization were ameliorated. Conversely, in the case of Georgia we can see that the violent path may also yield results in the pursuit of ethnic political goals. There can be no doubt that the decisions of ethnic elites at these critical junctures are shaped by the history of social interactions between their own groups and non co-ethnics. In states such as Latvia and Ukraine, a history of solving disputes peacefully, narratives emphasizing a civic national history rather than an ethnic history, and cultural similarities between ethnic groups all contributed to a peaceful first decade of post-Soviet existence. In Georgia and Azerbaijan, a history of tension and simmering violence dating well into the Soviet period

resulted in major violent conflicts almost immediately after the state apparatus of the Soviet Union began to collapse.

The work of Costalli and Moro, not to mention that of Zurcher, indicates that ethnic demography can tell us much more about how conflict will develop in the early stages of violence rather than the overall likelihood of conflict occurring in the first place. Both studies found that fractionalized areas will experience more widespread violence upon the onset of violence and that highly polarized areas will experience the most severe violence as groups attempt to achieve ethnic dominance. The results of my study indicate that although demographic data may be useful at the onset of violence, such data is not always useful in predicting the likelihood of violence beginning in the first place. I have illustrated that in cases where demographic data points in the direction of conflict, constructed narratives of peace and inclusion can avert serious conflict.

As conflict continues, researchers found that ethnic demography begins to lose its impact on the course of the conflict, with ethnic parties beginning to take the broader strategic concerns of war into consideration. In the search for predictive power in terms of ethnic conflict, we must look to the historical narratives and grievances of ethnic groups as well as the rational choice of ethnic leaders and the social and demographic factors that play into this decision-making calculus. As international attention shifts from the declining trend of interstate war to the continuing rise of intrastate conflict, a more holistic approach to ethnic conflict can be developed, based on a the constructivist notion that identities are not static but are in fact fluid. This changing nature of identity can provide qualitative insight to quantitative data on ethnic demography. Only by considering the role of narrative construction in conjunction with more concrete factors such as demography and economics can we begin to develop an accurate view of ethnic conflict.

Postscript:

The events of Euromaidan in 2014 and the subsequent Russian annexation of Crimea and intervention in eastern Ukraine clearly demonstrate a "critical juncture" as described in my conclusion. Whereas ethnic identity in Ukraine may not have been as salient in the lives of Ukrainians prior to the events of Maidan, the revolution and subsequent Russian intervention drastically changed relations between those Ukrainians who feel more attachment to Ukraine and those who feel a sense of belonging to a greater Russian civilization. Even after Maidan, polarization in and of itself was not enough to cause the escalation of violence we are seeing today, it was only after Russian intervention that we began to see signs of an intensifying conflict. The events of the past year will continue to impact the construction of ethnic narratives in Ukraine for decades to come.

 $\label{eq:AppendixI} Appendix\,I$ Descriptive Statistics for the states of the former Soviet Union 1992-2002

Country	Fractionalization Mean	Polarization Mean	Domi- nance	Com- munal Con- flict Min	Com- munal Con- flict Max	Com- munal Con- flict Mean	Re- bel- lion Min	Re- bel- lion Max	Rebel- lion Mean
Armenia	0.041365027	0.07040393	YES	0	0	0	0	0	0
Azerbai- jan	0.18844706	0.21120107	YES	0	3	1.333	0	7	1.636
Belarus	0.37249506	0.5596216	YES	0	0	0	0	0	0
Estonia	0.47281295	0.795771	NO	0	0	0	0	0	0
Georgia	0.500422	0.6566305	NO	0	5	.611	0	7	1.65909
Kazakh- stan	0.621789	0.83860326	NO	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kyrgyz- stan	0.54403	0.72705686	NO	0	0	0	0	1	.04545
Latvia	0.571463	0.85611165	NO	0	3	.555	0	0	0
Lithuania	0.294317	0.43733317	YES	0	0	0	0	0	0
Moldova	0.514713	0.7220134	NO	0	0	0	0	5	1.4545
Tajikistan	0.336205	0.5806718	YES	0	3	1.055	0	5	.227272
Turkmen- istan	0.27369994	0.3531711	YES	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	0.364689	0.61159766	YES	0	2	1.407	0	0	0
Uzbeki- stan	0.35294998	0.4920519	YES	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean	.389	.565	8 YES; 6 NO			0.354			0.359
Standard Devia- tion	.155	.224				0.521			0.644

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"Oh, Terrible, Windy Words": Witty Wordplay in Jonson's *Poetaster*

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Abstract

Renaissance dramatist Ben Jonson is lauded as a comedy writer extraordinaire. One of his most satirical farces, Poetaster, includes a scene involving a character's vomiting. Beyond the obvious humor, Jonson uses this scene regarding Crispinus to assert sophisticated notions of language use, intellect, and oratory—observations for which the playwright is given too little credit in critical scholarship of the era. This essay fills this gap by examining the scene from a theoretical framework derived loosely from structural linguistics and classical rhetoric.

"We carry some few words of our common language into the inexplorable depths of metaphysics and divinity, in order to acquire some slight idea of those things, which we could never conceive or express; and we use those words as props to support the steps of our feeble understandings in travelling through those unknown regions."

—Voltaire, A Treatise on Toleration (178, with emphasis)

Tax Tritten long before French linguist Ferdinand de Saussure posited the arbitrariness of the sign relative to its signifier in his Course in General Linguistics, Ben Jonson's Poetaster presented a remarkable scene (Act V, Scene 3) in which the pompous Crispinus vomits up the very words he used in his bombastic verses in the scene only moments earlier. The physic, administered to him by none other than Horace himself (i.e., Jonson's doppelgänger) acts as a purgative, inducing the windy poetaster to expurgate the pretentious terms he employs without clear reference to their respective semantic meanings (especially since Crispinus often uses them incorrectly). Critics have focused primarily on the scene for its satirical commentary on Jonson's feud with fellow playwrights John Marston and Thomas Dekker, Jonson's opponents in the War of the Theaters, as well as the extended Jonsonian metaphor of learning as digestion, with language acting as food. Some scholars have come closer to the thesis I plan to establish herein, with notions of Jonson's embodiment of language in this comical satire (viz., not a comedy, according to Summers and Pebworth [41]). I wish to build on this foundation and expand it further to include the very materiality of language itself—foregrounding words-as-things. While the comedic effect of the retching Crispinus is apparent, the attention Jonson pays to the words themselves as lexical artifacts is significant morphologically, phonologically, and syntactically—particularly because linguistics as a discipline was centuries away from its inception. Jonson's deft ear for the English language, as well as his Humanist training in the classics, allow him to bring his expansive lexicon to the service of a play that fundamentally berates the fustian rhetors of his day of whom Crispinus stands as exemplar.

Ultimately, finding prose analogues to the purging of Crispinus of haughty vocabulary in the critical works of Jonson does not prove too difficult. In Jonson's commonplace book, *Timber, or Discoveries*, two selections provide insights into the playwright's/poet's views of the "Artificer," one who abuses language in the construction of vapid, insipid speechifying:

Then in his elocution to behold, what word is proper: which hath ornament: which height: what is beautifully translated: where figures are fit: which gentle, which strong to show the composition manly. And how he hath avoided faint, obscure, obscene, sordid, humble, improper, or effeminate phrase; which is not only praised of the most, but commended (which is worse), especially for that it is naught. (407)

Selection of the *bon mot*—the perfect word that suits the rhetorical situation most appropriately—defies the conventional notion that lexical choices are rarely substantive. Jonson continues in *Timber* to contend that issues of vocabulary and style disclose much about the interior life of the person involved in shaping the discourse:

Language most shows a man: speak that I may see thee. It springs out of the

most retired, and inmost parts of us, and is the image of the parent of it, the mind. No glass renders a man's form, or likeness, so true as his speech. Nay, it is likened to a man; and as we consider feature, and composition in a man; so words in language: in the greatness, aptness, sound, structure, and harmony of it. Some men are tall, and big, so some language is high and great. Then the words are chosen, their sound ample, the composition full, the absolution plenteous, and poured out, all grave, sinewy and strong. (411)

The second of the two selections comes closer to what Crispinus reveals by emptying the contents of his distended stomach into the basin for perusal by the other poets. By overtly observing the words themselves, the physicians are better able to examine the nauseating detritus of Crispinus's vacuous mind. Situated together, these passages from *Timber, or Discoveries* form a Jonsonian framework by which the scene may be more closely read for its larger implications within Jonson's *oeuvre* and his expert command of the nuances of the English language he champions in all of his works.

CRITICAL RECEPTION OF THIS SCENE

Scholars who read this scene generally find two main interpretations of Crispinus's regurgitating words on stage—satire and metaphor—while linking the odd moment to classical and modern precedents. The scene contains several auspicious participants—chiefly Caesar, Horace, and Virgil, a Roman triumvirate of political and oratorical expertise. Against such an august backdrop, Crispinus, the bombastic fool, is portrayed as a foil whose windy words lack substance. At the end of the scene, Horace himself administers pills to relieve Crispinus of his multisyllabic vocabulary, adopted more for show than for rhetorical purpose. One outlier scholar, critic Eugene Waith, seems to be a solitary voice arguing that the Crispinus scene is less important than other critics claim (18-19). He argues that if anything in the vomitorium (a term with its own curious tie to the theater) is to be noteworthy, it is the public punishment of the poetaster—more than any resemblance to Marston that Jonson may have intended in writing the sequence (Waith 19). However, Waith seems to be unsupported in the literature as to this particular reading, as other critics locate other comedies where characters respond similarly.

Editor Tom Cain's notes in the Revels Plays edition of *Poetaster* convey a more conventional interpretation of the scene, reading it as an echo to similar plot devices in other plays. Cain notes similarities between this scene and one in Lucian's *Lexiphanes*. Lyly's lost play, staged when Jonson was 16 or 17 years of age, also may have contained a scene of a character vomiting up his speech (Jonson and Cain 26). Similarly, in Thomas Lupton's *All for Money* (1578), "out of a vomit certain evils are born on the stage" (Baskerville 307). To Jonson, however, authorial intent was key; he was not interested in including plot elements simply because others before him had tried them successfully. A footnote on this scene that cites *Lexiphanes* 21 may serve to sort out a Jonsonian motivation, as the physician monitoring the ill individual coaxes out the poorly-digested words: "Many things still lurk in hiding and your inwards are full of them [; i]t would be better if some should take the opposite

course" (qtd. in Jonson and Cain 250-51). This earlier extant example may have inspired Jonson's rewriting it because it emphasizes the open display of "inward" folly through uttering words, the value of imagining language as food to nourish or to reject, and the role of a wise mentor who guides the disgorging process.

The critics who write most extensively on this particular dramatic moment in *Poetaster* speculate on the reasons behind Jonson's choice to place Horace as the character who acts as wise mentor and erstwhile physician to the nauseated Crispinus. In his provoking an act of "brutal physicality" (Koslow 121), Horace comes to the aid of the ailing pseudo-poet. Horace (as another incarnation of Jonson's frequent self-representation in his work) even redelivers the lines "lost in the vomiting delivery of the boy playing Crispinus" (Jonson and Cain 251). Horace, "a beleaguered intellectual[,]" is a "self-portrait" of Jonson (Hayes 27). Jonson, "this great poet of the belly" (Koslow 122), cannot resist lauding himself as the champion of plain style as the poetaster eructates (or should I say "pukes"?) on stage. The denouement of the play involves a vindication of Horace that exceeds the mere "humiliation of Crispinus[,]" despite this fact being missed by most critics (Waith 19). Waith criticizes scholars who only choose to see the hyperbolic humor in the poetaster's heaving, thus missing the valorization of classical pedagogues like Horace.

Any contemporary physician could have prescribed relief for Crispinus's gassy condition, but classical pedagogues such as Horace and Virgil offer him a more lasting cure. The administered physic, an "emetic" of sorts, clears out the pomposity that has filled the poetaster's belly (Gieskes 94). He has clearly imbibed a stream of cloying vocabulary from some source (viz., Marston and Dekker, as a later discussion will prove) that must be purged before he can get better. Before Crispinus can develop an appetite for "Opheus, Musaeus, Pindarus, Hesiod, Callimachus, ... Theocrite, [and h]igh Homer" (lines 533-35) under the tutelage of none other than Virgil himself, he must disavow the contemporary voices filling his ears (and stomach) with junk food. Horace's cure is effected "not with a pill, or a purge, but with [Humanist] pedagogy" (Koslow 124). This approach toward healing mirrors Jonson's own education and valorizing of classical voices. The proven pedagogues of the past offer substance over flashy stylistics. Horace, for example, warns Crispinus against seeking words for themselves (Moul 43). Koslow presses this point in an insightful essay; Jonson "turns to linguistic pedagogy as both an instrument of moral order and a means of physical remedy" (124). While words devoid of content and clear communication are damaging, truth conveyed to us from the ancients has a settling, edifying effect on its hearers.

WHO/WHAT IS BEING SATIRIZED IN POETASTER?

With acerbic wit, Jonson allows his most biting satire of his contemporary playwrights and current situations to be couched in hilarious sequences such as the disemboguing of Crispinus. Besides examining the obvious ties to the War of the Theaters, critics have found analogues in other events current to Jonson' time. Cain claims that calumny is the focus in this "encoded commentary on the single most dramatic event in domestic politics around the turn of the [Seventeenth] century: the Essex rebellion of February 1601" ("Satyres" 49).

Cain builds a convincing case through the examination of political and historical documents. Of interest to this study is Cain's claim that Jonson's character choices of Horace and Virgil stem from their actually having rivals during their lifetimes, played in *Poetaster* as Crispinus and Demetrius, in much the same way as Jonson himself had opponents on the London stage ("Satyres" 57).

That Marston and Dekker are meant by the caricatures of Crispinus and Demetrius, respectively, is not a matter of debate. Most scholars recognize a "rivalry between public adult acting companies and private children's companies" operating at the time (Summers and Pebworth 44). *Poetaster* was written for the Children of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel, premiering at Blackfriars Theater in early 1601 (Summers and Pebworth 44). At this point the conflict between these playwrights had lasted almost two full years. Jonson seized the occasion of his most successful comedic satire to lampoon Marston in the guise of the foolish Crispinus, as Jonson's letters to his friend Drummond and Dekker's own recollections attest (Small 38, 40). The character has, at times, a bizarrely eccentric and "recondite vocabulary," just as the rival playwright did (Moul 43), thereby sealing the audience's pigeonholing these characters as their real-life counterparts.

Just in case audience members may miss the correlations, Jonson possibly specified other resemblances between the characters and the playwrights they ape. Apparently, the actors' "dress and demeanour" were meant to mimic that of Marston and Dekker (Moul 25). Some conjecture exists in the scholarship regarding whether Marston actually had red hair as the character Crispinus does (Small 41). To aid in the process of matching up the theatrical with the actual, the anachronistic costumes do not fit the Augustan world of the play. The boys playing Crispinus and Demetrius "wore clothes which parodied Marston and Dekker's: Crispinus wears threadbare satin sleeves over a cheap 'rug' undershirt" (Cain "Satyres" 57). Even the boy actor's fake beard "must have been a comic version of Marston's" (Cain "Satyres" 57). Clearly, Jonson was interested in ensuring that no one confuses this Crispinus with any other in other play. Incidentally, Juvenal includes a Crispinus in his works, as does Horace (Baskervill 306, Moul 27). Without question, the Crispinus in Jonson's *Poetaster* has only one referent: Marston.

Of greatest satiric interest to Jonson, beyond slight resemblances between his actor and his derisive target, is to mimic the inflated diction of Marston's drama. By placing a similarly "pretentious or affected vocabulary" (Jonson and Cain 238) in the mouths of "gull characters" like Crispinus, Jonson spoofs the original author (Marckwardt 94). Astute scholars read Marston's extant works in order to better understand the parodies Jonson constructs through "stilted, affected, and crabbed vocabularies of the day... characteristic[ally] Marstonian" in tone (Baskervill 307). Charles R. Baskervill coins the phrase "word-mongery" to describe the business Crispinus trades in, almost slavishly (Baskervill 307). By foregrounding a buffoon like Crispinus who acts as both poetaster and word-monger, Jonson creates a play that "represents the culmination of the satire on perverted taste and diction which [he] had been developing for several years" in works like The Case is Altered, the quarto version of *Every Man in His Humour*, and *Cynthia's Revels* (Baskerville 308). This

layered assault did not escape the notice of the writers whom it was intended to mock.

Scholars make much of the so-called "War of the Theaters" or Poetomachia, a term that attempts to view the plays in a jibing conversation with one another. This "war of words" broke out in 1599. *Poetaster* is "unquestionably a major attack in the conflict" (Summers and Pebworth 44). As in any war, this battle led to other skirmishes. The other two playwrights, Marston and Dekker, responded in kind to the unkind raillery they perceived in Poetaster. Marston has his actor mimic Jonson in his *Histriomastix* (Small 41), while Dekker "ridicules the words and phrases" of Poetaster in *Satiromastix* (Marckwardt 93). Rather than tamping down the incendiary rhetoric, *Poetaster* foments it, ensuring the other playwrights will have plenty of fodder for future campaigns.

THEMES AND EVENTS REFERENCED

Given his appetite for food and his "mountain belly," Jonson not surprisingly emphasizes a motif in his writing that compares learning to digestion. This theme surfaces elsewhere in other genres, including the epigrammatic poems as well as the verses in *Underwoods*, In "Explorata: Or Discoveries," Jonson observes that "some men are born only to suck out the poison of books...[who] relish the obscene" (*Timber* in Parfitt 405). Crispinus may have been tempted by words that looked delicious and appetizing, but he feasted on toxic fruit in the works of authors whose florid language only serves to sicken the poetic talent. Once Crispinus's nausea settles, "Dr." Virgil prescribes a health regimen that includes a "strict and wholesome diet" (line 524) of Cato's Principles and a "piece of Terence" while shunning Plautus as lacking in nourishment to his soul. One eats to live—to grow and to flourish. A body starved of proper nutrition will languish, much as a mind (e.g., Crispinus's) fed by arcane terms devoid of their underlying meaning will falter into a diseased state.

Several scholars interpret the spewing scene as an instantiation of a major theme in Jonson's works: embodied language. Julian Koslow draws connections between the human body and language, demonstrating the "relation between textual and corporeal forms of embodiment and power" (143) that are shown literally within the scene, as "bodies and words react upon and inform each other" (123). Our words come *from* somewhere—they are situated within us as speakers. Words do not exist, particularly in the Renaissance period, as disembodied viscera. Our words emanate from our bodies (viz., our brains, our mouths, our vocal cords, and our lungs) as much as they spring from our thoughts, our wills, and our emotions. In drama, individuals deliver lines as they speak in the guise of a particular character, employing body movements, posture, gestures, and vocal inflections to "embody" the parts for which they are cast. The vomiting scene in *Poetaster* (V.iii) makes literal and kinesthetic a principle Jonson viewed as unique to language itself: embodiment. In this same fascinating essay, however, Koslow maintains that *Poetaster* stands as a "critique of linguistic materialism" through its "materialist conception of language" (121), a claim I vociferously refute.

As I read Act V, scene iii, I am struck by Jonson's foregrounding of the individual word as a linguistic artifact—what I have called "words-as-things" or what Voltaire may have meant by "words as props" in the epigraph. To better understand this concept as introduced

in the play, please allow me to provide an illustration. As Crispinus upchucks chunks of words (e.g. "glibbery—lubrical—defunct" in line 465) into the catch basin, Horace inspects and repeats the words again (e.g. "[Looking] "Glibbery, lubrical and defunct" [line 468]). The audience recalls the words as having been uttered moments earlier (e.g. Tibullus: "What, shall thy lubrical and gliberry Muse / Live as she were defunct, like punk in stews?" in lines 271-72.) In the first utterance of the words in the play, Tibullus reads aloud the "issue of [Crispinus's] brain" (line 261) and the "bastard" child of Demetrius. Both of these metaphors (i.e., "issue" and "bastard") underscore the notion of language as a real thing—the product of thought that has its own form and substance. Cain scrupulously annotates the initial occurrence of each word, noting where the word first appears in other playwrights' works. In this selected phrase, "lubrical" is Jonson's own addition to the language; this word marks its first appearance in the OED (Jonson and Cain 238). The suffix "al" renders the word an adjective. This morphological construction is a favorite of Marston's, despite the fact that the playwright never uses "lubrical" himself (Jonson and Cain 238). The next nonsensical word, "glibbery," is one of Marston's "favourite adjective[s]"; it stems from one of his coinages: glib (Jonson and Cain 238). The third word, "defunct," actually owes its origins to a Shakespearean neologism derived from the Latin defunctus (Jonson and Cain 238). Linguists call the purposeful shortening of a word to create a new syntactic part of speech "back formation." Despite the abstruse vocabulary, the poetic lines of Crispinus do express some essential meaning, no matter how unmusical they may sound to the audience's ears. Basically, this couplet means "Shall your smooth, slippery Muse live as a fired prostitute?" Editor Cain points out, however, that the idiom "punk in stewes" refers to a "whore in a brothel" (238), so a discharged prostitute would be homeless, rendering "defunct" as being a "misused" term. Jonson's sly characterization, therefore, of Crispinus (or by correspondence, Marston) does not know how to handle properly the terms he wields. When these words reappear floating in bile, they are disconnected from context. The words themselves are accentuated phonologically, for how they sound and not what they mean.

