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Amos: The Nietzschean Prophet

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Abstract

As an experimentation in playful linguistics, this work offers a nuanced, though emphatic, exegesis on the book of Amos. I argue that the text embodies an ethic purported by German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche. To validate my claim, I establish a dialectical understanding of a pervasive feature of ancient religions: the myth of the eternal return. The opening move of the dialectic involves Mircea Eliade's understanding of the eternal return motif within myth and ritual. I reason that the Hebrew cult was not immune to incorporating this motif within their religion. The closing move of the dialectic brings forth Nietzsche's philosophical eternal recurrence¬––an ethic that seeks to correct the problems of history. In sum, I juxtapose Eliade's eternal return and Nietzsche's eternal recurrence while wagering that Nietzsche's concept encourages a more positive and progressive ethical disposition. Using this dialectic, I reason that the prophet Amos promotes an ethic more akin to Nietzsche than Eliade. And it is this ethical temperament that places Amos in the role of a prophet of his time rather than a mere charlatan.

Amos: The Nietzschean Prophet

A Note on Method

Employing Nietzschean thought to critique Old Testament texts is both commonsensical and equally incongruous. Friedrich Nietzsche was primarily a philologist and a man inextricably concerned with the interpretation of texts. Employing Nietzschean thought in biblical critique then can be hermeneutically valuable and responsible. Contrarily, many criticize Nietzsche for notions of anti-Semitism as well his avowal that the Hebrew history embodies an ethical perversion.

Early on in the history of the Jewish people, Nietzsche interpreted that the Hebrew god was one of power, which resulted in a world-affirming, ethical society. At this juncture of history, the Hebrew people valued what Nietzsche called the 'Will to Power'––an axiom and mindset which proclaims that "the only thing good in itself is power," in as much as they understood their god to embody this axiom.[1] Over time, however, Nietzsche claimed, "the Jews who, rejecting the aristocratic value equation . . . ventured . . . to bring about a reversal and held it in the teeth of the most unfathomable hatred (the hatred of the powerless) . . . ."[2] This 'reversal' Nietzsche refers to is a diametric shift from value rooted in both power and will to value grounded in weakness, guilt, pain, pity, and revenge. Thomas J. J. Altizer explains this reversal includes the theological perversion from a "concept of a god of power into that of a god of 'justice.'"[3] Nietzsche presumed the Hebrew people deviated from a world-affirming ethic grounded in the Will to Power to a world-denying ethic entrenched in weakness. According to Nietzsche, the deviation inundated Jewish theology with abstract eschatology and apocalypticism.[4] Nietzsche looked with great disdain at what he called the perverted *priestly*[5] ethos and sought to correct such an illicit perforation of history via the Will to Power.

All of this is to say: there is a clear bias within Nietzschean thought against certain portions of Hebraic history including the time surrounding the prophet Amos, which impedes one's ability to employ his critical philosophy on such portions of history. Nonetheless, a particular interpretation of the book of Amos in spite of its eschatological undertones reveals a constructive or, perhaps, deconstructive Nietzschean ethos and conception of history.

Hebrew Cult as Representative of Eternal Return

At the heart of ancient Near Eastern (ANE) religion rests the notion of the Numinous[6] and a response to it. In The Treasures of Darkness, Thorkild Jacobsen argues the earliest forms of religion, particularly those of the ANE, contained the notion that all natural occurrences, mundane events,

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1. W. T. Jones and R. J. Fogelin, *A History of Western Philosophy: Kant and the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 4 (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 1980), 250.

2. Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, trans. Douglas Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 17.

3. Thomas J. J. Altizer, *Oriental Mysticism and Biblical Eschatology* (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1961), 52.

4. Ibid., 52. Altizer's entire chapter entitled "The Prophets and the Old Testament" offers an exhaustive explanation of the 'reversal' Nietzsche saw within ancient Judaism.

5. In *Genealogy of Morals*, Nietzsche uses the word 'priestly' to describe the apex of corruption. Priests are those that feed lies to the public so that the public feels guilt for their crimes, makes sacrifices through the priest for atonement and thereby feed the priests. In other words, priest feed lies in order to be fed. This circumstance, according to Nietzsche was true upon the 'reversal' in ancient Judaism.

6. This is a term coined by Rudolph Otto in his work *The Idea of Holy*.

and abnormalities alike had a numinous quality; everything was sacred. From such a worldview, early civilizations—such as the Canaanites and Babylonians—developed theological frameworks to understand and explain the divine. Over time, these frameworks developed into elaborate cosmogonic and societal foundation myths. Along with these myths came rituals, festivals, magic spells, and liturgy. These ritualistic actions and aphorisms enabled human beings to enact, partake, and, ultimately, *recreate* the myths they had formed.[7] This process of myth making and ritual making led historian of religion Mircea Eliade to write at length about the myth of the "eternal return" within primitive religion.[8]

Eliade described time in a dualistic manner. Eliade's writing does not necessarily assert a definitive ontology of time. Rather, Eliade's theory might best be understood as a sociological description of behavior within religion. As with critical spatiality,[9] Eliade purported that there is sacred time and profane time. These two types of time are diametrically opposed. Sacred time belongs to the religious person while *profane* time belongs to the nonreligious person. Profane time is "ordinary temporal duration, in which acts without religious meaning have their setting."[10] The religious person certainly cannot exist within sacred time at every time, but sacred "liturgical time is inaccessible to a nonreligious [human]."[11] Moreover, Eliade's sacred time embodies the idea of returning to a primordial mythical time via liturgy, rites, festivals, and ceremonies. The human being fundamentally desires to return to the origins of time that the god(s) created through the means of sacred time. Eliade comments, "For to wish to reintegrate the *time of origin* is also to wish to return to *the presence of the gods* . . . [and] thirst for the sacred and nostalgia for *being*."[12] Humanity discovers the central theme of being existentially present in the world in the return to the primordial mythical time.

But what does Eliade mean by 'return'? Again, Eliade's explanation of sacred and profane time avoids any strict ontological notions and involves a more descriptive, hermeneutical, and semantic account of religion. By using the word 'return,' Eliade does not mean that one physically goes back in time (i.e. time travel). Rather, 'return' refers to a particular disposition or attitude. The religious person yearns to be with the gods at the beginning of creation and desires to return to such a time of utopian bliss. In enacting a ritual and reenacting a myth, the religious person acts upon this disposition, imagining that they are reuniting with the god(s). Moreover, by using the word 'return,' Eliade attempts to explain the phenomenon within primitive religion of the common yearning to gain a closer proximity to the god(s) via myth and ritual.

Eliade continues to explain, however, that the 'return' goes beyond a particular disposition in describing the return as *eternal*. Eliade argued that religions in the ANE continued to enact these

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7. Much debate surrounds the argument as to whether myth or ritual arose first. Here, I write as though they share simultaneity.

8. Eliade's main texts concerning the myth of the eternal return are *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History and The Sacred and the Profane: Cosmos and History*. The former text deals specifically with the concept of eternal return and its appearance in primitive religion (including ancient Judaism). In the latter, Eliade considers defines his notion of the 'sacred' and the 'profane' and their relation to space and time within primitive religious thought and action.

9. For further reading on critical spatiality, see Henri Lefebvre's book *The Production of Space and Edward Soja's book Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. Although this work does not intend to adopt either Lefebvre or Soja's theories, their analysis of the acquisition and composition of space is a helpful framework for understanding sacred and profane time in an Eliadean sense.

10. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1959), 68.

11. Ibid., 71.

12. Ibid., 94 (emphasis added).

myths and rituals because, in the return to the primordial mythical time, the adherents of the religion joined in recreating the universe and thereby moved history forward. Again, Eliade is not saying that myth and ritual literally allow the religious person to time travel to the creation of the universe. Rather, Eliade argues that rituals and myths seduce and convince the religious person to believe that enacting rituals is necessary to sustain the universe's survival. To use an asinine example, the American New Year festival involving a massive celebration in Times Square in New York City demonstrates Eliade's eternal return. As the crowd in Times Square as well as millions of Americans across the country countdown the final seconds of the year, an illuminated ball descends a pole. As the clock strikes midnight, fireworks explode, confetti litters the streets, and the new year begins. This example exposes the obvious detail that the festival/ritual is not physically or literally necessary for the new year to begin. With that being said, if the new year celebration were to come to an unexpected stop due to a power outage and the ball did not finish its descent, pandemonium would surely ensue. Ontologically, the Times Square festival is not necessary for the new year to begin. Semantically, however, the Times Square ritual is absolutely essential.[13]

In a far more academic and nuanced manner, early Mesopotamian religions also embodied the myth of the eternal return. The Babylonian *akîtu* festival includes a ritual reenactment of the myth of the cosmic battle between Marduk and Tiamat.[14] This festival occurred in the spring season and commemorated the beginning of a new year. The twelve-day festival included an exhaustive set of rituals full of prayers, recitations, and theatric movements. For Eliade these Babylonians did not put on this festival in order to merely express devotion to a particular deity. Rather, the *akîtu* festival was a necessary ritual for returning to primordial mythical time, creating and launching the new year, and perpetuating the myth of the eternal return, thereby thrusting history forward.

The Hebrew cult also appears to have had their own implementation of the myth of the eternal return. Given that the Hebrew cult believed in a deity deeply involved in history and that they had a counter-culturally linear understanding of time, the manner in which the myth of the eternal return appears in the cult is slightly nuanced.[15] The simplest manner in which the Hebrew cult perpetuated the myth of the eternal return would have been in their practice of the Sabbath.[16] Jacob Neusner explains, "The Sabbath embodies Judaism's model of sacred time––the restoration of that perfect moment of repose that God sanctified in creating Eden."[17] Genesis 2:13[18] serves as a foundational text not only for Neusner but also for the Jewish religion as a whole as it pertains to Sabbath and sacred time. The first six days of creation in which God works run analogous to the six days of the week in which the Jewish people work. On the seventh day, on the Sabbath, God rests from work. Similarly, the ancient Hebrews would rest on the seventh day. What constitutes this 'rest' and toward what end does it strive? According to Neusner, sacred time within Judaism

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13. For further reading on the myth of the eternal return, see Eliade's *The Myth of the Eternal Return.*

14. For an extensive explanation and analysis of the *akîtu* festival, see Svend Aage Pallis' *The Babylonian Akîtu Festival.*

15. In *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, Eliade explains the precise nature of the nuanced phenomenon in Hebrew culture as compared to other Mesopotamian religious movements. Nonetheless, the Hebrew cult did indeed demonstrate eternal return most likely as a result of influence from Mesopotamian culture and religion.

16. Due to the anachronistic application of this Eliadean method, it ought to be noted that the Hebrews (along with the other Mesopotamian religions) would only have 'subconsciously perpetuated' the myth of the eternal return.

17. Jacob Neusner, *Judaism when Christianity Began: A Survey of Belief and Practice* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 67.

18. The *New Revised Standard Version* reads, "Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all their multitude. And on the seventh day God finished the work that he had done, and he rested on the seventh day from all the work that he had done. So God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, because on it God rested from all the work that he had done in creation."

is any time in which the Jewish woman or man strives to restore Eden in the present.[19] In other words, "Keeping the Sabbath day holy means replicating the condition of Eden: repose in God's image, after God's likeness, on the seventh day of creation."[20] There is clearly an Eliadian undertone of sacred time and eternal return within Neusner's understanding of the Sabbath. Every Sabbath is a ritual return to the creation of the universe. This return enabled the Hebrew cult to semantically recreate creation and move history forward.

The Hebrew cult also perpetuated the myth of the Eliadean eternal return through the particular mythic motif of the macrocosmic temple/mountain. The macrocosmic temple/mountain motif enjoys two distinct modes of instantiation: the *literal* and the *linguistic*. Simply stated, the macrocosmic temple motif was instantiated on a literal level within the Hebrew cult in the design and construction of the temple. The earthly temple was designed and built to mimic the dimensions and space of the heavenly temple.[21] At the linguistic level, by simply referring to the macrocosmic temple/mountain within a text, the author(s) participated and perpetuated the myth of the macrocosmic temple itself. In other words, the *reference* to the macrocosmic temple solidifies the reality of the myth.

In many biblical texts[22] (particularly within the prophetic, eschatological, and apocalyptic texts), authors employ this motif of the macrocosmic temple in order to refer to the dwelling place of the deity. James Linville explains that in a linguistic glimpse of the macrocosmic temple "one sees the throne room of the god, the model upon which earthly temples are made, and the foundation of creation."[23] The plethora of linguistic occurrences of the macrocosmic temple motif in the Bible "open a sacred time with the textual geography becoming the sacred place: *an access point to the primordial mythical powers of creation.*"[24] This is to say, then, that the text as well as the delivering or announcement of the text (via preaching, prophetic declarations, recitation, etc.) expresses a prefiguration of a certain reality, a configuration to that reality, and transfiguration of that reality.

For example, the prophet Amos inhabited a world with a prefigured reality in which the myth of the eternal return, according to Eliade, was prevalent. The prophet's language configured to this reality, which explains why he expressed linguistic instantiations of the macrocosmic temple. And, lastly, he sought to transfigure the world he inhabited while not departing from his prefigured reality.[25]

Nietzschean Eternal Recurrence as Dialectic

The Hebrew cult (as well as other religions of the ANE) appears to have embodied Eliade's notion of the eternal return in a variety of ways. Might there be though another lens for understanding the cult's myths, rituals, and texts? Is there a lens that might further distinguish them from other traditions of the ANE? One such lens that critiques Eliade's notion of the eternal return while still possessing fecundity in application to the Hebrew cult is to be found in the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche.

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19. Jacob Neusner, *Judaism When Christianity Began*, 67.

20. Ibid., 67.

21. 'Heavenly' can be understood as a synonym for 'macrocosmic' in this instance.

22. Isa. 2:2, 10:12, Ps. 48:1-2, Ezek. 20:40, and Amos 9:1, 6 are a few key examples.

23. James Richard Linville, *Amos and the Cosmic Imagination* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 4.

24. Ibid., 29 (emphasis added).

25. This is an adaptation of Paul Ricoeur's mimetic hermeneutical theory and is appropriate for this explanation since the substance matter regards the interpretation of texts.

Nietzsche was concerned with history and how the crimes of history would come to correction. Throughout his writings, Nietzsche expressed the necessity to enact the Will to Power in the world. Rather than idolizing suffering, guilt, and pity, Nietzsche encouraged the human to assert a powerful ethic that sought to correct the wrongs of history. As he so grotesquely describes in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*:

> A young shepherd did I see, writhing, choking, quivering, with distorted counte-
> nance, and with a heavy black serpent hanging out of his mouth . . . . Then had the
> serpent crawled into his throat––there had it bitten itself fast . . . . Then there cried
> out of me: "Bite! Bite! Its head off! Bite!"––so cried it out of me; my horror, my ha-
> tred, my loathing, my pity, all my good and my bad cried with one voice out of me
> . . . . The shepherd however bit as my cry had admonished him; he bit with a strong
> bite! Far away did he spit the head of the serpent . . . . No longer shepherd, no longer
> man––a transfigured being, a light-surrounded being, that laughed! Never on earth
> laughed a man as he laughed![26]

The human being must will to bite the head off the serpent of pity, suffering, and guilt. For Ni-
etzsche, one can control or influence the present and the future with the Will to Power. The past, however, is an elusive and enigmatic phenomenon that cannot so easily be corrected and influ-
enced as the present and the future can. Simply stated: one cannot change the past.

For Nietzsche, this existential crisis regarding the faults of history could only be resolved if there was an *eternal recurrence* in which all of human history repeated itself.[27] The 'free-spirited' and 'life-affirming' individuals desire to express the Will to Power not only in the present and the future, but also in the past. Nietzsche wholeheartedly affirmed that the whole of history would eternally recur because "history must solve the problem of history."[28] Resultantly, not only will the free-spirit desire to conquer the past with the Will to Power, the human being *will in fact re-
turn to the past*. Like Eliade, Nietzsche undoubtedly affirmed a semantic and ethical understand-
ing of eternal recurrence.

In order to make sense of how Nietzsche's eternal recurrence and Eliade's eternal return rest in juxtaposition, allow us to analyze an excerpt from Altizer, who claimed Nietzsche:

> ...chose the symbolic name of eternal recurrence because he intended to create the
> dialectical opposite of the archaic myth of eternal return. The archaic myth of eternal
> return annuls the givenness or the irreversibility of time by conferring a cyclic di-
> rection upon time itself. Here, no event is irreversible and no transformation is final,
> because, in the words of Mircea Eliade, everything begins over again at its com-

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26. Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*: A Book for All and None (New York: Algora Pub, 2003), 127.

27. Although there is much debate concerning whether Nietzsche saw eternal recurrence in a literal sense, the general scholarly consensus affirms a literal eternal repetition of all of history. This tenet of Nietzschean philosophy is peculiar, confusing, and somewhat illogical, but makes sense in light of the whole. In order to enact the Will to Power in the past, one must return to the past. This is as much as can be said without delving into a complex analysis of the ontology of time.

28. Harry J. Ausmus, "Nietzsche and Eschatology," *The Journal of Religion* 58, no. 4 (1978): 347, 349.

mencement every second. In the symbolic world of archaic man, cosmic duration is repetition and *anakuklosis*, eternal return. The eternal negation and reversal of the given here constantly maintains the world in the same auroral instant of the beginnings. Yet Nietzsche's Eternal Recurrence embodies a reverse and opposite totality of Yes-saying, a totality wherein everything whatsoever is immediately and totally embodied here and now in the act of saying "Yes."[29]

Here, Altizer expresses how Nietzsche's eternal recurrence is the dialectical negation of Eliade's eternal return. Nietzsche (via Altizer) expresses the absurdity of the archaic ethos that perpetuated the myth of the eternal return. After the negation of the archaic mindset, Nietzsche––as Altizer claims––sought to affirm eternal recurrence as a corrective force. This concern here is primarily ethical. The myth of the eternal return fails to lead to genuine transformation of the world, whereas eternal recurrence demands radical change. Eternal return can only constantly reaffirm the (cosmic) beginning and so never lead to correction in history. Eternal recurrence, however, allows the immediate transformation and redemption of history upon the implementation of the Will to Power.

In a personal correspondence, James Linville explained, "alongside [a] 'locative' model of the eternal return in which there is a return to primal origins, there are other models that contradict this."[30] Nietzsche's eternal recurrence is such a contradictory model, but one that has crucial implications. If Altizer and Linville are correct concerning the dialectical nature of Nietzsche's eternal recurrence, then on an ethical level, eternal recurrence is considerably nobler than eternal return. Where eternal return is passive, eternal recurrence is active. Where eternal return is sterile, eternal recurrence is transformative. From this perspective, the true prophet of history must embody the ethic resulting from eternal recurrence rather than the myth of the eternal return.[31]

The Cosmic Amos

Having addressed Eliade's myth of the eternal return and Nietzsche's eternal recurrence, we can now begin to analyze the matter at hand: does the prophet Amos express[32] the myth of the eternal return, Nietzsche's eternal recurrence, or neither of these two ideologies?

There are a variety of compositional and linguistic issues at hand in dealing with the prophet Amos and the text attributed to him (particularly chapter nine which will serve as the main text under review in this work).

Firstly, there is a great deal of difficulty in knowing and understanding the actual person of Amos, which complicates the analysis of the text itself. Given that authorial intent and context are significant aspects of textual hermeneutics, a lack of knowledge concerning the author of a particular text obfuscates one's ability to interpret the text. The same interpretive dilemma occurs in expositing the book of Amos. Although there are hints as to what and who Amos was, knowing his

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29. Thomas J. J. Altizer, "The Dialectic of Ancient and Modern Apocalypticism," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 39, no. 3 (1971): 317-318.

30. Linville, e-mail message to author, March 12, 2015.

31. I use the term 'true prophet' here to mean an individual who expresses the Nietzschean Will to Power, whom is disrupted by the historical past, and who embodies the ethic resulting from eternal recurrence. As a disclaimer, the true prophet is not one who definitively affirms a literal eternal recurrence, but rather one who acts as if the past is in need of transformation.

32. Again, the present task is not to debate a particular person's ontology of time and history. Rather, the crux of the matter is mainly ethical (i.e., Did the prophet Amos express a dialectical rejection of eternal return? Did he embody an active, transformative, and serpent-biting attitude? etc.).

precise function in ancient society is difficult to explicate. Joseph Blenkinsopp suggests that Amos began his career as an official of some sort in the kingdom of Samaria.[33] He clearly had knowledge of international affairs and an understanding of sacred ritual indicating that he was more than an uneducated, passionate shepherd. Given the supposed earthquake that Amos predicted, the allusions in the text to the invitation to inspect Calneh and Hamath Rabbah, and other events, scholars date Amos' activity in the north to the middle of the eighth century BCE.[34] Additionally, the book of Amos clearly underwent various stages of development. The task of distinguishing which portions (if any) of the book of Amos were the actual words of the person called 'Amos' is *impossible*. Resultantly, one must never assume that the book and the person of Amos are synonymous.

Secondly, it is difficult to separate the original message of Amos from later additions to the book. It looks like Amos' message was solely one of condemnation, but later editors have softened his message with notes of hope for the future. One could plausibly assert that Amos had either disciples or a 'support group' of some sort that could have preserved the sayings of Amos.

Rather than attempting to distinguish between the words of the actual person called 'Amos,' the words of his disciples/followers, and the varying messages within the text, one can view Amos as "instantiation of a mythical prototypical messenger."[35] According to Linville, the mythical prototypical messenger 'exists' on the same plane as the character Hamlet in Shakespeare.[36] The figure is of critical significance in relation to the world and has lasting influence on history, but moves beyond the compositional and linguistic issues as mentioned earlier. This *Cosmic Amos* is an amalgam of the historical Amos, the Amosian disciples, and the book of Amos itself. The amalgamation results in a character who acts as messenger between the human and divine, between the past and the future, and between the text and the reader. Moreover, affirming the Cosmic Amos enables one to move beyond compositional and linguistic issues and begin to assess the text and its meaning in reference to eternal return and eternal recurrence.[37]

Amos' Dialectical Rejection of Eternal Return

Chapter nine of the book of Amos includes a sweeping display of sassy rhetoric, exploitative extremisms, and dialectical contradictions. The chapter acts as a paradigm for the cosmic Amos' dialectical rejection of eternal return. Given the dialectical nature of the rejection—moving from one position to the opposing as a way of creating new ideas—the text appears to embody the aspects of eternal return one would expect to find. At the moment that Amos appears to affirm, and thereby perpetuate, the myth of the eternal return, our cosmic figure rejects the concept with emotive passion.

As noted earlier, v. 1 (as well as v. 6) typifies the common motif of the macrocosmic temple. God is depicted standing beside[38] the altar, the place the Hebrews would have communion with God and from which God delivers a crushing message.[39] From this macrocosmic temple, God

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33. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *History of Prophecy in Israel* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 79.

34. Ibid., 79.

35. Linville, *Amos and the Cosmic Imagination*, 4.

36. The type of existence of these figures enjoy may best correlate with the 'abstract artifact' view of fictional characters exemplified in Amie Thomasson's *Fiction and Metaphysics*.

37. From this point forward, any mention of 'Amos' is meant to refer to the Cosmic Amos as described here. Another title for this character could be the Canonical Amos (i.e., the caricature of Amos produced when his message was subordinated to the canon).

38. Or *on*.

39. Billy K. Smith and Franklin S. Page note, "The verb translated "standing" (*nissāb*) in some contexts refers to the one in charge (Ruth 2:5)." The persistent image in Amos' fifth vision, then, places God in a powerful, authoritative position. 154-156

demands in v. 1, "Strike the capitals until the thresholds shake, and shatter them on the heads of all the people."[40] The implication of this strike is that it will destroy the macrocosmic temple. That Amos employs the mythic motif ought to come as no surprise. That Amos overturns the motif, however, would have certainly come as a surprise to listeners of his message. The macrocosmic temple motif is usually meant to assert creation and recreation as in the myth of the eternal return. Amos' use of the macrocosmic motif, however, is a teleological tool for destruction. Linville argues that as "the symbiosis of heaven, nature, and the world of humanity is clearly seen at the moment of Yahweh calling for the destruction of the cosmos," Amos' message extends beyond the world of myth into the fabric of reality.[41] Amos, then, dialectically rejects the macrocosmic temple motif and in doing so rejects the Eliadean schema.

   With the destruction of the macrocosmic temple and the pillars holding up the heavens and the firmament, the purging waters of chaos flood out from the abode of God. In the persistent destruction God desires to enact in this text, Amos explains that no one will escape from such obliteration. One cannot climb to a sacred high place or into the realm of the underworld in order to escape the impending destruction. In v. 3 Amos even goes so far as to say that even if somebody were to hide in the sea, another mythic motif symbolic of the chaotic forces of creation and uncreation, God would send the poisonous sea-serpent to come bite them. Jan de Waard and William Allen Smalley note, "Since poisonous sea-serpents did not live in the Mediterranean, most scholars think that this is the sea monster, called Rahab and Leviathan."[42] Logically speaking, the mythic flood and sea-serpent language unreservedly affirm the Eliadean eternal return in a similar manner as the Mesopotamian akîtu festival. Amos' linguistic strategy employs language reminiscent of the cosmic battle between God and the waters of chaos as in other Mesopotamian traditions. Amos, as a dialectician, employs these images and motifs not for the sake of affirming their mythic reality, but as a cry of dereliction. Amos expresses a deep concern for the crimes of the past and invokes familiar images in order to shatter the audience's expectations upon the dialectical negation. In other words, Amos employs language typical of texts that confirm the myth of the eternal return, but does so for the sake of a more significant cause. The crimes of history's past devastate God via Amos (or vice versa) and God desires their reversal.

   The beauty of the cosmic Amos reading of the text is that it allows readers to see vv. 11-15 as part of the same overarching message rather than a message disjunctive with vv. 1-10. Although Amos' dialectical rejection of the myth of the eternal return is littered throughout vv. 11-15, this portion moves from the negation facet of the dialectic towards its affirmation aspect. This text exhibits a multi-directional corrective of time; the overarching message is of restoration and reversal of fortunes extending to the past. It is also a message, however, to come to fruition in the future or 'on that day.'[43] These verses are eschatological, but not in the traditional futuristic connotation. Rather, the 'reversal of fortunes' in v. 14 uses a Hebrew verb, בוש (šûb), which implies a "linear motion back to a point previously departed."[44] In this sense, Amos does not promote a new ontology of time, but an emphatic desire to correct and restore the shambled past. Ernst R. Wendland

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40. Jan de Waard and William Allen Smalley note that it is impossible to know to whom God is speaking in this command.

41. Linville, *Amos and the Cosmic Imagination*, 164.

42. Jan de Waard and William Allen Smalley, *A Translator's Handbook on the Book of Amos* (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1979), 175.

43. On the surface, this notion of a future day reads in a similar manner as the Day of LORD. The issue with this reading, however, is that the Day of the LORD speaks of a future day of wrath and judgment. Amos is most certainly not speaking of this type of day in as much as vv. 11-15 are full of hope, restoration, and God's goodness.

44. James Swanson, *Dictionary of Biblical Languages with Semantic Domains: Hebrew (Old Testament)* (Oak Harbor: Logos Research Systems, Inc., 1997).

explains that vv. 11-15 represent "the striking consummation of a thematic potential that was already planted much earlier in the prophecy . . . (i.e., 5:4, 6, 14 and 15) but also by its very structure subtly prefigures the tremendous physical and spiritual reversal to come."[45] Amos promotes an event that ruptures both backwards to correct the political and spiritual faults of the past and forwards to engender a new kingdom defined by transcendent ecology (v. 13), affluent civilization (v. 14), and lasting inviolability (v. 15).

Conclusion: Amos as the Nietzschean Prophet

The Eliadean myth of the eternal return asserts that the sacred is found in the primordial past. As demonstrated, Amos dialectically negates this construct while affirming an ethic that teleologically corrects the problem of history and asserts a new way of living in the present and future. On a purely ethical level, the cosmic Amos arguably asserts a dialectic similar to Nietzschean eternal recurrence. Both Amos and Nietzsche were gravely disturbed with the crimes of history's past and both asserted the need for corrective measures. Though Nietzsche may have clung to an ontology of time and a cosmology that made a space for a *literal* eternal recurrence and Amos most assuredly did not, both of these prophets pled for humans to act in a manner that would bring about correction of the past, present, and future.[46] In a sense, both Amos and Nietzsche called for human beings to practice the Will to Power. Within their respective dialectics, Amos and Nietzsche were prophets of their times. Neither of the two promoted an escapist view of reality. Both affirmed the "deepest existence (*Dasein*) [is] in the Now, in the Here and There, in the Center that is everywhere."[47] Amos as the Nietzschean prophet beckons readers and listeners, both ancient and modern, to affirm existence in the now so that history can finally correct the problem of history.[48]

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45. Ernst R. Wendland, "The 'Word of the Lord' and the Organization of Amos." *Optat* 2, no. 4 (1988): 1-51, 31-32.

46. For more information on Nietzsche's cosmology in regards to eternal recurrence, see Altizer's *Mircea Eliade and the Dialectic of the Sacred*, 189.

47. Thomas J. J. Altizer, *Mircea Eliade and the Dialectic of the Sacred* (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1971), 189.

48. Ausmus, *Nietzsche and Eschatology*, 349.

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Translating and Interpreting ΑΝΕΡΕΣ ΑΛΦΗΣΤΑΙ from Homer to Sophocles

Samuel Hahn

Abstract

    This essay examines the meaning and implications of the Greek adjective ἀλφηστής. Challenging the understanding of ornamental epithets proposed by Milman Parry (1928), this essay surveys the appearance of the noun-adjective pair ἀνέρας ἀλφηστὰς throughout Greek literature. Originally used by Homer and Hesiod, ἀλφηστής appears infrequently in hymns and plays after the Archaic Period, as authors only insert the term to describe the events of the Bronze Age. Nevertheless, the *Hymn to Apollo* and the *Philoctetes* contextualize the adjective, linking the term with food––in particular, grain. Analyzing the Greek term through the etymological work of John Fletcher Davies (1874) and the comparative linguistics of Calvert Watkins (1995, 2011), this essay maintains that ἀλφηστής derives from Indo-European roots and Greek words. Moreover, when reintroduced to the ancient texts with these implications, ἀλφηστής seems to denote the diet of mariners from the Bronze Age. As seen in Thucydides' Mytilene Debate, the meals of ancient sailors before the eighth century BCE may have consisted of uncooked cakes––not bread––made with barley, wine, and olive oil to prevent rations from spoiling. Thus, the Greek adjective ἀλφηστής may elucidate the practice of seafaring during the Bronze Age.

Translating and Interpreting ΑΝΕΡΕΣ ΑΛΦΗΣΤΑΙ from Homer to Sophocles

With comprehensive lexicons compiled and edited by top scholars, spanning hundreds upon hundreds of pages, the guesswork and inevitable confusion in deciphering ancient Greek is often forgotten. Unsurprisingly, after several thousand years, time has divorced many words from their definitions. Hence, despite modern research methods, mystery shrouds the meaning of certain words in the ancient Greek language, provoking considerable debate among scholars. In particular, the vocabulary of the earliest Greek writers––specifically, Homer and Hesiod in the eighth century BCE––presents some of the greater challenges to etymologists. Various scholars have admitted ignorance of the meanings of several words from the Archaic Period. Notably, in the first half of the twentieth century, the renowned pioneer of oral theory, Milman Parry, acknowledged his own limited understanding by saying:

> We are frankly ignorant, in spite of the fact that they are often frequently used, of the meaning of αἰγίλιπος (3 times, of cliffs); αἴμονα (once, in the phrase αἴμονα θήπης); ἀκάκητα (twice, of Hermes); ἀλαλκομενηΐς (twice, of Athene); ἀλοσύδνης (once of Thetis, once of Amphitrite); ἀλφηστάων (5 times, of mortals); ἀτρυγέτοιο (17 times of the sea, once of the air); ἀφήτορος (once, of Apollo); ἀμφιγυήεις (11 times, of Hephaestus), etc.[1]

Among the words mentioned, the term ἀλφηστής requires significant study. Despite the uncertainty surrounding the adjective, scholars have nevertheless tried to translate ἀλφηστής in various ways: from "bread-eating" to "civilized" to "industrious." While reasonable connections exist between renderings, the attempts lack adequate explanation, seemingly borrowing from a long-standing interpretative tradition without origin. Adding to the mystique of ἀλφηστής, the adjective only occurs within extant literature––to revise the statistics reported by Parry––on thirteen occasions: four times in Homer,[2] six times in Hesiod,[3] once in Aeschylus,[4] once in Sophocles,[5] and once in Plutarch[6] quoting Homer. Attested in fragments by Sophron, Apollodorus of Athens, Aristotle, Heracleia, Epicharmus, Diocles, and Numenius, ἀλφηστής later evolved from an adjective describing humankind to a noun denoting a species of fish known as a wrasse. However, as revealed through its etymology and its usage by Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, and Sophocles, the adjective ἀλφηστής, which characterizes the Heroic Age of warriors fighting at Thebes and Troy, denotes the consumption of cakes made from barley, wine, and oil by sailors of the Bronze Age.

With Homer presumed to represent the earliest extant literature of the ancient Greek language, ἀλφηστής surfaces in the *Odyssey* on three occasions. In *Odyssey* 1, following the conversation be-

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[All Greek passages are quoted from the *Oxford Classical Texts* (Hom., 1912, 1917; Hes., 1990; A., 1972; S., 1990; Th., 1942). All translations are my own.]

1. Milman Parry, "The Homeric Gloss: A Study in Word-Sense," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 59 (1928): 237.
2. Hom. *Od*. 1.349, 6.8, 13.261.
3. Hes. Th. 512; Op. 82; Sc. 29; Fr. 73.5, 195.29, 211.12.
4. A. *Th*. 770.
5. S. Ph. 709.
6. Plu. *Mor*. 603B.

tween Athena and Telemachus, the bard Phemius entertains the suitors in Ithaca by singing of the fateful return of the Achaeans from Troy. Rushing down the stairway from her chamber, Penelope tearfully begs the minstrel to silence his music, for the song reminds her heart of her dear husband. However, Telemachus responds to his mother by saying:

μῆτερ ἐμή, τί τ᾽ ἄρα φθονέεις ἐρίηρον ἀοιδὸν
τέρπειν ὅππη οἱ νόος ὄρνυται; οὔ νύ τ᾽ ἀοιδοὶ
αἴτιοι, ἀλλά ποθι Ζεὺς αἴτιος, ὅς τε δίδωσιν
ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῇσιν ὅπως ἐθέλησιν ἑκάστῳ.
τούτῳ δ᾽ οὐ νέμεσις Δαναῶν κακὸν οἶτον ἀείδειν:
τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ᾽ ἄνθρωποι,
ἥ τις ἀκουόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται.

My mother, why do you begrudge the loyal bard to delight in whatever way his mind is incited in him? The bards are not now responsible, but Zeus is probably responsible, who gives to [ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῇσιν] as he wills, to each and every one. There is no retribution for this bard to sing the evil doom of the Danaans; for men praise more the song, which hovers newest around those listening.[7]

In addressing Penelope, Telemachus uses the phrase ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῇσιν not only to refer generically to humans, but also to specify the generation of heroes to which his father and her husband, Odysseus, belong. Unfortunately, although the application of the adjective seems clear, the connotation of ἀλφηστής is indeterminable from the context. Ἀλφηστής occurs next in *Odyssey* 6, immediately after Odysseus shipwrecks on the island of the Phaeacians. Having induced sleep for the weary wanderer, Athena hastens to the city to convince Nausicaa to wash her clothes for marriage, so that the maiden might discover the slumbering Odysseus. Hereupon, Homer pauses briefly to provide the history of the Phaeacians:

οἳ πρὶν μέν ποτε ναῖον ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ Ὑπερείη,
ἀγχοῦ Κυκλώπων, ἀνδρῶν ὑπερηνορεόντων,
οἵ σφεας σινέσκοντο, βίηφι δὲ φέρτεροι ἦσαν.
ἔνθεν ἀναστήσας ἄγε Ναυσίθοος θεοειδής,
εἷσεν δὲ Σχερίῃ, ἑκὰς ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστάων

Formerly, they dwelt in spacious Hypereia, near the Cyclopes––overbearing men––who were plundering them and were stronger in force. Having migrated from there, godlike Nausithous led them and settled them in Scheria, far from [ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστάων].[8]

In the passage above, the noun-adjective pair appears to apply either to all humanity––thereby stressing the remoteness of the settlement established by Nausithous––or the Cyclopes in particular––thereby qualifying the barbaric peoples from whom Nausithous withdrew the Phaeacians. Regrettably, one cannot discriminate between interpretations without establishing an accurate translation of ἀλφηστής. Homer uses the adjective for the last time in *Odyssey* 13 during a con-

7. Hom. *Od.* 1.346-52.
8. Hom. *Od.* 6.4-8.

versation between Odysseus and Athena. After disguising herself as a young shepherd boy, Athena informs Odysseus, unaware of his whereabouts, that he has landed in Ithaca. However, rather than celebrating his homecoming, Odysseus fabricates a reason for his presence in Achaea, creating an alternate identity for himself. In his deception, Odysseus claims that he slew:

> Ὀρσίλοχον πόδας ὠκύν, ὃς ἐν Κρήτῃ εὐρείῃ
> ἀνέρας ἀλφηστὰς νίκα ταχέεσσι πόδεσσιν,
> οὕνεκά με στερέσαι τῆς ληΐδος ἤθελε πάσης
> Τρωϊάδος, τῆς εἵνεκ᾽ ἐγὼ πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῷ,
> ἀνδρῶν τε πτολέμους ἀλεγεινά τε κύματα πείρων,
> οὕνεκ᾽ ἄρ᾽ οὐχ ᾧ πατρὶ χαριζόμενος θεράπευον
> δήμῳ ἔνι Τρώων, ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλων ἄρχον ἑταίρων.

> Swift-footed Orsilochus, who in wide Crete surpassed [ἀνέρας ἀλφηστὰς] in fleet feet, because he intended to bereave me of all my Trojan booty, on account of which I suffered pains in heart, cleaving through both wars of men and grievous waves, because, not acquiescing, I did not attend to his father in the country of the Trojans, but commanded my other comrades.[9]

As in the previous passages, ἀλφηστής in *Odyssey* 13 classifies humanity generally, while also signifying the Cretan people surpassed by Orsilochus in footraces. Yet, the meaning of the adjective is still impossible to determine from these lines, thereby exhausting the available avenues of inquiry in Homer.

   Beyond the references in the *Odyssey,* ἀλφηστής also appears throughout the poems of Hesiod during the Archaic period. Hesiod uses the adjective for the first time in the middle of the Theogony. In cataloging the genealogies of titans, gods, and heroes, Hesiod records the births of the three sons of Clymene––the wife of Iapetus and the daughter of the Ocean:

> ἣ δέ οἱ Ἄτλαντα κρατερόφρονα γείνατο παῖδα,
> τίκτε δ᾽ ὑπερκύδαντα Μενοίτιον ἠδὲ Προμηθέα
> ποικίλον αἰολόμητιν ἁμαρτίνοόν τ᾽ Ἐπιμηθέα,
> ὃς κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένετ᾽ ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῇσιν·
> πρῶτος γάρ ῥα Διὸς πλαστὴν ὑπέδεκτο γυναῖκα
> παρθένον.

> She bore to him Atlas, a stout-hearted son, and gave birth to renowned Menoetius and to artful, wily Prometheus and to erring-minded Epimetheus, who was evil from the beginning for [ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῇσιν]; for he first accepted the woman formed by Zeus, the maiden.[10]

Herein, the noun-adjective pair arises within an allusion to Pandora, the original woman who cursed humankind with every form of plague and pestilence. In the *Works and Days*, Hesiod replicates the grammatical form and metrical position of ἀλφηστής in the same mythological tale.

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9. Hom. *Od*. 13.260-266.
10. Hes. *Theog*. 509-14.

After describing the various attributes bestowed on Pandora by the titans and the gods, Hermes completes the scheme designed by Zeus to repay humanity for the sin of Prometheus:

> ἐν δ᾽ ἄρα φωνὴν
> θῆκε θεῶν κῆρυξ, ὀνόμηνε δὲ τήνδε γυναῖκα
> Πανδώρην, ὅτι πάντες Ὀλύμπια δώματ᾽ ἔχοντες
> δῶρον ἐδώρησαν, πῆμ᾽ ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῇσιν.

> The messenger of the gods placed a voice in her and named the woman Pandora, since all those having Olympian houses had given a gift, a pain for [ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῇσιν].[11]

Unlike in the Theogony, Hesiod explicitly names Pandora while acknowledging the divine conspiracy behind her creation. However, neither the Theogony nor the *Works and Days* provides sufficient evidence to explain ἀλφηστής. Although questionably attributed to Hesiod, the *Shield of Heracles* contains the adjective in the lines preceding the birth of Heracles. Before unfolding how the daughter of Electryon bore twins––the stronger to Zeus and the weaker to Amphitryon––after having intercourse with her husband and the king of the gods consecutively, Hesiod offers insight into the intentions of Zeus:

> πατὴρ δ᾽ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
> ἄλλην μῆτιν ὕφαινε μετὰ φρεσίν, ὥς ῥα θεοῖσιν
> ἀνδράσι τ᾽ ἀλφηστῇσιν ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα φυτεύσαι.

> But the father of both men and gods was weaving another plan in his mind, that he might produce for gods and for [ἀνδράσι ἀλφηστῇσιν] a protector against ruin.[12]

In the passage above, ἀνδράσι ἀλφηστῇσιν simply seems to reference humanity in general without conveying the precise meaning of the adjective. Lastly, one ought to note that ἀλφηστής occurs on three other occasions—twice in the *Catalogue of Women*, a five book addendum to the Theogony—within the traditional Hesiodic corpus: ἀνδρῶν . . . ἀλφηστάων, ἀνδράσι . . . ἀλφηστῇσιν, and ἄλλων ἀλφηστάων.[13] Sadly, all three sections are fragmentary to greater and lesser extents, thereby restricting any attempts at contextualization. Therefore, just as concluded from Homer, the use of ἀλφηστής by Hesiod seems unrelated to its context, although descriptive of humanity.

   Despite the imperfect information gleaned from Homer and Hesiod, the various constructions of ἀνέρας ἀλφηστὰς perform an essential part in the poetry before and during the Archaic period. (Hereafter, borrowing the oral theory pioneered by Milman Parry, the term epithet will describe this noun-adjective pair more precisely.) The oral tradition of epic poetry in ancient Greece dates to the beginning of the Dark Age around 1100 BCE in the aftermath of the Bronze Age. After the collapse of civilization around 1200 BCE, the nomadic communities surviving around the Aegean Sea abandoned written letters—Minoan Linear A and Mycenaean Linear B— for orality: memory preserved through minstrels. After the Greeks adapted the alphabet from the Phoenicians during the eighth century BCE, Homer recorded epic poems, crafted and recited by bards for hundreds of years and traditionally intended for public performance. Throughout the

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11. Hes. *Op*. 79-82.
12. Hes. *Sc*. 27-9.
13. Hes. *Fr*. 73.5, 195.29, 211.12.

Dark Age, rather than memorizing thousands upon thousands of lines of dactylic hexameter verbatim, the poets developed regular patterns of verse composition, including standard noun-adjective phrases—epithets—to start or end lines. To simplify the task of the singer, epithets guarantee a certain number of metrical feet with a set rhythm. Essentially, epithets operate as the building blocks of dactylic hexameter, thereby allowing the poet to craft sequences of the poem with relative ease from familiar material. Mingling performance with composition, epithets shaped, in both meter and theme, the form of the epic poems, which later became the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Instances of epithets abound in both poems. Undoubtedly, the epithets for Achilles and Odysseus are the most plentiful: πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς, "swift-footed Achilles," occurs thirty-one times and πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς, "Odysseus of many councils," eighty-one times.[14] (Short verbal clauses such as ὣς φάτο, "thus he spoke," and whole formulaic lines or passages also serve as mnemonic devices in the Homeric corpus.) Adhering to the critical method developed by Milman Parry, oral theorists classify certain noun-adjective pairs as ornamental epithets, whereby "the idea which each expresses has no bearing upon the ideas of the sentence or passage where they appear. They do not express an essential idea and so they are not, as are the other parts of speech, an integral part of the frame of thought."[15] Notably, Parry categorizes ἀλφηστής—as quoted above—as ornamental after commenting:

> The words in Homer for whose meaning we are in the dark are limited almost entirely to the category of ornamental epithets, that is, of adjectives used attributively and without reference to the ideas of the sentences or the passages where they appear. As a result of the direct and substantial nature of Homeric thought, finding its expression in a style which rigorously avoids abstraction, those words in the Iliad and Odyssey which have no correspondents in later Greek, with the exception of those which are ornamental epithets, are usually explained by the context.[16]

With an adjective such as ἀλφηστής, one confronts the problem of an epithet that, despite operating in some specific setting, means something independent from that setting––as verified through the examination of Homer and Hesiod above. In short, Parry claims that one cannot determine the meaning of an ornamental epithet from context. However, before forsaking the contextual examinations of early Archaic poetry, one ought to question the logic of Parry's theory. While his assertion that ornamental epithets perform no essential role in their contexts is indisputable, Parry overreaches by claiming that ornamental epithets, due to their uncertain etymologies, never reference the ideas present in their context. Theoretically, if one discovered the meaning of an ornamental epithet, one might notice correlations between the epithet's connotation and passage's content. Arguing from ignorance, Parry presupposes that ornamental epithets are extraneous without adequate explanation. Hereafter, evidence gathered from the *Hymn to Apollo*, the *Seven Against Thebes*, and the *Philoctetes* will elucidate the contextualization of ἀλφηστής in Homer and Hesiod.

In her article entitled "On Homer's Epithets," Eleanor Rambo—an academic contemporary with Milman Parry—provides insight into studying epithets. To conclude her remarks, Rambo writes,

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14. Milman Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making: I. Homer and Homeric Style," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 41 (1930): 88.

15. Milman Parry, "The Homeric Gloss: A Study in Word-Sense," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 59 (1928): 238.

16. Ibid., 235.

"I commend to your attention the quite different effect of the epithet in the *Homeric Hymns*. There the epithet is literally adequate, and at its best has crepuscular charm; but it is not mobile. Generally it is pale and static."[17] If Rambo is right, the Homeric Hymns provide the clearest context in which to observe an ornamental epithet. Erroneously attributed to Homer in antiquity, the Homeric Hymns, an assortment of thirty-three psalms written in dactylic hexameter, date between the seventh and sixth century BCE. Of the songs in the collection, only the Hymn to Apollo contains ἀλφηστής. Spying a ship of Cretans sailing from Cnossos, Apollo conceals himself as a dolphin and leaps onto the deck. Repelling all attempts of the sailors to dislodge him, Apollo supernaturally guides the ship into harbor on the island of Crisa, where he exposes himself and asks:

> ὦ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ᾽ ὑγρὰ κέλευθα;
> ἤ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν, ἦ μαψιδίως ἀλάλησθε
> οἷά τε ληϊστῆρες ὑπεὶρ ἅλα, τοί τ᾽ ἀλόωνται
> ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι κακὸν ἀλλοδαποῖσι φέροντες;
> τίφθ᾽ οὕτως ἧσθον τετιηότες, οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ γαῖαν
> ἐκβῆτ᾽, οὐδὲ καθ᾽ ὅπλα μελαίνης νηὸς ἔθεσθε;
> αὕτη μέν γε δίκη πέλει ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστάων,
> ὁππόταν ἐκ πόντοιο ποτὶ χθονὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ
> ἔλθωσιν καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες, αὐτίκα δέ σφεας
> σίτοιο γλυκεροῖο περὶ φρένας ἵμερος αἱρεῖ.

> Strangers, who are you? From where do you sail the watery ways? Are you on some business or do you roam at random, as even pirates do, across the sea, who roam, having hazarded their lives, bringing evil to foreigners? Why do you sit so sorrowful and why have you neither disembarked onto land nor stored the tackle of your dark ship? This is the custom of [ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστάων], when from the sea they come to land in their dark ship, sated with toil, and at once the desire for sweet grain seizes them in their hearts.[18]

In contrast with the passages in Homer and Hesiod, the Homeric hymn provides an indication of the meaning of ἀλφηστής. Rather than generically referencing humankind, the *Hymn to Apollo* specifically connects the adjective with sailors. Moreover, in context, the epithet seems related to food. According to Apollo, when sailors usually drop anchor at port, their appetite for flavorful food, unavailable on the ocean, becomes insatiable. Based on the comments on the nutritional preferences of sailors on land versus at sea, ἀλφηστής seems to denote the diet onboard the ship. In particular––based on the generic word σίτοιο––ἀλφηστής designates some sort of grain product.

The context of ἀλφηστής in the *Philoctetes* strengthens this assertion. In his tragedy, Sophocles focuses on the character of Philoctetes, an Achaean archer abandoned on the island of Lemnos by Odysseus on the voyage to Troy and rediscovered by Neoptolemus in the final year of the war. Although plagued by a wound infected with snake venom, Philoctetes wields the legendary bow

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17. Eleanor Rambo, "On Homer's Epithets," *The Classical Journal* 28, no. 2 (1932): 130.
18. [Hom.] *h.Ap*. 452-461.

of Heracles, the weapon needed––according to the oracle–––to defeat the Trojans. (Tellingly, the historical setting of the play during the Trojan War furthers the association of ἀλφηστής with the Bronze Age.) After Neoptolemus ascertains and addresses the hermit, the Chorus elaborates the living conditions of Philoctetes on Lemnos:

> οὐ φορβὰν ἱερᾶς γᾶς σπόρον, οὐκ ἄλλων
> αἴρων τῶν νεμόμεσθ᾽ ἀνέρες ἀλφησταί,
> πλὴν ἐξ ὠκυβόλων εἴ ποτε τόξων
> πτανοῖς ἰοῖς ἀνύσειε γαστρὶ φορβάν.
> ὦ μελέα ψυχά,
> ὃς μηδ᾽ οἰνοχύτου πώματος ἥσθη δεκέτει
> χρόνῳ,
> λεύσσων δ᾽ ὅπου γνοίη στατὸν εἰς ὕδωρ,
> ἀεὶ προσενώμα.