Jonson continues to bring up words, much as Crispinus brings up the contents of his queasy stomach, throughout the scene in question merely for their phonological, morphological, and syntactic resonance, underscoring their importance as things in themselves. Hard-sounding words, with certain loud consonants, apparently have sharp edges that can injure. For example, Crispinus ejects the word "Magnificate" (line 473). Maecenas notes that this word "came up somehat hard" (line 474). Because Magnificate is endowed with religious and monarchical meaning, it may be easier to get caught in the throat, especially for a deceiver like this pseudo-poet. Words also seem to act like how they sound: clumsy does not flow out of the poetaster's mouth but gets "stuck terribly" on its way up (line 479). Moreover, clutched gets stuck in the craw of Crispinus due (according to Caesar) to the "narrow passage" it had to negotiate (lines 509-10). Some of the vomited words act similar to their intended semantic meaning. For example, the word "loquacity" as a synonym for "talkativeness" predates its first official OED appearance by two years in this scene (Jonson and Cain 254). Marston apparently did not invent this final example, demonstrating that

Jonson deliberately coins words in the vein of others he spoofs or lifts directly from the works of his rival playwrights in order to cast them as the true poetasters of his age.

JONSON: PLAYWRIGHT/CRITIC/LINGUIST

Reading Jonson merely as a vindictive playwright trying to even the score with his opponents Dekker and Marston is too reductive in light of the many different ways he refashions words in their first (read or spoken) and second (vomited) appearances in Poetaster. This purposeful wordplay allows the audience to be at times as confused as the speakers/writers themselves as to the intended meaning. The spectators—especially the classical writers Virgil and Horace, but even the presumably strong orator Caesar—choose to speak in a plain style compared to the ornate language used by Crispinus and Demetrius. This dialogue foregrounds the age-old rhetorical debate about selecting the most suitable discursive style for a particular occasion. The Latinate terms used by Crispinus and Demetrius in their affected verses contrast sharply with the more plain style (viz., rendered in words originating primarily from Germanic languages) uttered by the ancient Romans. That the Latin greats prefer to speak using more Germanic words is yet another Jonsonian ironic twist. It should be noted that intelligence does not factor into lexical agility in this scene. Obviously, Crispinus cannot differentiate between "defunct punk in stewes" and employed prostitutes, thus demonstrating his ignorance. More pointedly, in one particularly phonetic heave, Crispinus spews out the word "prorumped" (line 503). Tibellus comments on the "noise it made. . .[a]s if his spirit would have prorumped with it" (line 504). Prorumped comes from the Latin prorumpo, meaning "to burst forth"—in another instance of a word that does not appear in the extant writings of Marston but accurately portrays Jonson's coining of new Latinate words (Jonson and Cain 253). Tibellus clearly knows what the word itself means by his pun; he simply chooses not to speak using arcane vocabulary, showing that his linguistic choices reflect not his supposedly Augustan setting but his anachronistic appeal to his Renaissance-era British audience. At issue in this scene seems to be which rhetors are permitted to introduce new terms into the cultural lexicon.

While nimbly peppering his own neologisms and nonsensical terms throughout this hilarious sequence, Jonson queries who is most qualified to coin new terms and to introduce them into the cultural vernacular. A neologism "implicitly conceives of such an utterance as a new, and suddenly lexical, created word" (Saenger 179). In his essay, Saenger concerns himself too overtly with the singularity of the individual word under the umbrella term *neologism*. What term describes new phrases like Crispinus's "quaking

custard" or "snarling gusts"? Saenger reaches past extant linguistic terms (e.g., "macaronic, multilingual, heterolingual, bilingual") to coin his own term for the "cohabitation of languages" into the mixture spoken by English speakers: "interlinguicity" (179). By framing his article in measured, scholarly steps, Saenger reifies the notion that introducing new words into the language is the exclusive domain of the intelligentsia. In other words, people who know what they are doing are the only ones qualified to add to a given language. Jonson appears to lack no self-confidence in terms of his own intelligence and erudition, particu-

larly as compared to his rival playwrights (i.e., the poetasters), so he is qualified to make up new words where they are not. A playwright for whom Jonson maintained a healthy respect, William Shakespeare, is famous for the words he introduced into English (Saenger 179). Moreover, Margaret Tudeau-Clayton notes that John Florio's plays also introduced new words into English (e.g. efface, facilitate, regret, effort, and emotion) that caught on in linguistic usage. Unlike the "mainly Latinate" neologisms thrown up by Crispinus, these coinages by more respected playwrights represent "opposed ideologies of linguistic practice advocated for the theatre" (Tudeau-Clayton 8). The very fact that Crispinus falls ill at all may be Jonson's nod to the sentiment of Seneca: "the gratuitous coining of words is another sign of moral sickness" (Jonson and Cain 26). Of course, it must be noted that Seneca was writing under the rigid strictures of Latin, whereas Jonson works in the multivariate English language with its many linguistic streams (e.g. Saxon, Old English, French, German, and Latin).

One measure of a play's resonance (and by default the playwright's influence over time) is the durability of the language he uses. If certain phrases become idiomatic expressions or accepted aphorisms (e.g. "to thine ownself be true" from Shakespeare's Hamlet), one may safely assume that the playwright has exerted a significant influence by his lexical choices. Another quantitative method involves consulting the definitive resource on the English language, the Oxford English Dictionary, to mark the first recorded instance of the word's use. In his beefy annotations, Cain takes great pains to mention which words echo Marston's lexicon and which are new—that is to say, which words represent the first OED entry. Along with one mentioned above, lubrical, Cain points out other first OED instances of terms that come up twice in Act V, scene 3 (first in Crispinus's writing and second in his esophagus), including turgidous, ventositous, oblatrant, and fatuate, among others. None of these words have become household terms. Plucked from their context—murky as it may be under Crispinus's pen—these words nonetheless are marked as formal, Latinate, and unnecessarily fussy. By contrast, another term, inflate (line 487), does make its way as a verb into the English language after the curtain falls at the end of the song or the "Apologetical Dialogue," depending on the ending of Poetaster in question. Inflate is used in a manner "descriptive of Marston's inflated style, and parodic of his method of coining new words" (Jonson and Cain 252). By creating his own coinages, Jonson riffs on his rival's penchant for doing the same. Tudeau-Clayton explains that the noun Jonson coins as Crispinus is caught stealing a poem belonging to Horace—plagiary—is a new word to the English stage (6). Ironically, by lifting many words directly from Marston's works without attribution, Jonson himself has committed an act of plagiarism. As is frequently the case, Jonson makes deliberate rhetorical, dramatic, and poetical choices, so the decision to refer only obliquely to his referents by using their words without naming the sources makes this plagiarism excusable.

Whether mocking a rival by using his language or by inventing his own terms for their comedic effect as the actor, bent over and heaving aloud into a basin, Ben Jonson demonstrates a remarkably nimble capacity for using language. His adroitness at fashioning puns

is nearly unparalleled. When Tibellus reacts to five particularly spectacular terms/phrases in the sputum (e.g. "Barmy froth, puffy, inflate, turgidous and ventositous" in line 489) by remarking "O terrible windy words!" (line 490), Jonson has Gallus remark, "A sign of a windy brain" (line 491). In other words, pompous words emanate from people who are full of their own self importance but lack anything substantive to contribute.

Upon closer examination, Jonson's linguistic skill exceeds merely fashioning a catchy turn-of-phrase, such as the one referenced. He seems to love words themselves—their component parts (morphemes), their sounds (phonemes), their connotations and meanings (semantics), as well as their function to reveal what an interlocutor wishes to communicate and how successfully that communication may be assessed by those who receive it. Later linguists, like Saussure, will argue that a word has very little value by itself. What the British call a "tree," for example, is for the French "l'arbre," yet both words do not fundamentally mean the living organism covered in bark and a profusion of green leaves. These words are signs that users of a common language come to associate with a particular referent or signifier. Those who deal in lexis as tools, however, realize that even signifiers have aural, spatial, and connotative features that help to determine which word fits a given communicative purpose over another choice. Jonson would likely label this discussion "barmy froth," despite his command of various languages. In the vomiting scene of *Poetaster*, Jonson seems to revel in words for their wonderful wordiness. Vaunted language that may in other contexts (e.g. a performance of one of Marston's or Dekker's works) be lauded is herein lampooned. Syllables become plastic. Jonson adds suffixes to elongate the words, making them even more humorous as they emerge as products of Crispinus's barfing. Words tumble out in a hodge-podge disarray, not in the order in which Crispinus places them in his affected poetic verses. Disconnected from their original function, these words provide Jonson ample opportunities to experiment with language in the myriad ways he does, much to the delight of his Blackfriars audience and to linguistics students approaching this play for the first time.

In our day, scholars and artists tend to respect their respective discursive categories. The writer works in various genres: the lyric poem, the sonnet, the epic, the short story, the novel, the essay, and so on. Similarly, the literary critic offers criticism on the artist's work, sometimes commenting on how the writing represents the era in which it was produced or how it represents various social movements afoot. In Ben Jonson's was writing, however, these discrete boundary lines were much blurrier. Jonson is at once a remarkable playwright, poet, and writer, even before the advent of the essay by writers like Montaigne. In *Timber: or Discoveries*, Johnson discusses what makes certain literature artful and significant. Here, he confirms what he dramatizes in *Poetaster*: namely, an author must judiciously and expertly select words for a particular poetic purpose. The use and misuse of language, much like the words a fool uses in conversation, belies that individual's true linguistic capacity. Trying to ornament one's speech or writing with fancy words only makes a fool appear more foolish. As Jonson remarks in *Timber*, when a person speaks, his words "show" him to others. A fool's conversation, despite flowery vocabulary, only displays his ignorance more acutely. Conversely, language, handled deftly (even plainly), evidences a speaker's intelligence and

capable command of the communicative moment.

In Poetaster, the character Crispinus vomits actual words, re-tasting the fancy, multisyllabic examples that he failed to ingest properly, but that is not the underlying reason Jonson includes this outlandish scene in his comical satire. While important, the mockery of Marston and Dekker fails to provide a sufficient cause for its inclusion. Even the continuation of the digestive literary motif or his ongoing interest in the grotesque does not account for the dramatic incident. Moreover, classical and contemporary precedents cannot explain why Jonson wrote this scene thus. From reading the selection from Timber, Jonson's Crispinus enacts what his prose teaches: "[Language] springs out of the most retired, and inmost parts of us, and is the image of the parent of it, the mind" (411). While this comparison makes an indelicately mixed metaphor of vomit as one's child (viz., the product's springing not from one's loins but his belly), Crispinus' words do benefit from a comparison to progeny. Children are quite literally the product of a creative act—the most primitive, basic act of creation known to our species. Similarly, every culture on earth uses spoken language, and most have orthographic (written) forms as well. An act of creation, thinking, allows speakers to compose what it is they have to communicate before it is "birthed" as a speech act. Jonson pushes his Timber metaphor further in Poetaster. As a child grows inside her mother's body before being "uttered" as a self-sustaining entity that grows outside, language helps the speaker to "conceive" a message that is "delivered" to hearers outside of oneself. Jonson suggests that like babies who grow into adulthood, words have "features" that make them become "sinewy and strong" (Timber 411). This metaphor relies on a remarkably insightful philosophy of language, that, while debunked by twentieth-century linguists like Saussure and Noam Chomsky, is nonetheless quite sophisticated, particularly for the Renaissance. This linguistic philosophy informs his creative work. By bringing the words back up, literally venting them again abortively from his body in a projectile expulsion, Crispinus is forced to admit that these words cannot grow into maturity. These examples of inflated language—and by default the weak minds that conceived the words—are immature.

CONCLUSION

A formally ill person, once his queasy stomach has settled, needs to eat a healthy diet to rebuild his strength. In a case like Crispinus, when his ailment stems from the poor nutritional/lexical choices he made in his former foolishness, such a person requires guidance from a mentor who can recommend more wholesome, healthful options. Lucky for Crispinus, the gull happens to be surrounded after his vomiting ends by some of the brightest, most articulate minds of classical antiquity. Virgil's prescription to the suddenly deflated poetaster involves "instructions in writing, designed to prevent him from lapsing back into artistic failure" (Moul 42). What follows the purgative episode, according to critic Victoria Moul, is evidence of Jonson's straddling the roles of literary critic and playwright simultaneously. Moul posits that *Poetaster* is Jonson's *Ars Poetica* in miniature: "This concise *ars poetica* bears no relation to any of Virgil's extant works, but it does resemble quite closely certain sections of Horace's advice to poets in the *Satires*, *Epistles*, and *Ars Poetica*" (Moul

42). While I concur with her appreciation of Jonson's literary aptitude to accomplish two aims at once, I see her conclusion faulty simply because she stops short of recognizing Jonson's commentary on language use. To borrow her phrasing, *Poetaster* also stands as a concise *ars rhetorica*.

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Moving Forward, Falling Back, or Staying Put: An Examination of Change and Transformation in Early Modern Drama

Jacquelyn Hayek

Abstract

The Early Modern era in England was a time of great change and upheaval socially, politically, and spiritually. Therefore it is no surprise that cultural authorities and structures of power had a vested interest in urging the population to abide by the traditional roles assigned to them at birth via sex, class, and religion. Three plays of the period respectively demonstrate the necessity of maintaining the status quo and the degradation and ultimate cost of rebellious self-determination. In Thomas Kyd's The Spanish Tragedy, all of the characters come to their requisite and anticipated ends, reinforcing the current establishment as it stood. Then, though the Everyman title figure does change dynamically along his journey, he changes along the path laid out for him by God without challenging the structures of authority over him or their right to judge and punish him. Finally Christopher Marlowe's Doctor Faustus and its journey of degeneration illustrate all the worst consequences for when a man tries to overreach his given role and its expectations. Herein representations of dramatic characters from the stock to the progressive to the regressive and degenerative were manipulated to support the dominance of cultural institutions. Each of these plays addresses the notion of transformation, what it should be and should not be, in accordance with the Early Modern British authorities.

The Early Modern era in England was a time of great change and upheaval socially, politically, and spiritually. Therefore it is no surprise that cultural authorities and structures of power had a vested interest in urging the population to abide by the traditional roles assigned to them at birth via sex, class, and religion. Three plays of the period respectively demonstrate the necessity of maintaining the status quo and the degradation and ultimate cost of rebellious self-determination. In Thomas Kyd's The Spanish Tragedy, all of the characters come to their requisite and anticipated ends, reinforcing the current establishment as it stood. Then, though the Everyman title figure does change dynamically along his journey, he changes along the path laid out for him by God without challenging the structures of authority over him or their right to judge and punish him. Finally, Christopher Marlowe's Doctor Faustus and its journey of degeneration illustrate all the worst consequences for when a man tries to overreach his given role and its expectations. Representations of dramatic characters, from the stock to the progressive to the regressive and degenerative, were manipulated to support the dominance of cultural institutions. Each of these plays addresses the notion of transformation, what it should be and should not be, in accordance with the Early Modern British authorities.

In many ways, Early Modern society depended on established traditions and hierarchies, rigid social classes, implacable gender roles, four distinct estates, and apparently inviolate religious institutions to ensure that civilization as they knew it functioned. This conformity to a predetermined role is represented in the stock characters and classical scenarios of The Spanish Tragedy, Thomas Kyd's 1580s rendition of the Senecan tragic rhetorical formula. As an artist, and more as the roommate to outspoken fellow artist Christopher Marlowe, Kyd was no stranger to the consequences attending nonconformity with the governing structures of power. When the authorities came to arrest Marlowe and did not find him, they detained Kyd instead ("The Life of Thomas Kyd"). At the hands of the notorious Star Chamber, Kyd was subjected to lethal torture. His personal experience was representative of the severe prosecution suffered by seditious and heretical sentiments during his time period. Contemporary artists, outside of even Kyd and Marlowe, were ominously aware that "[t]he punishments for writers whose works were felt to be seditious or offensive could be extreme, including imprisonment, torture and mutilation" (Larque). Recognizing these and like risks, producers and theatrical companies took no chances. Every play manuscript was given over for careful inspection, and likely censorship, by the Revels Office. At a time when all productions had to obtain licensing from Queen Elizabeth's Master of the Revels, Kyd's The Spanish Tragedy did nothing to cause controversy with his plot, characters, or the ending anticipated for a revenge play.

Kyd's play begins in a classical style. The audience is introduced to a warrior king who has recently been killed in battle on his way to the classical afterlife to meet with the king and queen gods of the underworld:

In keeping on my way to Pluto's court Through dreadful shades of ever-glooming night, I saw more sights than thousand tongues can tell,

Or pens can write, or mortal hearts can think. (I.i.55-58)

In the voice of the deceased knight, Kyd gives a rich narrative journey to the mythic Roman afterlife. Upon encountering the King and Queen of the dead, the knight presents his passport and makes his obeisance. The very courtliness of the scene and how it is played out displays respect for hierarchy, form, and ceremony. As the story progresses, the dead warrior is joined by the spirit of Revenge and the duo act as chorus to all of the action that takes place (Erne 102). By beginning his play in the unchanging environ of the afterlife, Kyd informs the audience that he is not planning to challenge the powers and structures which govern death or life and the land of the living. Kyd's still-living characters demonstrate the traits expected of their respective social classes: kings and princes of Spain and Portugal behave royally; nobility like Horatio behave nobly; and servants like Pedringano are greedy and manipulative, behavior considered befitting to their status in the lower class.

Even characters like spirit figures and women, who typically exist outside of traditional constructs, function for Kyd in ways that maintain a classical status quo of Senecan stock characters. The Revenge character's narration on the sidelines structures and directs the means by which the play maintains Senecan norms. Even the witty heroine, Bel-imperia, who does not conform to the standards of a conventional virginal love-interest, demonstrably enacts her role as the "female confidante" to the revenger, Hieronimo ("Thomas Kyd"). From the beginning of the plot to the bloody-end, the whole of Kyd's tragedy is obviously adapted from Seneca's revenge construction. There are no surprises. Kyd intensifies audience frustration by drawing out the story and adding a subplot about counterfeit and accusation in the court of Portugal but still reaches the expected climax without deviating from tradition or in any way challenging the Elizabethan status quo. Indeed, Kyd's revenge plot merely illustrates the negative consequences of deposing established cultural authorities—in this case, the murdered warrior king.

An apparent lesson from classically conformed texts without any discernible plot or character transformation like Kyd's tragedy seems to be that people ought to remain as they are and where they are. Alternately, plays illustrating transformation might likewise be consciously didactic, intended to educate the audience regarding what is expected by the institutions of power. Performances that instruct while they entertain were a way to bring the masses into compliance with the dominant ideology of "how the world should be." From the openly acknowledged role of censorship, even a casual observer could see that "the State was clearly obsessed with the power of theatre, thinking it to be a major informer of public opinion, much like television and newspaper chiefs tell us their media are today" (Love). Nowhere was this instructional function more evident than in the morality interludes that came out of the liturgical-drama and Cycle play traditions in the sixteenth century. Though there is still no known author, Everyman was one of the most well-known didactic plays that illustrated the positive transformation from temporal to spiritual desired by the Catholic (meaning universal—during this period) church. This allegorical drama was used to teach moral lessons in accordance with church doctrine; however, unlike its predecessors, the Cycle plays, this work did not take its subject matter directly from the

scriptures. Unlike other texts of its kind, *Everyman* employed no vice-figures and allowed no comical asides or gimmicks to distract from the moral message.