> Food not of the sowing of the sacred earth, not of the other crops that we [ἀνέρες ἀλφησταί] dispense, only with winged arrows from his quick-shooting bow did he obtain––if ever––food for his stomach. Miserable soul, who did not pleasure in the draught of wine for the span of ten years; instead, looking, he always approached anywhere he discovered standing water.[19]

In the passage above, Sophocles directly relates the epithet to the growing of crops and the consumption of wine. Whereas others ate from the produce of the earth and drank from the sweetness of the vine, Philoctetes only hunted birds and found water. Philoctetes lacks everything enjoyed by the people modified by ἀλφηστής: grain and wine. Hence, based on the *Philoctetes* and the *Hymn to Apollo*, the epithet in question seems to encapsulate the diet of sailors with respect to food and drink.

Before attempting to explicate the etymology of ἀλφηστής, one ought first to examine the false derivation proposed by the classical playwright, Aeschylus. In the literature of the fifth century BCE, the adjective only occurs twice: once in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and once in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*. However, the two authors have different definitions of the epithet. Like Sophocles, Aeschylus introduces the archaic adjective to contextualize his retelling of the mythical assault of seven heroes on seven-gated Thebes. (Interestingly, the story itself dates as far back as the Bronze Age and as far away as the Near East.[20]) After Eteocles learns that his brother, Polynices, leads the Argive army at the seventh gate and resolves to rally the Theban troops against him, the Chorus laments the curse against the house of Oedipus, eventually uttering the following lines:

> τελειᾶν γὰρ παλαιφάτων ἀρᾶν
> βαρεῖαι καταλλαγαί.
> τὰ δ᾽ ὀλοὰ πελόμεν᾽ οὐ παρέρχεται,
> πρόπρυμνα δ᾽ ἐκβολὰν φέρει
> ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστᾶν
> ὄλβος ἄγαν παχυνθείς.

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19. S. *Ph.* 708-17.

20. Cf. Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Period*, trans. Margaret E. Pinder and Walter Burkert (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 106-14.

> For, when the curse of words spoken long ago is fulfilled, the reconciliation is grievous. The destruction does not pass unnoticed. The prosperity of [ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστᾶν], enlarged too much, brings the jettisoning of cargo from the stern.[21]

As in the *Hymn to Apollo*, the use of ἀλφηστής in the *Seven Against Thebes* relates to nautical terminology. Moreover, by referencing the *Odyssey* through his word choice, Aeschylus again emphasizes the historical element of the epithet. Before the production of the *Seven Against Thebes*, ἀλφηστής had never appeared—in extant literature—outside of corpuses of Homer and Hesiod. Thus, through the reintroduction of ἀλφηστής, Aeschylus capitalizes on the connection between the word and the time period to which the word belongs: the Bronze Age. However, despite understanding the historical significance of the epithet, Aeschylus seems unaware of the accurate meaning of the adjective. In commenting on the previous passage in the *Philoctetes*, J. C. Kamerbeek observes that, differently from Sophocles, Aeschylus incorrectly assumed that "the word . . . derived from ἀλφάνω."[22] Presuming that he actually considered the etymology of the epithet, Aeschylus used ἀλφηστής to describe the labor involved with obtaining prosperity.[23] However, as argued below, ἀλφηστής arises not from a verb of 'gaining,' but from a noun for 'barley.'

   Although philologists disagree on the root of ἀλφηστής, an article entitled "On the Meaning of Certain Homeric Words" by John Fletcher Davies—published in 1874, predating the oral theory of Milman Parry—etymologically justifies the connection of the epithet with agriculture in the Bronze Age. According to Davies, ἀλφηστής derives from ἄλφιτον, 'barley,' and σῖτος, 'grain.'[24] (T. G. Tucker differs, suggesting an etymology from ἀλφά, 'white meal,' and ἔδω, 'eat.'[25]) However, although he argues that one may simply render the epithet as "eaters of barley-meal,"[26] Davies specifies that ἀλφηστής cannot refer to the consumption of bread.[27] Rather, to prepare the food described by ἀλφηστής, one must "rub water, wine, or oil, into the meal, for the purpose of at once eating the cold paste," not "by kneading" as with dough.[28] Davies bolsters his argument by noting: "There is no process of making dough hinted at either in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, . . . nor in the *Hymn to Ceres*; nor of fermentation, a metaphor so dear to poets; nor of baking; nor of any apparatus for baking."[29] However, rather than attributing the epithet to the Archaic period in which Homer and Hesiod wrote, Davies suggests that "the men from whom Homer inherited the word ἀλφηστής did not eat bread; they ate barley meal and flour."[30] Davies indicates that the ancient

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21. A. *Th.* 766-71.

22. J. C. Kamerbeek, *The Plays of Sophocles: Commentaries: Part VI: The Philoctetes* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 108.

23. T. G. Tucker, commenting in Aeschylus, The *Seven Against Thebes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), writes, "There is no proof that here [Aeschylus] is thinking of the 'winnings or 'gains' of men, or of etymology at all. The context will equally bear the simple interpretation of pity for human lot. If he has ἀλφάνω in mind his thought is not of their great gains (which would contradict the regular deprecatory use of ἀλφησταί) but of the pains with which they gather ὄλβος" (158).

24. John Fletcher Davies, "On the Meaning of Certain Homeric Words," *Hermathena* 1 (1874): 137.

25. Aeschylus, *The Seven Against Thebes*, ed. and trans. T. G. Tucker. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 158.

26. John Fletcher Davies, "On the Meaning of Certain Homeric Words," *Hermathena* 1 (1874): 135.

27. A. T. Murray offers the translation "barley-eating mankind" for ἀνέρας ἀλφηστὰς in *Od*. 13.261¬––he supplies "bread-eating men" for *Od*. 1.349 and 6.8––for the edition in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919). However, although precisely rendering the epithet once, Murray offers no explanation for the change in translation from earlier in the epic poem.

28. Ibid., 137.

29. Ibid., 143.

30. Ibid., 142.

Greek language borrowed ἀλφηστής from an earlier Indo-European language. Despite the limitations in researching Indo-European derivatives, the *American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots* provides supporting evidence; under the entry for the root *al-, Calvert Watkins lists both 'white' and 'to grow, nourish' as meanings, thereby reinforcing the link between ἀλφηστής and barley.[31] Moreover, in his book *How to Kill a Dragon*, Watkins asserts that the lexical unit ἄλφιτ- in ancient Greek derives from the Indo-European epithet *albho- (barley) and replaced "the cognate—unknown to Greek—of Hittite *šeppit-*" (cereal) while borrowing the suffix *-it-, which the Indo-European word for honey shares.[32] Studies in the diets of Near Eastern peoples during the Bronze Age also supports the interpretation of ἀλφηστής as "eaters of barley-meal."[33]

However, the etymological derivation of ἀλφηστής reveals not only the literal meaning of the word, but also the implications of the epithet. Based on the nautical context of the epithet in the *Odyssey*, the *Hymn to Apollo*, and the *Seven Against Thebes*, ἀλφηστής refers to the diet of sailors during the Bronze Age. Moreover, combining the information from the Philoctetes, the nourishment of ancient mariners consisted of barley and wine. Thus, the epithet ἀλφηστής seems to indicate that the sailors of the Bronze Age ate a regimen of cakes made of barley mixed with wine and oil during their voyages at sea. Rather than rely on bread—a food susceptible to mold or maggots—ancient mariners preferred to supply each voyage with basic, raw ingredients such as barley, wine, and oil that were lightweight, long lasting, and inexpensive. Hence, to prepare meals, sailors simply rolled raw barley oats with wine for moisture and oil for cohesion without the use of fire. Although a scientific analysis of the diet of ancient seafarers is currently unavailable, textual verification appears in Book 3 of Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian War. Following the famous Mytilenean Debate between Cleon and Diodotus, the Athenians commission a naval vessel to hasten to the island of Lesbos to prevent the destruction of the city of Mytilene. Amidst preparations, the ambassadors from Mytilene furnish the ship with ἄλφιτα, "barley-oats," which the sailors οἴνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ . . . πεφυραμένα, "mixed with wine and oil," for meals.[34] Thucydides' attention to the rations eaten by the rowers to Mytilene indicates the abnormality of the diet in 427 BCE. However, the decision of the sailors to consume barley mixed with wine and oil for efficiency seems to indicate a memory of a past practice, potentially dating to the Bronze Age.

Derived from the Indo-European root for barley, the epithet ἀλφηστής applies to the generation of the Bronze Age and describes the diet of mariners at sea: cakes made from barley, wine, and oil. During the Archaic period, Homer and Hesiod formulaically insert the various constructions of the noun-adjective phrase of ἀνέρας ἀλφηστὰς to begin and end lines of dactylic hexameter, generically describing the men of the Bronze Age without conscious concern for the nautical connotations. Later, in the *Homeric Hymns,* the comment by Apollo on the difference between the diet of men on land and at sea reveals the association of ἀλφηστής with sailing and eating. Aeschylus reinforces the nautical connotation of the epithet in *Seven Against Thebes*, despite misapplying the adjective. Finally, Sophocles discloses the nutritional aspect of ἀλφηστής, by pairing grain with wine in the *Philoctetes*. Although Thucydides corroborates the presence of cakes made with barley, wine, and oil in the Mytilenean Debate, one ought to remember that the epithet uniquely refers to the Bronze Age. Thus, the rediscovery of the meaning and implications of ἀλφηστής elucidates the practice of seafaring in early Greek history.

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31. Calvert Watkins, *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011), *ad locum*.

32. Calvert Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 156-7.

33. Rosemary Ellison, "Some Thoughts on the Diet of Mesopotamia from c. 3000-600 B.C.," *Iraq* 45, no. 1 (1983): 146-150; "Diet in Mesopotamia: The Evidence of the Barley Ration Texts (c. 3000-1400 B.C.)," *Iraq* 43, no. 1 (1981): 35-45.

34. Th. 3.49.4.

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Sacred and Secular Authority in Augustine's Letter 151

Stone Hendrickson

Abstract

Augustine wrote Letter 151 in response to a crisis. His friend and political ally, Marcellinus, had recently been implicated in the Heraclian revolt and executed by Marinus, another powerful Roman political figure. Letter 151 is one way in which Augustine sought to recover from this loss. In order to accomplish this end, Augustine works to recast a political situation in spiritual terms. Augustine's glaring avoidance of any direct references to the Heraclian revolt or any of the key figures by name clearly reveals his interest in avoiding political terms in the discussion. Thus, in order to accomplish political ends, Augustine heavily spiritualizes his descriptions of Marcellinus and Marinus, beatifying the first and damning the second. Augustine also uses ambiguous pronouns and conditional grammatical constructions to force his reader(s) to engage closely with his narrative on his terms. Such a consideration creates a deeper appreciation for Augustine and his work in a way that is underdeveloped in current scholarship.

Sacred and Secular Authority in Augustine's Letter 151

On the cool, clear morning of September 13th, 413 CE, St. Augustine woke to the news that his dear friend and ally Marcellinus had just been beheaded. In the wake of a recent rebellion against Emperor Honorius's rule, a Roman general named Marinus swept into North Africa and began a series of proscriptive executions which eventually included Marcellinus, the emperor's *tribunus et notarius* in the region.[1] While this incident may have been only one in a period of political turbulences in North Africa and the Roman Empire, it prompted a severe response from Augustine. According to biographer Peter Brown, "Augustine, indeed, now felt old and ineffective. He travelled back to Hippo, to a safe backwater among his books."[2] If Brown's interpretation is correct, this event crippled Augustine's confidence and hopes for the possibilities of the unity of political and spiritual power. For Brown, Augustine's renewed focus on scholarly endeavors signaled his flight from the political sphere. Augustine's movement from Carthage (the hub of political activity in North Africa at the time) to Hippo (indeed a small "backwater" as Brown describes) is essentially a retreat according to Brown.

While Augustine did indeed retire to Hippo for some time, he did not exclusively relax into scholarly activities, as Brown seems to suggest. Rather, not long after Marcellinus's execution, Augustine wrote a highly charged letter to Caecilianus, another Roman official who had some involvement with the recent events. Many scholars have simply used this letter as a mine for historical data. Unfortunately, this approach to Augustine's letters has obscured their potential literary value. Studying Augustine's rhetoric in these letters can also yield compelling results in efforts to understand the development of Augustine's political and theological ideas—a development that certainly did not occur in a historical vacuum. In the case of Letter 151, an analysis of Augustine's rhetorical strategies in the letter and the larger historical context offers significant insights into Augustine's response to the execution of Marcellinus and the event's influence on Augustine's life and thought. Contrary to Brown's insinuation, Letter 151 does not ultimately suggest an attitude of defeat. In his response to Caecilianus, Augustine instead rethinks his approach to the relationship between spiritual and secular power. While he may have lost his earlier confidence in the fruitful unity between these two forces, Augustine appears to have a new conception of how they can best interact. In Letter 151, Augustine enacts his new conception of the supremacy and finality of spiritual authority in relation to political power.

Before analyzing the specifics of Letter 151, it is important to have a general understanding of Augustine's letters, particularly to political figures such as Caecilianus. In her work on Augustine's attempts to discipline Christians in his letters, Jennifer Ebbeler makes important points about the nature of letter writing in this time period. Ebbeler emphasizes that in Augustine's world, relationships could be created and cultivated "entirely through the exchange of letters, with no expectation that these textual relationships would lead to face-to-face relationships."[3] While Augustine does refer to personal interactions with Caecilianus, he likely relied on letters to form the substance of their communication and relationship. Elsewhere, Ebbeler describes the powerful role

1. Brent D. Shaw, "Augustine and Men of Imperial Power," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 8, no. 1 (2015): 34.

2. Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 339.

3. Jennifer Ebbeler, *Disciplining Christians: Correction and Community in Augustine's Letters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), vii.

that letters play in forming the correspondents' identities.[4] Ebbeler even calls for a new attention to these letters as "textualized social interactions" which demand our attention as part of a "literary tradition."[5] This call for a literary perspective of the letters supports the approach of treating these letters as substantial and cohesive units of meaning within a historical context.

Commenting on Augustine's correspondence specifically, Shaw makes important points concerning the order and dynamic between these letters and Augustine's actual relationship to his correspondents. In terms of order, Shaw concludes, "The pattern we come to expect is that official contacts, when successfully struck, groomed, and confirmed, formed the basis for a subsequent *amicitia* and not the other way around."[6] Applied to Letter 151, Shaw's conclusion provides further reason to reject Brown's description of Augustine's attitude after Marcellinus's execution. Shaw's understanding of Augustine's correspondence would imply that Augustine's efforts to engage with Caecilianus in a friendly but aggressive manner reveal clear political interests. However, only a careful analysis of the letter itself will clarify the particular nature of Augustine's political interests.

In this letter, Augustine seeks to resolve a particular problem. The letter refers to events which took place in September 413 CE. While the exact date of the letter is dubious at best,[7] Augustine likely wrote it later that year or early in 414. As described above, Augustine is responding to the execution of Marcellinus. The history of the relationship between Augustine and Marcellinus is essential for understanding Augustine's goals in writing the letter. Marcellinus first came to Africa when Emperor Honorius sent him there to adjudicate the conference between the Catholic and Donatist bishops in 411. His fair and prudent leadership of the debates, as well as his ultimate judgment in favor of the Catholics, drew Augustine to him. In time, Augustine came to see Marcellinus as the ideal, lay Catholic in a position of political power. His devout practice of the faith and his decision in favor of the Catholics made Marcellinus an impressive symbol of Catholic Christianity's success and influence in the realm of political power in Roman Africa and beyond.

However, events in 413 quickly disrupted their friendship and Marcellinus's value to Augustine. That year saw the rebellion of Heraclian, a proconsular governor and commander-in-chief of Roman forces in Africa, against the authority of Emperor Honorius. This uprising was quickly subdued when Marinus, another powerful political figure, defeated Heraclian, pursued him back to Africa, and executed those who colluded with him in the rebellion. Marcellinus and his brother, the proconsul Apringius, were eventually included in the proscriptive executions.[8] In addition to the loss of a personal friend, the extent of Augustine's loss of a political ally is clear. In Marcellinus's execution, Augustine lost practical political influence and the valuable symbolization of the ideal of unity between Catholic Christianity and political power.[9] While a natural death might have led Augustine to passively mourn his loss, the fact that Marcellinus's death was a political

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4. Eric Rebillard, *Christians and Their Many Identities in Late Antiquity, North Africa, 200-459 CE* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), 62. "Drawing from literary approaches to letter writing (Rousset 1962; Altman 1982), Jen Ebbeler has recently emphasized that, since dialogue is constitutive to it, the letter exchange is a 'performative space,' and that we need to pay attention to 'strategies for managing epistolary relationships,' as the letter exchange can be 'manipulated to script a textual identity for oneself and for one's correspondent' (Ebbeler 2001: 163, 167-168)."

5. Ebbeler, *Disciplining Christians*, ix.

6. Shaw, "Augustine and Men of Imperial Power," 43.

7. Ebbeler, *Disciplining Christians,* 18. Ebbeler notes that the evidence for dating Augustine's letters is scant and the chronological arrangement of the Maurist and post-Maurist editors is an imposition on the texts.

8. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 337.

9. Cf. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 336-338. Brown elaborates on the new class of Roman politicians who were also faithful servants of the Catholic church due to the influence of bishops such as Augustine. Brown also describes "a small group of men, violent, petty, and corrupt" who did not share the Christian sensibilities of the new class of politicians and violently carried out their political agendas.

execution for treason forced him to actively respond in an attempt to reestablish his authority in relation to political events and figures.

Specifically, Augustine does so by recasting a political situation10 in spiritual terms. As a bishop and theologian, Augustine had every advantage in the spiritual realm as opposed to the political realm. This interpretation of Augustine's rhetorical style explains the glaring absence of any direct reference to Heraclian and his revolt. In fact, Augustine never refers to any of the key figures in the recent events by name. He also conspicuously avoids addressing any of the facts surrounding the political elements of the situation.[10] His defense of Marcellinus and his condemnation of Marinus lack a direct denial of Marcellinus's involvement with Heraclian. One possible explanation lies in the fact that Augustine's recipient, Caecilianus, was closely involved in all of the events. As such, Augustine rehearses a set of facts that is largely known to both of them. However, this explanation ignores the nuances of the letter's content and style. Augustine does appear to be adding some new information regarding the circumstances of Marcellinus's imprisonment and execution. Specifically, Augustine recounts an intimate conversation between the two of them in the prison during which Marcellinus settles Augustine's fears concerning potential sexual impropriety. This story becomes an opportunity for Augustine to laud Marcellinus's exceptional modesty and godliness. By focusing the reader's attention on this emotionally involved scene and by avoiding the more political elements of the situation, Augustine draws the reader's attention and forces the reader to respond to the more spiritual elements of the situation and individuals.

Augustine parallels his elaboration of Marcellinus's goodness with a damning presentation of Marinus's actions in spiritualized terms. The descriptions of Marinus's actions throughout the letter are full of moral weight. Marinus communicated with *falsis promissionibus*, false promises.[11] Collectively, his actions in the affair constitute a *nefariam fallaciam*, a nefarious trick, and a *nefarius fetus*, an evil offspring. Augustine more obviously reveals his attempt to refocus attention when he asserts that in executing Marcellinus, Marinus made it clear that *ei matri se inferre non timuisse cruciatum . . . ecclesiae scilicet sanctae*, he did not fear to inflict pain on his mother, the holy church. Augustine even seems to reflect pastoral concern for Marinus when he asserts that while he directs violent actions toward others, *suam quippe animam eodem ferro . . . gravius altiusque percussit,* he strikes his own heart more deeply and seriously with the same sword. While maintaining primary focus on Caecilianus, Augustine nevertheless expends considerable rhetorical capital elaborating the heinous nature of Marinus's character and actions. Throughout the entirety of the letter, Augustine never refers to Marinus's other actions in relation to the Heraclian revolt. The reason is obvious. Politically, Marinus is a loyal servant of the emperor and even a hero for defeating Heraclian and restoring control of the African grain supply to Ravenna.[12] In order to demonize Marinus, Augustine strategically refuses to acknowledge any of his popularly recognized successes and focuses on a spiritual condemnation.

Augustine continues his strategic exploration of the dynamic between the two by establishing

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10. Brent D. Shaw, *Sacred Violence: African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 584. Shaw argues that Augustine's silence regarding Heraclian and the events "is explained by his fears of being too closely identified with Marcellinus and Apringius, and a desire not to alienate the court at Ravenna from enforcing the hard-won results of the conference of 411."

11. All Latin quotations are followed by my own English translation set off with commas.

12. We currently only have two original sources that name Marinus and describe his activities in this context. Brown and others incorporate the relevant content of these sources in their descriptions of the events.

Jordanes, *De Summa Temporum Vel Origine Actibusque Gentis Romanorum*, Romana, 325.

Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Pauli Orosii*, 7.42.17.

their basic similarities. Both are baptized members of the church and both also serve in political capacities. While establishing Marcellinus's ideal symbolization of the devout politician, Augustine develops a contrasting conception of the corruption of the lay Catholic politician in the person of Marinus. Despite being baptized in *eius gremio*, in the lap of the mother church, Marinus is quick to be the one who *ecclesiam maxime persecutus est*, most persecuted the church, and who inflicted pain on the church as mentioned above. Creating the contrast between the two in this way also places Augustine in the position of primary adjudicatory authority. Because both have been baptized, both men are under Augustine's authority in the spiritual realm, thus giving Augustine the authority to pronounce approbation and condemnation where each is due.

Augustine also intensifies the binary tension by his use of pronouns. As discussed above, Augustine never refers to any of these individuals by name. It is important to keep one of Ebbeler's points in mind here. According to Ebbeler, "Especially troublesome is the claim that real, historical letters were primarily private documents. [. . .] But no letter writer, no matter how reliable his messenger or how sophisticated his code, could ever be certain that his letter would not be intercepted and circulated in public."[13] Thus, when Augustine uses pronouns, he deliberately capitalizes on the presence of an audience who may not have as detailed an understanding of the situation as Caecilianus himself. Consequently, his exclusive use of pronouns produces a certain level of difficulty in reading and understanding the letter. This potential ambiguity is one of the most important rhetorical elements in the letter. The difficulty begins when Augustine first makes reference to Marinus in the third paragraph of the letter: *Nam ideo post illius impiam crudelemque perfidiam*, for after his impious and cruel treachery. Grammatically, the reference to Marinus (*illius*) is not even in the primary clause of Augustine's statement but is in an adverbial phrase describing the time frame. It is not even clear if a reader informed of the circumstances would be able to recognize the pronoun's antecedent at this point in the letter. With this subtle initial and indirect insertion of Marinus, Augustine creates a space in the reader's mind which he immediately fills with a description of his evil treachery instead of allowing the reader to fill the space with previously formed associations with the name of Marinus. Augustine's references to Marcellinus create a similar effect. The first direct reference to Marcellinus comes when Augustine describes his wish to not have to beg *pro illorum corporibus*, for their bodies. Instead of using a name that would have connotations and associations in the minds of his readers outside of his control, Augustine creates a particular space for Marcellinus in the minds of his readers and fills it initially with the idea of victims of brutal violence and perfidy. While the two pictures could not be more opposite, on a grammatical level, Augustine draws no distinction between them; he uses different forms of *ille* to refer to both of them. With this linguistic tactic, Augustine forces his readers to listen to and engage carefully with his narrative in order to distinguish between the different characters. The reader must consider who these different men are and what exactly distinguishes them in order to understand the letter on a basic level. Of course, Augustine skillfully controls and spiritualizes the environment of the letter in which their identities are formed around these otherwise neutral pronouns.

Augustine also focuses much of his rhetorical energy on the relationship between Marinus and his recipient, Caecilianus. While the relationship between these two is likely political in nature, Augustine primarily describes it in spiritual terms. Having established the depth of Marinus's evil, Augustine implies that Caecilianus should follow the way of Marcellinus and play the part of the good Catholic in his relationship with Marinus. While trying to encourage Caecilianus to treat

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13. Ebbeler, *Disciplining Christians,* 21.

Marinus with a *fideliorem . . . dilectionem*, a more faithful love, Augustine frames their relationship in terms of how good men ought to lead evil men away from their depravity. In this situation, Augustine believes that the *fideliorem dilectionem* means that Caecilianus should *agit cum malis, ut eos malitiae paeniteat, novit etiam indignatione consulere*, act toward evil men that they would repent and that he [Caecilianus] should learn to respond with indignation. This moral abstraction draws attention away from the political context and places it firmly in a spiritual arena in which Augustine advises with pastoral wisdom. He also reminds Caecilianus of a conversation during which they had discussed his relationship with Marinus. In a passionate effort to assure Augustine that he was not in league with Marinus, Caecilianus swore *manusque tendens in eum locum, ubi celebrantur sacramenta fidelium*, with his hand stretching into that place where the sacraments of the faithful are celebrated, that Marcellinus and his brother would be released into Augustine's custody. Augustine creates a connection between Caecilianus and Marcellinus by also recounting when Marcellinus swore by the sacraments concerning his innocence. Augustine is also quick to remind Caecilianus of the time he swore his allegiance in the very place where Augustine would exercise his spiritual authority.

Augustine's own relationship with Caecilianus also features prominently in the letter. One of the more intriguing aspects of the dynamic between them is Augustine's frequent use of the subjunctive mood when he asserts his trust in Caecilianus. Augustine uses a first person, subjunctive form of credo no less than four times in reference to him not believing evil of Caecilianus. Of course, the conditional statements imply just the opposite of what Augustine is ostensibly saying. Leading Augustinian scholar James O'Donnell also points out Augustine's multiple comments about how understandable it is that others do not believe Caecilianus was not in league with Marinus because such a mistake would be natural given the circumstances.[14] While there is considerable doubt concerning Caecilianus's allegiance, Augustine makes his own actions and motives abundantly clear. He forthrightly *fateor*, confesses, on two occasions in regard to his own actions. After making numerous insinuations about the doubtfulness of Caecilianus's actions, Augustine directly asks him a string of questions about his whereabouts, doings, and conversations. Having set the precedent of forthrightly explaining his actions, Augustine shifts the burden of proof to Caecilianus. While the circumstances of Marcellinus's execution might have implied more suspicion for Augustine, the situation as described in the letter produces the opposite result. In the world of Letter 151, it is Caecilianus who is under suspicion for associating with such a heinously evil man as Marinus and it is the righteous bishop Augustine who will be his pastoral interrogator. Augustine seems to diverge from his main topic at the end of the letter[15] when he describes his frustration that Caecilianus has not yet been baptized but remains a catechumen. However, this reading of the letter makes sense of this final point. Augustine is making one last assertion of his authority.[16] The concern over baptism further directs the dynamic between the two of them into a spiritual sphere in which Augustine clearly has dominance.

Ultimately, this analysis of Augustine's rhetorical strategies supports the approach to his letters that treats them as substantive units of meaning that have value beyond historical references. This letter can even act as a sort of foil for approaching Augustine's other written works. In fact, Augustine's enacting of his view of spiritual authority's dominance over political power may even

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14. James J. O'Donnell, "Augustine, Epistula 151," *Georgetown University*, accessed January 31, 2016, http://faculty.georgetown.edu/jod/augustine/151intro.html.

15. The text of letter 151 is actually incomplete.

16. Neil B. McLynn, "Augustine's Roman Empire," *Augustinian Studies* 30, no. 2 (1999): 43. "Caecilianus's baptism would mark not only a symbolic submission to Augustine's authority but also a dramatic acknowledgement of the claims he was making for the city of God."

prefigure his later argument in *The City of God*. While Letter 151 and *The City of God* differ widely in scope, they deal with the same fundamental concerns. Instead of an optimistic view of the possibilities of the union of spiritual and political power, Augustine works to distinguish them and emphasize the superiority of spiritual authority in *The City of God*. His strategy in Letter 151 can be seen as a nascent display of this perspective. While developing this connection is beyond the scope of this argument, the possibility of such a discussion legitimizes Augustine biographer James O'Donnell's recent call for more scholarship on Augustine's letters on an individual basis from a literary perspective. Letter 151 clearly bears such an analysis and may ultimately lead to compelling insights into the development of Augustine's political and theological ideas.

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Albion's Abolition: The Moral and Public Campaigns that Ended Slavery and the Slave Trade in the British Empire

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Abstract

    "Albion's Abolition" addresses Great Britain's Anti-Slavery campaigns from 1783 to 1833, highlighting its formative traditions, activist techniques, and diverse leadership. The primary groups within the movement were Quaker individuals and societies, the London Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade and its governing Committee, middle and upper class white women, and freed, African men living in Britain. Traditionally, historians have claimed that only one of these activist populations, usually the London Society, ended slavery in the British Empire. However, because of shared practices and beliefs, such as religion and sentimentality, consumerism, social organizations, and mass communication, no one group can be understood without the context of the other entities. British Abolitionism was not the action of one small body, but the result of many leaders, diverse in creed, class, sex, and race, joined together by a shared aspiration for a free humanity.

Albion's Abolition: The Moral and Public Campaigns that Ended Slavery and the Slave Trade in the British Empire

The kinematics of the projectile At the turn of the nineteenth century, fashionable men and women of the British Empire wore top hats and waistcoats, silk stockings and empire chemises. The poshest and the most politically savvy also sported a curious and humble piece of jewelry: a porcelain medallion depicting a kneeling, fettered slave and the question, "Am I not a Man and a Brother?" When a man or woman donned a slave medallion, he or she was voicing a moral argument through personal expression––an argument in favor of the abolition of Britain's slave trade. These medallions, two of which reside in the Beeson collection at the Birmingham Museum of Art in Birmingham, AL, were first produced in 1787 by the entrepreneurial mogul and ardent abolitionist Josiah Wedgwood for London's Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade; preserved in museums across the globe, they reflect the diffusion of racially-charged and radical activism into everyday life.[1] Often inadvertently, consumers of slave cameos were also joining the mass dissemination of Britain's long-held love of liberty into a unique form of human rights that was actively expressed in churches, societies, universities, city centers, and private homes.

The Wedgwood slave medallions also exemplified the diverse body of abolitionists throughout Britain because these simple-yet-radical ornaments only became the most revered symbol of the movement after the efforts of a variety of abolitionists––diverse in class, creed, and color––had converged and melded together. The chronicles of the British anti-slavery movement should incorporate the efforts of this diverse body because the Quakers, the London Committee, educated and artistic white women, and freed men of African descent were bound by a shared set of ideals and activist techniques. These common denominators included moral arguments, positive views of black humanity, and shared publicity techniques, such as social committees, petitions, consumer goods, and public literature. Because of the interconnectivity between the many types of British abolitionists, historians should adopt a broad understanding of the movement by looking at all of these groups collectively and appreciating their influences on one another.

Many historians believe that the stories of this diverse abolitionist body should be rejected in favor of studies focused solely on the London Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. British abolitionism, however, was not limited to the efforts of the London Committee. The movement's roots, in fact, reached far back into Britain's history. Many of the more creative abolitionists preferred to call Great Britain by its earliest name, "Albion," because it evoked the bond between Britain, as an ancient land and people, and abolition, which was a modern and progressive movement. Also a relatively short crusade, British abolitionism only lasted from the 1780s to the 1830s. The movement featured a few pivotal acts that were all centered on Parliament but that were the result of the diverse and far-reaching body of abolitionists: the first petition to the House of Commons in 1783, William Wilberforce's most famous anti-slavery speech in 1789, the end of the Slave Trade in 1807, and the ratification of the Slavery Act in 1833. In-between these deciding dates, the various abolitionists spread their ideals to their neighbors and friends, and eventually it reached across the entire Empire.

Public Quaker abolitionism began on June 17, 1783, when Sir Cecil Wray presented a petition to the House of Commons on behalf of a group of the Pacifist sect.[2] Calling for the termination of the slave trade, the petition had been produced at the Quakers' annual meeting and reflected one of the denomination's core beliefs: that all humankind shares an innate connectivity and should therefore live in a state of harmony. *The Parliamentary History of England* preserved the wording of this petition that was intended as an

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1. Mary Guyatt, "The Wedgwood Slave Medallion: Values in Eighteenth-Century Design," *Journal of Design History* 13, no. 2 (2000): 93.

2. *The Parliamentary History of England* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1966), 1026.

appeal to the religious morality of the Members of Parliament. The Quakers claimed "regret that a nation professing the Christian faith should so far counterfeit the principles of humanity and justice, as, by cruel treatment of this oppressed race, to fill their minds with prejudices against…the gospel."[3] Such a statement, equating slavery with sin, reflects the Quakers' adherence to moral arguments that Quaker abolitionists also used outside of Parliament on a more individual basis.

Mary Birkett, for example, used religious rhetoric throughout her 1792 work, *Poem on the African Slave Trade*. Historian Deidre Coleman describes the formative environment and impact of the Irish Quakeress' poetry, writing, "Birkett felt no shyness in translating her religious convictions into the public authority of the poet."[4] Coleman also cites Birkett's outspokenness as the result of the Quaker principle of the "equality of all people, regardless of class, race, or gender" and of the group's "strong tradition of women's preaching, backed up by autonomous quarterly and annual meetings composed solely of their own sex."[5] Birkett wrote her poem for British women who had a limited political voice but who held power within their homes, especially in the goods that were consumed by their families and households. Birkett pursued these consumers, her "tea-drinking 'sisters,'" through couplets that personified Mercy, Charity, and the Misery of Britain's slaves, but she convicted them by saying, "Yes, sisters, yes, to us the task belongs/'Tis we increase or mitigate their wrongs."[6] Eventually, women like Birkett, who combined religious fervor with economic issues, were instrumental in the success of the Slave Sugar Boycott and the ratification of the Slavery Act in 1833.

While some female Quakers worked individually, like Birkett with her poetic activism, or took part in initiatives that were promoted by the sect as a whole, the majority of Quakers were involved with anti-slavery societies. Art historian Editha Jacobs enumerates examples of other contributions made by Quakeresses and claims that "the most influential female activists were Quakers," such as was Elisabeth Heyrick, the leader of the Leicester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies.[7] Jacobs explains that Heyrick was "influenced by her strong biblical beliefs [and] was one of the first radical abolitionists to press for immediate freedom" for slaves.[8] This concept, immediatism, was one of the most divisive between male and female abolitionists because most men were more influenced by economics rather than by ethics and preferred the gradual freedom of slaves. Despite such philosophical differences, most Quaker abolitionists, of both genders, shared a dedication to anti-slavery societies and committees. For example, many male Quakers sought captive audiences and abolitionist camaraderie by joining the prominent London's Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.[9] The group was started by twelve men; nine of those founders were Quakers, five of whom had been on the Quaker Committee on the Slave Trade that began in 1783.[10] The actions of the London Society, together with the other societies that male and female Quakers joined, reflected the spread of Quaker practices outside the dissenting sect but also the merging of Quaker beliefs with political ideologies.

At the center of any conversation about abolition resides the London Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade and its governing Committee. The London Society and Committee were pivotal because of their direct relationship with Parliament, with many of the most influential white, male abolitionists of the era, and with other societies throughout the British Isles. According to the director of the modern Anti-Slavery Society, C. W. W. Greenidge, the London Society's "declared object was to 'procure and pub-

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3. Ibid.
4. Deidre Coleman, "Women Writers and Abolition," *The History of British Women's Writing* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 181.
5. Ibid.
6. 181-2.
7. Editha Jacobs, "The Role of Women in the British Anti-Slavery Campaigns," *The Journal of Caribbean History* 40, no. 2 (2006): 302.
8. Ibid., 303.
9. J. R. Oldfield, "The London Committee and Mobilization of Public Opinion Against the Slave Trade," *The Historical Journal* 35, no. 2 (June 1992): 332.
10. Ibid.
11. C. W. W. Greenidge, *Slavery* (New York: MacMillian Company, 1958), 132.

lish such information as may tend to the abolition of the slave trade', and for this limited purpose, it was sufficiently well equipped with men and money."[11] The London Society's simple, focused goal helped them become closely associated with the acts that were passed in Parliament, and this relationship might explain why so many historians favor the London Society, as might their early involvement in the anti-slavery movement.

The Society was founded on May 22, 1787, in the midst of a Quaker-led period of abolitionism, and it featured just three non-Quaker members: Chairman Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, and the less-prominent Philip Sansom.[12] . Granville Sharp was one of the first abolitionists to join the public stage and African American Studies Scholar Celeste-Marie Bernier suggests that Sharp's significance was due to his "prominent role in the legal cases of fugitive slaves," his protests of the inhumane actions of slave ship captains, and his reliance on Enlightenment philosophies.[13] Sharp also reflected solidarity with the Quakers by using Christian scriptures and morality to justify his abolitionist beliefs. In 1776, in response to a pro-slavery tract written by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Thompson, Sharp wrote the essay, *The Just Limitation of Slavery in the Laws of God Compared with the Unbounded Claims of the African Traders and British American Slaveholders*, in which he refuted his contemporaries' use of scripture to advance slavery. He stated that "principles of [scriptures] are entirely opposed to the selfish and uncharitable pretentions of our American slaveholders and African Traders" and proceeded to discuss the concept of Israelite "bondsmen," the proper treatment of strangers, the plight of the Israelites in Egypt, a debate in favor of "universal *moral laws* and … *national equity*," and, finally, a pronouncement of slavery's immorality as determined by "the more perfect doctrines of *universal benevolence* taught by Christ himself"––all to systematically destroy arguments that were popular amongst a large population of proslavery ministers, merchants, and politicians.[14] In 1772, Sharp joined the Somerset Trial, in which the 15,000 slaves living in Britain were freed. After his involvement with this trial, claimed as the "death knell of slavery throughout the British Empire," Sharp also began to reach out to a variety of clergymen, including Thomas Clarkson.[15]

Thomas Clarkson eventually became one of Europe's first professional activists, but his interest in the slave trade began informally and philosophically when he wrote an essay on the subject as a part of a contest at Cambridge University. By the end of the slavery debate, his involvement had taken him across miles of countryside as he gathered evidence and supporters.[16] In one of his essays, The Cries of Africa, to the Inhabitants of Europe; or, a Survey of that Bloody Commerce called the Slave-Trade, Clarkson attempted to show the slave trade in its entirety to his white audience. For example, his chapter about the transportation of slaves included engravings of the slave ship Brookes's slave holds and lists of the holds' constricting dimensions.[17] In the same chapter, Clarkson wrote, "We have now followed the unhappy Africans, reduced to a state of slavery, from the interior of their own country, to the place of their embarkation. ... We are now to follow them across the ocean, and to see what their situation is under new masters."[18] He adopted this role of tour guide outside of his writing as well, inspiring Greenidge to claim that "without [Clarkson's]

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12. Ibid.

13. Celeste-Marie Bernier, "'Iron Arguments': Spectacle, Rhetoric and the Slave Body in New England and British Antislavery Oratory," *European Journal of American Culture* 26, no. 1 (2007): 64.

14. Granville Sharp, *The Just Limitation of Slavery in the Laws of God Compared with the   Unbounded Claims of the African Traders and British American Slaveholders* (London: Printed for B. White in Fleet Street & E. & C. Dilly, in the Poultry, 1776), 2, 3, 5, 7, 20, 23.

15. Greenidge, 130, 131.

16. Ibid., 131.

17. Thomas Clarkson, *The Cries of Africa, to the Inhabitants of Europe*; or, a *Survey of that Bloody Commerce* called the Slave-Trade (London: Harvey and Darton, c. 1822), 26-28.

18. Ibid., 25, 28, 26.

untiring zeal and industry, his personal researches and propaganda all over the country, and the prestige and authority he attained, the attack on the slave system in British countries could not have achieved its aim as quickly or as fully as it did."[19] Clarkson also adopted the pivotal position of synthesizer between the various anti-slavery committees and individuals interested in abolitionism, bringing many activists into the movement, including William Wilberforce.

Wilberforce was the Parliamentary representative from Yorkshire and one of the young politicians who had risen to power in an attempt to remake and modernize their Parliament and country. Even before he became connected with Clarkson, however, he had already begun to be affected by the testimonies of John Newton, a slaver-turned-minister, and the political desires of his friend, the young Prime Minister William Pitt.[20] Greenidge presented Wilberforce's growing interest and commitment as a conversion experience in which Pitt, desperately in need of a man "who was popular, influential and persuasive, yet not a leader of either party, so that he could draw votes from each" and while sharing Wilberforce's company under an ancient oak, asked him, "'Why don't you, Wilberforce, give notice of a motion on the slave trade?'"[21] With a simple, uncomplicated phrase, Pitt began the political race and popular rally for slavery's abolition. Wilberforce rose to the occasion and became the movement's spokesperson to Parliament, Britain, and the English-speaking world. His efforts, largely on behalf of the London Society, were crucial for the ratification of the Slave Trade Act of 1807 and the Slave Act of 1833.

While men populated the many anti-slave societies of Britain's industrial cities, they were not alone in their fight or alone in using committee-based tactics. Middle and upper class women founded their own societies while still preaching abolitionism through their traditional roles as consumers, judges of virtue, and social commentators. Historian Seymour Drescher provides a brief introduction to the subject of female abolitionists and the shift, in the movement and in British culture, that they represented:

> For the first time in history the discussion of slavery also became feminized and consumer-ized. As guardians of the table and as embodiments of compassion, women called on themselves to become active moral and political agents. Late eighteenth-century Britain produced the first public debates and polemic writings by women on the question of slavery.[22]

As literary scholar Alan Richardson explains, the reforming efforts of women of the Romantic period were not confined to the home or to private enterprises; the women of British abolitionism were rarely confined by anything but surged onward with virtue on their side.[23] Jacobs explains that, though the involvement of early abolitionist women was often limited to a familial relationship to an established male activist, women had been active in the fight since its commencement.[24] Jacobs divides women's efforts in the early campaign––the anti-slave trade movement that began in 1787––into three succinct but complementary measures: "supporting general and national abolition societies, abstaining from the use of slave-grown produce, and writing anti-slavery prose and poetry."[25] Female abolitionists also promoted the petitions to Parliament, the era's most accurate indicator of the public's growing interest in abolitionism, even though no women were allowed to sign the documents.[26] Historian Deidre Coleman honors the efforts of these women and the irony of those efforts by relating that, "even without women's signatures, the names of more than 400,000 petitioners flowed into London just in time for the opening of Wilberforce's second motion in early 1791."[27] Possibly to compensate for a political voice that was stunted because women could

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19. Greenidge, 131.

20. Ibid., 132, 133.

21. Ibid.

22. Seymour Drescher and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *A Historical Guide to World Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 287.

23. Alan Richardson, "Women Poets and Colonial Discourse: Teaching More and Yearsly on the Slave Trade" in *Approaches to Teaching British Women Poets of the Romantic Period*, ed. Stephen C. Behrendt and Harriet Kramer Linklin (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1997), 75.

24. Jacobs, 294.

25. Ibid., 295.

26. Coleman, 179.

27. Ibid.

28. Guyatt, 97; Jacobs, 296.

not vote or decide legislature, many women took great interest in the commercial forms of abolitionism, especially Wedgwood's medallions, which they refitted as feminized accessories, and boycotts of slave sugar.[28]

Not all women were content to wield their influence as consumers and managers of households, but some also took up their pens in protest. As mentioned, many Quakeresses published works of abolitionist prose and verse, but such actions were not limited to the Quaker ranks. Three widely-read abolitionist poems were written in 1788 alone: *Slavery, A Poem*, by Hannah More, *On the Bill which was Passed in England for Regulating the Slave-Trade*, by Helen Maria Williams, and *A Poem on the Inhumanity of the Slave-Trade*, by Ann Yearsley.[29] More was an "elder Evangelical writer," and her work featured a personified Mercy who revealed the unstoppable nature of divine liberty.[30] The radically liberal Williams wrote this poem with a political nature and as a positive response to that year's Dolben Bill, which focused on improving conditions aboard slave ships. Yearsley was an uneducated milkmaid and one of More's mentees. Her poem projected the views of a common woman and centered on the atrocities committed by the Christians in the slave trade.[31] These poems were written by three drastically different women who were only bound together because they desired freedom and justice, and when they are viewed together, these poems reflect the entire diversity of convictions and opinions within the female anti-slavery movement. Such selfless desires continued after the ratification of the 1807 Slave Trade Act and inspired the support of even more women, many of whom held newer ideas of abolitionism. Coleman explains that as "abolitionism moved [away] from its first optimistic phase . . . women stepped forward as activists, fund-raising and organizing the many petitions which were presented to parliament."[32] Art historian Editha Jacobs furthers this concept of women working within men's abolitionist efforts, saying:

> In both campaigns, women worked hard, but during the major campaign to end slavery they played a more significant role. The efforts especially of Quaker women in the abolition of slavery through their campaign to highlight the plight of enslaved women led to the formation of several female anti-slavery societies throughout the major cities.[33]

Jacobs also writes, "By the second campaign in the 1820s women had developed into an organized, independent active force in a political sense," a statement that incorporates the theory that women were more involved in the abolition of slavery rather than the end of the slave trade.[34] These later campaigns featured moral arguments that focused on the plight of African women and families and probably caused the rise in female involvement, because they appealed to more traditional female areas of interest. From early poetry to later, family-centered stories, women's involvement in anti-slavery exhibited the wide array of ever-changing abolitionist platforms.

Unlike white abolitionists, who were willing to change their personal techniques and stances on slavery for the sake of the movement at large, freed African men produced a more homogenous and consistent form of abolition. Many of these men were assimilated into the middle-class British culture, and they quickly became a community of abolitionists that presented a unified voice of anti-slavery while still incorporating individuals' diverse opinions. Three former slaves, Igantius Sancho, Olaudah Equiano, and Ottobah Cugoano, emerged as leaders because of their involvement with both black and white commu-

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29. Coleman, 173, 175, 177.

30. Coleman, 173, and Hannah More, "Slavery, A Poem," *Slavery, A Poem by Hannah More*, http://www.brycchancarey.com /slavery/morepoems/ (accessed December 9, 2013).

31. Anne Yearsley, "A Poem on the Inhumanity of the Slave-Trade," *Ann Yearsley, A Poem on the Inhumanity of the Slave Trade* (1788), http://www.brycchancarey.com/ slavery/yearsley1/(accessed December 9, 2013).

32. Coleman, 178.

33. Jacobs, 293.

34. Ibid., 295.

nities. These activists were men who took up permanent residence in Britain after their liberation and asserted the untapped potential of a black man or woman in slavery. Through their abolitionist efforts, they also proclaimed the humanity of their race and its true usefulness to the global society. Historian Angela Michele Leonard describes the relationship between white and black abolitionists; she writes, "By the 18th century, blacks with radical and activist temperaments could be found in Britain, among them a collective of men who called themselves 'Sons of Africa.'"[35] Leonard further states that, "Following the protest tradition of the white Abolition Committee, the Sons of Africa used familiar tools of engagement such as circulating letters to the press, and formally addressing crowds."[36] These leading black men seemed unafraid to use the techniques of white activists, but they simultaneously created their own abolitionist subculture and defined it by using a separate and uniquely black style of rhetoric. African American Studies Scholar Bernier discusses this form of expression, writing:

> Their rhetorical language was intended as a subversive tool to undercut the visual iconography of slavery, which took the form of repeated tableaux tending to the dehumanization of the slave, regardless of their employment in abolitionist or proslavery interests: for example, the popular dissemination of drawings depicting auctions, whippings, black insurrection and instances of brutalized castigation more generally.[37]

These considerations, such as the supposedly innocent dehumanization of slaves that was a common feature in white anti-slavery propaganda, appeared to justify and explain blacks' desire to establish their own avenues of mass communication. In an effort to humanize their race, so long degraded by science, religion, philosophy, and organized ignorance, black activists took to the pulpit, pavement, and printing press.

Ignatius Sancho was the first freed slave to be published as an abolitionist. In 1782, 159 of his letters were printed in an anthology whose central theme was the African community's integration into "eighteenth-century, middle class society."[38] Paul Edwards and Polly Rewt, editors of a 1994 edition of Sancho's letters, claim that the publication of his vast correspondence was important because he was a truly British man, even if he was a former slave, because he had been born at sea, had no knowledge of Africa, and viewed Britain as his only "homeland.[39] Edwards and Rewt write of Sancho's holistic assimilation "into the lifestyle and values of polite eighteenth-century English society, while [yet] displaying tensions and contradictions on matters of race, which have more recently been seen as conscious strategies of protest."[40] Just as black abolitionists, as a united body, sought a balance of white activism and black identity, Sancho had to find a way to express his personal protests while staying true to his identity as an upstanding member of British society. Examples of this racial duality can be found throughout his personal communication, such as in his July 18, 1772, thank-you note to a Mr. Browne. In this letter, Sancho said,

> I thank you for your kindness to my poor black brethren – I flatter myself you will find them not ungrateful – they act commonly from their feelings: – I have observed a dog will love those who use him kindly – and surely, if so, negroes, in their state of ignorance and bondage, will not act less generously, if I may judge them myself – I

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35. Angela Michele Leonard, "Reflections on the Paradoxes of Remembrance and Commemoration of the 1807 Abolition Bill," In *Free at Last?: Reflections of Freedom and the Abolition of the British Transatlantic Slave Trade,* ed. Amar Wahab and Cecily Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 155.

36. Ibid.

37. Bernier, 68.

38. Victor C. D. Mtubani, "The Black Voice in Eighteenth-Century Britain: African Writers Against Slavery and the Slave Trade," *Phylon* 45, no. 2 (1984): 87.

39. Ignatius Sancho, *The Letters of Ignatius Sancho,* ed. Paul Edwards and Polly Rewt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 3

40. Sancho, 3.

41. Ibid., 55.

should suppose kindness would do anything with them; – my soul melts at kindness
– but the contrary – I own with shame – makes me almost a savage.[41]

To Sancho, these words would not have appeared racially insensitive; he would have valued them as a way to secure the support of the population of white leaders who held low views of blacks. Sancho wrote other similarly-charged letters, including a 1766 missive to a Mr. Sterne in which he mentions his "miserable black brethren," who were reaching toward Sterne with eloquent grief and "supplicating addresses," and a May 31, 1778 letter to a Mr. H---. in which he said, "all who have charity enough to admit dark faces into the fellowship of Christians."[42] Both pieces of correspondence incorporated a degraded view of blacks that Sancho could have meant as feigned humility or that might have been his genuine opinion as a man largely removed from the slaves still in need of their freedom. In either case, Sancho understood the impact of his words, as a black man who had been given the opportunity to either gain or lose the support of the white ruling class.