At the start of the play, God sends Death as a messenger to tell the representative of universal humanity, Everyman, that his time has come and he must prepare for his life to end. This opening sets up popular cultural ideas of *carpe diem* and the obsession with *Ars Moriendi* or 'the art of dying' as the title character must wrestle with his own mortality—and thereby come to terms with his morality or lack thereof (Spinrad 79). Everyman's initial reaction shows his soul's condition in that he is not ready; he is worldly, he tries to bribe Death to go away, and he even begs and pleads for a reprieve (*Everyman* 119-124, 131-139). His weakness and how he clings to life create sympathy with the audience watching as he bargains with Death. Obviously, as a messenger of God, Death cannot relent, so Everyman *must inevitably* take his journey and confront his misplaced values and personal demons. Transformation occurs for Everyman as each of his values for friends, for family, for riches is stripped away as ineffectual (Knoell 7). The man who proudly resisted his Death is now become humble before it, submitting to his journey, and coming to realize how much he needs to change along the way in order to have a positive outcome when he reaches the Throne of Judgment.

His dynamic (i.e. changing) character is initially broken down with the loss of those things he formerly held dear and then built up with the addition of new virtues: Knowledge, Priesthood, Communion, Strength, Beauty, the Five Senses, and a revitalized and invigorated Good Deeds. Each of these comes to help and then leaves as he completes the soul journey into a peaceful death where the audience is sure that this transformed Everyman will be well-received by God at His Throne of Judgment. As if the transformation and intended message of the play were not obvious enough in and of themselves, the playwright finishes the performance with a lecture from the Doctor of Divinity about the lesson the audience should take from the play (*Everyman* 902-921). So Everyman's transformation occurs along prescribed lines. In *Everyman* the themes of spiritual regeneration and transformation are used to a specifically didactic purpose before Martin Luther and his Ninety-five Theses (1517) had the chance to divide the religious institution with the Protestant Reformation (Pavao). The play ultimately reinforces the status quo by reifying the values of the dominant culture, in this case the one all-powerful Church.

Illustrating a spiritual transformation in the exact opposite direction, away from heaven and cultural authority altogether, Christopher Marlowe's tragedy of corruption of faith by intellect, *Doctor Faustus*, shows the title character falling from an assumed practice of Christianity into willful self-determination, rebellion, and ultimate damnation. Written during the same period of dramatic censorship and enforced conformity that Kyd suffered under, Marlowe's work engaged with spiritual transformation in a man who embodied the deadliest sins—hubris and pride – and overreached the bounds of humanity in order to satisfy his curiosity. As Connors explains: "[a]s the story progresses, Faustus' quickly approaching fate exposes the true message of the story: to surrender to curiosity about forbidden knowledge has irrevocable repercussions [...]. His curiosity has destroyed his life, as well as his reputa-

tion." Similar to how the dead warrior and the spirit of Revenge act as narrators and gave structure to Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, Marlowe employs a chorus between scenes to fill in detail not presented on stage and offer commentary on the events as they play out:

Of riper years to Wittenberg [Faustus] went, Whereas his kinsmen chiefly brought him up. So soon he profits in divinity, The fruitful plot of scholarism graced, That shortly he was graced with doctor's name,

Excelling all whose sweet delight disputes In heavenly matters of theology; Till, swoll'n with cunning of a self-conceit, His waxen wings did mount above his reach,

And, melting, heavens did conspire his overthrow. (Marlowe Prologue.13-22) Before Faustus ever enters the stage the chorus warns the audience what will happen and

explains the lesson that they should learn from what they are about to see.

At the beginning of the play, Doctor Faustus is an admirable character. He has achieved his degree and is feeling confident in his learning. Consequently, he does what many university students in the centuries since have done—he contemplates what he should do with all the knowledge that he has gained. It is here where his degeneration begins. Witnessed

by the audience, Faustus successively rejects the noble professions of medicine, law, and the church. His rejection of these options is not necessarily a negative issue; but his reasoning shows his selfish conceit and arrogant pride:

The character of Fauetus is reason

The character of Faustus is reasoning and very aware of the moral (or immoral) status of what he is undertaking. His opening speech is devoted to working out logically why he is willing to sacrifice both the road to honest knowledge and his soul in favor of more power He exhibits, in his search for power, anything but animal passion; he indeed exhibits a chilling logic as he talks himself out of the possible delights of heaven. (Larson)

As he reasons aloud about his reasons, he reveals selfishness in rejecting service professions and curiosity rejecting what he considers would be unchallenging professions. As he shows contempt for exercising his wisdom for humanity and in the name of God he creates suspicion in the audience about his wisdom, his humanity and his religion. In order to serve his own gains and his conscience-killing curiosity about the world, Faustus opts to devote himself to magical metaphysics.

While his opening speech showed the audience an open-minded, intelligent, and thoughtful man taking stock of himself and his opportunities, every scene following continues the pattern of degradation. Faustus stubbornly refuses to benefit from the counsel of concerned friends, the eloquent offers from the Good Angel, and the whisperings of his own conscience. All of his nobler reasoning seems to have deserted him. When he chooses to embark on the study of magic and necromantic books, he says that in the twenty-four

years he is allotted, he will do great deeds for his city and the world. Instead, as the acts, and subsequently the years, pass by, all that Faustus has done with his power is to use it up on displays, frivolities, and indulgences. He has interviewed the Seven Deadly Sins, has gone on a chariot ride around the world, has mocked the Pope in Rome, and has conjured spirits for the enjoyment of his guests and the fulfillment of his own sexual lusts. In his most trivial demonstrations, he has grapes fetched in winter for a pregnant duchess, tricks a horse dealer with some hay and a fake leg, and puts horns on the head of a knight who dares to oppose him. In this way the message about negative transformation and its impending consequences is more subtly implied:

Marlowe hides the deep tragedy of Faustus' degeneration and damnation behind the farce, pomp, and excitement of Faustus' life after the deal is signed Faustus has traded his soul for the power to understand the universe and make the world a better place, yet all he received was twenty-four years of superficial pomp and farce; his life and soul were wasted. (Casten)

None of the things he elects to do with his power has any lasting benefit or impact anyone except for Faustus himself. It appears to the audience that he sold his noble ambition when he sold his soul and any remnants that might have remained have been sucked out during his intercourse with the succubae in the form of Helen of Troy (Marlowe V.i.90-109). From beginning to end, Faustus is not the same man, and his transformation takes him down the road of degradation both spiritually and interpersonally.

As those claiming responsibility for maintaining order in their society, the Early Modern British authors crafted texts that mirror the cultural values of the time, especially the values promoted by the church and state. Both church and government employed indoctrination, the powerful combination of fear and wonder as well as the threat and application of brute force to uphold the status quo that structured their society. It is no surprise that these institutions took steps to harness the power of theatre and the popular imagination to influence the population. Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* upholds the need for institutions that arrest change. *Everyman* promotes change but only in conformity with dominant structures of power. Each of these texts uses characters to illustrate with promises of heaven or threats of hell the need for all to stay as it was within established lines. Furthermore, Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* demonstrates that revolt against the norm leads to radical degeneration. With these vibrant presentations depicting the consequences of nonconformity, these authors' creations reflect the dominant social, religious, and cultural values of the times, which emphasizes to the susceptible population that everyman had his place and it was best that he maintain it.

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New Approaches to Correcting Metabolic Errors in Tay-Sachs

Katherine Stefanski

Abstract

Tay-Sachs Disease (TSD) is a neurodegenerative disorder categorized as both a gangliosidosis and a lysosomal storage disease. Tay-Sachs is caused by a deficiency in the enzyme β -hexosaminidase A (Hex A). There is no current remedy available for TSD. However, there have been promising studies and breakthroughs on the use of gene therapy to cure Tay-Sachs, and these studies will be discussed in this review article. Initial progress was made using a cell line model for TSD which led to subsequent studies in HEXA null knock-out mice and mice with Sandhoff disease (a related disease involving the same enzyme). Eventually, researchers were able to transduce the brain of Sandhoff mice correcting the diseases neurological symptoms. Most recently, felines with Sandhoff disease were also successfully treated with gene therapy. Advances made in lifespan, quality of life, and relative safety of the treatment in animal models implies a readiness for human trials.

Introduction

Background

Tay-Sachs disease (TSD), named for the two physicians who first described it, was discovered by Warren Tay, a British ophthalmologist, and Bernard Sachs, a neurologist from New York City. The disease presents beginning around six months of age with early blindness, severe mental retardation, paralysis, and in most cases death early in childhood before four years of age. It is most commonly seen in children of Eastern European Ashkenazi Jewish descent as well as some French Canadian and Louisiana Cajun populations. TSD is an autosomal recessive disorder caused by a mutation in the gene that encodes for the lysosomal enzyme β -hexosaminidase A (Hex A), HEXA.

Metabolic Basis of Tay-Sachs

TSD is classified as both a gangliosidosis and a lysosomal storage disease. ^{2,3} Gangliosides are the principal glycolipid comprising neuronal plasma membranes. Their surface patterns are created and broken down by various biosynthetic and catabolic pathways. Inherited defects in the catabolic pathways are known to exist in humans. When being recycled, gangliosides are endocytosed and degraded by lysosomes. Defects in different ganglioside hydrolases such as β -galactosidase, β -hexosaminidase and GM2- activator protein (GM2) cause different forms of gangliosidoses. An inherited deficiency in Hex A, which leads to a ganglioside build-up in the patient, is the underlying cause of TSD, a diagnosis of which is confirmed through blood tests for Hex A levels. ^{1,3}

The specific ganglioside that builds up in TSD sufferers is GM2. GM2 is the target of lysosomal enzyme Hex A. β-hexosaminidase A is a heterodimer of α and β subunits encoded for by the genes *HEXA* and *HEXB* respectively. In TSD it is the *HEXA* gene that is mutated causing the deficiency in Hex A.² The most common mutation, a 4-base pair insertion, causes the mRNA transcript to be unstable despite normal transcription.⁴ However, other mutations also may cause the protein to be misfolded in the endoplasmic reticulum. This prevents the enzyme from being transported to the lysosome. In the lysosome, without Hex A, GM2 cannot be broken down (Fig. 1). Hex A is responsible for the cleaving of N-acetylgalactosamine from GM2 ganglioside. Without a means to metabolize GM2, it builds up in the cell and disrupts normal cellular function and eventually leads to cell death (Fig. 2). Martino *et al.* clarified the direct link between the lack of Hex A and the build-up of its substrates.⁵ The related disorder, Sandhoff disease, is caused by a mutation in *HEXB* which encodes for the β subunit of Hex A. Its symptoms are clinically indistinguishable from TSD.⁵ Since they involve the exact same enzyme complex, the two diseases are often studied side-by-side using animal models with Sandhoff disease.

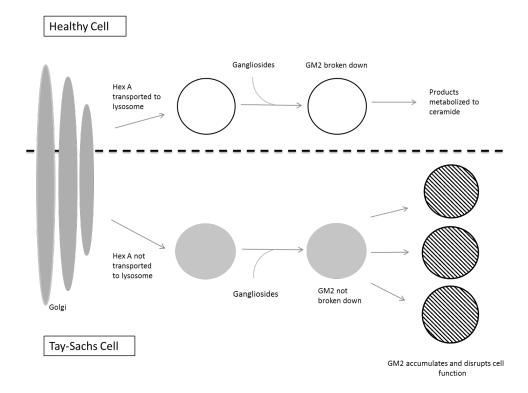


Figure 1. Diagram showing a comparison of a healthy ganglion cell and one affected by Tay-Sachs disease. In the healthy cell β -hexosaminidase A (Hex A) is transported from the Golgi apparatus to the lysosome (shown in white) where it breaks down ganglioside G_{M2} (GM2) the products of which are metabolized to ceramide. In the cell affected by Tay-Sachs disease Hex A is either not made or is misfolded which causes it to not be transported to the lysosome (shown in gray). In the absence of Hex A, GM2 accumulates (shown in stripes) and disrupts normal cellular function.

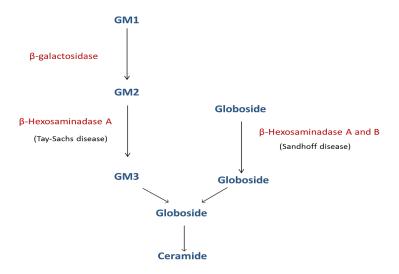


Figure 2. Metabolic pathways involved in Tay-Sachs disease and Sandhoff disease. Ganglion cells metabolize gangliosides (GM1, GM2, and GM3) and globosides using enzymes that cleave off various groups from ceramide. A mutated α subunit Hex A causes Tay-Sachs disease, while a mutated of β subunit of Hex A causes the related disease, Sandhoff disease.

Current Management

No cure exists for humans with Tay-Sachs disease. Currently, the best method of prevention is carrier screening. Between 1969 and 1998 1.331 million young adults volunteered for the Tay-Sachs carrier detection test worldwide. During that time period, the number of cases of individuals diagnosed with TSD per year dropped from 50-60 to approximately 2-6 in the US and Canada.^{6,7}

Early attempts at intravenous enzyme replacement using purified human Hex A to treat TSD and Sandhoff disease were found to be ineffective. Intracranial fusions and bone marrow transplants also proved to be clinically ineffective. Meanwhile, families and clinicians can only manage the symptoms of the disease. Palliative care includes feeding tubes, range-of-motions exercises and medications for seizures to comfort the patient and ease suffering before death. 9

Breakthroughs in Gene Therapy

First Steps

In their paper published in 1996, Akli *et al.* describe successfully restoring Hex A activity in fibroblasts (a type of cell commonly found in connective tissue) taken from a human subject suffering from TSD using adenoviral vector-mediated gene transfer. The fibroblasts expressing the recombinant α subunit showed an enzyme activity of 40-80% of normal. These corrected cells secreted up to 25 times more Hex A than the control TSD fibroblasts and showed a normalized degradation of GM2.

Mouse Models

Inspired by this accomplishment, members of the same research team (Guidotti *et al.*) published a paper in 1999 describing their use of gene therapy to treat TSD in Hex A null mice. Their goal was to find an *in vivo* strategy that resulted in the highest Hex A activity in the greatest number of tissues. It should be noted that they used adenoviral vectors carrying human Hex genes. Using vectors carrying the α subunit gene alone brought about only partial correction of Hex A activity. Intravenous co-administration of vectors coding for both α and β subunits of Hex A demonstrated a more successful correction of Hex A levels. The use of both subunits led to high levels of Hex A being secreted by peripheral tissues (heart, liver, spleen, skeletal muscle, and kidney) indicating that exogenous α subunits were unable to dimerize with the low amounts of endogenous β subunits.

The authors contended that while gene therapy would ideally require the transduction of the majority of cells in an organism, this was an unrealistic goal. Therefore, it was their objective to transduce a large number of cells in a large organ causing them to produce and secrete Hex A into the bloodstream in large enough quantities to be taken up by non-transduced cells. They found that injecting the liver brought about transduction of peripheral tissues while injecting other tissue, such as skeletal muscle, did not. The obvious drawback of this study is that Hex A deficiency was not corrected in the brain. Intravenous adenovirus gene transfer does not transduce the brain nor does the secreted enzyme from peripheral tissues cross the blood-brain barrier.

Treating the Brain and Body

In their 2006 paper, Cachon-Gonzalez *et al.* describe their method of transducing neuronal cells with Hex A α and β subunit genes. They used *HEXB* null mice with Sandhoff disease and treated them with stereotaxic intracranial inoculation of recombinant adeno-associated viral (rAAV) vectors encoding both subunits of Hex A, including an HIV tat sequence which greatly increases gene expression and distribution. The authors were able to show that rAAV transduces neurons and promotes the secretion of active Hex A after a single injection. Their evidence indicated a widespread delivery of the enzyme to both the brain and spinal cord. The mice in their study survived for over one year while the untreated mice died before 20 weeks of age. Initially, the motor ability of the treated Sandhoff mice was indistinguishable from the wild-type mice while the untreated mice showed a drastic decline in motor function.

In their follow-up study published in 2012, Cachon-Gonzalez *et al.* used a modified treatment technique yielding more significant results. Again, using rAAV vectors carrying both human Hex A subunits, Sandhoff mice were given intracranial co-injections into the cerebrospinal fluid space and intraparenchymal administration at a few strategic sites. Mice were injected at one month and survived for an unprecedented two years, and the classical manifestations of the disease were completely resolved.

An earlier study using Neimann-Pick disease supports Cachon-Gonzalez's contention that multiple injection sites yield more clinically effective results. ¹⁴ Niemann-Pick disease

is another lysosomal storage disease similar to TSD. Passini *et al.* (2007) used mice with this disorder to further investigate gene therapy on lysosomal storage diseases.¹⁴ Using rAAV vectors, they were able to reverse the pathology of the treated mice with both visceral and brain injections. These mice showed superior weight gain and recovery of motor and cognitive functions, when compared to mice treated with either brain or visceral injection alone. The authors assert that this affirms the benefits of multi-site gene delivery strategies in diseases that affect the whole body.

Feline Experiments

Working from the successes of the trials with mice, Bradbury *et al.* conducted studies using felines with Sandhoff disease. ¹⁵ A cat's brain is more than 50 times larger than a mouse's, making it a better analog for the treatment of human brains. The researchers first attempted treating two cats with the same vectors used in the mouse studies. These treated cats lived for 7.0 and 8.2 months while untreated cats survived for just 4.1 months. While the two treated cats did show an increase in lifespan, they also showed a pronounced immune response to AAV vector and the human Hex A. Researchers then used AAVrh8 vectors with feline Hex A cDNAs. Three cats were injected with these vectors and survived for an average of 10.4 months. They also found that when phenotypically normal cats were injected with the AAVrh8 vector and examined after 21 months, they showed no sign of vector toxicity. ¹⁵

The cats receiving the AAVrh8 vectors were injected twice. While they showed an increase in lifespan and quality of life, and Hex A activity was increased in most regions of the brain, its activity was minimal in the temporal lobe and cerebellum. Given that the cat brain is about 20 times smaller than a human infant's, the authors suggest that additional injection sites would provide better therapeutic benefits. This assertion accords with the findings of Passini *et al.* in Neimann-Pick mice.

Jacob Sheep as a Potential Model

A line of European Jacob Sheep with a disease similar to TSD has been discovered. The afflicted juveniles show a similar ataxia and early death as other Tay-Sachs animal models.¹⁷ These sheep exhibit a lack of Hex A activity and a missense mutation in the *HEXA* gene has been located.¹⁸ Given that a sheep's brain is even more similar in size and volume to a human brain these sheep are a promising model for the next steps of Tay-Sachs gene therapy research. Researchers have an opportunity with these sheep to further refine injection strategies before human testing.

Conclusions

Human trials are the obvious next step in researching a gene therapy treatment for Tay-Sachs. Promising results have been seen in experiments described above using gene transfer in human Tay-Sachs cells. 12 The results of studies on mice have shown promise in the correction of Hex A expression in the brain and body tissues of mice and felines. 13,14 Many advances have been made in the understanding of implementing gene therapy, spe-

cifically in treatment of gangliosidoses. An understanding of the need to transfer the genes for both subunits of Hex A has been established. Viral-based gene therapy, however, has not been without its problems. Host-induced antibodies and inflammation can limit the use of viral vectors. More specifically, antibodies to adenoviruses exist in most people, which limit reinjections. To combat this, second generation adenoviral vectors have been created with fewer viral genes, which reduce the host's immune response. Vector-related toxicity and immunogenicity related to the remaining viral genes can still present complications. 16 Nevertheless, improvements in the understanding of which vectors and techniques show success in transducing neural cells of the brain in TSD and Sandhoff models have been made. Additionally, these vectors and injection techniques have also not been shown to have deleterious side effects in asymptomatic animal models. Given the progresses made in safety, any remaining risks of gene therapy are outweighed by the severity of TSD. Human trials will hopefully demonstrate a reversal of symptoms in patients giving them a more normal lifespan. In fact, the Tay-Sachs Gene Therapy Consortium, a collaborative of researchers from Auburn University, Boston College, Harvard University/Massachusetts General Hospital, and Cambridge University are attempting to begin these trials by the end of 2014.19

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Still Misunderstanding the Oedipus Tyrannos

Luke Howard Judkins

Abstract

In modern literary analysis of Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannos, many scholars apply theories upon the play without noting or including textual scholarship or authorial intention into their criticism, resulting in anachronism and misinterpretation of the Greek tragedy. In providing criticism of the Oedipus that displays importance for historical contexts, I assert each scholar's duty to ensure the proper continuation of the Oedipus in literary criticism so that this valuable work of art may live on respectably. Despite critics such as E.R. Dodds, who have reminded scholars of our intended focus on the tragedy, many scholars still loosely apply modern ideological theories, misinterpreting the play and ignoring key elements and conventions that compose the intentions of the tragedy. Using Aristotelian support in my argument, I provide readers and viewers of the Oedipus Tyrannos with a perspective that will consider Sophocles' intentions for the tragedy within the context of the fifth century B.C., so we can limit misinterpretations and anachronisms in modern criticism as we encounter this work of art.

ince the fifth century B.C., a large discussion of Sophocles' objective in the *Oedipus* Tyrannos has accumulated in written criticism, debating the character of Oedipus and how responsible he is for his actions. However, if we are to attempt to understand Sophocles' objective, or at the very least intelligibly discuss it in any manner, we must look at Oedipus Tyrannos from the perspective of the Greeks in that era. It is utterly useless to attempt to apply any ideological or modern theory or principle to the play in an attempt to address these concerns. If justice is to be done in discussion and analysis, we must adapt the mindset of the culture of that time and view the tragedy in terms of its emotional effects on the Greek audience as Sophocles' contemporaries, such as Aristotle, would have. Without doing so, the results of our own cultural views upon the play are hazardous, since that would imply Sophocles' culture and ideas are synonymous with those in this era, which would result in an anachronistic crime. In light of addressing modern critics' views of free will or determinism, E.R. Dodds said, "we are examining the intentions of a dramatist, and we are not entitled to ask questions that the dramatist did not intend us to ask" (40), and "we [Dodds's emphasis] think of two clear-cut alternative views [...]. But fifth century Greeks did not think in these terms [...]" (42). Agreeing with Dodds, I confront the current interpretations that seem to ignore Dodds's warnings and advice of relying on Greek culture, history, and tragic conventions as the basis for our analysis and what we should address when viewing, reading, and studying the tragedy. Examples of these interpretations are evident in some critics such as Simon O. Lesser, who views the play from a psychoanalytic perspective. To understand Oedipus Tyrannos we must examine Sophocles' intentions for both the nature of Oedipus and the nature of the gods as though we were the Greek audience. Confronting many modern views of the Oedipus, we must affirm textual scholarship, cultural studies, historical scholarship, and authorial intention. If any of my ideas or notions presented throughout my analysis seem redundant and pre-established to any classical scholars, I must sympathize with Dodds on the continual "flogging a dead horse" of these "ancient confusions" - apparently, the animal of misinterpretation that Dodds attempted to thwart is still alive (38).

I will begin by addressing the issue of Sophocles' intentions for Oedipus. More specifically, I wish to clarify and establish how we should look at the character of Oedipus in the context of the Greek tragic plot. Many critics are guilty of far too much analysis into the character of Oedipus. For example, Simon Lesser argues the importance of the concept of "two" while discussing the play. Though he initially draws upon brief historical context, Lesser also continues to draw attention to the two levels of drama – what he terms as "foreground drama" and "background drama," or expressed drama and implied drama, which are informed by ideological theory. He uses aspects of this point throughout his lengthy analysis of Oedipus with psychoanalytic views of his mental processes, which is what he believes has been slightly addressed by other critics but not substantially enough for a proper reading of the *Oedipus*. Lesser's focus upon "background drama" (Lesser's inferred psychology) completely ignores what Dodds establishes as "an essential critical principle" that "what is not mentioned in the play does not exist [Dodds's emphasis]" (40). That is, since

Sophocles does not mention Oedipus's thought processes directly or indirectly in the tragedy, we ought not to impose them into it and ask questions that lie outside of his objectives. In Lesser's psychoanalytic interpretation, he intends to explicate the *Oedipus* as displaying the emergence of two levels of drama, relying on ironic structures evident in the play. In doing so, he attempts to assert Oedipus's guilt for not avoiding his killing of the travelers and his marriage to someone old enough to be his mother. Thus, Lesser infers that his oedipal mentality shows that there is "no chance [...] that this [marriage to someone as old as his mother] could have passed unnoticed" (192). Through oedipal, Freudian psychology, this seems acceptable. Nevertheless, I urge that we analyze the tragedy as Greek drama and not analyze it as though a modern perspective can be superimposed upon the play's structure and worldview. My primary goal is to address what is present in the play and not add to it as we examine Oedipus's character. We must take Oedipus for what he *does* and not for what he *could* or *should* do. Hence, my notion that we should be mindful of Sophocles' intentions in regards to Oedipus' innate psychology, so that we can avoid the pitfall of anachronism.

Continuing with another misinterpretation of the character of Oedipus, a further criticism made to Oedipus is that he is completely guilty of his crimes. If Oedipus is guilty or has no complete control of his decisions, I would have to say that this tragedy is a complete failure with entirely different effects on the Greek audience. This criticism results in a new plot of the Oedipus. The primary aspect of the Greek tragedy is the emotional affect it has on the audience through formal and affective conventions, as Aristotle postulated. Since the primary emotions transferred in a Greek tragedy are fear and pity, the protagonist should invoke these emotions by his reactions to his environment and setting both in act and word. If Oedipus is fully guilty of his crimes due to hubris, I, as an advocate of Greek historical and cultural contexts, have neither pity nor fear to see someone receive just what he deserves for his actions - by watching a criminal receive justice. Conversely, I have pity and fear for the character of Oedipus if he is fully innocent; however, in this type of criticism, Sophocles' formal conventions are lost, as no hubris would exist for hamartia to stem the reversal, or peripeteia. For historical and contemporary support, especially concerning the affective conventions of Greek tragedy, we should rely on a Greek contemporary, Aristotle in the Poetics (currently believed to be one of his student's lecture notes), to shed some light on how the plot and protagonist can achieve the ideal emotional intentions, especially since Aristotle believed that the Oedipus was the exemplum of Greek tragedy in this way.

Since I support the interpretation presented by Aristotle and Dodds, I will disagree with R. Drew Griffith in his unsourced comment, "Texts contemporary with Sophocles suggest that, while feeling about the play much as we do, many members of its original audience would have questioned Dodds's analysis" (194). In chapter 13 of the *Poetics*, Aristotle defines the ideal plot structure for a Greek tragedy. He establishes that the plot must have the protagonist falling in action not due to evil, but to *hamartia*. *Hamartia* is either "a definite action or failure to act" where "the fortunes of the hero of a tragedy are reversed" ("*Hamartia*"). More accurately, *hamartia* is an archery term defined as "to miss a mark" ("μαρτάνω"). But I stress that *hamartia* is an action taken without complete awareness of

the consequences. Thus, Oedipus's deed, which begins his downfall, makes him somewhat innocent in his parricide and incest that he commits. In fact, we should additionally note that Oedipus, while running from his *moira* that Apollo had prophesied, unknowingly falls into that which he assumes he has escaped. I would further argue against Griffith's inclusion of *hubris* into the analysis of Oedipus's guilt. "He killed Laius by free choice, thereby abdicating any claim to essential moral innocence," says Griffith, as he expounds on fifth century Greek legal proceedings and announces Oedipus not morally innocent (204), but I believe this is far from the intentions of Sophocles and the Greeks' reception of the tragedy.

Even though hubris is "overweening insolence" to the extent of violence and a flaw in Oedipus, it is merely the character's motivation in the plot for the hamartia ("Hubris"). I trust that I can interpret Oedipus's violent pride as such by comparing the crossroads scene to how the character later treats Teiresias in lines 340-526 and Creon in lines 594-750, and the Chorus echoes this trait in line 963 as "Pride breeds the tyrant." Considering Oedipus' hubris and his hamartia, I do not wish to prove Oedipus not guilty, but I do not wish to prove his innocence. My discussion of hubris and hamartia extend as far as an argument might go that respects the integrity of the Greek tragic drama. To return to Aristotle's Poetics, I conclude that the Greeks were not primarily concerned with the specific morality of the tragic protagonist at all, especially because he "is one who is not preeminent in virtue and justice, and one who falls into affliction not because of evil and wickedness [...]" (44). The resulting fear and pity from tragedy originates from our reaction to the plot structure and construction and development of the protagonist - "towards one who is like ourselves," says Aristotle in the Poetics (163). How can Oedipus be either fully guilty or innocent, and we still have this emotional effect from they play? The answer is we do not; he is as innocent as he is guilty. Therefore, in response to those who wish to assign guilt to Oedipus or otherwise vindicate him, I respond, as I believe the Greeks would: If you wish to say so, he is only as guilty and fated as we are.

In addition to analyzing what I believe to be Sophocles' intentions with Oedipus' character, an effective study also needs to address Sophocles' intention with the nature of the gods. It is necessary to quote Dodds again in his observation concerning Apollo's oracle, "The oracle was *unconditional* [Dodds's emphasis] [. . .]. Equally unconditional was the original oracle given to Laius: Apollo said that he *must* [Dodds's emphasis] die at the hands of Jocasta's child; there is no saving clause" (41). But in Dodds's research, he does encounter in Aeschylus' *Septem* that Laius's oracle was conditional, saying "Do not beget a child; for if you do, that child will kill you" (41). It is important to ask ourselves Sophocles' intentions for altering the oracle from conditional to unconditional and notice how that might change the tragedy. In fact, the *Oedipus* would not be much of a Greek tragedy at all if the conditional oracle cursed Laius and his family for not heeding its advice. Rather, it would be the fulfillment of Apollo's curse upon the House of Thebes and would not give us necessary elements customary of a Greek tragedy, chiefly the emotional effect. Not only does the change of nature lend itself to tragedy, but it also lends itself unfortunately to the popular debate

of interpretation between Oedipus' free will or his predetermined fate, or moira, through the tendency to apply modern views. This issue is probably the hardest to discuss continuously and accurately in the eyes of the Greeks. Thus, most interpretations are skeptical due to inconsistencies, such as Lauren Silberman, who writes, "the oracle impels Oedipus to an inquiry into his own past, which will reveal how the course of his entire life has been the working-out of the gods' curse" (295). But as we have seen, Apollo did not curse Oedipus at all due to Sophocles actually changing the nature of the oracle. Silberman also relies heavily on determinism so that her only notion of free will lies in her (as Dodds would say) "two clear-cut alternative views" (Dodds 42). Silberman continues, "If they wholly believed the prophecy, no action to evade it would be possible; if they wholly disbelieved it, none would be necessary. On the one hand, the catastrophe reveals that there was nothing Oedipus could have done [...]. On the other, Oedipus's fate is shown to be the direct result of his actions" (296). So according to Silberman, free will only exists in disbelief. But according to her theory, would not a disbelieving Greek also be predetermined to disbelieve? Moreover, would the actions from that Greek assumed to be, but really not, free? Does a Greek's disbelief abolish forever his need to rely on a deity, even by her interpretation that divine power is itself the product of human mortal desire for securities in an ordered universe? As we can see by forcing modern interpretations upon the Oedipus, we raise more questions external of the play than we answer concerning the play and the nature of the gods and of Oedipus.

I will clarify. Our focus should not between free will and predetermined moira, especially since many inconstancies and contradictions are frequent in the Greeks' belief system and mythology. By altering the nature of the oracle, Sophocles was able to present the gods in conjunction with moira - not necessarily in full control of it. That is, through allowing Apollo's oracle to state fact of future events, enacting his prophetic nature, rather than curse the House of Laius, Sophocles prepared the character of Oedipus to act of his own free will throughout events in the play. Though it appears as though I have modernly "taken a side," I will add that Sophocles also wishes for the Greeks to worship the gods reverently. Therefore, our answer lies in Griffith's research, even though I do not advocate his argument: "fate [moira] is an impersonal force, not an Olympian deity or even a lackey of the gods like the Furies, and it is as binding upon gods as upon mortals" (Griffith 204-205). (An example of his research can be found in Hesiod's *Theogony* with Fate as the child of Night in line 211.) Again, we see that the oracle merely stated a fact of Oedipus' life, since Phoebus Apollo was a god known for his truthful responses and prophetic abilities, and this fact was Oedipus' moira. Moira, which appears to reveal time, has acted on Oedipus' life as a metaphysical force solely letting events unfold, allowing Sophocles' cosmic irony to create Oedipus's circumstance. Apollo and his priestess merely played the role of prophetic mediator, since he possesses the power to know the future and to expect certain events in moira.

However, this does not reduce the power of the gods. The gods have the power to act, and discussion tends to arise on whether the gods are just by their action or occasional lack of action in the play. Though Sophocles clearly establishes that he did not think "the gods

are in any human sense just [,] he nevertheless held that they are entitled to our worship," as evident in his style and treatment of the gods (Dodds 47). For the Greeks, the gods were just as much under rule of *moira* as they, but that still did not place the gods' actions within the grasp of human understanding. I agree with Dodds as he compares the theology of Heraclitus with Sophocles: "there is an objective world-order which man must respect, but which he cannot hope to fully understand" (47). Greeks might have seen some actions in the play to be unjust because the gods did not intervene and might have seen other actions to be just in ways because they did intervene, and vice-versa, complying with the contradictory nature of Greek myth. Either way, the oracle did have intentions by its answers to concerns brought to it; however, those answers were never truly made clear to the audience, revealing Sophocles' intentions with the mysterious nature of the gods, namely Apollo, as revered deities that cannot be fully comprehended.

Not only are misinterpretations of the *Oedipus* useless and unproductive, but they also lead to a decline in the skillful study of pedagogical works of literary art. Misinterpretations, as I have attempted to display, only raise more confusing questions rather than answer any questions or raise the right questions. That is, the study of literature should propose to advance and cultivate the art of literature as a whole. Therefore, by relying on historical scholarship, authorial intention, textual scholarship, and cultural studies, the integrity of the art will remain intact by allowing the correct and appropriate context - that is, as close as we may possibly come to that cultural context. If we do not abide by these contexts to extrapolate the messages in the Oedipus and other great works of Literature, we are asserting that the works' origins have no great importance, the works' contexts to be irrelevant, and the authors to be servants to our own intellect, rather than allow our intellect to be expanded by the authors' geniuses. By ignoring my proposition for correct scholarship, critics, teachers, and students of Literature run the risk of misinterpretation and anachronism by selfishly placing themselves above these works of art and their authors, neglecting the importance of artistic integrity of the Oedipus and, furthermore, disrespecting the artistic nature of Literature as a whole.

To examine and discuss the *Oedipus Tyrannos*, we should look at Sophocles' intentions from the perspective of the contemporary Greeks. Otherwise, we risk inferring modern ideological interpretations from what is not stated or established during the play. Dodds accurately comments, "we are examining the intentions of a dramatist, and we are not entitled to ask questions that the dramatist did not intend us to ask" (40). I believe that in any manner, we should address and ask what Sophocles' intentions were with the nature of Oedipus and with the nature of the gods. Aristotle's *Poetics* addresses and defends against clumsy attempts at forcing current Western culture upon the reading and performance of the *Oedipus* by allowing scholars to view the play as if they were a contemporary of Sophocles. I hope that my re-clarification of the *Oedipus* will move critical discussion on the play to new levels and do away with old misinterpretations. I will also add that any critical view will affect future pedagogical literature; thus, we all need to be careful and wise in how we address and treat literature, as it will certainly have its effect on the next generation. Literature is art

and needs extreme care and respect. Even though some notable life questions result from interesting theories of analysis (such as Lesser, Silberman, and Griffith) of great literature as the Oedipus, I still urge that we view and teach Sophocles' conventions and intentions with this play as enhanced by textual and historical scholarship. I am not attempting to overthrow theories as a whole, as they can be regarded to reflect authorial intentions. For example, a sociological criticism informed by the New Criticism movement aligns with the Oedipus's affective conventions and cultural context. Kenneth Burke in "Literature As Equipment for Living" posits, "Art forms like 'tragedy, 'comedy,' or 'satire' would be treated as equipments for living [Burke's emphasis], that size up situations in various ways and in keeping with correspondingly various attitudes" (304). He is exactly right, as the Oedipus's form holds "sociological" value by invoking fear and pity and supplying us with a katharsis of them (a purge, purification, or even understanding of these emotions) (Golden 114-120, 133-137). Sophocles' metaphysical and ethical thematic conventions, plot structure in formal conventions, and intended emotional responses in affective conventions all must focus our discussion. By focusing on these aspects, we might define that the Oedipus has a place in literature due to its content, structure, design, and katharsis. Observing the tragedy's literary value and even its rich history and culture, particularly the deletion of the tragedy's exodus and reinstatement while being preserved in monasteries, I urge the continuation of the Oedipus Tyrannos in the literary cannon if we call attention to the art forms evident in it respectably and without illogical misinterpretations of Classical Antiquity. After all, this is our duty as a literary community.

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A Collision of Influences: Rationalizing the Use of Religious Images in *The New England Primer*'s Pictorial Alphabet

Rachel Donegan

Abstract

Much of the existing research on The New England Primer fails to account for the wide range of influences that contributed to this watershed American textbook's creation. In this essay, I consider the Primer alphabet's corresponding images from a variety of perspectives, including educational, artistic, and theological. After exploring the critical work of Patricia Crain, Charles Carpenter, and Henry Pitz (among others), I combine these critical lenses together instead to provide a greater understanding of the forces that allowed an iconoclastic Puritan society to include religious images as a means of educational instruction

As an educational schoolbook, *The New England Primer* is a watershed text that has provided a foundation for much of what American schooling looks like today. However, *The New England Primer* is a much more complex document than a simple textbook. The use of images in *The New England Primer*'s alphabet poses an intriguing problem for those familiar with Calvinist theology. To the lay reader, these crude woodcuts pose no issue whatsoever. But these seemingly innocent inclusions are at direct opposition with the prevailing Reformed theology at the time, which expressly forbade the use of representational imagery in religious contexts. In order to discuss such an intricate topic clearly and effectively, I must make some distinct initial clarifications. Throughout this essay, I will be using the terms "Reformed" and "Calvinist" interchangeably, as is commonly done in contemporary theological contexts. I will be using "Puritan" to refer specifically to the group of American colonists who settled in the New England area and who adhered to Calvinist doctrines.

Much of the prior literary scholarship on the use of images in the *New England Primer's* alphabet has reduced the complexity of influences to a simple causal relationship. *The New England Primer* represents conventions of printing, graphics, theology, history, and education colliding at once. Each of these factors plays a key role in the use of images as a whole and in understanding the controversial nature of their use. I am proposing that a complex variety of influences—theological, educational, historical, and artistic—combined to allow for the use of images in the *New England Primer*.

The initial question of images in *The New England Primer* arises from its seemingly antithetical relationship to the Reformed theology present at the time of its initial publication in 1690. In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, John Calvin spends several chapters discussing the dangers of using images as exclusive forms of learning. Calvin calls into question Pope Gregory's assertion that "images are the books of the unlearned," countering with biblical examples that scriptural doctrine maintains "every thing respecting God which is learned from images is futile and false" (53). John Calvin's distrust of imagery was explicit, strong, and universally accepted amongst Reformed denominations for centuries, well into the Enlightenment.

Many contemporary literature scholars have reduced Calvin's views about images to mere anti-Catholic rhetoric rather than examining the underlying theology behind them. For Calvin and other Reformation theologians, this issue of images was not necessarily a denominational issue, but chiefly one of salvation: "For many reformers, it was not merely impossible to create an image of God (who by His very nature was beyond depiction); it was also blasphemous to try, as the biblical prohibition on 'graven images' made clear" ("Reformation and Iconoclasm"). Additionally, "according to Calvin, every time a person misunderstood God even in the slightest way, the incorrect idea of God became an idol[;] Calvinists had to avoid creating these incorrect ideas of God as much as possible" (Schnorbus 256). Puritans and other Calvinists at this time viewed a reliance on secular and even religious educational images as a dangerous gateway to possible sin and idolatry. To them, words and their precise, controlled usage were clear, so the lack of a specified context con-

tained in images left far too much up to personal interpretation and manipulation. Understanding these theological tenets while reading *The New England Primer* only seems to emphasize the contradictory nature of the images themselves. If the Puritans felt so strongly against the use of images as educational tools, then why are they so predominantly featured in *The New England Primer*'s alphabet?