Olaudah Equiano replaced Sancho as the leader of Britain's black community, largely through his public writings and friendship with members of the London Committee. Again, these bonds were built by a freed slave who did not write or act as "just" a black man but as the product of a mixing of white and black cultures. Equiano was hailed as "the most articulate spokesman for the African cause, and by far the most widely travelled African living in England," but even he adopted this now-callous form of rhetoric, either as a justification of his role in society or as to appeal to his primarily white audiences.[43] Literary scholar Victor C. D. Mtubani explores Equiano's formative years, his decade of enslavement, and his settlement in England.[44] Mtubani states that within a decade of seeking this permanent residence in Britain, Equiano "had become deeply involved in the politics of the black people, championing their cause and fighting for the abolition of the slave trade."[45] Like Sancho, his predecessor as the leader of Britain's African community, Equiano was a prolific writer of letters.[46] His correspondents included Granville Sharp, Sir William Dolben of the slave ship reforming act, the Prime Minister William Pitt, Member of Parliament Charles James Fox, and the Committee of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Mtubani asserts that, "Equiano was uncompromising in his attacks on racism and prejudice," yet, literary scholar Ronald Paul is also valid in stressing Equiano's tendency to be overpowered by his white supporters.[47] Paul admits the importance of *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself*, stating that the work was "an authentic statement of the collective experience of slavery" and that it both "contributed significantly to creating a broader understanding of the terrible inhumanity of the slave trade" and "played no small part in radically transforming the public awareness of White readers of the need to support the call for the abolition of slavery."[48] Paul also enumerates Equiano's attempts to appeal to white audiences, often at the expense of his own honesty or honor. These Anglicized rhetorical techniques include presenting African slavery as "a pastoral fall from grace," portraying himself as a man "clearly superior to his enslaved condition and status," and a willingness to adopt a white,

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42. Ibid., 86, 134.
43. Mtubani, 90.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., 91.
47. Ibid., 92
48. Ronald Paul, "'I Whitened My Face, That They Might Not Know Me': Race and Identity in Olaudah Equiano's Slave Narrative," *Journal of Black Studies* 39, no. 6 (2009): 849.
49. Ibid., 852, 854.

or culturally whitened, identity.[49] Despite these unsettling rhetorical fallacies, or perhaps because of them, Equaino was recognized as "the reputed founder of the slave narrative, an abolitionist, a leading spokesman for the Anglo-British community, a key figure in late-eighteenth-century activism for democratic reform, and the most quoted survivor of the Middle Passage."[50] Equiano's public renown encouraged the actions of other men from within the black community, many of whom were his close friends.

Ottobah Cugoano was one Equiano's comrades and an active "Son of Africa" who joined the ranks of black abolitionism as a lesser-known voice of the movement. He is best known for his magnum opus, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery*, which was written in 1787 as the culmination of his many years as a representative of his minority population. Cugoano's work is a curious mélange of slave narrative, religion, science, philosophy, and direct address on behalf of the enslaved. Seemingly unafraid of critique, he called for the punishment of slavers, saying, "when men break the laws of God, and the rules of civilization among men, and go forth to steal, to rob, to plunder, to oppress and to enslave ... the laws of God and man require that they should be suppressed. And deprived of their liberty, or perhaps their lives."[51] He then even applied this guilt to the whole of the British Empire, with a special damnation for its leaders, writing,

> There is no man in all Great-Britain and her colonies, that knoweth any thing of [the slave trade], can be innocent and safe . . . [and] according to their eminence in station, the nobles and senators, and every man in office and authority, must incur a double load of guilt. . . . But the clergy of all denominations, whom we would consider the devout messengers of righteousness . . . if we find any of them ranked with infidels and barbarians, we must consider them as particularly responsible, and in some measure, guilty of the crimes of other wicked men in the highest degree.[52]

This passage shows that even though black men willingly used established white techniques, joined the campaigns of white abolitionists, and sent their pleas to white leaders, they did not make only small efforts for the freedom of their race. For example, Cugoano's daring and condemning judgment exemplified the unique and active role of free blacks in the anti-slavery debate, despite the fact that British blacks never sought their liberation through blacks-only campaigns or slave-led revolutions. The strides made by these male activists of African descent were impressive and noteworthy because they were made despite the burden of representing a small population within a British society dedicated to the dominance of educated, land owning white men.

These four groups––the Quakers, the London Society, middle and upper class white women, and freed African men living in Britain––were united by their use of moral arguments, especially the scriptures and convictions of Christianity. For centuries, the men and women of Britain had believed themselves to be the prime purveyors of European justice and morality. Not only was the small island nation a leader in global commerce, literature, and the sciences, but the British could also boast of their superior Parliament, judicial system, and burgeoning freedom of religion. The earliest abolitionists seemed to have recognized the irony of a "free" nation partaking in the enslavement of another people, and they responded to this hypocrisy with a fervor representative

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50. Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery,* ed. D. H. Simpson (1787; London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1969), xxiii.
51. Cugoano, 62.
52. Ibid., 103-4.

of Britain's values and virtues. Historian Seymour Drescher explains that, compared to France, Britain was better equipped to support a vast array of moral debates, such as abolitionism, reform initiatives, and foreign missionary movements, because its churches were central to British lives.[53] Another possible component of Britain's success in social reforms was its Protestant majority; Drescher notes the Catholic Church's disdain for "radical transformations in attitudes or social structures."[54] While Drescher presents this argument as a comparison between Protestant Britain and Catholic France, it can also simply reiterate the concept of Britain and the nations it had colonized being traditionally prone to social critique and reform.[55] Drescher explains that "religious networks"––which he lists as including Anglicans, evangelical protestants, Quakers, Unitarians, "theological rationalists . . . and artisanal radicals"––preceded the existence of "[i]nterlocking specialized anti-slavery societies" and that even newspapers and public houses, the mass communication of the day, could not keep up with the far-reaching industry of organized religion.[56] Drescher states, "Over the period 1780-1870 as a whole, however, religious organization remained a primary form of cosmopolitan social organization, linking communities to the larger national and international world."[57] Starting with the Quakers, British abolitionists of diverse identities relied on religion as justification, inspiration, and proliferation of their ideals.

Religion, however, was not the only moral force that permeated early nineteenth century Britain. Sentimentality was prominently featured in popular and abolitionist literature and, though scoffed at by many modern critics, was responsible for many of the movement's successes. Abolitionists' use of sentimentality could have been the result of a variety of inspirations, including their actual, individual beliefs, their desire to emulate the novels and poetry that were popular at the time, or their rejection of Christian-specific ideals based on personal conviction. Whatever the inspiration, the sentimentality of the abolitionists was effective in gathering popular support, and this rhetorical technique spread throughout all the strains of abolitionism. This dissemination included the black community's form of sentimentality that was exemplified in Ignatius Sancho's letters, such as his 1778 letter to a Mr. Fischer, that read,

> For while my heart was torn for the sufferings – which, for aught I know – some of my nearest kin might undergone – my bosom, at the same time, glowed with gratitude – and praise toward the humane – the Christian – the friendly and learned Author of that most valuable book. – Blest be your sect![58]

In just a few lines, Sancho combined religion and sentimentality into an appeal that is anything but weak and that would have been quite convincing to a population expecting soulful rhetoric. While a seamless integration of multiple moral arguments was commonplace among black abolitionists, other groups were more likely to use only sentimentality. Many abolitionist groups relied heavily, if not solely, upon sentimentality and turned what was viewed as a flippant, pathetic technique into one that was valued for its efficiency and practicality. This side of sentimentality included the abolitionist poetesses who filled their writings with heart-wrenching archetypes like kidnapped slave husbands and pining lovers, suicidal slave mothers, and West Indian sugar laced

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53. Seymour Drescher, "Two Variants of Anti-Slavery: Religious Organization and Social Mobilization in Britain and France, 1780-1870," in *Anti-Slavery, Religion, and Reform; Essays in Memory of Roger Antsey,* ed. Christine Bolt and Seymour Drescher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 49.

54. Ibid., 49.

55. Ibid., 50.

56. Ibid., 45.

57. Ibid.

58. Sancho, 121-122.

59. Coleman, 176, 180, 177.

with slave blood. Coleman writes that, "much of the women's verse under discussion is characterized by a willed optimism and sentimentality––the language of the heart."[59] Black men and white women, however, were not the only abolitionists to use sentimental appeals.

A large number of white, male activists published works that were tinged with romanticism, and the support of this dominant population helped justify sentimentality as a legitimate form of rhetoric for other anti-slavery sects. Literary Scholar Brycchan Carey claims that William Wilberforce's speeches, especially his May 12, 1789, address to the House of Commons, exhibited a "sentimental rhetoric, emerging from the space between sentimental literature and political discourse."[60] Carey even asserted that it was because Wilberforce "was well known for his idealism," that he was contacted by the struggling London Committee and Prime Minister Pitt to "steer abolition through the Commons."[61] Reflecting a deeper tendency towards sentimentality, Wilberforce also used sentimental language in many of his personal letters. Two examples included his January 21, 1800, letter to William Hey, Esquire, of Leeds, and his February 21, 1804, message to the poetess Hannah More. To Hey, Wilberforce wrote the enduring, romantic phrase, "O that I might be enabled to spend the remainder of my days more to the glory of God and the welfare of my fellow creatures!" and his message to More was simply replete with wild sentimentality.[62] Wilberforce first explained that, since he was soon to "bring on the question of Abolition" before Parliament, he was currently "engaged in scribbling a tract to be circulated among the members of the House of Commons before the question comes on" but then his writing became thick with emotion.[63] He proclaimed disappointment in the fickleness of his fellow Members of Parliament, writing, "Alas! The tales of horror, which once caused so many tears to flow, are all forgotten! I am grown to think that sensibility is one of the most cruel of all qualities."[64] These sentimental addresses––one of dedication and the other of energy tempered by grief––could mean that Wilberforce's sentimentality was not just simply inevitable because of his environment. Rather, because both his public and private correspondence featured the technique, it could suggest genuine, pleading emotion on his behalf. In fact, abolitionist sentimentality often combined the two roles of shrewd political maneuvering and unaffected statements of faith to produce a rhetoric that was indicative of the movement's diverse population.

Encouraged by both Christian morality and popular sentimentality, the various branches of the movement each created their own understanding of the humanity of the African people. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, understood black humanity as a valid concept because Africans had remained "in a natural Adamic or Edenic state" and, if given the opportunity, blacks were "moving from that natural state to one of enlightenment."[65] He also claimed to promote the abolition of slave trade and slavery based on his convictions of "the 'Golden Rule,' 'conscience,' [and] the depravity of all human beings," and he represented the least positive of the anti-slavery philosophies.[66] Some black authors were nearly as negative as Wesley, especially those, like Sancho, who were fully assimilated into white activism. These men often applied the sentimental

60. Brycchan Carey, "William Wilberforce's Sentimental Rhetoric; Parliamentary Reportage and Abolition Speech of 1789," *The Age of Johnson* 14 (2003): 281.
61. Ibid., 282.
62. Robert Isaac Wilberforce and Samuel Wilberforce, eds., *The Correspondence of William Wilberforce*, Vol. 1, 1840, (Miami: Mnemosyne Publishing Co. Inc., 1969), 200, 299.
63. Ibid., 299.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., 251, 254.
66. Michael N. Jagessar, "Review Article: Critical reflections on John Wesley, 'Thoughts Upon Slavery,'" Black Theology: *An International Journal* (2007): 251.
67. Mtubani, 89.

idea of the "Noble Savage" and hailed their race as a "'simple, harmless people."[67] However, many blacks preferred a more positive view of their humanity, one in which accomplished black men, like the lawyer Francis Williams, the scholar Job Ben Solomon, and the violinist George Augustus Bridgetower proved the inherent possibility possessed by men and women of all colors.[68] Abolitionists who praised these gifted blacks proclaimed "that it was slavery that held Africans back," and Africans did the same when they "sought to cultivate their identity as independent black subjects . . . [and] inclusion within contemporary understandings of a universal humanity to refute their chattel status."[69] Bound together by such similar statements of support, abolitionists inside and outside the black community eventually agreed upon the natural potential of an African.

The most popular argument towards the humanity of black men and women, however, was even more radical: blacks were fellow humans and equal to whites in all ways. Early on, Granville Sharp used a sentimental rhetoric to encourage conversation between the races and "establish the black slave's claim to a universal humanity."[70] Paul claims a similar argument for Equiano's abolitionist writings: his strength did not come from naming the slave trade as immoral but from his testimony as a liberated black man who had entered and bettered white society and was therefore fully freed.[71] Jacobs provides context for some examples of this progressive view of humanity. In between the closing of the slave trade and the end of British slavery, "Europeans became more curious about the differences and similarities between themselves and Africans, which heightened public awareness of black persons as human beings."[72] Some women adopted these ideas into their own concept of humanity that was centered on the family and the cult of the femininity. Jacobs relays this brand of humanism, explaining that descriptions of pathetic and pleading black women helped dismiss the popular image of a lusty temptress in place of an "alternate stereotype of the weak and helpless woman, a view of females that was dominant in contemporary British society."[73] Coleman preserves this same opinion when she quotes Hannah More's verse, "They still be men, and men shou'd still be free."[74] In an effort to authorize the humanity of African men and women, the diverse body of abolitionists adopted an essentially homogenous opinion, and they then built upon each other's efforts to better the relationship between whites and blacks.

In addition to their shared moral arguments, the myriad strains of abolition also adopted similar forms of campaigning, namely petitions, societies, and appeals to the British population as consumers of goods and mass communication. As stated, the London Society initiated a series of anti-slavery petitions that were made successful thanks to the efforts of female activists. These campaigns inspired great response from the northern industrial cities. In just one year, 1787, eleven thousand signed in Manchester, two thousand in Sheffield, and one thousand eight hundred in York, and by the culmination of the abolition movement, in 1833, Britain produced five thousand petitions and nearly one and a half million signers.[75] Taking inspiration from the Quaker Committee on the Slave Trade and the London Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, anti-slavery societies were started by white men and women throughout Britain. Male societies included the London's Gentleman's Anti-Slavery Society, and committees in Manchester, Bristol, Birmingham, York, Sheffield, Poole, and Plymouth; female groups included the Leicester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, the Female Society for Birmingham, and the earlier Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery.[76] Societies and petitions were inherently linked together,

68. Ibid., 86.
69. Mtubani, 87; Bernier, 60.
70. Bernier, 70.
71. Paul, 858.
72. Jacobs, 299.
73. Coleman, 302.
74. Ibid., 174.
75. Drescher, 11.
76. Oldfield, 338; Jacobs, 303.

but they also revealed the connections between the races, genders, and divisions of British abolitionism.

The British Anti-Slavery movement should be studied as a conversation between the diverse groups of abolitionists––Quakers; male, urban anti-slavery society members; middle and upper class women; and freedmen of African descent––because of their common denominators, both practical and philosophical. Scholars should celebrate all the groups that overcame ignorance and tainted tradition in order to end both the slave trade in 1807 and the British Empire's slavery in 1833. The diverse forms of British abolition, both the campaigns against the slave trade and those against the Empire's slavery, were in constant communication, and, as a result, they shared many essential features, such as a morality tinged with religion and sentimentality, and public and personal attempts at procuring liberty. History should remember this movement, not as the actions of one small body, but as the result of a great showing of Britain's humanity and its willingness to make freedom a reality.

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How to Get Away with Murder: An Analysis of the Moral Philosophies of Niccoló Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes

Lauren Morris

Abstract

This paper explores the moral philosophies of Niccoló Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes through a critical comparison of Machiavelli's *The Prince* and Hobbes' *Leviathan*. It argues that while both authors are ostensibly descriptive in that they suggest morality is either fabricated or negligible, they are comprehensibly prescriptive insofar as they insist eliminating transcendence does not eradicate virtue. Reaching this conclusion requires, first, a discussion of the methodologies of Hobbes and Machiavelli and, second, an exploration of the relationship between human nature and political control. Although many readers characterize these philosophers as act-egoists, this paper claims that both Hobbes and Machiavelli preserve citizens' opportunity for morality. By the end of the paper, readers discover that Hobbes and Machiavelli are not the authoritarian devils many pin them to be. Rather, they are grappling with the correlation between government and human nature, coming to a conclusion that seems terrifying at first glance, but is truly advantageous––politically and morally––upon rigorous contemplation.

How to Get Away with Murder: An Analysis of the Moral Philosophies of Niccoló Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes

Though Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) and Niccoló Machiavelli (1469-1527) were born over a century apart, both political authors establish a subjective moral framework absent of an Absolute. Due to their rejection of traditional morality, many readers characterize these philosophers as act-egoists. However, this argument oversimplifies their political philosophies. Rather than determining the value of an action by evaluating its consequences for the acting agent, Hobbes and Machiavelli create a political framework that preserves citizens' opportunity for morality. Their joint rejection of idealism results in a political structure that, ironically, reaches moral ends. While both Hobbes and Machiavelli are ostensibly descriptive in that their works, *Leviathan* and *The Prince*, suggest that morality is either fabricated or negligible, they are comprehensibly prescriptive insofar as they insist that eliminating transcendence does not eradicate virtue.

Understanding the methodologies of Hobbes and Machiavelli is key to grasping their moral and political philosophies. Firstly, Hobbes believes a theory's accuracy depends on its ability to remain true after intellectual deconstruction and subsequent reconstruction. Meaning is incomplete without dissection and reassembly. For this reason, Hobbes begins his political text Leviathan by scientifically analyzing the most fundamental part of the human: "For seeing life is but a motion of limbs, the beginning whereof in some principal part within, why may we not say that all automata (engines that move themselves by springs and wheels as doth a watch) have an artificial life?[1] This "principal part" of man, he claims, is sense, a "pressure" caused by the "mediation of nerves and other strings and membranes of the body, continued inwards to the brain and heart."[2] These descriptions suggest a mechanistic universe, wherein man is an artificial imitation of nature. Hobbes' strictly logical approach implies that one can explain human nature through scientific reasoning. Thus, he reduces government to commonwealth, commonwealth to human beings, human beings to human nature, and human nature to "a motion of limbs."[3] Furthermore, Hobbes does not allude to any sort of divinity when analyzing human beings. In fact, he denies that humans are purposely designed, instead regarding their most fundamental parts as random: "Sense in all cases," he proclaims, "is nothing else but original fancy" caused not by the Holy Spirit, but by "the motion of external things upon our eyes, ears, and other organs."[4] As such, Hobbes believes that his discourse in Leviathan provides trustworthy and secure information, not based on opinion or faith, but on sociological definitions. Although his method appears impractical and complicated, he ultimately succeeds in describing sensible reality without appealing to a transcendental being.

Hobbes' mathematical, mechanical worldview bleeds into his assumptions about human nature. As Hobbes shows in his first chapter, humans are artificial machines: "For what is the heart, but a spring; and the nerves, but so many strings; and the joints, but so many wheels, giving motion to

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1. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Edwin Curley (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1994), 3.
2. Ibid., 6.
3. Ibid., 3.
4. Ibid., 7.
5. Ibid., 3.
6. Ibid., 100.
7. Ibid., 100.
8. Ibid., 36.
9. Ibid., 25.

the whole body.[5] Mechanically programmed to pursue self-interests, human nature is a product of these physical processes. Organic to human beings is their need to escape pain and seek peace, and many satisfy these needs by creating religious and moral absolutes.[6] However, because good and evil are arbitrary signifiers that describe natural appetites and aversions, neither divinity nor morality is absolute.[7] God is not present in the world; the experience of religious phenomena is caused by natural interactions between matter and the human brain.[8] Hobbes resolves this tension by adhering to definitions and "the knowledge of consequences."[9] His mathematical pursuit of a formula for justice, politics, and morality relies not on divinity but on science.

Like Hobbes, Machiavelli uses an inductive approach to address the issue of morality and politics in *The Prince*. Rather than founding his theory on "the thoughts of man,[10] Machiavelli draws conclusions about human nature from his observations about human behavior. In other words, Machiavelli's The Prince analyzes the way people act, seeking the common traits of human behavior, to make assumptions about humans as a whole. As he maintains,

> Since my intent is to write a thing that is useful for whoever understands it, it seemed to me more appropriate to go after the effectual truth of the thing than the imagination of it. And many have imagined republics and principalities that have never been seen or known to exist in truth. For there is such a distance from how one lives to how one ought to live that he who abandons what is done for what ought to be done learns what will ruin him rather than what will save him.[11]

Machiavelli does not base his ideas on idealistic principles that cannot be implemented in reality. Using concrete, historical observations ensures that he not make unwarranted claims about humankind. Moreover, readers should notice that these observations do not include thoughts about how religious faith should inform human behavior. Instead, he notices that successful rulers manipulate faith to ensure national stability, noting that citizens who "have no fear of God" also "have no faith with men."[12] Machiavelli's practical methodology foreshadows his political philosophy, ultimately affirming that morality falls prey to necessity and not to divinity.

This determination leads Machiavelli to oppose the intensely rooted tradition of religious ethics and apply a new, more practical morality to politics. Fundamental to this morality is its break from Christian doctrine. According to Terence Ball in "Reflections on Machiavelli and Moral Change," Machiavelli insists that the Prince does not adhere to the demands of the Christian morality because they bestow a "veritable recipe for his political suicide."[13] Christianity demands his resignation at the moment he sins, yet his position requires sinful practices; thus the virtue of Machiavelli's Prince is not identical to the virtue of the Church. Because he recognizes that Christian virtues depict political power as an idol, Machiavelli holds that a prince must "unlearn" the Christian virtues and "replace" them with political virtues.[14] In this way, Machiavelli's *The Prince*, like Hobbes' *Leviathan*, presents a vision of moral behavior that is not tied to God.

While Machiavelli's focus on observable reality restrains him from addressing humanity in the absence of civil government, Hobbes concentrates on the "state of nature," wherein there is no law, no Sovereign, and no God. In such a place, everything is permissible; neither sin nor sinful action

10. Ibid., 6.

11. Niccoló Machiavelli, *The Prince,* trans. and ed. William Connell (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 87.

12. Ibid., 76.

13. Terence Ball, "The Picaresque Prince: Reflections on Machiavelli and Moral Change," *Political Theory* 12, no. 4 (1984): 525.

14. Ibid.

exists. Questions regarding justice and injustice, good and evil, are irrelevant, as there is no law to differentiate right from wrong.[15] Moreover, there is no objective virtue or vice because every action that accords with self-preservation is reasonable and just. The aptitude to murder and steal is called virtuous, and words like "good," "evil," "justice," and "injustice" become arbitrary. Trust is absent; individuals are insecure; people fall into dangerous, and in this case, deadly conflict. Conclusions like these lead Hobbes to believe that absolutes, such as Justice and Good, are not the self-evident, universal principles that essentialist philosophers before him proposed. Instead, Hobbes claims that morality––the systemization of Ideals––is a social construct necessary to enable to the coexistence of humans outside of a state of nature.

In the state of nature, Hobbes proposes a tension between two motivating human forces––desire for peace and fear of violent death. He considers these inherent to human nature, yet in existence without moral value; they are neither good nor bad. In related terms, Machiavelli argues, "All men are bad and ready, and they always have to use the malignity of their spirit whenever they have a free opportunity for it.[16] Though these philosophers do not assign the same moral value to human nature, their notion of human behavior is similar. Hobbes believes that natural law would suffice if humans were political animals designed to support collective survival rather than individual survival. Yet his logic tells him otherwise. In the same way, Machiavelli believes that predetermined ethics would suffice if people were intrinsically good. Yet historical observations lead him to a different conclusion. Thus, as Timo Laine claims, both Hobbes and Machiavelli recognize the need for a system that defines and enforces morality.[17] For Hobbes, lack of unity necessitates a social contract, and a social contract necessitates a sovereign. For Machiavelli, human depravity necessitates law, and law necessitates a prince. Both philosophers oppose the natural lawlessness of man and refine human immorality through a strong central government, though for different purposes.

Though Hobbes does not say whether humans are good or evil, as these terms are meaningless in a state of nature, he does maintain that they are reasonable. Induced by fear, humans use this reason to escape the "war of everyone against everyone"[18] by creating what Hobbes calls a social contract. This hypothetical, unifying agreement requires that they surrender their Right of Nature, to kill when threatened, and observe the Fundamental Law of Nature: "That every man ought to endeavor peace, as far as he has hope of obtaining it, and when he cannot obtain it, that he may seek and use all helps, and advantages of war."[19] Upon aspiring to peaceful existence, Hobbes insists that "[men] be willing, when others are so too, as far-forth as for peace and defense of himself he shall think it necessary, to lay down this right to all things, and be contented with so much liberty against other men, as he would allow other men against himself."[20] Through this declaration of peace, Hobbes introduces the potential for morality in humankind. No longer do individuals have to face the constant threat of death; they have the opportunity to live peacefully together. A leader, Hobbes' Sovereign, preserves this opportunity by ensuring communal obedience to the social contract and the Law of Nature.

Similar to Hobbes, Machiavelli asserts that the potential for morality arises when the people

15. Hobbes, *Leviathan,* 78.

16. Niccoló Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, trans. Harvey C. Mansfield and Nathan Tarcov (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 15.

17. Timo Laine, "Laws and Goodness as the Foundations of Machiavelli's Republic," *Homo Oeconomicus* 30, no. 1 (2013): 76.

18. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 80.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

create law and appoint a leader to enforce it. Machiavelli's negative portrayal of human nature indicates that the ultimate authority of the Prince is essential to secure a powerful political state, for "well-ordered laws do not help unless indeed they have been put in motion by one individual who ensures their observance so that the matter becomes good."[21] Because the Prince rules in a world where man cannot be trusted, he must do whatever it takes to keep his citizens safe and his state stable. He cannot allow for division among his people, for this leads to a weakened state which will eventually be devoured by a stronger one. Thus, in Machiavelli's mind, the only means of maintaining a just state is through an all-powerful government with a leader who secures the state and its citizens, regardless of costs to his morality.

Because the philosophies of Hobbes and Machiavelli rest on the assumption that men will uphold the law and obey the leader appointed to ensure national security, they must write a convincing narrative in defense of humanity's ability to keep promises. In particular, Hobbes must explain why those born and raised in a political society centuries away from the social contract's creation continue to forgo their natural rights and yield to limited liberty. Ideal as Hobbes' proposal sounds, many scholars are critical of its practicality. For example, Mark Peacock maintains suspicions that men will continue to defend the social contract years after its creation.[22] As Peacock asserts, men enter this contract to protect themselves from other men; therefore, obligation must depend on passion rather than vocalization:

> Now if signs of contract (of which speech is the main medium) are the manner through which we oblige ourselves to perform a deed, obligation is a consequence of speech rather than of the passions. Although the decision to enter into a covenant is based on our passions (an appetite to enter the covenant and to receive whatever benefits we expect from it), what obliges us to keep our covenants follows from the words of covenant.[23]

While Hobbes argues that men are obligated[24] to observe the social contract, critical readers insist that they could, in theory, rebel against it. Because words cannot ensure obedience, another force must be present to compel men to uphold it. This force, scholars suggest, is passion.

Difficulties that arise in finding a reliable moral obligation to commit men to the social contract tempt readers to consider whether Hobbes is an act-egoist. According to Alex John London of Carnegie Mellon University, "An act-egoistic moral theory evaluates particular actions in terms of their (actual or expected) consequences for the acting agent.[25] Whereas act-utilitarianism assesses an action by evaluating its consequences for all those affected, act-egotism determines an action's value based on its consequences for the agent him/herself.[26] Accordingly, the act-egoist views the Law of Nature as a supplement to his or her personal evaluation: "[It is] a repository of knowledge to which we defer when we are not ourselves able to weigh out the possible consequences of an action."[27] As a result, breaking a covenant is just whenever it is "not against Reason," and since "there is no such thing as Justice," readers can infer that any action that benefits the individual is

21. Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, 48.

22. Mark Peacock, "Obligation and Advantage in Hobbes' Leviathan," *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 40, no. 3 (2010): 439.

23. Ibid.

24. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 91.

25. Alex John London, "Virtue and Consequences: Hobbes on the Value of the Moral Virtues," *Social Theory and Practice* 24, no. 1 (1998): 2.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

reasonable and just.[28]

Despite the quarrels of London and Peacock, many scholars find it easier to believe that Machiavelli is an act-egoist, as he characterizes his Prince with traditionally deceitful attributes that, Machiavelli admits, keep him in power. For example, the Prince must possess the traits of both the fox and the lion, for "for the lion does not defend himself from traps, and the fox does not defend himself from wolves."[29] The Prince's possession of these unique characteristics is comfortably understood in the context of Howard Nemerov's poem "Manners":

> Prig offered Pig the first chance at dessert,
> So Pig reached out and speared the bigger part.
> "Now that," cried Prig, "is extremely rude of you!"
> Pig, with his mouth full, said, "Wha, wha' wou' 'ou do?"
> "I would have taken the littler bit," said Prig.
> "Stop kvetching, then, it's what you've got," said Pig.
>
> So virtue is its own reward, you see,
> And that is all it is ever going to be.[30]

Given the opportunity to choose the first piece, Pig uses Prig's morality against him, taking the largest share of dessert. Hence, Pig represents Machiavelli's "spirit of the lion"[31] —proactive, manipulative, and power-hungry (or, perhaps, dessert-hungry). The lion does not care that Prig is upset; he acts according to his own benefit only. On the other hand, Machiavelli's fox, creative as he is, would have encouraged Prig to choose the first slice, as social standard requires Prig to choose the smaller piece. The "spirit of the fox"[32] produces the same results as the lion, yet it also ensures that Prig will not judge Pig for taking the bigger slice. In either case, whether the Prince acts like a lion or a fox, "Manners" describes Machiavelli's Prince: blameless but well fed, determining what is "good" action by evaluating its consequences in terms of his benefit.

Despite his support of relative morality and self-centered characteristics, Machiavelli disapproves of tyrants who do not attempt to behave virtuously in appropriate circumstances. This is clear when he acknowledges the political accomplishments of Agathocles, Greek tyrant of Syracuse, but denies his virtù: "Through overcoming countless difficulties and dangers," Machiavelli writes, "[Agathocles] climbed up through a thousand sacrifices and perils, he reached the principate, and he maintained it with so many spirited and very risk decisions."[33] Yet after praising Agathocles' determination, Machiavelli recognizes that "one cannot call it virtue to kill one's fellow citizens, to betray one's friends, to be without faith, without compassion, without religion,"[34] and therefore disqualifies him from acknowledgement among glorious men: "One cannot, therefore, attribute to fortune or to virtue [virtù] what was accomplished without either."[35] Furthermore, Machiavelli explains that "showing himself to be a lover of the virtues"[36] benefits the Prince by securing his rule. Performing noble, glorious acts compels citizens to "want to be on your side . . .

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28. Hobbes, *Leviathan,* 89-100.
29. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 94.
30. Howard Nemerov, "Manners," in *Selections* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1980), 14.
31. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 94.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., 65.
34. Ibid., 66.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., 111.

want to become followers,"[37] and the reputation that comes with gaining followers enhances both the Prince's and the state's stability.[38] Machiavelli prefers this abstract, traditionally moral route in theory, as he sees its potential benefits; however, he realizes its unrealistic assumptions and argues for practicality.

Machiavelli ultimately holds that necessity and potential end results outweigh abstract moral codes and justify immoral action. A Prince who possesses all of the qualities conventionally accepted as good––such as generosity, compassion, sincerity, and faithfulness––is admirable but unfeasible.[39] Since changing conditions prevent a totally virtuous life, the Prince cannot bind himself to conventional morality and its limits: "It is necessary for a Prince, if he wishes to maintain himself, to learn to be not good, and to use this faculty and not use it according to necessity."[40] Machiavelli's morality enables the Prince to act despite the absence of a universal Absolute. Focused on practical reality, its rules emphasize subjective circumstances when making moral determinations.

While it is true that the Prince's moral philosophy is constantly changing, it is important to recognize that princely action is virtuous only when it promotes princely objectives. The Prince may deem any action "good" in theory, but his role does not give him the power to induce personal vanity; it only enables him to do what is necessary to secure the state and prevent disorder. Though he is often viewed as repugnant, the Prince's apparent wickedness is fueled by a moral goal: to protect the prosperity of his citizens and to preserve the strength of the state as a whole. In this way, the Prince's interests to remain in power are morally tied to the interest of the state and welfare of its citizens, since his presence enables the state to remain stable. As Funda Gencoglu Onbasi concludes in "Morality in Machiavelli, Hobbes and Locke: A Comparative Analysis,"

> What underlies this understanding is his emphasis on a strong sense of public duty and readiness to make great sacrifices for the community from motives of honor and patriotism. The strong individuals which a strong political community needs in turn are those who can manipulate the traditional values as best as they can in order to adapt to the circumstances and thereby reach unity, order and stability.[41]

Machiavelli's political theory is therefore not characterized with immorality and lust; instead, Machiavelli's Prince embraces civic virtue, habitually devoting himself to the common good of his state. Thus, contrary to common belief, Machiavelli is not an act-egoist.

This act-egoist perspective is also inconsistent with Hobbes' political philosophy. Hobbes' Law of Nature is a socially constructed "dictate of prudence that appeal[s] to our rational self-interests," founded by desires and ends that all people share by virtue of being human.[42] Hobbes does not believe the Law of Nature determines universal Absolutes; rather, he depicts it as society's standard for good and evil, the means to achieve what all men desire––peace: "The [Law of Nature] describe[s] the dispositions that are rational for an agent to cultivate, given that the agent wants to satisfy her various desires and, as such, desires peace as a means to this end."[43] This law is

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37. Gary Remer, "Rhetoric as a Balancing of Ends: Cicero and Machiavelli," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 42, no. 1 (February 2009): 11.

38. Ibid., 12.

39. Machiavelli, The Prince, 87.

40. Ibid.

41. Funda Gencoglu Onbasi, "Morality in Machiavelli, Hobbes and Locke: A Comparative Analysis," *Felsefe Ve Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 15 (2013): 29.

42. London, "Virtue and Consequences: Hobbes on the Value of the Moral Virtues," 8.

43. Ibid., 5.

therefore not a collection of principles that a society must perform in order to exist peacefully, but a logical method for determining the kinds of people that ought to form a commonwealth.

This approach to Hobbes' moral theory allows Hobbes to declare that breaking a valid covenant, the social contract, is always irrational and disadvantageous, contrary to the argument of those who consider Hobbes an act-egoist. This is clear in Hobbes' *Leviathan*:

> The names of just and unjust, when they are attributed to men . . . signify conformity or inconformity of manners to reason. But when they are attributed to actions, they signify the conformity or inconformity to reason, not of manners or manners of life, but of particular actions. A just man therefore is he that taketh all the care he can that his actions may be all just; and an unjust man is he that neglecteth it.[44]

As Andrew Corsa claims in his Ph.D. dissertation, Hobbes believes an unjust action signifies non-conformity to reason; thus he asserts it never reasonable to break a covenant.[45] Hobbes' argument proceeds as follows: In order to obtain the cooperation of others and form a functioning society, individuals must habitually perform good actions.[46] To ensure that individuals perform good actions frequently enough to elicit the trust and cooperation of other individuals, the community must cultivate a mentality that depends on good actions.[47] Cultivating this mentality means that a society must value and enjoy performing good actions.[48] Therefore, Hobbes' political framework evokes individuals to habitually perform good actions for their own sake, and thus fosters the morality of citizens.[49]

This interpretation of Hobbes' moral theory rests on two of Hobbes' assumptions: just people perform good action solely because it is good, rather than from fear of punishment or to appear just, and good character is valuable due to its consequences for society. Critics argue that these claims are contradictory. However, Hobbes' "Confederation Argument"[50] reveals that an individual's chance of survival increases when he or she joins a confederation for mutual defense.[51] Thus, if he or she wishes to ensure his or her conservation and contentment, he or she must acquire a reputation for reliable just action by habitually upholding the social contract for its own sake.[52] As the above argument shows, "the very reason an agent habituates herself to perform just actions and seeks to value them for themselves is that she must establish her own just character if she is to ensure that others will believe her to be trustworthy."[53] Abiding by the law of nature, and thus the social contract, is a way of avoiding death and pain; moreover, it is what keeps citizens from the evils of the state of nature, the natural condition of humanity. Therefore, citizens take great pain to live in agreement with Reason so that their dispositions accord with the Law of Nature.

The functioning of this system, the commonwealth, requires a leader who ensures communal disposition towards the Law of Nature and prevents citizens from breaching the social contract.

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44. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 93.
45. Andrew James Corsa, "Thomas Hobbes' Response to the Fool: Justice and Magnanimity" (PhD diss., Syracuse University, December 2011), 10.
46. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 89.
47. Ibid., 91.
48. Ibid., 89.
49. Corsa, "Thomas Hobbes' Response to the Fool: Justice and Magnanimity," 10.
50. Hobbes *Leviathan*, 91.
51. Corsa, "Thomas Hobbes' Response to the Fool: Justice and Magnanimity," 10.
52. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 88.
53. London, "Virtue and Consequences: Hobbes on the Value of the Moral Virtues," 15.

This leader is the person or assembly to whom the people confer their "power and strength" and "submit their wills" and judgments.[54] This "Sovereign" or "Leviathan" is appointed to act on "things [that] concern the common peace and safety."[55] In Hobbes words,

> [The Sovereign/Leviathan is a] real unity of [all the people], in one and the same person, made by Covenant of every man with every man in such a manner, in such a manner as if every man should say to every man, *I authorize and give up my right of governing myself to this man, or to this assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up thy right to him, and authorize all his actions in like manner.*[56]

In the state of nature, justice was arbitrary; now, justice exists as explained by the Sovereign, mediator of the social contract. This seems disastrous, as it gives one person autonomous power to define morality for the community. However alarming this appears, any determination the Sovereign makes must adhere to the Law of Nature and social contract. Hence, it is not only citizens who must obey these agreements, but the Sovereign too. Nobody can be merciless or indifferent if the commonwealth is to remain stable. In this way, balance is essential to Hobbes' political theory. As Sharon Lloyd proclaims in her *Morality in the Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes: Cases in the Law of Nature*, "If the state's interference with subject's pursuit of their ends did revival the degree of interference of the condition of mere nature, we would expect Hobbesian rational agents not only to be increasingly indifferent as between those two conditions, but––most importantly–– increasingly motivated to risk rebellion."[57] A certain amount of unnatural authority is necessary to prevent the state of nature, the natural condition of humanity, but it does not follow that this power makes Hobbes' ideas immoral. After all, the Hobbes' definition of commonwealth states that the Sovereign may only use "the strength and means of all [of the citizens] *for their peace and common defense.*"[58] The Sovereign's power serves to advance the desires of the commonwealth as a unified whole. In this way, both Hobbes and Machiavelli's political philosophies cultivate a strong sense of morality through describing well-intentioned leaders.

In spite of this claim, some readers cite the title, Leviathan, as proof that Hobbes has immoral intentions. A symbol of the devil, the "Leviathan" is a biblical sea monster found in the book of Job.[59] Despite its barbaric, irreligious connotation, Hobbes uses this word to entitle his political text. Perhaps this choice is meant to remind readers to turn metaphors into logic. Why would Hobbes advise a government in which people live under an abusive tyrant? A more logical interpretation concludes that Hobbes encourages citizens to live under an all-encompassing ruler who protects their interests and promotes communal morality. Furthermore, the Leviathan's association with terror reminds readers that fear will never disappear from human existence; nevertheless, while it may serve as an avenue for obtaining and retaining political power, both Hobbes and Machiavelli argue that fear should not be the main way rulers safeguard their state. Rather, morality governs the political theories of both Hobbes and Machiavelli. They are not the authoritarian devils many pin them to be. They grapple with the correlation between government and human nature and come to a conclusion that seems terrifying at first glance, but is truly advantageous–– politically and morally––upon rigorous contemplation.

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54. Hobbes, *Leviathan,* 109.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Sharon Lloyd, *Morality in the Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes: Cases in the Law of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009),
58. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 109 (emphasis added).
59. Robert E. Stillman, "Hobbes's Leviathan: Monsters, Metaphors, and Magic," *Elh* no. 4 (1995): 795-96.

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The Interaction of Desirable Difficulty and Testing Effects on Test Scores in College Students

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Abstract

The present study aims to assess whether the difficulty of questions used in initial testing influences the strength of the testing effect. Testing effects have been shown to enable more long lasting learning by retrieving information before final testing (Rose & Craik, 2012). Previous research has shown that levels of processing can influence the testing effect and that more effortful processing leads to a stronger testing effect (Hinze, 2011; Pyc & Rawson, 2009; Rowland, 2014). In the present study, participants included 38 college students from a small college. Participants read a chapter from an unfamiliar science fiction novel, then answered either five deep processing questions, five shallow processing questions, or a did a word search in the control group. After a three-day delay participant were given a follow-up questionnaire that included a mix of five deep and five shallow processing questions along with a post-test survey. Results found no evidence of a testing effect. There was a significant interaction between the follow-up recall in group so that those who had deep questions in the initial testing did better on the deep questions in the follow-up and those who had shallow questions in the initial did worse on all questions. Therefore, if testing will require deep processing, then retrieval practice should involve deep processing in order to improve scores.

Keywords: Desirable Difficulty, testing effects, depth of processing, learning

The Interaction of Desirable Difficulty and Testing Effects on Test Scores in College Students

Students constantly face the problem of trying to learn as much information as possible in as little time and with as little effort as possible. However according to the theory of desirable difficulty, little effort can gain little reward. Desirable difficulty shows that creating certain kinds of difficulty can lead to stronger and longer lasting learning (Bjork & Bjork, 2011). The present study aims at assessing if the difficulty of questions used in initial testing influences the strength of the testing effect.

The testing effect is a means of increasing later recall of information. The testing effect occurs after retrieval practice through quizzing or testing of information before final testing. The testing effect has been shown to enable more durable and better long-term recall, it is also better than restudying material (Bjork, Little, & Storm, 2014; Eisenkraemer, 2013; Gaspelin, 2013; Pastötter, 2014).

Research regarding levels of processing shows that deep processing as characterized by semantic encoding is more effective in retention of learning than shallow processing (Rose & Craik, 2012). Hinze (2011) found that levels of processing are important for testing effect benefits. Pyc & Rawson (2009) found that the difficulty of retrieval in initial testing was manipulated so that there were varying degrees of difficulty in initial testing, and so when tested later those who had undergone a more difficult retrieval in initial testing did better in the delayed testing. Rowland (2014) also supports the interaction between testing effect and desirable difficulty through processing. In the meta- analysis Rowland (2014) discovered that more effortful processing influenced the strength of the testing effect.

To examine the influence of depth of processing on the testing effect our study used deep processing questions, shallow processing question, and a control group in initial testing, then all participants completed a combined test of deep and shallow questions in final testing. We propose that first, deep processing is desirably difficult; second, deep processing will lead to better recall after delay; third, having initial testing before final questionnaire will lead to the testing effect and better recall in delay testing; and fourth, the testing effect depends on difficulty of initial testing meaning that the testing effect will be stronger when initial testing is deep processing. Our predictions are first, the no initial testing control group will be lowest in recall because they lack the benefit of the testing effect; second, shallow processing initial testing will be worse than deep processing because they only have the benefit of the testing effect; and third, deep processing initial testing will have the best recall because they gain from the advantage of deep processing plus the advantage of the testing effect.

Method

Participants

Participants included 38 college students, 84.2% of which were female. They were recruited from psychology and sociology classes at Samford University and received two extra credit points in their psychology or sociology classes for their participation.

Materials

The materials used included a chapter from a science fiction novel (Van Name, 2007), a word search, two sets of initial tests that were randomly assigned, one set with five deep processing questions and the other set with five shallow processing questions, a post-test questionnaire, and a mixed deep and shallow online questionnaire that included five deep processing questions and five shallow processing questions that was given after a delay of three days. Deep processing questions were created to evoke integrative and semantic processing of information. An example of a deep processing question would be: "What can be inferred about what occurred previously in the story?" Shallow processing questions were created by only using factual information that could be directly identified in the passage. An example of a shallow processing question would be: "What is the main character's hometown?" Volunteers read the passage, answered all the questions, and then piloted shallow and deep processing questions and reported question difficulty and how much processing was required to answer the questions. The word search used for the control group was themed with food and drinks. After the follow-up questionnaire, a post test questionnaire was used to assess how difficult the participants found the study, how well they understood and followed instructions, and if they did their best in the study. Full materials are included in the appendix.

Procedure

The design of the study was a 2 x 3 mixed factorial design. The independent variables were testing and question type. The question type is a between groups variable and was broken down into no initial testing as a control group, deep processing initial testing questions, and shallow processing initial testing questions. The testing is a within groups variable of initial testing and follow-up testing after a three-day delay. The dependent variable was the number of questions correct.

The participants were given informed consent then received the passage. They were read the instructions to read the passage carefully and that they could reread the passage if time allowed. Then participants were given 15 minutes to read the passage. The stories were collected and the shallow and deep initial questionnaires and word searches were handed out at random. Participants were given two minutes to complete the questionnaire or word search and then they were collected. The follow up questionnaire was explained to them that it would be available three days following the initial testing and that they had up to 48 hours to complete the questionnaire. Following the completion of the online follow-up questionnaire and post-test questionnaire participants were debriefed and given their extra credit by mail.

Results

The data were analyzed using a multivariate ANOVA. The within group variable was *Testing*, with initial testing occurring directly after reading of the story and follow-up testing occurring after a three-day delay. The between groups variable was *Question Type*, with the Control group receiving no initial testing, the Shallow group receiving shallow depth of processing initial questions, and the Deep group receiving deep depth of processing initial questions. The dependent variable was the number of questions correct.

There were no main effects for question type or testing variables. In reference to the first

prediction, there was not a significant difference among groups in regard to follow-up test scores with $F(1, 35) = 1.542$, $p = .228$, eta2 $= .081$. The follow-up score means are shown in Figure 1. There was also no significant difference between shallow initial scores and deep initial scores or shallow follow-up scores or deep follow-up scores. The means for initial scores split between shallow and deep questions can be found in Figure 2 and the means for follow-up scores split between shallow and deep questions can be found in Figure 3. There was a significant interaction between shallow recall and deep recall with $F(1,22) = 4.188$, $p = .054$, eta² $= .152$.

In reference to the second and third predictions that shallow processing would hurt scores and deep processing would improve scores, the interaction between the recall of shallow and deep question and group was significant with $F(1,22) = 4.200$, $p = .053$, eta² $= .160$. However, this only occurred after controlling for how difficult the participants found the study and their initial scores as covariates. The follow-up group means by type of question can be found in Figure 4. This interaction indicates that participants who received deep processing questions initially had a higher follow-up score for deep questions and those who received shallow processing question initially had lower scores for both deep and shallow questions in the follow-up.
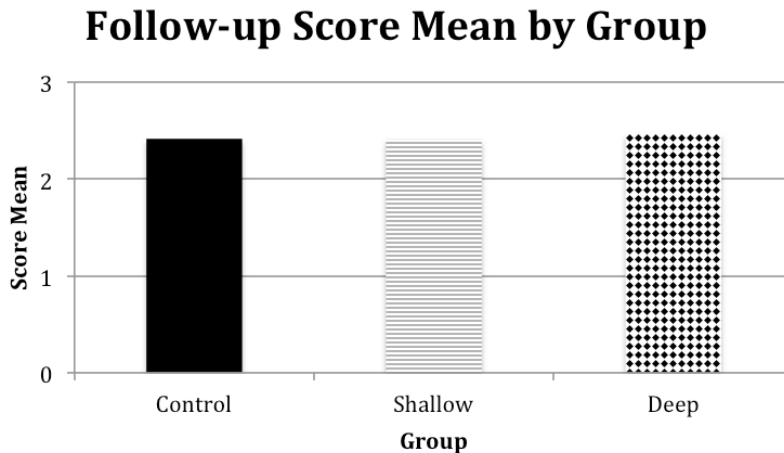
Figure 1
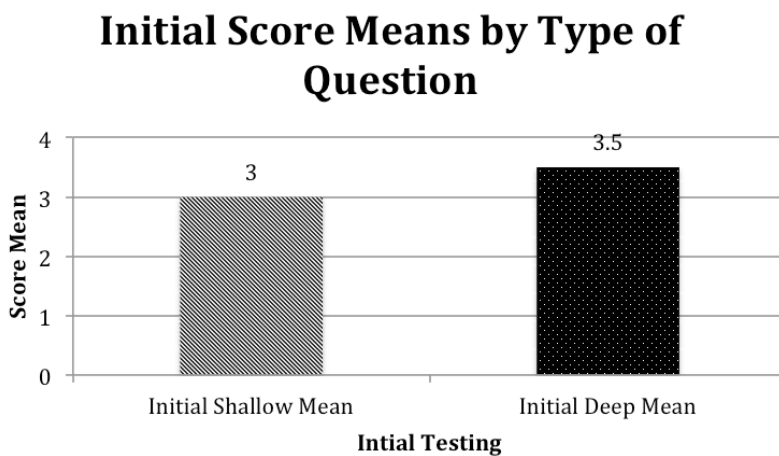
Figure 2

Follow-up Score Means by Type of Question

Figure 3

Follow-up Group Means By Type of Question
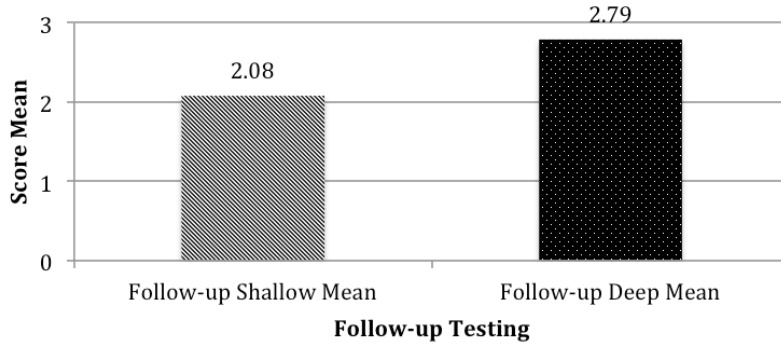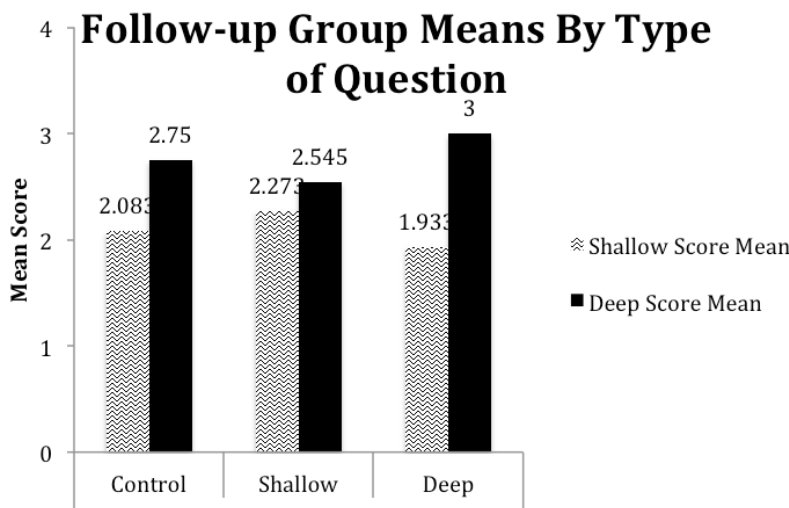
Figure 4

Discussion

The predictions for our study were that the deep processing group would do the best in follow-up, the shallow processing group would do worse than the deep processing group, and that the control group would do the worst in the follow-up. The results did support our original hypotheses in that deep processing was desirably difficult and that deep processing leads to better recall. However, our hypothesis that testing effects lead to better recall was not supported. The hypothesis of an interaction between group and recall was supported after covariates of initial score and perceived difficulty were applied.