London printer Benjamin Harris first printed *The New England Primer* in around 1690. *The New England Primer* was not a collection of completely original literary content; in fact, Harris adapted much of the material in *The New England Primer* from an earlier work of his, *The Protestant Tutor*. Like *The New England Primer*, *The Protestant Tutor* has been referred to by some writers as a 'religious primer,' but it can properly be called a school primer. *The Protestant Tutor* was strongly anti-Catholic, and had more religious than secular matter in it; but many of the elementary schoolbooks of the time...could equally well be designated as religious texts. (Carpenter 23)

The *Tutor*'s success allowed Harris then to create *The New England Primer*, a volume that avoided its predecessor's "savage political attacks on Catholicism but retain[ed] a Protestant emphasis that was attractive to New England's Puritan audience" (Zipes 87). Like its predecessor, the *Primer* was a wildly successful publication, selling an estimated six million copies between 1690 and 1830 (Griswold 120). Patricia Crain adds how much of the *Primer*'s success was due to its timely publication: "When Benjamin Harris began publishing [*The New England Primer*] there, arguably in about 1690, the spiritual fate of the colonists, especially the young, was a growing concern" (39). Puritan doctrine centered on the idea of "Sola Scriptura," or scripture as the sole authority, so learning to read served a practical, yet important purpose—it enabled children to read and understand the Bible. In the Puritans' eyes, literacy was merely a means to obtain salvation, and finding the means to foster this ability in their children was of paramount importance.

To this end, the Puritans produced texts for children that served both educational and theological purposes. These included The New England Primer, whose earliest extant copy of The New England Primer dates to 1727, but scholarship has suggested that images were included with the alphabet in printings prior to the 1727 issue. To this effect, Charles Carpenter states in his History of American Schoolbooks, "The majority of the early issues of The New England Primer were similar in having an illustrated alphabet at the beginning....In the earliest issues the alphabet rhymes were of a religious nature" (26). This use of religious images in The New England Primer from the very start further complicates this issue. While The New England Primer is known more today for its contributions to American education, the word "primer" itself lacked secular connotations in 17th- and 18th-century New England. Strictly speaking, a "primer" merely referred to a devotional or prayer book rather than a secular educational text. And while The New England Primer is the most well-known colonial primer today, E. Jennifer Monaghan, in her book Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America, points out that nearly every Christian denomination at this time had its own associated primer, and distrusted the authority of all others, regardless of theological similarities (84).

From an educational standpoint, the *Primer* as a complete text "draws upon the hornbook and primer traditions of early print culture" (Crain 38). In terms of connecting words with pictures in order to foster meaning, the *Primer*'s picture alphabet "follows the tradition of emblem books, in which a picture illustrates the literal aspects of some metaphorical point" (Monaghan 99). These emblem books, which were popular educational texts in the 16th and 17th centuries, paired various pictures (or "emblems") together with explanatory type, a didactic strategy mirrored in the *Primer*. Monaghan mentions one interesting source of inspiration for many of the alphabet's images—tavern signs and street signs. These signs served as a visual reference for both secular and religious rhymes in *The New England Primer*'s alphabet. However, these less-than-highbrow muses did not go unnoticed for long. Monaghan notes how by the mid-18th century, "evangelicals found these images so crude that they were banished from later versions of the primer and replaced by clearly religious pictures and rhymes" (99). Street signs may have served as an influence for some *Primer* printings, but the overwhelming majority of the images present in the alphabet lack such low-brow inspiration.

In many ways, *The New England Primer*'s use of images in its alphabet was ground-breaking, both in terms of associating images with Reformed doctrine as well as including images in locally-produced educational texts. Monaghan states, "*The New England Primer* had always woodcuts illustrating its introductory alphabet...No locally printed spelling book up to this point, however, including the *Youth's Instructor* (which also included fables) had ever had illustrations" (231). The Puritans' pairings of text and image was, from the start, an intentional choice and an innovative addition to the educational text genre.

With *The New England Primer*, when direct and overt rationales for image inclusion are hard to come by, something as simple as the arrangement of the images themselves can reveal much about their intentionality. David Watters notes how the specific order of the images and text on the page signify an inherent power structure within the pictorial alphabet (197). Since the images and text are placed in a left-to-right arrangement, thus mimicking the natural English language reading tendency, the emphasis and initial gaze of the reader both lie on the image, not the text. The image instead of the rhyme is the initial holder of significance. Watters further postulates how the alphabet's images, when paired with the accompanying rhyme impact the overall meaning:

Emblems often employ a middle term, a prose gloss, that relates poetic text and image, and acts as the voice of the community of interpreters. In this case of the parent who drills the child in memorization of the text can provide this gloss or point to a place in the catechism or the Bible which does so. (197)

Also asserting the necessity of images in *The New England Primer*'s alphabet in order to aid reading instruction, Patricia Crain asserts that "[t]he verbal and visual tropes that surround the alphabet cloak the fact that the unit of textual meaning—the letter—lacks meaning itself" (18). Without the help of images as a referencing tool, learning basic literacy skills is a much more difficult task.

While the illustrated image is the first portion of the page to be processed, its function

and meaning lie in partnership with the corresponding rhyme. A crude woodcut of a cross on a hilltop holds more meaning when paired with the rhyme "Crift crucify'd/ For finners dy'd" than it would by simply existing alone (Zipes 93). Also, the simplistic nature of the images themselves helps deemphasize and diminish any other possible interpretations than that provided in the associated rhyme. By directly pairing the images together with doctrinally based rhymes, Harris leaves little room open for alternative interpretation of these images, thus easing the Calvinist anxiety and hesitance about the use of religious imagery.

The connection between image and rhyme as holders of meaning is significant in light of other scholarship pertaining to Puritan educational materials. An interesting perspective on this rationale for included images lies in the history of illustrating children's books. Illustrator and scholar Henry Pitz notes multiple instances where Puritan writers had intentionally included images so as to increase their circulation and to better target their books to children. Pitz states that not only did the Puritans write numerous texts intended for children, but "the Calvinists knew the value of pictures as long as they served their own creed" (23). To this end, Patricia Crain remarks, "[1]ike the rest of American Puritan teaching, the *Primer* seems to take an any-means-necessary approach to its task" (39). For these Reformed printers and writers, it seems that the end goal of teaching children to read in order to learn the Bible justifies the use of images as educational accessories, even when they must overcome potential sacerdotal objections.

This concept of the end justifying the means corresponds well with Schnorbus' hypothesis of the influence of philosopher John Locke's educational ideas being a reason for these images. In her article "Calvin and Locke: Dueling Epistemologies in The New England Primer," Schnorbus notes how "the Lockean approach sought to engage the child as an active partner who would respond to the text, evaluate text and image together, and compare written information with past experience. Thus, the child would absorb the content and the technique of learning in general" (253). Later in the same article, Schnorbus points out how by Harris' yielding on the issue of images, "Lockean epistemology sparked a reaffirmation of key Calvinist doctrines...instead of secularizing The New England Primer" (254). In relation to *The New England Primer*, it seems that by conceding on this one aspect of Calvinist doctrine, Harris enabled thousands of Puritan children to better their visual literacy skills without sacrificing the ideological end goal of learning the Bible. Tracy Fessenden, in her book Culture and Redemption: Religion, the Secular, and American Culture, echoes this rationale by noting the connections with "the prevalence of religious imagery in the alphabet with the Primer's textual purpose" (Donegan 3). She reinforces this idea by noting the established "Puritanical belief of education as a way to introduce literacy as a means to spiritual maturity' and notes that The New England Primer's linking literacy to theology enabled children to learn the 'anxious lessons of Puritan theology along with the basic information they needed to participate in the social world" (qtd. in Donegan 3).

Another fascinating aspect of this question of images in *The New England Primer* is the artistic nature of the images themselves. The images are crude and amateurish, which could be written off as a reflection of the time period. However, this lack of detail is more

of a reflection of the individual artists who created them and not an accurate reflection of the quality of woodcuts that were created at this time. David Bland, in his A History of Book Illustration, notes how other Christian religious texts that were produced around the same time as the Primer had woodcuts and engravings of a much higher technical quality and that contained much more artistic merit. An example Bland provides of such religious artistic merit is the 1663 printing of the Cambridge Bible, which contains "some incredibly fine and delicate work...Many of the original engravings, notably those for the Apocalypse, show a high order of imagination" (191). Bland's specification of engravings, rather than the more antiquated woodcuts, is significant, as it indicates a change in the printing technology. With an illustrated religious work like this pre-dating the first publication of *The New* England Primer, it is clear that the images used in the Primer are both sub-standard in their quality and outdated in terms of their mode of creation. For example, the "B" rhyme, "Thy Life to mend/ This Book attend," is paired with a picture of an open book, but the book lacks any discernable text on the pages (Zipes 93.) Perhaps this begrudging acceptance of the image as an educational tool can account for the quality of the woodcuts themselves. The woodcuts that accompany The New England Primer's alphabet are, at best, a crude attempt to represent and signify meaning. The images themselves serve a pragmatic function, not an aesthetically pleasing one. They are simply meant to aid a child in learning enough literacy to read the Bible—no more, no less, and certainly without any attempt at artistic flair.

By intentionally including these substandard images, the Puritans are permitting the existence of representational imagery, as long as the aesthetic appeal is minimized to avoid any traces of popery or of possible idolatry. In subsequent reprints of *The New England Primer*, various artists upheld this same commitment to rustic imagery. To this effect, Monaghan notes that with *Primer*: "The fidelity of an American reprint to its original was such that American printers felt obligated to find someone who could create woodcuts to reproduce the pictures—something that was much harder to do than merely copying the text" (231). Given that Benjamin Harris was an established and successful publisher by the time of the *Primer*'s first printing, it can be assumed that he could have afforded to commission higher-quality images. However, this use of poor quality images seems intentional, especially in light of Fessenden's comments on the growing Puritan society's emphasis on literacy. She also notes that in a growing Puritan society, illiteracy was a greater evil than the possible means used to achieve it:

Reading represented a movement away from potentially enslaving dependence on images for children, who confronted the *Primer's* woodcuts and then moved beyond them to master the letters they prompted. [...] The form of the *Primer* severs images...and fixes them as unassimilable, 'earthly' residue of the language-acquisition process. (50)

Within this context, the rudimentary nature of the images essentially marks them as educationally singular—since these woodcuts do not provide any aesthetic value or personal enjoyment to a child, they can easily be disposed of and forgotten once the task of learning

to read is complete. Moreover, by intending for these images to be temporary educational tools rather than permanent fixtures in a child's life, a Puritan reading and educational public further downgrades the value of and place for religious representational imagery.

David Watters begins his "I Spake As A Child—Authority, Metaphor and *The New England Primer*" by lamenting on how few works of literary criticism exist on the primer, despite its clear historical, educational, and literary influence on American culture. He mentions how one reason for this lack of critical texts is likely a prevailing contemporary aversion to the doctrine of original sin. Many scholars, he states, are turned off by this theological idea and avoid the critical opportunities that *The New England Primer* contains.

However, another reason Watters gives for this hole in scholarship is the lack of complete primer manuscripts. Indeed, this lack of primary documents does make any form of analysis difficult. Charles Carpenter attributes this absence of complete editions of the *Primer* to two main factors: 18th-century higher academia's attitude towards the *Primer* and the nature of library and print culture in this period. He states:

The fact that there are no known copies of printings [of *The New England Primer*] between 1727 and 1735 indicates how little attention was paid to the preservation of schoolbooks from a biographical standpoint prior to the 19th century, since it is probable that copies were issued during this period. (25)

Additionally, Carpenter maintains that "[i]t is well known that university libraries in the early days did not consider the various issues of *The New England Primer* worthy of preservation" (25). At this point in history, libraries found little value in preserving older editions of books in general. Carpenter even notes how even the Bodleian Library would get rid of older versions of books once newer editions were published rather than preserve the older copies (Carpenter 25).

But even with the fragments and extant copies of the *Primer* still accessible today, there is much left to sift through, to question, and to discover. What appears to be a common schoolbook is much more than that. These rough, unpolished woodcuts that appear next to alphabet rhymes hold much more significance than their crude forms may initially suggest. Their very inclusion represents a variety of intellectual influences combining at once, which is something much more remarkable than a simple causal relationship could produce. While none of these factors individually comprises an earth-shattering ideological shift, collectively, they provide enough of a philosophical push to merit the presence of images in *The New England Primer*. This collision of intellectual forces offers great opportunities for scholars from a variety of disciplines—composition studies, linguistics, and even the educational field—to take a turn pouring over the *Primer* and searching for meaning through its overlooked pages.

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C.G. Jung and the Inheritance of Immanence: Traces of Spinozistic, Nietzschean, and Freudian Influence in Analytical Psychology

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Abstract

Carl Jung, the founder of analytical psychology, was heavily influenced by both Nietzsche and Freud, both of whom were influenced, as Yovel notes in his The Adventures of Immanence, by Spinoza. Through his years of collaboration with Freud and his long-lasting fascination with Nietzsche (combined with Jung's own semi-mystical tendencies, Jung became more of a Spinozian, than Nietzschean or Freudian. These Spinozistic traces can be detected in the framework of analytical psychology. A comparison is presented on the views of Spinoza, Nietzsche, Freud, and Jung on historical religion, the source of human motivation, and the liberating power of self-knowledge.

This investigation explores the intellectual genealogy that links seventeenth-century rationalist and Jewish ex-communicant, Baruch Spinoza, to the founder of analytical psychology, Carl Gustav Jung. In *Spinoza and Other Heretics: The Adventures of Immanence*, Yirmiyahu Yovel describes Spinoza's influence upon Nietzsche and Freud. In *Philosophical Issues in the Psychology of C.G. Jung*, Marilyn Nagy investigates the inspiration of Plato, Kant, Schopenhauer and others on Jung. However, no effort has been made to investigate the possibility that Spinozism might have trickled into Jungian thought through Nietzsche and Freud. Not only do I plan to shine a light on these Spinozistic traces, but I also plan to show that Jungian thought parallels that of Spinoza more closely than that of Nietzsche or Freud.

It should be noted that these Spinozistic traces in analytical psychology are likely present because of intellectual inheritance rather than deliberate appropriation. In the entirety of Jung's Collected Works there are only a handful of mentions of Spinoza. In *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*, Jung briefly laments that Spinoza was one of the first philosophers to devaluate the "metaphysical value" of the archetype (*Structure* 136). Then, in *Psychological Types*, Jung points to Spinoza as a perfect representative of the "intrinsic certainty," or "conviction" that accompanies intuitive knowledge (*Psychological* 453). Clearly, Jung had some level of exposure to Spinoza, but his grasp and overall opinion of Spinozism remains unclear.

While Jung gives Spinoza only a couple brief and seemingly ambivalent mentions within his *oeuvre*, Jung mentions the name of Nietzsche, the man who enthusiastically referred to Spinoza as his own "precursor" no less than nine times in Jung's autobiography, *Memories*, *Dreams*, *Reflections*. Only Goethe and Freud are mentioned more frequently. Jung was fascinated by Nietzsche, but he hesitated to read Nietzsche's work for many years, for fear that he might turn out too much like the German philosopher. In some ways, Jung was correct. Both he and Nietzsche were raised by clergymen, and both men had "inner experiences" they found difficult to share with the rest of the world. Jung even attended Basel University, where Nietzsche had been made a professor years earlier. Jung feared their similarities might run deeper, and that he, like Nietzsche, might go mad. Curiosity eventually overcame Jung's fear, and he described his first reading of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* as a "tremendous experience" (*Memories* 102). The reading left such an impression on him that he would deliver a series of lectures on *Zarathustra* years later. It is difficult to overstate Nietzsche's influence on Jung, yet another figure looms even larger in his history.

Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, Carl Jung's mentor, and the man who would proclaim Jung the "crown-prince of psychoanalysis," mentions Spinoza rarely, but, when he does so, it is typically to remark on their similarities. In a letter to Dr. Lothar Bickel, a Spinozist interested in the practice of psycho-analysis, Freud admits his debt to Spinoza, but he tempers his admission with the remark that, "I conceived my hypotheses from the atmosphere created by him, rather than from the study of his work" (Yirmiyahu 139). Freud clearly appreciated Spinoza, even if he denied a need for "philosophical legitimization." Freud, like Jung with Nietzsche, recognized the numerous similarities between

himself and Spinoza: both he and Spinoza were Jewish men separated from their tradition, both challenged gentile society with their rationalism, and both were met with tremendous resistance. Freud suspected that, in his own case, the resistance could be the result of his heritage. Therefore, he looked to his gentile disciple, Jung, to promote psychoanalysis.

Jung owes much to each of these predecessors. From Nietzsche, Jung would draw his love for individualism and a deterministic viewpoint reminiscent of *amor fati*. From Freud, Jung would inherit not only his technical expertise, but also the basis for many of the concepts he would refine within his own school of Analytical Psychology, concepts such as libido, the unconscious, and defense mechanisms. From both men, Jung would, perhaps unknowingly, inherit a great deal of Spinozism. The Jungian ideas that are most closely related to those of Spinoza are his concept of God, especially in connection with historical religion; his understanding of *conatus*, will to power, and libido; and his belief in the transformative and liberating power of self-knowledge.

God and the Problem of Historical Religion

Spinoza was excommunicated for ideas that were interpreted as atheistic, but the language he utilizes in the *Ethics* opens the door for plenty of semi-mystical, metaphysical possibilities. For example, Spinoza claims that God is "...an absolutely infinite being, that is, substance consisting of infinite attributes, each of which expresses eternal and infinite essence" (*Ethics* 31). This, at least, seems to eliminate the possibility of a personal, yet transcendent God who creates matter *ex-nihilo*. Consider the following as well: "...all things are in God and are so dependent on him that they can neither be nor be conceived without him..." (Spinoza, *Ethics* 57). One might argue that Spinoza is describing a pantheistic God, but this is not necessarily so. Spinoza is describing God's participation in the universe and it in him, but he is not necessarily equating the two. In a letter to Henry Oldenberg, Spinoza plainly states, "As to the view of certain people that I identify god with nature (taken as a kind of mass or corporeal matter), they are quite mistaken" (*Correspondence* 73).

This letter, when taken into context, suggests that Spinoza likely held a panentheistic view of God, rather than a strictly materialist or pantheistic view. In other words, a single source exists that permeates the universe, but it is neither separated from the universe, as a pantheistic view would suggest, nor is it *simply* matter, as a materialist thinker would perceive the Divine. This panentheistic view is not a completely unique point of view among Jewish thinkers at the time; Cordovero, writing a full century before Spinoza, speculated that "God is all reality, but not all reality is God" (Scholem 252). It is well worth noting, when one considers the overwhelming atheism of Jung's influences, that Jung would share this panentheistic view with Spinoza when his explanation of the collective unconscious matured.

Spinoza's opinion on the matter of historical religion is far clearer than his theology. Without a doubt, Spinoza detested historical religion, insulting it as *superstitio* and *vana religio*. One can almost feel Spinoza's abhorrence when reading the *Ethics*: "So it came about that every individual devised different methods of worshipping as he thought fit in order

that God should love him beyond others and direct the whole of Nature so as to serve his blind cupidity and insatiable greed" (58). Spinoza wanted traditional religion eliminated and he had just the thing to replace it: a universal religion guided by reason instead of dogmatic belief. Spinoza believed that through *amor dei intellectualis*, man would discover a state of freedom from his passions.

Nietzsche famously proclaimed, "God is dead," in both *The Gay Science* and *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. For Nietzsche, there was no Divine Being pronouncing moral commandments from on high, demanding blood sacrifices, and encouraging the stoning of individuals for relatively minor offences. It should come as no surprise then, considering Nietzsche's blatant atheism, that he held an unfavorable view of historical religion. Nietzsche did not even share in Spinoza's immanence. Nietzsche saw no reason or order to the universe, whatsoever. However, one might be surprised to note that in *Will to Power*, Nietzsche briefly reveals a desire to embrace pantheism, but he quickly disregards it as a temptation to believe in the shadow of the old, dead God.

Far more in line with Nietzsche than Spinoza, Freud declared the notion of God to be an illusion, an outward expression of an inner need for a father figure. Furthermore, Freud believed that although religion might have once been useful in promoting social unity, it was now a "mass-delusion" that should be eradicated (26). Like Spinoza, Freud believed he had discovered the replacement for historical religion, but for Freud, this replacement was the "dogma" of psychoanalysis. Freud likened himself to Moses, who would never see the Promised Land to which his teachings would lead all humanity. Unfortunately for Freud, his gentile Joshua did not adhere to some of his most fundamental doctrines.