This experiment contradicted prior literature. Our findings did not indicate the testing effect, but our results do further the understanding of how testing effect and deep processing may interact. According to previous literature (Eisenkraemer, 2013), the testing effect is retrieval practice that helps the learner recall information later on. However, our finding is an important contradiction with prior literature on testing effects. We found that the testing effect may be more dependent on the content of the testing than just the testing practice itself. This has important implications because instead of a focus on retrieval practice, learners should instead turn to how they are processing the information through retrieval.

In our results we found that those who experienced deep processing in initial testing did better on the deep processing questions in later testing. When depth of processing was matched in initial testing to later testing it lead to stronger recall, but only for deep processing questions. On the other hand, when depth of processing was matched in later testing for those who had shallow initial testing, participants did worse not only on deep questions in later testing, but shallow questions as well. This leads to the conclusion that matching processing in practice to processing in retrieval may not be a strict rule so much as being a specific avenue for better recall for deep processing testing. Since shallow depth of processing practice lead to diminished scores in both deep and shallow processing questions in later testing our results give no clear answers for how retrieval practice could help in later shallow processing testing. However it is clear that since testing effects did not influence recall, but depth of processing did influence recall, not all practice is good practice but practice with a focus on deep processing is good practice for later deep processing testing.

This study had limitations that could be improved upon in later research. This study had a small sample size of N = 38. It also lacked gender diversity with female participants making up 84.21%. Our questionnaires were short with initial questionnaires only including 5 questions each and our follow-up consisting of 10 (5 shallow questions and 5 deep questions). There also may have been a loss of interest so that participants may not have been interested enough to really focus on the story. In future research we would like to use a more relevant story such as one that is school related and nonfiction, not only to encourage interest, but also to see how the concepts of desirable difficulty and testing effects would be applied in a more educationally related setting. We would also like to have a larger and more diverse sample in future studies as a well as a more motivated sample. We would like to expand our question bank so that tests are longer as well as having a longer delay between initial and follow-up questions. We would also like to further attempt to understand why we did not find a testing effect in our results and replicate our study to find what ways depth of processing may influence or supersede testing effects.

Conclusion

Therefore, deep processing in retrieval practice is desirably difficult for deep processing in later testing. Shallow processing in retrieval practice hurts scores more than not quizzing at all. Finally, desirable difficulty is an effective means to improve scores while the act of quizzing reaps more benefits from the deep processing content of the questions than the testing effects.

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Appendix

Initial Shallow Questionnaire

1. What is Bob?
    a. A loyal pet
    b. An automated vehicle
    c. An annoying co-worker
    d. A mechanical ray

2. What is the main character looking forward to?
    a. Going to the beach
    b. A far away vacation
    c. Love
    d. Going home

3. Where is the main character's hometown?
    a. Pinkleponker
    b. Xycheck
    c. Macken
    d. Aggro

4. Where does the main character live?
    a. A farm
    b. An apartment
    c. Barracks
    d. A beach house

5. What extra reward did the main character receive?
    a. Gold
    b. A medal
    c. A cash bonus
    d. Property

Appendix

Initial Deep Questionnaire

1. What can be inferred about what occurred previously in the story?
    a. A dramatic love story
    b. A heist
    c. An exploration expedition
    d. A combat mission

2. What is Lim's occupation?
    a. An officer
    b. A scientist
    c. A pilot
    d. A nurse

3. What is the setting of this story?
    a. A fantasy galaxy
    b. A small town
    c. An urban jungle
    d. An underground bunker

4. What can be inferred about the main character's relationship to Earl?
    a. teacher and student
    b. enemies
    c. war friends
    d. father and son

5. What can be inferred about the relationship between Schmidt and Gustafson?
    a. Co-workers
    b. Lovers
    c. Siblings
    d. Patient and Guard

Appendix

Follow-Up Questionnaire

What is your name?
What is your Samford email address?
In order to receive your extra credit form, please provide your Samford P.O. box number below.

1. Where was the woman in the story injured?
    a. Her Head
    b. Her Back
    c. Her Shoulder
    d. Her Leg

2. What can be inferred about Lobo?
    a. He is a government official
    b. He is a co-worker
    c. He is an animal
    d. He is a robot

3. What is the main character's occupation?
    a. a technology specialist
    b. a freelance mercenary
    c. a government soldier
    d. a small business owner

4. What can be inferred about the Aggro experiments?
    a. Resulted in mutation of species
    b. Resulted in successful findings
    c. Resulted in development of new technology
    d. Resulted in many deaths

5. What does the main character give to Schmidt and Gustafson?
    a. A letter and a brick of gold
    b. A bag of money and a map
    c. A spaceship and a weapon
    d. An entry card and a box

6. What person did the main character return to Slake?
    a. Jennie
    b. Vaccaro
    c. Lim
    d. Jasmine

7. What was the main character's mission that he completed?
    a. Retrieved a stolen object
    b. Saved a city
    c. Rescued a girl
    d. Defeated a villain

8. What can be inferred about what the main character wants from Jasmine?
    a. Money
    b. Freedom
    c. Forgiveness
    d. A spaceship

9. What is the main character's attitude as the story ends?
    a. content
    b. hopeful
    c. confused
    d. pessimistic

10. Where was Gustafson?
    a. The office
    b. Government center
    c. Another planet
    d. The hospital

What is your age?
What is your gender?
        Male
        Female
What is your classification?
        Freshman
        Sophomore
        Junior
        Senior
What is your major?

Appendix

Post-Test Questionnaire

Choose the statement that best represents your level of agreement
(Strongly disagree, Disagree, Somewhat Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Somewhat Agree, Agree, Strongly Agree)

I understood the instructions for this task
I followed the instructions to the best of my ability
I did my best on this task
I found this task difficult

Reading Passage Directions

Please read the following passage thoroughly. You will be asked questions following the reading. You will have 20 minutes to complete the reading and will be given time notifications. Please re-read the story as desired until time expires.

Please wait patiently until the 20-minute time frame has expired. You can re-read the story, but please refrain from using your cellphone, interacting with others, or studying other materials as it could distract others and hinder the experiment.

Passage citation:
L., Van Name Mark. *One Jump Ahead*. Riverdale, NY: Baen Pub. Enterprises, 2007. Print.

"Segregation Forever?": A Quantitative Analysis of the Relationship Between Party Affiliation of State Governors and Minority Student Enrollment in Public Higher Education

Laura Ann Prickett

Abstract

State governors have formal and symbolic powers to influence policy creation and policy outcomes in their states. This study attempts to look at a tangible, policy outcome to determine what specific role state governors have in higher education policy and its implementation. I ask whether or not the varying characteristic of governor party affiliation over the last ten years has any influence on the percentages of minority students, specifically black and Latino students, enrolled at state institutions of higher education. Because Democrats are more consistently associated with liberal ideology and with supporting race-conscious policies, I hypothesize that there will be a positive relationship between Democratic governors and race conscious higher education policy outcomes, particularly enrollment percentages of undergraduate minority students. The units of analysis considered are aggregate variables of the characteristics of all public institutions of higher education aggregated by their state.

List of Figures and Tables

"Segregation forever?" A Quantitative Analysis of the Relationship Between Party Affiliation of State Governors and Minority Student Enrollment in Public Higher Education

Figure 1

In June of 1963, Alabama Governor George Wallace infamously stood in front of the Foster Auditorium entrance at the University of Alabama. His blockade was an attempt to block Vivian Malone, the first African-American to apply with perfect qualifications to the state flagship, from entering university buildings and enrolling in the institution. This showdown is a symbolic representation of the relationship between state governors and minority student enrollment. Through his blockade, Governor Wallace represented the role state governors have in public higher education enrollment, specifically how they influence minority student enrollment. Fifty-one years after Governor Wallace's standoff, in the spring of 2014, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld a Michigan state constitutional amendment that banned the use of race in admission to state institutions of higher education. These policies were otherwise known as Affirmative Action. The outcome in *Schuette v. Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action* set a negative precedent for the use of Affirmative Action admission policies amidst research claims that states that removed affirmative action experienced a drop in minority student enrollment. Those that revere Affirmative Action suggest that it is the only way to truly integrate our institutions of higher education and offer equal opportunity to people of minority demographics. Those that oppose Affirmative Action suggest that it unjustly privileges one social characteristic over another. Both perspectives have their own respective assumptions about what minority student enrollment does and should look like at public institutions of higher education.

Prior research has suggested that financial aid, minority representation in the state legislator, and acceptance of race conscious policies are responsible for minority student enrollment at state institutions. To date, few researchers consider the various involvement levels of the different branches of state government in higher education policy. In spite of historic instances of the state executive office interfering with higher education policy, no research has studied the Office of the

Governor, its political affiliation, and its relationship to higher education policy and enrollment management. This research project asks what level of influence the state governor has in minority student enrollment at public institutions of higher education in American states. More broadly, the research is concerned with what influences minority student enrollment at public colleges and universities in an attempt to explain variations in percentages of minority student enrollment among states. Through a quantitative analysis comparing the variables of governor party affiliation over the past ten years and percentages of minority students enrolled at state institutions, this project hypothesizes that the Office of the Governor has an effect on enrollment demographics in state institutions and infers that more Democratic governors in a state in the past decade indicate a higher percentage of minority students enrolled in that state's public institutions.

The following sections provide an overview of the scholarly discussion on minority student enrollment in higher education and an articulation of the unique contribution that my research makes to the dialogue. Before performing the quantitative analysis that is central to this research question, this conceptual framework provides the necessary structure from which to approach the issue and from which to interpret and analyze the results.

Conceptual Framework

Literature Review

Higher Education and Minority Student Enrollment

Research on minority student enrollment in higher education is extensive and includes a variety of different perspectives and suggested factors to explain the percentages of each demographic enrollment.[1] James Minor's 2006 study[2] suggests that minority student enrollment at predominantly white institutions of higher education (PWIs) is small because of a "segregation residual" that has been preserved, specifically in the South, since immediately following the Civil War. This residual exists because of state politics rooted in racism. Hicklin and Meier offer another perspective that increasing minority representation in state legislatures positively affects minority student enrollment in higher education.[3] Tedin & Weiher take a different perspective and focus on determining factors from the student's vantage point, suggesting that, in addition to the current racial and ethnic composition of the student body, perceived academic quality impacts student enrollment at a university significantly.[4] Several propose that changes in federal and state funding of higher education negatively impacts minority student enrollment; without government aid, institutions are forced to increase tuition and individuals are forced to pay entirely out of pocket. This specifically disadvantages minority students, who have a higher likelihood of coming from places of lower socioeconomic status.[5] [6] While some scholars support the success of specific institutions

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1. Alisa Fryar and Daniel Hawes, "Competing Explanations for Minority Enrollments in Higher Education," *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 22 (2012): 1-17.
2. James Minor, "Segregation Residual in Higher Education: A Tale of Two States," *American Educational Research Journal* 45 (June 2008): 861-885.
3. Alisa Hicklin and Kenneth J. Meier, "Race, Structure, and State Governments: The Politics of Higher Education Diversity," *The Journal of Politics* 70 (July 2008): 851-860.
4. Kent L. Tedin and Gregory R. Weiher, "Racial/Ethnic Diversity and Academic Quality as Components of School Choice," *The Journal of Politics* 66 (2004): 1109-1133.
5. Hattie Powell and Joyce Scott, "Funding Changes and Their Effect on Ethnic Minority Student Access," *Focus on Colleges, Universities, and Schools* 7 (2013): 1-9.
6. Robert G. Toutkoushian and Nicholas W. Hillman, "The Impact of State Appropriations and Grants on Access to Higher Education and Outmigration," *The Review of Higher Education* 36 (2011): 51-90.

implementing race neutral policies in admitting high performing minority students,[7] many scholars decry the negative consequences of race-neutral policies as responsible for low number of minority student enrollment, and they advocate for a race-conscious system—whether Affirmative Action, broadening requirements for university admission, or others—that considers race as a factor in admissions.[8] [9] [10]

The current research addresses the data on minority student enrollment from several perspectives. However, the scholarship fails to consider the weight of influence the party affiliation of the state government has on enrollment percentages in state institutions. In an era dominated by party politics at both the national and state level, party affiliation is a more than reasonable influence on the policy results we observe. According to Aldrich & Grynaviski,[11] political parties are the organizations by which political participants regulate the behavior (policy decisions) of one another and by which the standards of policy evaluation are developed. In affiliating with a political party, political leaders pledge themselves to support certain standards and initiatives and to subject themselves to evaluation by other party members on how well they are supporting the party mission. As party leaders, governors have particular power to pursue policies consistent with their political affiliation. For this reason, my research considers the party affiliation of state governors, the leaders of state governments, as an influence in the percentage of minority students enrolled at flagship universities. I hypothesize that minority student enrollment percentages at flagship institutions are higher in states with governors affiliated with the Democratic Party. In other words, I should predict there is a positive relationship between states whose governors affiliate with the Democratic Party and higher percentages of minority student enrollment.

State Government, the Governor's Office, and Higher Education

Hicklin and Meier articulately describe the connection between state legislatures and higher education policy:

> State legislators play a critical role in the success of public universities, serving as the primary overseer in policy, funding, and accountability. The state legislature determines the level of public funding that each university will receive, through the specification of a funding formula and through grant programs, specific projects, and other avenues. Policies concerning private universities and out-of-state students are also influenced by the state legislature, and in turn these policies affect a public university's ability to generate its own revenue. Legislatures also can regulate tuition, set statewide admissions policies, and advance policies in the K-12 system that will

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7. William G. Bowen and Derek Bok, "The Admissions Process and 'Race Neutrality,'" in *The Shape of the River: Long-Term Consequences of Considering Race in College and University Admissions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998): 15-52.

8. Theodore Cross, "Hopwood in Doubt: The Folly of Setting a Grand Theory Requiring Race Neutrality in All Programs of Higher Education," *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 29 (2000): 60-84.

9. David A. Strauss, "'Recognizing Race' and the Elusive Ideal of Racial Neutrality," 113 Columbia Law Review Sidebar 1 (2013): 1-8.

10. Cedric Merlin Powell, "Critiquing Neutrality: Critical Perspectives on Schools, the First Amendment, and Affirmative Action in a 'Post-Racial' World," *University of Louisville Law Review* 52 (2013): 105-111.

11. John H. Aldrich and Jeffrey Grynaviski, "Theories of Parties," in *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups*, eds. L. S. Maisel and J. M. Berry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 21-36.

affect the pipeline of students who eventually feed into universities. Because public universities are largely controlled by the state government, differences among state legislatures should influence a state's universities. In particular, we would expect that a change in the composition of the legislature could influence numerous policy issues in the state.[12]

Previously mentioned, Hicklin and Meier suggested that minority student enrollment is correlated with minority representation in the state legislature. As an extension of their argument and assessment of the role of the state legislature in higher education enrollment, I contend that the party affiliation of the state governor influences the percentage of minority students enrolled at institutions of higher education.[13]

   As the executive of state government, the state governor has a practical and symbolic influence on state policy. Though each state's specific gubernatorial powers are different, the traditional powers of the office include special legislation, the veto, budgetary power, appointive powers, management and administration, crisis response, party leadership, position promotion, and other indirect judicial and legislative policymaking influences.[14] [15] These powers directly impact education policies; for example, they determine which individuals will be appointed to serve in specific bureaucratic positions––like those in charge of education––and what types of policies and legislation the governor will support, sign, and advocate to implement throughout the state. The governor's symbolic power consists of the unarticulated authority the governor has in determining the political climate and policy direction of the state. This symbolic power is often formal and ceremonial.[16] However, by virtue of his or her election, the governor represents the political opinion of the majority of the state. With that representation, the governor has power to direct the trajectory of state policy as a "team leader."[17] While governors at large have a broad influence over education policy and can present specific policy agendas (i.e., Governor Gray Davis' Top 4% Policy for state university admissions)[18] governors in some states sit on the governing boards or appoint the members of the governing boards of the state institutions of higher education. This power is an example of a direct relationship between the governor's office and state institutions of higher education and can be categorized as one of the governor's power over state administrative agencies.[19] Governors' relationship to the universities' governing boards is a primary reason that my research focuses on party affiliation of the state governor and not party affiliation of the majority of the legislature, for the legislature has no direct, official representation on an institution's board. Furthermore, legislators are elected not by entire states but by particular regions within states and thus reflect the needs and opinions of their specific constituents, who may or may not

12. Alisa Hicklin and Kenneth J. Meier, "Race, Structure, and State Governments: The Politics of Higher Education Diversity," 852.

13. Alisa Hicklin and Kenneth J. Meier, "Race, Structure, and State Governments: The Politics of Higher Education Diversity," 851-860.

14. Alan Rosenthal, *The Best Job in Politics: Exploring How Governors Succeed as Policy Leaders* (Los Angeles: CQ Press, 2013).

15. Thad L. Beyle, "The Governor's Formal Powers: A View from the Governor's Chair," *Public Administration Review* 28 (1958): 540-547.

16. Ibid.

17. Charles Barrilleaux and Michael Berkman, "Do Governors Matter? Budgeting Rules and the Politics of State Policymaking," Political Research Quarterly 56 (2003): 409-417.

18. James M. Glasser and Timothy Ryan, "A Spotlight on Race Neutrality," in *Changing Minds, If Not Hearts* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013): 117-136.

19. Nelson Dometrius, "Measuring Gubernatorial Powers," *The Journal of Politics* 41 (1979): 589-610.

have specific policy notions that affect the state university.[20] Though legislators may have indirect ties to members of a university's governing board, there is no specific formal, political relationship between the legislature and the bureaucratic structure of state institutions of higher education. Governors specifically have ties to state-wide interest and consequently have substantial policy influence in institutions of higher education.[21]

The study I propose looks at minority student enrollment at flagship universities because of the state government's strong ties to those institutions as being supported primarily through state policy and funding. As suggested by the operationalization of Hicklin and Meier,[22] the flagship universities of the state are the institutions that receive primary funding and policy considerations by the state. Flagships are understood as the representative of higher education provided by the state and are consequently one of the logical units of analysis used in this analysis in addition to the overall undergraduate enrollment populations.

Brown v. Board, Higher Ed, Minority Student Enrollment, and Multiculturalism

Most consider *Brown v. Board of Education* in light of the integration of primary and secondary schools in the 1960s. Images of the nine high school students in Little Rock being escorted into school by the National Guard symbolize a violent and divisive time in American political history. While the integration of primary and secondary schools was specifically applicable, the court decision had a significant effect on public institutions of higher education as well. In fact, cases of black enrollment in institutions of higher education were included in the court's decision to delegitimize the *Plessy v. Ferguson* policy of "separate but equal" and create a new standard of integration for public schools.[23] The integration of higher education was a part of the conception of the *Brown v. Board* decision. Consequently, integration of public institutions of higher education and the demographics of student enrollment are valuable as determined by the court decision.

Furthermore, there is literature to support the *Brown v. Board* decision that suggests that multicultural and ethnically diverse education environments are valuable for student development.[24] While multiculturalism and diversity are valuable concepts, Billings and Tate caution against the expanding definitions of those concepts. Because of the inability for these concepts to address specific issues due to their breadth, Billings and Tate call for a specific consideration of race as a factor of inequality that needs to be addressed in determining theories and policies for providing equal, integrative education.[25] As a point of clarification, Minor distinguishes the concepts of integration and desegregation from one another: "Desegregation is considered the act of removing barriers or disparities in public education based on race ... dismantling infrastructure ... that intentionally separates individuals on the basis of race with the goal of ensuring fair and equal treatment ... Integration, in the context of higher education, could then be viewed as the conscious or voluntary decision of individuals to attend institutions with others characteristically different from themselves."[26] My study looks at the role of democratic governors both in successfully

20. Charles Barrilleaux and Michael Berkman, "Do Governors Matter? Budgeting Rules and the Politics of State Policymaking," 409-417.

21. Ibid.

22. Alisa Hicklin and Kenneth J. Meier, "Race, Structure, and State Governments: The Politics of Higher Education Diversity," 851-860.

23. David A. Strauss, "'Recognizing Race' and the Elusive Ideal of Racial Neutrality," 1-8.

24. Donna M. Gollnick and Phillip C. Chinn, *Multicultural Education in Pluralistic Society,* (New York: Prentice Hall, 2006).

25. Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate IV, "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education," *Teachers College Record* 97 (1995): 47-68.

26. James Minor, "Segregation Residual in Higher Education: A Tale of Two States," 861-885.

desegregating and in successfully integrating systems of higher education. Though the two terms are distinguishable, they display themselves in tandem with one another. Ideally, higher education contains no traces of social inequality. Higher education policy is responsible both for removing barriers to entry (desegregation) and for encouraging access (integration) to state institutions.

Critical Race Theory and Party Politics

A general understanding of race neutrality and race consciousness provides insight into understanding the broader, theoretical framework under which this study applies. Race neutrality, or color-blind theory and policy, upholds Civil Rights Movement leader Martin Luther King, Jr.'s desire to be judged by the "content of one's character and not the color of one's skin." This theory, rooted in a specific conception of equality, deontologically removes race as a factor to be considered as an explanation or cause of inequality in policy implementation. Based on recent Supreme Court cases like *Hopwood* and *Bakke*, most institutions of higher education have race neutral admissions policies.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a response to race neutrality that suggests that viewing individuals removed from the contexts that their racial identities have created for them is impossible. CRT advocates for a more racially conscious political system and education system, specifically in regards to admissions and enrollment of universities. Affirming CRT policy, former President Lyndon B. Johnson is quoted as saying, "You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line in a race and then say, 'you are free to compete with all the others,' and still justly believe you have been completely fair."[27] President Johnson understood that the context of blacks in America is not the same as the context of whites in America, and consequently they cannot be held to the same expectations of achievement or judged by the same measures of success. Proponents of CRT, like Powell[28] and Strauss,[29] claim that, because race exists in that individuals visually recognize differences in color and in that socio-historically persons have been targeted and oppressed because of the color of their skin, race should be considered as a factor in political decisions. The consideration is not negative; however, it is recognition of the reality of the individual experiences and assumptions ascribed to a person based on the particular color of their skin. As a result of the history of racial inequality, injustice, and oppression, Powell suggests that substantive equality in education is essential for moving towards the *Brown v. Board* ideal of a truly equal, integrated system.[30] Substantive equality does not mean simply tolerating the admission of minority students into institutions of higher education but actively pursuing these students to contribute to the academic life of the university. CRT in education looks for ways to pursue policies that are racially conscious and contribute to the progress and support of minority individuals.[31] [32]

Delgado explains that those popularly classified as "liberals" support policies that are more understanding and inclusive of marginalized individuals, specifically racial and ethnic minority populations.[33] The "liberals" to whom Delgado refers traditionally are classified as Democrats in

27. Quoted by William G. Bowen and Derek Bok, "Introduction," in *The Shape of the River*: 6.
28. Cedric Merlin Powell, "Critiquing Neutrality: Critical Perspectives on Schools, the First Amendment, and Affirmative Action in a 'Post-Racial' World," 105-111.
29. David A. Strauss, "'Recognizing Race' and the Elusive Ideal of Racial Neutrality," 1-8.
30. Cedric Merlin Powell, "Critiquing Neutrality: Critical Perspectives on Schools, the First Amendment, and Affirmative Action in a 'Post-Racial' World," 105-111.
31. Richard Delgado, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*, (New York: New York University Press: 2001).
32. Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate IV, "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education," 47-68.
33. Richard Delgado, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction.*

America's dual political party system.

While it is clear that the Democratic Party is not identical in its apparatuses and policy goals in every state, candidates who willingly associate themselves with the Democratic Party assign themselves, in varying respects, to the liberal concepts to which the Democratic National Convention is aligned. This willful association connects one's personal political values with those of the party on a national level. This justifies the consideration of a correlation of the policy outcomes of higher education in a state and the political affiliation of state leadership.

Data provided by the Roper Center on Presidential Elections also suggests that African Americans and other minorities vote for Democratic candidates more often than they vote for Republican candidates.[34] The theory of direct representation suggests that Democratic candidates would work to implement policies that their constituents support and that benefit those who elected them. Therefore, during Democrats' tenure in office––elected with the support of black voters––support and advocate for policies that assist and advantage minority populations. In application to the field of public higher education policy, electing Democrats implies that they will support increasing access to and support within higher education for minorities.