Jung's understanding of God is far more difficult to pin down than the three described above, because, throughout his long life, Jung's concept of evolved significantly. For example, with only a cursory glance, we might become convinced that Jung shared Freud's atheism. Jung, in fact, often described himself as a strict empiricist. However, Jung was convinced he had psychological reasons for at least entertaining the idea of a God, although he would never commit to knowledge of whether God was an actual entity or merely a psychic construct. However, in a mystical treatise never meant for publication, *Septem Sermones ad Mortuem* (which one might call an early experiment in active imagination and/or a gnostic-hymn), the narrator Basilides plainly contradicts Nietzsche's famous proclamation by telling his ghostly audience, "God is not dead. Now, as ever, he liveth" (Jung, *Memories* 382).

Early in his career, Jung aligned himself closely with Freud. However, following their schism, Jung grew ever more and more comfortable with situating the collective unconscious and its archetypes outside of neurological structures, genetics, or socio-cultural programming, and into the metaphysical realm. Eventually, he all but explicitly identified the collective unconscious with God. If we regard the collective unconscious as the source and entirety of psychic reality, with psychic reality constructing what we might perceive as "external," then another look at the *Sermones* should be quite illuminating: "Moreover, God is the *pleroma* itself, as likewise, each smallest point in the created and uncreated is the *pleroma* itself" (Jung, *Memories* 382) and "[the *pleroma*] is both the beginning and the

end of created beings. It pervadeth them as the light of the sun pervadeth the air" (Jung, *Memories* 379). Of course, this singular essence of all things should remind us of Spinoza's panenthesitic God.

If Jung indeed held this view that God, the *pleroma*, and the collective unconscious were the same, then it makes sense that Jung would share a similar Spinozistic disapproval for historical religion. Referring again to the *Sermones*, Jung writes, "Least of all availeth it to worship the first God, the effective abundance and *summum bonum*. By our prayer we can add to it nothing and from it nothing take..." (*Memories* 386). To Jung, no religion would be literally true, nor useful, to God Himself. In *Memories*, *Dreams*, *Reflections*, Jung recalls a childhood dream, which he was too terrified to share with any adults, in which God defecated on a church. I doubt I can find a better description of Jung's feelings for historical religion.

Of course, just because Jung believed no historical religion was to be taken literally did not mean he found religious practices to be completely worthless. In fact, Jung often used religion as part of his treatment for neuroses. In *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, Jung shares with the reader that among all his patients over the age of thirty-five, not one of them had a problem that was not, at its core, an issue of lost religion. In his opinion, religion could bring meaning to a patient's life, but he takes great care to note that this has "nothing whatever to do with a particular creed or membership of a church" (Jung, *Modern* 264). It is important to remember that although Jung did not share Freud's conviction that religion was simply an illusory crutch, he also advocated his own therapeutic method over any historical religion.

Conatus, Will to Power, and Libido

Another Jungian concept that meshes better with Spinozistic thought than Nietzschean or Freudian is the source of human drive, affect, and motivation. Spinoza called the source of all human behavior *conatus*. All psychic traits spring from *conatus*, including aggression, empathy, and even *amor dei intellectualis*. Perhaps most importantly, *conatus* is responsible for self-preservation. Spinoza explains that *conatus* is the drive through which, "Everything endeavors to persist in its being" (*Ethics* 108). This is important to note, when comparing Spinoza's work with that of Freud, that *conatus* is monistic. Therefore, *conatus* can only lead to self-destruction through individuals' misunderstandings of their own *conatus*, because "Nothing can be destroyed except by causes external to itself" (Spinoza, *Ethics* 108).

Nietzsche also espoused a single principle that guides all human behavior, which he christened the *will to power*. *Will to power* might best be understood as a sense of ambition. It is purely egoistic, never altruistic. However, *will to power* is not simply the desire to succeed in mating or business. It is the drive always to strive for a better position in life. This is not unlike Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Once one has found food, one secures shelter. If one has secured shelter, one seeks out friendship and so on. Nietzsche was convinced that all these acts were performed, not because an organism wished simply to perpetuate itself,

but because all beings wished to become more than they are at a given time. Spinoza might counter this argument by pointing out that one's *conatus* would indeed lead one to pursue a better position in life, but this would be accomplished in an effort better to preserve oneself.

Libido, or fundamental psychic energy, is the driving principle in Freudian thought. It arises from the id and is therefore primarily sexual in nature. Just as with *conatus* or will to power, libido is a purely naturalistic principle – it presupposes no "soul," "spirit," or any other transcendental quality. Unlike *conatus*, however, it is not monistic, but dualistic. Libido consists of two instincts, *eros* and *thanatos*. *Eros*, which may seem quite similar to *will to power*, is the pursuit of life and growth. *Thanatos* is primarily destructive in nature, even self-destructive. Because of this capability for self-destruction, it is of the utmost importance, in Freud's mind, that an individual redirect and externalize one's *thanatos*. Whenever externalization becomes impossible, as it often will in our society, *thanatos* must be sublimated. Spinoza would no doubt find this absurd. As mentioned above, in Spinozistic theory, only something external to a thing can destroy it. Therefore, no being can actually have a will to destroy itself.

While Freud drifts into dualism with *eros* and *thanatos*, Jung maintains the monistic nature of Spinoza's *conatus*: "...there is only *one* striving, the striving after your own being" (*Memories* 382). However, Jung would maintain Freudian nomenclature. To Jung, libido was neither purely sexual (although it could be), nor did it involve any particular instinct for self-destruction (although, again, this was a distinct possibility). Libido was, instead, all psychic energy. The source of this energy was not the id or even the ego, but the tension that exists between an individual's ego and the collective unconscious. In a view that is again closer to Nietzschean individualism or Spinozistic *conatus* than that expressed by Freud, Jung describes the primary function of the libido as individuation: a drive for constant betterment and greater psychic balance. The key to individuation is self-knowledge.

Transformation and Liberation via Self-Knowledge

Spinoza, Nietzsche, Freud, and Jung each saw self-knowledge as the key to liberation/salvation, but what that meant to each individual is quite different. According to Spinoza, knowledge of God and one's place within his essence will lead to salvation (Ethics 23). Therefore, within Spinoza's approach, one learns and grows through observation of the external world, which is part of God. In other words, through science one develops an understanding of God/nature and is thereby liberated from one's passions, but only if science (1) can be "conceived and felt as explicating a basic metaphysical truth, namely the identity of nature with God and of the individual's essence with the nature-God" (Yirmiyahu 148), and (2) "discursive scientific progress must eventually give way to the synthetic intuition" (Yirmiyahu 148). Spinoza advocates this process, science, as a means to probe the immanent universe and to understand one's own place within it.

Nietzsche, on the other hand, was not concerned with liberation from the passions, but rather with freedom from moral-slavery. Ethics or morality would not, for him, be bound by a transcendental concept like God, but simply by our natural tendencies of self-

overcoming. If this path of self-overcoming were to reach its eventual end, one would become the *Übermensch*, a man with no need for religion. As an *Übermensch*, one would finally embrace the world with *amor fati* and a willingness to submit to "eternal recurrence." Nietzsche's self-knowledge, which is closer to disillusionment than anything, may initially lead to suffering, but it should eventually be overcome by joy. This is the central theme of the *Gay Science*.

Freud wrote that there were three sources of human suffering: the body, which is "doomed to decay and dissolution," the external world with "its merciless forces of destruction," and our relationships with other humans (26). Humanity and civilization put great strains on the individual, who then begins to repress desires and painful memories. These memories are forced down into the unconscious and arise later in life in the form of neuroses. Freud advocated focusing on one's inner, psychic states (instead of external factors as Spinoza instructed). By this method, as Freud taught, neurotics might expose repressed psychic material and cure themselves. It is important to note, however, that Freud did not believe this process would bring about any special, enlightened state. He believed only that through a willingness to embrace one's impotence in the world, one might find peace enough to "love and to work."

Jung, on the other hand, saw therapy as the key to freedom from complexes and to a special, semi-enlightened state of psychic-balance. Jung called this process individuation. A fully individuated person is capable of juggling the needs of the collective unconscious, the personal subconscious, the ego, and the Self. In other words, one is able to become a complete human being. One could reach this state of fullness by means of various practices that might include traditional talking and dream therapy along with other forms of creative expression possibly including painting, poetry, dance, etc. In this manner, one could unravel the negative emotions surrounding his/her archetypes and edge the seat of one's consciousness away from the ego, toward the Self, one's subconscious God-image. Keep in mind, Jung was not suggesting we identify with our God-image (which would lead to ego-inflation); we should simply bring our own desires and values into alignment with it. Only then, Jung taught, would one be freed from the control of the passions.

While Nietzsche saw self-knowledge as a means of creating meaning in a meaningless existence and Freud saw it as a panacea for psychic disease, Spinoza and Jung saw the acquirement of self-knowledge as something of a religious experience. Although Jung clearly draws his terminology from Freud, his individuation process bears a greater resemblance to Spinoza's method than Freud's. Like Freud, however, Jung turns Spinoza's search for self-knowledge inward. This inner work is the purposeful re-organization of psychic contents in order to discover the proper place of one's ego within the universal expanse of *mind*.

From Spinoza to Jung

This essay has shown the effect Spinozism had on the development of analytical psychology through the dual-influence of admitted admirers of Spinoza, Nietzsche and Freud, which led to Jung becoming closer to a Spinozist than either of his influences. Al-

though Spinoza and Jung held slightly differing opinions on historical religion, they shared a panentheistic view of God (a view not shared by Nietzsche or Freud). Jung's unique understanding of *libido* as the source of human drive resembles the singular essence of conatus far more than it resembles Freud's overly-sexualized concept of *libido* or Nietzsche's will to power. Finally, while Nietzsche saw self-knowledge as a source of personal meaning and Freud saw it as psychological remedy, Spinoza and Jung saw the acquirement of self-knowledge as a religious experience. Spinoza advocated this pursuit as a means to probe the immanent universe and to understand one's place within it. Jung's individuation process, although similar, takes the search for self-knowledge down to the microcosmic level.

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Saving Sarah Fricker: Accurately Representing the Realities of the Coleridges' Marriage

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Abstract

The Lake Poets circle was prolific; they wrote letters to each other constantly, leaving a clear picture of the beginning and eventual decline of the marriage between Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Sarah Fricker Coleridge. Coleridge also was fond of chronicling his personal life in his work. Coleridge's poetry and prose clearly show that, though he may have come to regret it, he originally married Sarah Fricker for love and was very happy in the beginning of their relationship. The problem with their marriage was that they were just fundamentally incompatible, something that was not Sarah Fricker's fault—she was a product of her society and simply unprepared to be a wife to someone like Coleridge. Unfortunately, scholars have taken Coleridge's letters as pure truth and seem to have forgotten that every marriage has two partners, both with their own perspectives. This reflects a deliberate ignorance of Coleridge's tendency to see situations quite differently from how they actually were. Because of this tradition, Sarah Fricker Coleridge is often portrayed as difficult at best and a harridan at worst. It does not help that she attempted to help her husband's reputation by the majority of their letters that she possessed—one cannot see her side as clearly. In this essay, I hope to prove that she was simply an unhappy wife, married to a poetic genius who had decided she was the impediment to his happiness while she only wanted to keep their family together and safe.

Tn a letter to Thomas Wedgwood written at Keswick on October 20, 1802, Samuel ▲ Taylor Coleridge complains bitterly about his unfeeling, disagreeable wife: "Ill tempered Speeches sent after me when I went out of the house, ill-tempered Speeches on my return, my friends received with freezing looks, the least opposition or contradiction occasioning screams of passion, & the sentiments, which I held most base, ostentatiously avowed" (Griggs 876). With descriptions like this, it is no wonder that scholars have often painted Sarah Fricker Coleridge as difficult at best and a frigid harridan at worst. This is terribly unfortunate in two senses: first, it reflects deliberate ignorance of extant primary sources, namely those letters written by Mrs. Coleridge and others in the Lake Poets' circle, and second, it tends to create a two-dimensional portrait of a woman unprepared to be a genius's wife rather than reflect the intelligent, though fairly traditional, young woman she was. While Sarah Fricker Coleridge may not have been the best wife for Coleridge, she certainly tried to be a good wife to him. She obviously loved him—and in the beginning, at least, he clearly loved her. Because Coleridge was so honest about his feelings in both his poetry and prose, the evolution of his relationship with Sarah can be definitively traced as his portrayal of her shifts from beloved partner to impediment to his happiness.

Scholars have long noted the importance of considering Coleridge's everyday concerns in connection with his work. In his introduction to *Minnow among Tritons*, the collection of Sarah Fricker Coleridge's letters to Thomas Poole, Stephen Potter explains the unique impact Coleridge's life had on his poetry: the quotidian is

deeply felt and freely expressed, [so that] we seem to be reading about such crises as the death of a son, or the borrowing of a book, such states as marriage unhappiness, or unwillingness to answer a letter, as if they were happening for the first time. Intimate details . . . are significant because they really are intimate [;] they really do touch Coleridge's life closely. (vii-xiii)

While this is certainly true, the events Coleridge writes about are colored by his own interpretations of them, and for a man known to take perceived slights very personally—the break with Wordsworth comes to mind here—not everything he says can be trusted implicitly. It is necessary, therefore, to read all available primary sources to get a more complete view of how events truly unfolded. In doing so, a portrait of the Coleridges' marriage emerges that runs counter to the accepted narrative.

In 1794, young Coleridge had recently met and befriended Robert Southey, whom he met in Oxford while he was still enrolled at Cambridge and Southey was a student at Balliol. In their philosophical conversations, they often discussed gathering twelve men of like mind and establishing a utopian settlement in America that valued literary efforts

^{1.} This is the original spelling of her name; Coleridge insisted that she spell it without an h because he preferred it that way—he made the same change in Sara Hutchinson's name—and scholars have continued this trend. Kathleen Jones suggests that "[t]his renaming may well have been a symptom of a hidden desire to remake the women in his life into something closer to his inmost fantasies" (47). I will refer to Sarah by the name she went by until she met and married Coleridge primarily to distinguish her from Sara Hutchinson. I also think it is important to return at least that much agency to her.

and reflective thought, a plan they termed "Pantisocracy," Southey and Coleridge soon realized that if their plan was to work, the men would need wives. In August of that same year, Southey became engaged to Edith Fricker, a young woman who lived in Bristol. Edith had four sisters; one of them, Mary, was already married to Robert Lovell, a Quaker poet who shared the friends' enthusiasm for the Pantisocracy project, but pretty, lively Sarah, the eldest, was as yet unmarried, and it was upon her that Coleridge fixed his attentions. Quite characteristically, Coleridge was exuberant in his courtship, and though Sarah was not initially receptive, the poet's charm won her over, as did his stories of a childhood with a cold, unfeeling family. He impulsively proposed barely two weeks after they met (Hill 3-4; Potter viii-vx; Lefebure 41-43; Vickers 71; Wilson 62; Jones 13-16).

Sarah was elated over their engagement, but Coleridge soon regretted it—the proposal was made "in an impetuous moment of enthusiasm" (Hill 4), after all. He left Bristolfor Cambridge and later London, at which point he decided that he did not love Sarah and looked for ways to get out of the marriage. After Sarah expressed her concern over Coleridge's lack of communication with her, Southey wrote to Coleridge to admonish him to correspond more often with his fiancée; this letter was met with Coleridge's new certainty that he was again in love with Mary Evans, a woman he had attempted to court before going to Bristol. Evans was already engaged, however, and he moved on to Miss Brunton,³ an actress (Jones 16-20; Potter x; Griggs 109; Lefebure 44-51; Vickers 71-72). Coleridge wrote to Southey that the relationship was intended to put the duty of which he had been reminded forefront in his mind:

I endeavored to be perpetually with Miss Brunton—I even hoped that her Exquisite Beauty and uncommon Accomplishments might have cured one Passion by another. The latter I could easily have dissipated in her absence—and so have restored my affections to her, whom I do not love—but whom by every tie of Reason and Honor I ought to love. I am resolved—but wretched!—But Time shall do much. (Griggs 113)

Later letters, however, showed that he had renewed his attachment to Mary Evans. This alarmed Southey enough to write his friend and press the issue of his previous arrangement with Sarah; Coleridge gave in, responding, "I will do my Duty" (Griggs 145).

Scholars have sometimes quickly dismissed this move of Southey's as a mere stepping stone in the path of Coleridge's unhappiness, but it is important to point out that Southey was not simply acting as Sarah's intermediary. Upon his engagement to Edith, he essential-

^{2.} Coleridge took the word from Greek, using the roots *pant-isocratia*, which means "the government of all." The men would work together to make decisions, using the dictates of rational benevolence to come to mutual decisions to govern the group so that no one had more power than another. They would give up their possessions and work for and with each other; in theory, no one would have to labor more than a few hours each day, leaving plenty of time for intellectual pursuits. Even while they worked, however, poetry and philosophy would be on their minds; for example, the solitude of farming chores would be the perfect time to compose verses.

^{3.} Scholars seem to be divided on whether the Miss Brunton in question was Elizabeth or Ann; both were on the stage when Coleridge was in London.

ly became head of the Frickers' household; their father was dead, and George, the youngest sibling and only boy, was still quite young. It fell to Southey to defend the sisters and help protect their reputations, something that was often vulnerable since their time and education in Bath had left an impression that the girls were not always as well-behaved as society might hope. Southey sought to remind Coleridge of the promise he made to Sarah because if he broke their engagement, it would appear to be her fault—that is, that he had discovered something about her to make him reconsider. At this time, that was often code for learning that one's intended wife was unchaste (Jones 4, 15-18; Potter xxvi; Lefebure 61).

Though he was not particularly well-versed in the unspoken rules of female society and was perhaps unaware of the implications of Sarah's being tossed aside by her fiancé, Southey knew that a break with Coleridge would damage Sarah's reputation and could render her unmarriageable. This could not happen for practical reasons—he would not relish supporting even more of Edith's family—and personal ones; he and Sarah had become good friends, and he was loath to see her hurt since she genuinely cared for Coleridge. In fact, as Sarah's biographer, Molly Lefebure, has emphasized, Sarah had other suitors; it could be inferred that if Coleridge did cry off, she likely would have been able to make a quick marriage and save her good name. She clearly wanted to marry for love. Still, this concern of Southey's for Sarah's happiness and reputation is a bit ironic since both Edith and Sarah ended up "ruined" in the eyes of society after they accompanied Southey and Coleridge on a trip to the Wye Valley and Tintern Abbey in April 1795. The weather interfered with their plans and the sisters were forced to stay in an inn overnight with their fiancés without the benefit of a chaperone. Any objections Mrs. Fricker and her family might have had to her daughters marrying poor poets—one of whom was known to have a laudanum habit—disappeared in their concern for Sarah and Edith's reputations and they were married to Coleridge and Southey, respectively, within the year (Jones 18-24; Vickers 72; Lefebure 55-65).

Because Coleridge proposed to Sarah so soon after they met, many critics interpret his impulsive offer as an outgrowth of his excitement over Pantisocracy. Kathleen Jones disagrees, noting that

Coleridge's views on love would not have allowed him to contemplate marriagewithout emotional involvement—he regarded sex without love as extremely sordid, writing later to Southey that the idea of having sexual intercourse with Sarah without love, even within marriage, would have reduced her to the level of a common prostitute ... His first letter to Southey after his return to London was certainly written in the belief that his feelings were real. (16-7)

Though Coleridge later claimed that his proposal was prompted by lust, his earlier words show that at the time, at least, he believed he loved Sarah and truly wanted to marry her. It is possible, of course, that Coleridge was, as Jones asserts, "in love with love" and very attracted to Sarah (17). His notebooks support this idea, but they also tell the story of a man who fell quickly in love, which led him to question the honesty of his feelings. After returning to his fiancée, he gave every appearance of being devoted to her; Thomas De Quincey

later wrote that a mutual friend's interactions with the poet at this time convinced him that Coleridge obviously loved Sarah deeply (Lefebure 52).⁴

"Lines Written at Shurton Bars," originally titled "Epistle" and then "Ode to Sara: Lines written at Shurton Bars, near Bridgwater, September 1795, in Answer to a Letter from Bristol," exemplifies Coleridge's early feelings for Sarah. Written as a response to a letter he received from his fiancée a week before their wedding that detailed her sorrow in the face of family stress and opposition toward and gossip about her relationship with him, Coleridge's verses explode with enthusiasm to finally marry Sarah. Here we see the passion in their relationship; there is a deep intensity in these lines. As always, his mind can conjure up any number of things to worry about, but to combat that, her "soul has wing'd it's [sic] way" (RT 23) to him. 5 Coleridge does not just remember her in fondness and love; he says that her soul "hovers round my head" (RT 24). He misses her and the comfort they afford each other, but he also looks forward to the time that they can consummate their relationship—with their wedding fast approaching, that was likely at the front of his mind:

How oft, my Love! with shapings sweet I paint the moment, we shall meet!
With eager speed I dart—
I seize you in the vacant air,
And fancy, with a Husband's care
I press you to my heart! (RT 85-90)

Their sexual attraction aside, Coleridge awaits the time that he can again be with his Sarah; the poem resonates with that longing. The power of their love is such that their souls meet in the air to explore the beauty that surrounds him, beauty that would be more intense if she were there.

Coleridge also featured Sarah in a poem that explored his feelings about his own mind. "The Eolian Harp," written between August of 1795 and the beginning of 1796—four early manuscript versions exist—offers a portrait of the young lovers as they snuggle at sunset and listen to the notes of an Aeolian harp in the window, a peaceful beginning that quickly becomes an exploration of the differences of the poet's mind from his beloved's—and by extension, from the rest of the conventional English society to which she belonged. Coleridge begins with Sarah, reclining peacefully next to him in front of their cottage, and lets his mind wander, infusing their natural surroundings with the emotions that he is feeling. He even goes so far as to put the elements of Nature in a similar position to his; as he romances his willing fiancée, the wind does the same to a nearby lute, which offers up a beautiful melody in return:

^{4.} Students of the period will note that this is out of character for De Quincey, who is well known for his low estimation of Sarah Coleridge's intelligence, particularly when compared to Dorothy Wordsworth. The fact that he chose to record it suggests that it is very likely true.

^{5.} Mays compiled both a reading (RT) and a variorum text (VT); both have been helpful in my study here. The reading text gives the version scholars deem closest to Coleridge's intention, while the variorum text shows all possible versions.

And that simplest Lute,
Placed length-ways in the clasping casement, hark!
How by the desultory breeze caressed,
Like some coy maid half yielding to her lover,
It pours such sweet upbraiding, as must needs
Tempt to repeat the wrong! (RT 12-17)

Everything in Nature is harmonious, and their love places Coleridge and Sarah within that context—this is no mere country scene, it is paradisiacal. The couple is alone amid the beauty given to them by God; this is beauty reflected in the love between a man and wife, a love in which they will soon partake.

Still, the couple is not the same person; Coleridge is much more philosophical and excitable than the rational, even-tempered Sarah. Whereas she simply enjoys a peaceful time with her fiancé, he cannot stop the wanderings of his mind—"many idle flitting phantasies, / Traverse [his] indolent and passive brain" (RT 40-41). The content of these wanderings highlights another of their major differences. Sarah also represents traditional religion, specifically Anglicanism, in the poem; in contrast to Coleridge's pantheistic mental meanderings, Coleridge says that she "biddest me walk humbly with my God" (RT 52), a nearly direct quotation from the Old Testament prophet Micah that characterizes her as a conventional woman of her time, 6 ever ready to bring her Samuel back down to earth and remind him of his more important duties, both to her and to his God. Nothing in the poem suggests that he is frustrated or angered by this; he seems to appreciate the grounding effect she has on him.

Coleridge and Sarah were married on October 4, 1795, and a letter written to Thomas Poole not long after reflects Coleridge's ecstasy over the estate: "On Sunday Morning I was married . . .united to the woman, [sic] whom I love best of all created Beings.—We are settled—nay—quite domesticated at Clevedon—Our comfortable Cot!—!— Mrs Coleridge—MRS COLERIDGE!!—I like to write the name—" (Griggs 160). These are not the words of a man forced into marriage; Coleridge sounds like a newlywed, albeit one given to effusions over everything that excited him in any way. The couple took a honeymoon in their cottage at Clevedon; Coleridge famously only furnished the house with a bed, an Aeolian harp, and some old prints. Two days later, he wrote to Joseph Cottle, his publisher, to ask for further supplies, and the couple continued on in the same blissful, though poverty-stricken, manner. By April of 1796, Sarah was certain she was pregnant the debilitating morning sickness helped her understand that while it annoyed Coleridge and Coleridge's cravat began to feel a little tighter. Hartley was born in September of that same year, followed by Berkeley in May of 1798, and Sarah's focus shifted from making Coleridge happy to taking care of her growing family. For Coleridge's part, the addition of Hartley, though joyous, felt like an encumbrance, and his letters feature less celebration and more complaining. This is also the period where Coleridge was diagnosed with a "nervous

^{6.} Micah 6:8: "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (King James Version)

disorder" and prescribed larger doses of laudanum; his increasing dissatisfaction came from a number of areas, but the opium certainly did not help (Lefebure 69-97; Vickers 73; Jones 47-54; Potter xv-xvi).

Though they were happy in the early years of their marriage, Coleridge and Sarah's relationship was not without its difficulties—primarily, the questions of how Coleridge would earn a regular salary and if he would enter a more conventional profession to support his wife and their two young children bothered Sarah. *The Watchman*, Coleridge's attempt to put out a periodical, had failed not long after it began, leaving their finances in ruins. Luckily, Coleridge had an annuity from the Wedgwood brothers as well as support from Thomas Poole, a patron and friend who lived at Nether Stowey; he was also paid here and there from various published writings. Still, Sarah recognized that this hand-to-mouth existence, though romantic on one's honeymoon, was no way to support a family, and the household's lack of steady income was a sore point between the couple. Coleridge was also responsible for Sarah's mother and brother at this time, which added further stress (Vickers 73-74; Christie 59; Lefebure 90; Jones 50-52).

Another stumbling block arrived in the form of the Wordsworths; their philosophical and outdoorsy ways that Coleridge so delighted in only served to highlight Sarah's fairly traditional outlook and upbringing, and she was found wanting in comparison. The fall of 1797 and spring of 1798, so famous for its end result, Lyrical Ballads, was an important time in Coleridge's relationship with William and Dorothy⁷; it also coincided with the infancy of his children, which limited Sarah's ability to ramble about the Lake District with the trio. In Coleridge's eyes, Sarah—though intelligent—paled next to Dorothy, who possessed real genius. As for Dorothy, she had no real use for Sarah, with her Bath manners, lack of concern about philosophical matters, and modern ways of raising children; the fact that she preferred to care for her child as much as possible, a lifestyle which included breastfeeding on demand, was foreign to Dorothy, and smacked of the lower classes. Sarah was a bit jealous of the amount of time her husband spent with the Wordsworths, but there was a much larger concern: William and Dorothy were enabling Coleridge's addiction. They did not attempt to dissuade Coleridge from taking the drug as often as he did; instead, they were impressed by its poetic and philosophic results. Nor "did they protest when [his mental] excursions were made down the laudanum-impregnated streams of Fancy" (Lefebure 95). Sarah and Poole worried especially about the Wordsworths' general dismissal of the severity of Coleridge's laudanum addiction. It should not be inferred that the siblings approved of it—it is much more likely that they simply had very little experience with an addict and the many ways one could hide the extent of their dependence (Vickers 73-74; Lefebure 91-97; Jones 59-66; Hill 6-7).

In the spring of 1798, it became clear that the Wordsworths would be moving on from Alfoxden; their lease would not be renewed because of "the reputation of the group as anarchists" (Jones 70). For his part, Coleridge decided to go to Germany to learn the language

^{7.} Dorothy was William's sister, companion, and an accomplished writer. Her journals not only detail Wordsworth's movements and habits, but they also give deep insight into many Romantic figures.

and put himself in the center of the intellectual revolution happening in the universities. He left in September of that year without his family; the boys were thought to be too young to travel abroad. He promised to be an assiduous correspondent during his absence, however, and kept this promise, writing long, passionate letters to Sarah that assured her of his continued love for her as well as his pain at being parted from her and their children: "every night when I go to bed & every night when I rise' I will think of you with a yearning love, & of my blessed Babies! . . . I think of you with affection & a desire to be home /& in the full & holiest sense of the word, & . . . will be, I trust, your Husband faithful unto Death" (Griggs 415-18). Though he might have been feeling the stress of being a husband and father, Coleridge seemed to enjoy the position, at least at this time (Jones 70-74; Lefebure 97-98).

During the eleven months he was away from Nether Stowey, Sarah and the children grew ill as a result of a faulty smallpox vaccine. Baby Berkeley's immune system did not recover, and he died from consumption, which he caught from the nanny. His decline was fairly quick, but it was painful. Sarah was devastated, and her grief was reflected physically: her thick brown hair, long considered her great beauty, began to fall out and was never the same—she had to cut it off and wear a wig for the rest of her life. Coleridge was also feeling quite depressed at this time, not because he knew of Berkeley's passing, but because Sarah had ceased writing to him and he felt ignored. Poole felt that Coleridge should be kept apprised of only happy news so that his studies would proceed accordingly, and, at this time, Sarah naturally could think of nothing amusing to say. Eventually Sarah pressed upon Poole the importance of telling Coleridge about his son's death; Poole's letter was not entirely clear, so Sarah had to write Coleridge herself, pouring out her suffering on the page and likely expecting a similar response. She did not get it; instead, Coleridge spoke of his son's death in philosophical, detached terms. He also decided to extend his stay in Germany for five more months, a choice that reflects his lifelong tendency to "[run] away from situations or [hide] his true feelings, in direct proportion to the urgency of the duty or the depth of the feeling. Those he most loved were likely to be the worst treated" (Jones 81). This habit was in full force when Sarah wrote him in May of 1799 to request he come home to her and Coleridge decided instead to take a walking tour of the Harz Mountains and climb the Brocken (Hill 11; Lefebure 104-20; Jones 75-81; Vickers 76).

For someone who so loved to examine the quotidian in his poetry, Coleridge was not prepared to experience it—the monotony of domesticity bored him. When he returned from Germany in July, Coleridge had a difficult time adjusting to life back with the wife and child he had so longed to see; he spent a great deal of the next year traveling, during which time he visited the Wordsworths and met Sara Hutchinson, the sister of Wordsworth's future wife, Mary. It is at this point in the marriage that letters from and about the couple begin to strongly reflect the idea of Coleridge as an unhappy, neglectful husband and Sarah as a confused—and frankly, angry—young wife. Interestingly, the first person to hear of the beginnings of Coleridge's descent into dejection was his brother-in-law. A letter dated October 21, 1801 lays the groundwork for the opinions he has recently formed about

his wife—opinions that he would later claim had existed since their marriage. Coleridge writes, "alas! we are not suited to each other ... I will go believing that it will end happily—if not, if our mutual unsuitableness continues, and (as it assuredly will do, if it continue[s]) increases & strengthens, why then, it is better for her & my children, that I should live apart, than that she should be a Widow & they Orphans" (Griggs 767). In the beginning, Coleridge does take some blame—they are mutually unsuitable—but hopes that things will improve between them. However, it is not long before he abandons this idea and paints Sarah as the impediment to his happiness—a happiness that includes another woman (Hill 12; Vickers 76; Potter xx; Jones 85-87).

In November of 1799, Coleridge began an extended stay with the Wordsworths, leaving his family at home in Nether Stowey. It is during this trip that he met Sara Hutchinson and fell in love; in his notebooks, he described it as an "incurable" wound from Love's arrow (qtd. in Jones 87). In December, he accepted a job with the *Morning Post* and went to live in London; Sarah and Hartley joined him soon after. Sarah was pregnant again within a month. However, it appears the only harmony they found was sexual, and they fought constantly. Coleridge's dependence on opium also increased; his sicknesses were not something easily diagnosed, as he grew ill when he was anxious, and he did not lack for that unpleasant emotion during this time. Thus began a vicious cycle—he and Sarah would quarrel, he would take laudanum to console himself, the drug would dull his senses enough to frustrate his wife, they would have another fight, and he would again self-medicate. Clearly, the failure of the Coleridges' marriage had a number of causes (Hill 12-14; Lefebure 124-51; Jones 89-90).

Sarah left for Bristol in March of 1800 and later settled at Greta Hall, Keswick, in July. April saw Coleridge's trip to Grasmere, his wife forgotten for a time and a lock of Sara Hutchinson's hair in his pocket. Coleridge seemed to understand that there was no real future for the two of them, but, as Stephen Potter explains, it should not be considered "an instance of Coleridge finding 'ought not' as provocative of action" (Potter xxiii). Coleridge loved Sara Hutchinson a great deal—at least, he loved the person he believed her to be. Sara was his muse and long-suffering supporter, a refuge from his wife who seemed to him only to want to discuss what he needed to do for his family, and his convictions would not let him leave Sarah for her, no matter how unhappy his marriage was. On the evening of April 4, 1802, his grief over the situation, exacerbated by the large amounts of laudanum he was ingesting daily, led him to pour out his emotions in a verse letter to Sara, titled "A Letter to ——" to protect her identity—and likely, her reputation, which would be ruined if a passionate love letter from a married man was found to be addressed to her (Jones 90; Potter xxiii-xiv; Lefebure 146).

The letter went unpublished, though he did show it to the Wordsworths, and it is "accusatory and self-flagellating, poring over the details of his star-crossed love for Sara Hutchinson and explicitly attributing his failure in part to the misery of cohabitating with an unsympathetic woman" (Christie 150). "A Grief without a pang, void, dark, & drear, /

^{8.} By this point, the Coleridges had another son, Derwent, born in September of 1800.

A stifling, drowsy, unimpassion'd Grief / That finds no natural Outlet, no Relief / In word, or sigh, or tear—" (lines 17-20): Coleridge's love for Sara is deep, true, and impossible. As he attempts to explain his love—and apologize for various things—Coleridge rewrites his entire marriage, turning Sarah into a cold, unfeeling woman who might be the mother of his children but also exists to snuff out his happiness. He complains:

... my coarse domestic Life has known

No Habits of heart-nursing Sympathy,

No Griefs, but such as dull and deaden me,

No mutual mild Enjoyments of it's [sic] own,

No Hopes of it's [sic] own Vintage, None, o! none—

.....

My little Children are a Joy, a Love,

A good Gift from above!

But what is Bliss, that still calls up a Woe,

And makes it doubly keen

Compelling me to feel, as well as KNOW,

What a most blessed Lot mine might have been (VT 258-77).

Even his children, though a blessing, are burdens—another obstacle that keeps him from his beloved.

"A Letter to ——" was later heavily edited into the *Dejection* ode of October 1802; without knowledge of its beginnings, the poem reads as if the dejection Coleridge feels comes solely from his disconnection to nature. J. C. C. Mays notes that the verse letter was not found until 1937 (677), but there was another extant Coleridgean outpouring that made his feelings about his wife perfectly clear. On November 22, 1802, Coleridge wrote the now infamous passive-aggressive letter to Sarah wherein he explains that, if he speaks harshly to her or distresses her with his words, it is her fault and she should be careful not to upset him: "Be assured, my dear Love! that I shall never write otherwise than most kindly to you, except after great Aggressions on your part" (Griggs 887). He follows this up by claiming that "in sex, acquirements, and in the quantity and quality of natural endowments whether of Feeling, or of Intellect, you are the Inferior" (Griggs 888). Combined with his continued praise of Sara Hutchinson, his callous attitude must have made it clear that the loving man Sarah had married was gone. A more pessimistic view of Coleridge's words and his general temperament would give rise to the opinion that he was unfulfilled by one wife and, in fact, would have preferred to have many women around to serve his various needs: Sarah to mother his children and satisfy him sexually, Sara to challenge his mind, and Dorothy to flatter him as she did William. Scholars like Kathleen Jones and Molly Lefebure have made such claims, explaining that Sarah was simply not equipped to play this role; she was not one to indulge a man's shortcomings. Whether or not that is accurate, one thing is certain—Coleridge was constantly looking for someone to love him fully and self-sacrificingly, almost to the point of ignoring their own needs, and he never really found that person (Jones 11; Lefebure 76-78).

On October 23, 1806, Samuel Taylor Coleridge went north to negotiate a permanent separation from his wife. Naturally, Sarah resisted; society could be cruel to abandoned wives, and she worried about what would become of her and her children. Still, she eventually acquiesced—albeit reluctantly—sometime before Christmas that same year (Christie 166). They stayed in touch through letters, writing primarily of their children, and a friendship of sorts came about. Coleridge found a sanctuary with the Gillmans, and Sarah devoted herself to mothering Hartley, Derwent, and Sara fille. Still, her letters to Thomas Poole, as chatty and friendly as they are, reflect a constant awareness of her failed marriage. Though Sarah was ultimately a happy and fulfilled woman, she clearly would have preferred that her relationship with Coleridge had not taken the turn that it did. Sarah made an effort to stay informed about his life—she paid particular attention to his health—and communicated his status to his old friends. When she mentions Coleridge in her letters, her tone holds no rancor; if there were no evidence to the contrary, some of her missives might read as if they had reconciled. Unfortunately, Sarah also burned a great many letters that she wrote her husband, as well as anything she thought that might have embarrassed the family. Because of this, we essentially only get his side of the story of their marriage—most of the letters she burned came from the period they lived together. However, there are some surviving pieces of her later writing, and her relationship with her husband provided a great deal of gossip fodder for the Wordsworth-Coleridge circle, many of whom were assiduous letter writers and journal keepers. Though some progress has been made on this front, it is imperative that the reality of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's marriage to Sarah Fricker be better represented in scholarship, not simply to provide a more accurate portrait, but to help rescue the reputation of a misunderstood woman.

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Psychometric Analysis of the Elementary Experience Scale and Its Predictability of Elementary Literacy Scores

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Abstract

This research highlights the importance of promoting appropriate family literacy practices to avoid barriers between the home and school lives of students. The development of an Elementary Experiences Scale (EES) was necessary to predict the parent's perception of their own school experiences in comparison to their students' literacy achievement scores. Parents of elementary students were asked to complete a survey about their personal school experiences and the responses were compared to their student's Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills (DIBELS) scores. Results found that the parent survey predicted student reading achievement variance for correct letter sounds and whole words read in nonsense word fluency. The survey did not predict any of the reading fluency outcomes for the mid-year assessment; however, the survey did predict composite scores of the first grade students. These findings suggest some validation of the scale's use in predicting the effect of parents' elementary experiences on that of their students' early reading progression. This research also helps to support the need for family literacy practices in the schools.

OVERVIEW

As Meditation XVII by John Donne reads, "No man is an island." The same can be said of the educators that have established themselves as the leaders in their classrooms around our world. What the great instructors already know is that they cannot remain oblivious to the world around them. They must reach beyond the walls of their classrooms to incorporate the community and traditions of their students into their curricula to have the most fulfilled and effective results from their teaching efforts. Building a home to school connection is essential for any educational establishment. The purpose of this study was to investigate the rationalization of the school to community connection, concentrating on the field of early literacy. There is discussion of the previous research conducted in this topic area and both a validation of the practices mentioned as well as a highlighting of the effective means for creating a community atmosphere in the schools. The primary purpose of this study was to conduct a psychometric evaluation for a newly developed Elementary Experiences Scale (EES) which was administered to parents in order to further investigate effective methods of bridging the gap students may encounter from their home to school environments.

According to Low (2011), "If children do not enjoy reading in school and do not read outside of the classroom, there will be an impact on their potential achievement both in literacy and across the curriculum" (p. 8). This is why family literacy opportunities can prove to be so valuable for students. Family literacy itself can take many different forms and variations, but typically has to do with some type of literacy activity being completed in the home environment, such as reading a book together (Leseman & Jong, 1998). Early childhood family literacy practices, or lack thereof, have been found to be directly related to later reading success or struggle for students once they enter formal schooling (Jordan, Snow, & Porche, 2000; Senechal & LeFevre, 2002; Sonnenschein & Munsterman, 2002; Hart & Risley, 2003). Parents need to be empowered in their abilities to sustain student progress at home and trained in ways to help foster the most vital early literacy skills (Bird, 2005; Lynch, 2009; Skouteris, Watson, & Lum, 2012; Swick, 2009). Bennett, Weigel, and Martin (2002) found that there was a significant relation to the Family as Educator theoretical model and student language and literacy academic outcomes during their research. Additionally, students who enter the school system from families of low socioeconomic status or from a nonnative language-speaking family have shown exponential gains and benefits from family literacy programming in particular (Zhang, Pelletier, & Doyle, 2010; Zaman, 2006). The evidence in early childhood literacy practices suggests schools and families must form a partnership in the beginning of a child's educational career for the best interest of everyone involved. But how does one begin this process?

Meeting in the Middle

One could assume that as long as there have been families, there have been family literacy practices being passed down from generation to generation as part of the deeply rooted traditions of society. Unfortunately, the home to school disconnect has grown ex-

ponentially over the last few generations as each of the two camps have been almost pitted against one another. It seems that, "current conventional wisdom tells us that many parents just don't care anymore'...[causing t]eachers [to] decry this condition by announcing, 'If parents did a better job parenting, we teachers wouldn't have such a difficult time teaching" (Shockley, Michalove, & Allen, 1995, p. 4). Needless to say, repairing the rapport between educators and families can be a slow and arduous process. However, like anything else, it has to begin somewhere. Just as teachers should not perform their daily tasks as "an island," the student also should not be made to feel like they are utterly isolated and alone at school. Incorporating traditions from the home environment into the classroom provides access to the background knowledge that can ignite a child's learning process. Velez-Ibanez and Greenberg (1992) refer to this tapping into students' prior knowledge or family traditions as the "funds of knowledge" (p. 313). If educators correctly do their research on the backgrounds of their students, they will be able to access these so called funds of knowledge for their own classrooms' benefit and also to the success and delight of their students. Getting the family involved is the key. Again, numerous research articles provide evidence that students whose families participate in reading practices at home have a better rate of success in literacy related practices than students whose families do not take an active role in their child's education (Christian et al., 1998; Epstein, 2001; Smith, 2010).

Family Literacy Nights

One method for getting parents involved in their child's education is through the implementation of family literacy nights at the schools. During these events, parents are invited to collaborate with educational specialist about the best literacy methods for them to practice at home with their students (Sink et al., 2005). Many times the parents are willing and able to help their child become more successful in school. However, they do not feel confident in their own knowledge to help out at home. These nights can help break down the barrier of school and home relationships. Also, these family nights can provide a better foundation for consistent reading intervention and practices conducted both within the school and at the student's home environment. When families are provided with an easy-to-follow model and time to practice the model's specifications with educator support, they are more likely to continue such methods at home with their students (Green & Anyon, 2010). Providing a cohesive reading foundation for the students to practice reading at both home and school can only result in more success for the young readers. Student success is the true goal of any family and school program, such as the family literacy night initiative. Rosemary (2010) supports this thought by stating that the major objectives for schools hosting family literacy nights should be to "entice parents into the school so they can become comfortable with an educational system that may be unfamiliar to them [and] give parents time to help their children read and be successful in school" (p. 10). Study Groups

What better way to build once again upon the idealization that no man is an island than by the family literacy initiative known as study groups? The arduous process of de-

coding a text that is foreign in both language and background knowledge to the reader is one that often results in frustration and failure of proper completion by the student. As mentioned with literacy nights, parents can truly benefit from having one on one time with educators to learn strategies to help their student succeed. Parents need to be informed of what to specifically do at home to help. Study groups can be comprised of parents and teachers, older and younger generations, or even parents and students (Allen, 2007). Having this bonding time, no matter the pairing, has been shown to be an effective means of communicating and showing support for one another, all the while developing necessary literacy practices. When teachers have time to work individually with the families some of the stereotypes and barriers to communication that may have been present before the meetings seem to dissipate, thus opening the floor for both parents and educators working together in the best interest of the students.

Bridging Barriers to the Connection

The ideals of family literacy programming may sound enticing, but unfortunately many times they are easier said than done. Harris and Goodall (2008) bring up the point that, "schools rather than parents are often 'hard to reach," indicating that school officials need to be more open minded to what information they can gain from the families instead of the other way around (p. 227). Gaining a shared acceptance of one another in literacy practices is often times difficult, especially where language barriers may be present (Compton-Lilly, Rogers, and Lewis, 2012; Farver et al., 2012; Wong, 2012). Typical problems in family literacy programming can range from the small to the extreme, such as transportation problems for the families or even participants feeling that they are being judged as an outsider to the school personnel (Grace & Trudgett, 2012). According to Timmons (2008), there is even hardship on the research end of family literacy studies due to funding, recruitment, and authentic participation. Attrition of participants was found to be an issue noted in the family literacy studies as well, which affects both research opportunities and the efficiency of the program. The bottom line is that families are not going to attend where they do not feel welcome. Additionally, the programs offered should be worth their time. Families with young children seem to have so many responsibilities that could be deemed valuable to their everyday lives. It is no surprise that some family obligations may be considered more valuable to a family's current life goals than literacy practices being implemented correctly in the home. Literacy programs in the community have to compete with many extraneous factors, but it is vital for planners of family literacy events to note these issues and be conscientious to the diverse needs of those they are serving. Being positive, considerate, and as flexible as possible when designing the program is a good beginning to implementation of a successful series. One should keep in mind that occasionally the events that unfold around family literacy programming are beyond anyone's control and these opportunities can provide both negative and positive experiences for all involved. Remember, negative experiences can be molded into positive ones if participants work together and build upon growing beyond previous mishaps or work to rectify any miscommunication. In literacy

practices and beyond, clear communication between all parties is key, but this practice may require time and patience to develop.

Context of this Study

Bridging the gap between home and school in order to maintain that neither the pupil, the teacher, nor the parent feels like they are treading the sometimes desolate territory of teaching and learning alone is the true goal of incorporating family literacy into a school's curricula. An educator equipped with the funds of knowledge from a student's family heritage and home life can truly be the foundation for formatting authentic literacy lessons (Moll et al., 1992). These parallel practices help to build a stronger school community. In an ideal situation, students are free to share openly about their family traditions or customs at school and later share with their families what they have been immersed in during school hours. When family literacy is implemented properly in this circular path, the school truly feels like a home away from home for the students, and the gateway for future success is open for all to travel. As the literature review indicated, getting parents into the schools is the first step. However, there are few research studies that have been conducted to indicate exactly what can happen if an adult caretaker has a negative attitude towards their own early educational journeys and what effect that may have on their own child's learning progression. Medinnus (1962) developed such a scale for determining "parent attitude toward education," but the results left much to be validated in the single-study experiment (p. 102). In contrast, our study proposed a similar parent attitude towards education scale, with an added component of correlating the parents' scores to their students' early literacy skills. It was hypothesized that the positive or negative educational experiences that the adults had when they were in school could have an influence on their children's attitudes towards school, and therefore their students' academic progress in school. An investigation was necessary to see if any particular school factors had more influence than others on the parents' elementary experiences. Research was also needed to determine if the data found could be of use in future family literacy programming in order to aid in breaking down any home to school resistance or animosity present in adults with young literacy learners.

METHODS

Participants

Even though student scores were used, the participants for this study only included the parents of first graders who agreed to take the online survey. Students' scores used were based on their parents' willingness and agreement to participate in the survey, and were drawn from two schools in the middle Tennessee area. The schools were located at various geographical locations throughout this large, mostly suburban school system. It should be noted that both schools used for the purposes of this study were considered to be community schools, each on the outskirts of the district. For conformity purposes in participants and in type of student scores available from the schools to use, only parents of first grade students were given the opportunity to participate. This created a grand total of 13

classrooms involved in the study, with an average of about 20 families per classroom. Even though this accounts for approximately 260 families initially being offered the opportunity to partake in the research, 42 students' families signed the permission form to participate in the study and 41 completed scales were received for data analysis by the researcher.

Since all of the surveys were completed online by one guardian in the first graders' families, the adult participants' ages varied greatly. The first grade students' ages were more consistent, ranging from about 6 to 7 years old, on average. Both genders of adult and student participants were asked to be part of this study and no participant's data were excluded unless the researcher could not collect a complete data set. For example, if a student had recently moved to the school district and correlating test scores could not be obtained for valid comparisons of scores, they were excluded from the study. While about an even number of male and female students were represented in the literacy scores, a disproportionate number of parents taking the survey were females. Only 10 of the 41 parents participating in the study's questionnaire identified themselves as male. Student names were coded to match their guardian's assigned participant number for confidentiality purposes and students were not personally contacted during the research experiment. Socioeconomic factors and ethnicity of the families were not considered for the purposes of this research. The socioeconomic status of the students was not taken into consideration since this information was not attached to the students' literacy scores and therefore was not feasible to be gathered for this experiment. This particular project did not investigate the home language of the families involved either, considering the student populations at both the schools used for the experiment had low English language learner (ELL) populations and that extraneous information could skew the limited data available for the parameters of this study.

Materials

As mentioned above, an online scale was administered to the parents. This process took place through a link delivered in an email exclusively to those adults who indicated they were interested in participating in the study. Agreeing to participate in the study simply involved taking a survey and allowing their own child's pre-existing mid-year Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills (DIBELS) tests scores to be compared to their survey results. The scale used in this study was newly developed due to the lack of tangible resources that could be administered to convey accurate information about adult guardians' own elementary school experiences. During the development of the Elementary Experience Scale (EES) by the researcher, six overarching categories emerged from the research in the field of education that indicated some possible effect on a person's elementary school experience. Those themes are as follows: parental support available, social and emotional well-being, teachers and staff at the school, curriculum and assignments given, student organizational skills, and overall attitude towards elementary school. Almost ten questions for each of the six categories were formed, making of a total of 59 questions to be answered on a five-point Likert-type scale. For example, one of the items from the parental support category of the scale stated: "My parents were proud of my progress in elementary school."

Possible responses to the scale's statements ranged from *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *neutral*, *agree*, or *strongly agree*. It should be noted that questions varied in wording type from positive to negative statements in an effort to help avoid invalid responses from an adult participant by keeping them alert and sensitive to the scale throughout the length of the questionnaire. Also, even though the questions were initially developed in categories, once the scale was administered the questions were each distributed at random.

Students' pre-existing scores from their mid-year DIBELS tests were obtained from the two schools' Response to Intervention (RTI) coaches with parent permission. The DI-BELS tests were administered to all of the first grade students throughout the school district during January of 2013 by the same team of RTI coaches who traveled to the elementary schools together during the benchmarking process. This helped ensure conformity and accuracy of the tests' administration. According to the specified protocol for DIBELS first grade mid-year benchmark tests administration, two main test categories and five subcategories were developmentally appropriate to be given and were used for evaluation scores in this study: Nonsense Word Fluency (NWF) was a main category with Correct Letter Sounds (CLS) and Whole Words Read (WWR) as the two subcategories; Oral Reading Fluency (ORF) was the second test domain, with Words Read (WR), Accuracy, and Retell as the three test subcategories under ORF. All tests were administered orally for each individual first grader. During the testing a brief explanation of the directions was given to the students for each subtest, complete with some practice examples and normed feedback by the test administrator. Lastly, the tests were timed for one minute in length and results were recorded into an individual testing booklet for each student. The collected data was later entered into an online database for easy retrieval and comparison between classrooms, schools, and districts (Good & Kaminski, 2010).

DIBELS scores were selected by the researcher for the student literacy scores in this study for several reasons. First, the DIBELS tests were administered throughout the district by the same team of educators in order to provide consistency in implementation. Also, the results were previously compiled for quick and feasible access before the school year's conclusion. Additionally, DIBELS was a widely used and recognizable standardized assessment format in elementary education for literacy, therefore the research-validated scores that DIBELS provided aligned seamlessly to the study's purposes (Rouse & Fantuzzo, 2006).

Procedures and Data Collection

Upon approval from the necessary agents to conduct the research, parental consent forms were sent home with every first grade student from the two schools to divulge the study's purposes and required elements. Classroom teachers communicated to the parents to look for the study information being sent home and also collected the signed consent forms the following school week. No incentives were offered for study participation. After the consent forms were gathered, the educators then sent the researcher the email addresses of the parents who volunteered to participate in the study. The link to the EES

was sent via email directly to the interested parent participants. Data from the scale were collected over two weeks after gathering and securely storing the parents' consent forms. Scale results were entered into a data spreadsheet along with the acquired student DIBELS scores for statistical analysis purposes. As previously noted, a student's scores and matching guardian's scale results were assigned an identical numerical code to prevent confidential information from being distributed inappropriately and to correlate both student and parent data with one another. All data were entered into the Statistical Package for the IBM SPSS version 20 for analysis.

RESULTS

Means and standard deviations for each EES item are listed in Table 1. Means ranged from 2.02 to 4.56. Standard deviations ranged from 0.60 to 1.45 but remained in a stable range overall. Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was used on the data set to detect survey items with low factor loading scores. Factor loading scores had a wider range of limits with one negative value for item 35 at -.34, and the highest value being for item 15 with a factor loading of .89. Any survey question with a factor loading score greater than 0.60 was selected for reanalysis for validity purposes of questions used. Since all of the question items with factor loading scores greater than 0.60 pertained to general or overall elementary school experiences, this became the sole named factor in the analysis results. A second analysis was completed with the remaining 35 question items after the items with low factor loadings, and therefore lower impact, had been eliminated. The second factor analysis on the consolidated survey question list resulted in a clear one factor solution with 50.49% of the variance explained by a single factor, confirming the single named contribution factor in the EES as being the impact of general or overall elementary school experiences. In order to confirm the single factor solution, Cronbach's Alpha was computed. The computed Cronbach's Alpha on the remaining survey items revealed a strong reliability index of 0.97. A regression analysis was done to predict various DIBELS scores with the combined total EES scores. Parents' EES scores were used as a predictor of their own students' DIBELS scores and the results were significant for a couple of DIBELS sub-factors. Parents' EES significantly predicted CLS, F(1, 40) = 4.26, p < .05, $R^2 = .10$, and WWR, F(1, 40) = 4.28, p = .10 $< .05, R^2 = .10$. However, parents' EES scores did not predict student fluency goals such as WC, F(1, 40) = 2.90, p = .10, $R^2 = .07$, Accuracy, F(1, 40) = 2.43, p = .13, $R^2 = .06$, or Retell, $F(1, 40) = 2.09, p = .16, R^2 = .05$. Lastly, parents' EES was a significant predictor for the composite DIBELS score, F(1, 40) = 4.05, p = .05, $R^2 = .09$.

DISCUSSION

Several meaningful findings resulted from this family literacy-related research. First, the EES was psychometrically validated. During the validity process of the EES, certain questions developed for the scale were found to have lower impact on the children's reading scores than others, and therefore could be eliminated during further analysis of the data. The survey questions regarding the overall impact of elementary school had significant fac-

tor loadings for almost every question asked. It was most likely for this reason that upon analysis of the results that a clear, single factor solution emerged to account for the variation of parent survey responses when compared to student literacy scores. It is both a significant and a meaningful endeavor to explore the predictability of children's reading ability utilizing parents' elementary school experience. Since family literacy requires a cooperative effort by family members, discerning the relationship between parents' school experience and children's reading skills shed light onto family literacy research. If practitioners in the field of education know specific areas to target in regards to welcoming families into the schools and helping to alleviate parents' past problems encountered during their own school experiences, this information could prove to be immensely groundbreaking. If parents can overcome their negative childhood educational experiences they might be more open to working with the schools to learn strategies to help their students succeed. Teachers can gain many useful communication tips from parents to reach the students as well, but only if parents feel comfortable divulging that information. Families that follow cyclical patterns and therefore suffer generations of reading struggles can benefit indefinably from one educational stakeholder standing up and saying, "The cycle stops here. I care about you and your child. I need you as a partner to help his success. Let's work together."

Pertaining to the literacy scores, two subtests showed significant correlations and two subtests did not materialize significant data. The two subtests that were significant fell under the NWF category of the DIBELS test and included the CLS and the number of WWR. This leaves the subtests under the category of oral reading fluency (words correct, accuracy of reading, and retell) turning up insignificant in the variance of the findings. One could hypothesize that these findings were most likely result of the fact that the DIBELS fluency section is only given as a baseline for mid-year testing in first grade, and this was the first time this test section had been administered to the students (Good & Kaminski, 2002). The NWF categories have been administered to the students since their Kindergarten year, and therefore the pupils have had many opportunities to work past test anxieties with this type of testing format. Test misunderstanding and or anxiety, especially with the youngest learners, has been known to distort data and could be a possible factor in this research (Cassady & Johnson, 2001). Furthermore, the retell test section of DIBELS does not even list a benchmark goal in mid-year administration for first graders. Since the three insignificant fluency score components were included in the composite score, the overall score of the students showed a small significance in the variance of the findings. During future experiments with the EES using DIBELS scores researchers may consider eliminating the fluency scores from the analysis completely or using the year-end benchmark scores. Adjusting the fluency score factors in the future would help investigate if a more significantly correlated composite score could be achieved from the data.

The major limitation of this study included the low sample size and, therefore, the lack of statistical analysis that could have yielded significant results from the data. This was the first time the newly-developed EES was administered, so the small sample size

affected the power of the statistical tests. Effects are more difficult to detect in statistical analyses without error during small-scale investigations. Additionally, survey participants were gathered from the same local school district and not administered on a large enough scale to help rule out any results found from this research being generalized to a single area's population. The primary researcher plans to collect data indicating parents' socioeconomic status for comparison in future studies with the EES since that information was unobtainable during this study.

Implications for future studies using the EES are great. Using the validity factors of the questions conducted in this study, researchers could reduplicate the experiment eliminating the questions that were found to have low factor loading scores during EFA. Administering the survey to a greater number of parent participants would allow for a more in-depth statistical analysis, such as employing the item response theory (IRT) methodologies. IRT could be performed in order to further validate and refine the individual effectiveness of the questions used in the EES survey. The schools used in this study did not contain large ELL populations of students. For this reason, the primary language spoken by the families was not investigated during the experiment but certainly could be taken into consideration in future studies using the EES. Family literacy practices are contingent on schools and families being able to effectively communicate to one another. Consequently, language barriers are a crucial potential factor to both the literacy acquisition process for students and a parent's overall school experience.

Families that read together learn and grow together. Schools that offer family literacy opportunities also benefit from the cohesiveness developed during school and community uniting events. An issue arises when some adults do not feel welcome or comfortable in the school settings simply based on their own experiences when they were students themselves. The EES results highlight this fact. The adults' level of anxiety, mistrust, or general aversion to the world of academics can transfer to their students' early learning progress if action is not taken to alleviate fears and break down the barriers of a preconceived negative notion about schools and their intentions for students. Parents want to help their students achieve; they just need to know how. Moreover, they need to feel comfortable approaching educational professionals for guidance. Educators and parents alike can gain from each other's expertise. Families are the schools' greatest resource and a better bridge to helping welcome them into the school community. Family literacy initiatives are the key to paving the way for better practices between home and school.

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for EES Items

Item	M (SD)	Item	M (SD)	Item	M (SD)
1	4.20 (0.90)	21	4.46 (0.60)	41	2.61 (0.89)
2	3.80 (1.17)	22	3.85 (1.04)	42	2.02 (0.94)
3	4.07 (0.85)	23	3.38 (0.92)	43	4.00 (1.02)
4	3.51 (1.14)	24	4.02 (0.85)	44	4.41 (0.74)
5	4.00 (0.84)	25	3.95 (1.30)	45	4.24 (0.86)
6	4.56 (0.78)	26	4.27 (0.74)	46	4.02 (1.04)
7	3.95 (1.18)	27	3.85 (1.20)	47	3.46 (1.21)
8	4.44 (0.67)	28	4.02 (0.91)	48	4.37 (0.92)
9	4.12 (0.90)	29	3.90 (0.74)	49	3.24 (1.45)
10	3.90 (0.83)	30	3.46 (1.14)	50	2.93 (1.15)
11	3.76 (0.99)	31	4.00 (0.97)	51	3.73 (1.03)
12	4.22 (0.85)	32	3.93 (1.06)	52	3.93 (0.98)
13	3.20 (1.29)	33	2.95 (1.38)	53	3.66 (0.82)
14	3.44 (1.23)	34	4.00 (0.87)	54	4.00 (0.77)
15	3.66 (1.02)	35	3.73 (0.95)	55	3.59 (0.97)
16	4.34 (0.82)	36	3.67 (1.26)	56	3.73 (0.87)
17	4.00 (1.00)	37	3.98 (0.79)	57	4.46 (0.78)
18	3.95 (0.89)	38	4.17 (0.92)	58	3.17 (1.38)
19	3.85 (0.91)	39	3.61 (1.05)	59	4.24 (0.80)
20	4.32 (0.69)	40	3.90 (0.83		

Note. n = 41.

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