Based on the theory that Democrats are more supportive of policies that directly benefit minorities, I justify my hypothesis that states with Democratic governors will have higher percentages of minority student enrollment in their flagship universities. The literature reviewed provides a reliable framework for understanding the theoretical relationship between Democratic affiliation in state government and increased percentages of minority students enrolled in higher education. This research attempts to quantitatively analyze reported higher education enrollment numbers in order to operationalize the theoretical relationship. In other words, my hypothesis is that, in a comparison of public institutions of higher education in the United States, when controlling for the percentage of state minority population, there will be a positive relationship between the state governor's affiliation with the Democratic Party and high percentages of minority student enrollment. Minority student enrollment will be considered both as an overall state enrollment percentage and as a percentage of a state's flagship. The null hypothesis is that there is no relationship between the variables of the governor's affiliation with the Democratic Party and percentages of minority student enrollment.

Research Questions

The curiosity that drives the conceptual framework and data analysis of this research is an interest to know what influences minority student enrollment at public institutions of higher education in American states. After reviewing the literature, I discovered a gap in the research in which no study has looked at the influence of the party affiliation of the state governor on the percentage of minority student enrollment at public institutions. Filling this specific research gap would help further clarify both the relationship between gubernatorial office and state policy outcomes and the relationship between the platforms of the state government's political affiliation and policy outcomes in those states. With this project, I am studying the relationship between the political affiliation of state governors and the percentage of minority students enrolled at public institutions of higher education because I want to know what influences higher percentages of minority student enrollment in different states. I ask, Does the party affiliation of the state governor sig-

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34. "How Groups Voted in 1976," The Roper Center, http://ropercenter.cornell.edu/polls/us-elections/how-groups-voted/how-groups-voted-1976.

nificantly influence minority student enrollment at public institutions? What is the relationship between the gubernatorial office and higher education policy outcomes in states? What other rival explanations (like financial aid, state population, minority identity of state legislator, etc.) will be controlled for in the research and how will they be created as a numerical dataset?

Methodology

Method and Source

In order to answer these questions and perform the crux of the research, a quantitative analysis is necessary. While a qualitative case study would offer deeper insight into the governor's relationship to institutions of higher education in individual states, those case studies are atypical from one another. Qualitative case studies explore specific instances in depth, but they do not clearly connect different variables, according to a positivist framework. Furthermore, the statistical or quantitative method allows the researcher to look at several different units of analysis and determine for each unit whether or not there is a significant relationship between their variables. Stephen van Evera offers, "Large-*n* methods tell us more about whether hypotheses hold than why they hold."[35] Though I affirm that further qualitative research should be done to determine why my hypothesis about state governor influence in higher education enrollment holds (if it holds) and to explore fully the formal and effective role of state governors on higher education policy, the quantitative analysis is necessary first in order to determine whether there is a significant positivist relationship that requires further detailed study.

All data on state population demographics comes from the United States Census Bureau's 2010 Census. All data on higher education institutions comes from the 2013 Enrollment Survey: Race/Ethnicity, Gender, Attendance Status from the Institute of Postsecondary Education, a National Center for Education Statistics database. Additions to the dataset about party affiliation of state governors and other characteristics of states come from general knowledge research. I used the SPSS system to perform the quantitative analysis.

Operationalization

The units of analysis for this study are the 50 states. In total, there are 657 public, four-year institutions of higher education in the 50 states. By nature of being a public institution, the governor of each state either presides over or sits on the Board of Trustees or Board of Regents for the public-funded institutions in his or her state. There are different ways that the governor affects policy outcomes in each institution based on the institution's relationship to the state government. For example, the University of Alabama system is provisional in the Alabama state constitution; therefore, it is logical that the governor's role in determining policy outcomes within the University of Alabama campuses is more prominent and specific than the governor's role in determining policy at the HBCU Alabama A&M or the regional institution Jacksonville State University. Nonetheless, even as a formal official, the Alabama governor is only an ex-officio member of the University of Alabama system Board of Trustees while the Alabama governor presides over the

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35. Stephen van Evera, "What are Case Studies? How Should They Be Performed?", in *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997): 55.

Auburn University Board of Trustees. Each public institution in every state has a unique history and a unique policy relationship with the state legislature and the Office of the Governor. Furthermore, different governors play bigger or smaller roles in higher education policy based on their own preferences, personalities, and policy agendas. Though each institution has a different relationship to the governor and is a different size, each institution is equally important in determining minority student enrollment at public institutions. For this reason, I collapsed individual institutions into aggregate variables based on their geographic location within a state.

A multi-linear regression analysis will compare the ratio variables of percentages of race/ethnic demographics enrolled in public institutions of higher education and of the Democratic affiliation of the Governor with the hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between the two variables. The null hypothesis of this comparison is that there is no relationship between the two variables.

The dependent variable is the average percentage of minority student enrollment in each state. In my first regression, I determine state minority enrollment percentage as the sum of the entire number of minority students enrolled in each state institution divided by the sum of the entire number of undergraduate students enrolled in each state institution. These institutions include only those that are classified as public, 4-year institutions. This excludes all private institutions, 2-year community or technical colleges, and online and vocational colleges. Only the undergraduate student enrollment is considered in this analysis. Each state institution's percentage of minority student enrollment collapses into a single number to make up the variable for the whole state. Minority student enrollment is determined as those students who self-identify as anything other than White/Caucasian, including American Indian or Alaskan Native, Black or African American, Asian, Hispanic, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, Two or More Races, Unknown Race/Ethnicity, and Nonresident Aliens.

The minority student enrollment dependent variable is an extremely inclusive definition and is important for considering racial/ethnic demographics of student enrollment in a broad sense. However, in order to highlight the independent variable's influence on specific minority student populations, a more basic operationalization of the dependent variable is necessary. In order to identify the influence of the Office of the Governor's party affiliation over higher education enrollment within specific demographic groups, I narrow the dependent variable. Because of the large populations of African-Americans and Latino-Americans in the United States and specific policies intended to target the inclusion of these two groups, I conduct additional regressions that consider separately the specific percentages of each of these populations within the overall population of state institution enrollment. In other words, I conduct another regression with the percentage of African-American students enrolled at public institutions in each state as the dependent variable, and I conduct another separate regression with the percentage of Latino-American, or Hispanic students enrolled at public institutions in each state as the dependent variable.

In order to appropriately operationalize the theory, I split the data into six different hypotheses with the same independent variables but six different dependent variables, varying in levels of inclusivity. Hypothesis A's dependent variable is the percentage of undergraduate minority student enrollment at all state institutions of higher education; Hypothesis B's is the percentage of undergraduate minority student enrollment at a state's flagship; Hypothesis C, the percentage of undergraduate Black student enrollment at all state institutions of higher education; Hypothesis D, percentage of undergraduate Black student enrollment at a state's flagship; Hypothesis E, the percentage of undergraduate Hispanic student enrollment at all state institutions of higher education; Hypothesis F, the percentage of undergraduate Hispanic student enrollment at a state's

flagship.

The governor's affiliation with the Democratic Party serves as the independent variable and the primary contribution of this analysis to the scholarship on enrollment patterns. The political affiliation of the Office of the Governor of each state over the past 10 years (2006-2015) constitutes the make-up of this variable. Democratic affiliation was measured by the Governor's self-affiliation with the party. It is measured on a 0 to 1 scale; each year that an in-office governor affiliated with the Democratic Party represents .1 of the independent variable. For example, the current and immediate past Arizona Governors have affiliated with the Republican Party, but Janet Napolitano, Arizona Governor from January 2005 – January 2009, affiliated with the Democratic Party. Thus, Arizona's variable for Democratic affiliation is .3 because they had a Democratic Governor for 3 of the last 10 years (2006 through 2008). Another example is Arkansas's ex-Governor Mike Beebe, who affiliated with the Democratic Party. He was Governor of Arkansas from January 2007 – January 2015. Republican Mike Huckabee was Governor in 2006 and Republican Asa Hutchinson took office in January 2015. For the eight years that Democrat Mike Beebe was Governor of Arkansas, Arkansas's variable is .8. The independent variable of the Office of the Governor's party affiliation takes into account the past ten years, because in reality immediate results are not possible in public policy. Policy creation and implementation take time to have an effect on education and policy results take time to develop. The way I have constructed my independent variable allows for the time required for policy analysis to affect policy outcomes while simultaneously keeping the variable relevant to the current political climate and current platform of the Democratic Party through only looking at the past ten years and not looking at terms prior.

Each rival explanation is included as a separate independent variable in the regression equations. Ratio variables are created as control variables for the rival explanation of minority percentage of state racial composition. Indicator variables control for the Deep South region (Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas) and for states that have had any type of Affirmative Action policy ban in the past decade (California, Washington, Nebraska, Michigan, Arizona, Oklahoma, Florida, and New Hampshire).

Results and Analysis

In order to test my hypothesis, I ran a descriptive statistics function, a bivariate correlation matrix, and a multi-linear regression. The results of the three functions are below.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics of governor affiliation with the Democratic Party, minority student percentage of state undergraduate enrollment, minority student percentage of state flagship, minority percentage of state population, black student percentage of state undergraduate enrollment, black student percentage of state flagship, black student percentage of state population, Hispanic student percentage of state undergraduate enrollment, Hispanic student percentage of state flagship, Hispanic percentage of state population, the Deep South, and Affirmative Action bans

	Maximum	Minimum	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation	N
Governor Affiliation with Democratic Party	1	0	.46	.5	.3459	50
Minority Student Percentage of State Undergraduate Enrollment	88	10.30	30.75	28.55	13.93	50
Minority Student Percentage of State Flagship	89.11	13.64	33.48	28.16	16.79	50
Minority Percentage of State Population	73.35	4.98	20.24	17.29	12.26	50
Black Student Percentage of State Undergraduate Enrollment	71.84	.8	10.51	7.18	12.24	50
Black Student Percentage of State Flagship	71.84	.72	6.69	4.01	11.05	50
Black Percentage of State Population	36.69	.39	10.05	6.79	9.3	50
Hispanic Student Percentage of State Undergraduate Enrollment	46.33	1.70	8.96	5.79	9.32	50
Hispanic Student Percentage of State Flagship	43.67	2.11	7.47	5.42	6.89	50
Hispanic Percentage of State Population	45.71	1.20	10.25	7.85	9.59	50
Deep South	1	0	.14	0	.351	50
Affirmative Action ban	1	0	.16	0	.370	50

Source: 2013 IPEDS survey and 2010 US Census

Table 1 explains the descriptive statistics of each of the variables. For the independent variable, the maximum is 1 and the minimum is 0. The measure of central tendency, the mean, for the independent variable is .46, which would suggest that the average time period a state has a governor affiliated with the Democratic Party is between 4 and 5 years. The standard deviation for the independent variable is .3459. This means that 68 percent of the states fall between having a Democratic governor for 8 years and having a Democratic governor for 1 year.

While black and Hispanic population percentages have high maximum numbers, their measures of central tendency indicate that most states have low Black and Hispanic population percentages. In fact, the standard deviation informs that in 84 percent of states, or in 42 states, the distinct percentage of Blacks and the distinct percentage of Hispanics in the population is less than 20 percent. The implications of this majority of low percentages of Hispanics and Latinos certainly influence the outcome of this study's hypothesis.

Another control variable in this study is minority percentage of state population, Deep South,

and Affirmative Action ban. The maximum percentage for minority percentage of state population is 73.35 (Hawaii) and the minimum is 4.98 (Maine). The mean is 20.24 and the standard deviation is 12.26, which means that 68 percent of the states have an overall minority percentage of their state population between 32.5 and 7.98 percent, another low population percentage for the inclusive dependent variable. As binary, or indicator, variables, the maximum for Affirmative Action ban and Deep South is 1 and the minimum is 0. As indicator variables, 0 for the Affirmative Action ban suggests that the state does not have a judicial decision banning Affirmative Action and 1 means that it does, and 0 for the Deep South variable indicates that the state is not in the Deep South while 1 means that it is. At a mean of .16 and a standard deviation of .37, the descriptive statistics for this variable reveal that most states do not have an Affirmative Action ban. At a mean of .14 and a standard deviation of .351, the descriptive statistics on this variable reveal that most states are not in the Deep South, and as a result, most states do not identify with the same Deep South historical legacy of cultural and legal racism that directly influences policy outcomes.

Table 2
Minority student percentage of state undergraduate enrollment correlated with governor affiliation with Democratic Party, minority percentage of state flagship, minority percentage of state population, Deep South, and Affirmative Action ban
Entries are Pearson's correlation coefficient
The minority population correlation matrix shows the strongest relationship exists between minority student percentage of state flagship and the overall minority percentage in state undergrad-

N=50	Governor Affiliation with Democratic Party	Minority Student Percentage of State Undergraduate Enrollment	Minority Student Percentage of State Flagship	Minority Percentage of State Population	Deep South	Affirmative Action ban
Governor Affiliation with Democratic Party	1.000	.019	.132	-.120	-.287	.022
Minority Student Percentage of State Undergraduate Enrollment	.019	1.000	.834	.563	.087	.053
Minority Student Percentage of State Flagship	.132	.834	1	.587	-.202	.060
Minority Percentage of State Population	-.120	.563	.587	1.000	.364	-.071
Deep South	-.287	.087	-.202	.364	1.000	-.176
Affirmative Action ban	.022	.053	.060	-.071	-.176	1.000

Source: IPEDS 2013 Survey & 2010 US Census

uate enrollment. The Pearson's correlation coefficient for those two variables would suggest that states with high percentages of minority student enrollment have strong, positive relationships with the minority percentages of state flagships. The other important relationship to mention in this correlation matrix is the correlation between minority student percentage of undergraduate enrollment and the minority percentage of the state population. At .563, the Pearson's correlation coefficient suggests that there is also a strong, positive relationship between those two variables.

Table 3

Black student percentage of state undergraduate enrollment correlated with governor affiliation with Democratic Party, black percentage of state flagship, black percentage of state population, Deep South, and Affirmative Action ban

Entries are Pearson's correlation coefficient

N=50	Governor Affiliation with Democratic Party	Black Student Percentage of State Undergraduate Enrollment	Black Student Percentage of State Flagship	Black Percentage of State Population	Deep South	Affirmative Action ban
Governor Affiliation with Democratic Party	1.000	.060	.105	-.151	-.287	.022
Black Student Percentage of State Undergraduate Enrollment	.060	1.000	.886	.781	.440	-.150
Black Student Percentage of State Flagship	.105	.886	1	.529	.268	-.123
Black Percentage of State Population	-.151	.781	.529	1.000	.692	-.150
Deep South	-.287	.440	.268	.692	1.000	-.176
Affirmative Action ban	.022	-.150	-.123	.150	-.176	1.000

Source: IPEDS 2013 Survey & 2010 US Census

Table 4

Hispanic student percentage of state undergraduate enrollment correlated with governor affiliation with Democratic Party, Hispanic percentage of state flagship, Hispanic percentage of state population, Deep South, and Affirmative Action ban

Entries are Pearson's correlation coefficient

N=50	Governor Affiliation with Democratic Party	Hispanic Student Percentage of State Undergraduate Enrollment	Hispanic Student Percentage of State Flagship	Hispanic Percentage of State Population	Deep South	Affirmative Action ban
Governor Affiliation with Democratic Party	1.000	-.139	-.092	-.113	-.287	.022
Hispanic Student Percentage of State Undergraduate Enrollment	-.139	1.000	.917	.975	-.229	.211
Hispanic Student Percentage of State Flagship	-.092	.917	1.000	.890	-.176	.111
Hispanic Percentage of State Population	-.113	.975	.890	1	-.225	.223
Deep South	-.287	-.229	-.176	-.225	1.000	-.176
Affirmative Action ban	.022	.211	.111	.223	-.176	1.000

Source: IPEDS 2013 Survey and 2010 US Census

Like Table 2, Table 3 and Table 4 reveal that the strongest, positive relationships exist between black student percentages and the black percentage of the state population and between Hispanic student percentages and Hispanic state population percentage. Another important relationship to observe is the direction of the relationship between percentage black or Hispanic of a state's population and the state governor's affiliation with the Democratic Party. Prior literature suggested that this relationship would be positive, particularly Critical Race Theory. However, the relationship is negative, even though it is not as strong as some of the other correlations.

Another interesting note from the correlation matrixes is the direction of the relationship between the indicator variables Affirmative Action ban and Deep South states. There is a negative relationship between the two, which suggests that Deep South states—while traditionally considered racist and anti-progressive—are less likely to have Affirmative Action policy bans.

The regression equations for the above correlations are below. The dataset for this analysis

includes an entire population, so there is no need to report significance test numbers because significance testing applies when making assumptions about populations from samples of the population. As a result, we can assume the reported coefficient is the overall independent effect of that variable, or that characteristic, on the dependent variable and on the data. As Gill explains of the independent variables, "For any value of β, including 0, [the independent variable is] a meaningful and true description of reality." As a result, there is no test of statistical significance applied to the correlation or linear regression analyses of this study.

In looking at the specific linear regressions, with **Hypothesis A**, for the effect of Governor Party Affiliation on state minority student enrollment percentage when controlling for minority percentage of the state population, for being a Deep South state, and for state Affirmative Action policy bans, the regression equation is:

$$\hat{y} = 15.606 + 2.439x^\wedge + .700x^\wedge + 2.877x^\wedge - 4.225x^\wedge$$

Table 5

 Total percent state minority enrollment regressed on percent minority of state population, state Affirmative Action policy ban, and whether or not the state is in the Deep South:

Variables	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standard Error
Governor Affiliation with the Democratic Party	2.439	5.101
Minority Percentage of State Population	.700	.148
Affirmative Action ban	2.877	4.635
Deep South	-4.225	5.437
Constant	15.606	4.278
N	50	
Multiple R-Square	.283	

Source: IPEDS 2013 Surveys & 2010 US Census

The regression coefficient shows us the full impact of one entire unit change. The Governor Party Affiliation variable is an indicator variable of the last ten years where .1 represents 1 year of a Democratically-affiliated Governor, and as a result, it must be divided by 10 in order to explain what effect one individual year of a Democratically-affiliated Governor has on minority student enrollment percentages. In other words, the total variable in the regression equation of having ten years of Democratic governors is 2.439. In order to get the increase for each individual year, 2.439 must be divided by 10. This concludes that there is a .2439 unit increase in the minority student enrollment percentage at state institutions for each year of a Democratic affiliated Governor when controlling for the other included rival explanations. Table 6 also informs that the equation for Hypothesis A explains only 28 percent of the variation in the data.

Hypothesis B: for the effect of Governor Party Affiliation on state flagship minority student

enrollment percentage when controlling for minority percentage of the state population, for being a Deep South state, and for state Affirmative Action policy bans, the regression is:

$$\hat{y} = 12.958 + 4.576x^\wedge + 1.047x^\wedge + 1.519x^\wedge - 21.450x^\wedge$$

Table 6

Total percent state flagship minority enrollment regressed on percent minority of state population, state Affirmative Action policy ban, and whether or not the state is in the Deep South

Variables	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standard Error
Governor Affiliation with the Democratic Party	4.576	5.054
Minority Percentage of State Population	1.047	.147
Affirmative Action ban	1.519	4.593
Deep South	-21.450	5.388
Constant	12.958	4.239
N	50	
Multiple R-Square	.514	

Source: IPEDS 2013 Surveys & 2010 US Census

Table 7 indicates that for every year a Democratic governor is in office, the minority student enrollment percentage at a state flagship increases by .4576. There is also a significantly negative relationship between Deep South states and percentages of minority student enrollment at state flagships; Table 6 and Table 7 indicate that there is a negative correlation between being in the Deep South region and high percentages of minority student enrollment at all state institutions and at state flagships. Specifically with Hypothesis B on state flagships, a state's identification as a Deep South state decreases minority student enrollment percentage by 21.45 percentage points. In all, Hypothesis B explains 51 percent of the variation in the data.

Hypothesis C: for the effect of Governor Party Affiliation on state black/African-American student enrollment percentage when controlling for black percentage of the state population, for being a Deep South state, and for state Affirmative Action policy bans, the regression is:

$$\hat{y} = -2.933 + 5.466x^\wedge + 1.183x^\wedge - 1.477x^\wedge - 5.098x^\wedge$$

Table 7

Total percent state black student enrollment regressed on percent black of state population, state Affirmative Action policy ban, and whether or not the state is in the Deep South

Variables	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standard Error
Governor Affiliation with the Democratic Party	5.466	3.248
Minority Percentage of State Population	1.183	.160
Affirmative Action ban	-1.477	2.947
Deep South	-5.098	4.415
Constant	-2.933	2.345
N	50	
Multiple R-Square	.623	

Source: IPEDS 2013 Surveys & 2010 US Census

Hypothesis D: for the effect of Governor Party Affiliation on state flagship black/African-American student enrollment percentage when controlling for black percentage of the state population, for being a Deep South state, and for state Affirmative Action policy bans, the regression is:

$$\hat{y} = -2.463 + 5.198x^\wedge + .761x^\wedge - 1.623x^\wedge - 4.370x^\wedge$$

Table 8

Total percent state flagship black enrollment regressed on percent black of state population, state Affirmative Action policy ban, and whether or not the state is in the Deep South

Variables	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standard Error
Governor Affiliation with the Democratic Party	5.198	4.094
Minority Percentage of State Population	.761	.202
Affirmative Action ban	-1.623	3.714
Deep South	-4.370	3.714
Constant	-2.463	2.955
N	50	
Multiple R-Square	.266	

Source: IPEDS 2013 Surveys & 2010 US Census

Tables 8 and 9 indicate that for every year a Democratically affiliated governor is in office, black student enrollment percentages at all institutions and at flagships specifically increases by around .5 percentage points, confirming the original hypothesis of the research project. Beyond a confirmation of the overall hypothesis, these tables show us that there is a negative relationship

between Affirmative Action policy bans and identification as a Deep South state. This suggests that being in the Deep South and having Affirmative Action policy bans both independently negatively influence Black student enrollment percentages at state flagships and at all other state institutions.

Hypothesis E: for the effect of Governor Party Affiliation on state Hispanic student enrollment percentage when controlling for Hispanic percentage of the state population, for being a Deep South state, and for state Affirmative Action policy bans, the regression is:

$$\hat{y} = -.119 - .958x^\wedge + .940x^\wedge - .205x^\wedge - .620x^\wedge$$

Table 9

Total percent state Hispanic enrollment regressed on percent Hispanic of state population, state Affirmative Action policy ban, and whether or not the state is in the Deep South

Variables	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standard Error
Governor Affiliation with the Democratic Party	-.958	.937
Hispanic Percentage of State Population	.940	.034
Affirmative Action ban	-.205	.852
Deep South	-.620	9.51
Constant	-.119	.730
N	50	
Multiple R-Square	.948	

Source: IPEDS 2013 Surveys & 2010 US Census

Table 10 indicates that, contrary to the original hypothesis, there is a negative relationship, however small, between a governor's Democratic Party affiliation and Hispanic student enrollment at state institutions. With this hypothesis, Democratic affiliation of the governor, Affirmative Action policy bans, and Deep South identification all independently negatively impact Hispanic student enrollment percentages. Furthermore, this hypothesis, when controlling for rival explanations, explains 95 percent of the variation in data, though it is in the opposite direction from what was originally predicted.

Hypothesis F: for the effect of Governor Party Affiliation on state flagship Hispanic student enrollment percentage when controlling for Hispanic percentage of the state population, for being a Deep South state, and for state Affirmative Action policy bans, the regression is:

$$\hat{y} = .783 + .404x^\wedge + .660x^\wedge - 1.683x^\wedge + .402x^\wedge$$

Table 10

Total percent state flagship Hispanic enrollment regressed on percent Hispanic of state population, state Affirmative Action policy ban, and whether or not the state is in the Deep South

Variables	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standard Error
Governor Affiliation with the Democratic Party	.404	1.412
Minority Percentage of State Population	.660	.051
Affirmative Action ban	-1.683	1.284
Deep South	.402	1.432
Constant	.741	1.100
N	50	
Multiple R-Square	.783	

Source: IPEDS 2013 Surveys & 2010 US Census

Unlike Hypothesis E, Table 11 for Hypothesis F indicates that state flagship minority enrollment percentages are positively influenced by the Democratic affiliation of the governor and by being in the Deep South. This means that, for every year a state's governor is in office who is affiliated with the Democratic Party, Hispanic student enrollment percentages at state flagships increase by .04 percentage points. Identification as a Deep South state also has a .4 influence on Hispanic student enrollment percentages at state flagships.

In order to explore the relationship revealed by Hypothesis E in Table 10, I transformed the governor affiliation with the Democratic Party variable into a dummy variable, in which the 0-.4 is now coded as 0 and .5-1 is now coded as 1. This means that states who have had governors for 5 or more years are coded as "Democratic States" and states who have had governors for less than 5 years are coded as "Non-Democratic States." Figure 2 shows the results.

Figure 2 shows that many of the states with higher percentages of Hispanic student enrollment are non-Democratic states (Florida, Nevada, Arizona, and Texas) though there are some Democratic outliers (New Mexico and California). This visual, and what we know about the hypothesis from the regression analysis, suggests that the influence of the governor's affiliation with the Democratic Party does not have a substantial positive influence on high percentages of Hispanic student enrollment. In fact, it has a negative relationship on the dependent variable.

Figure 2: Percent Hispanic in state undergraduate student enrollment by percent Hispanic in state population, marked by governor's affiliation with the Democratic Party
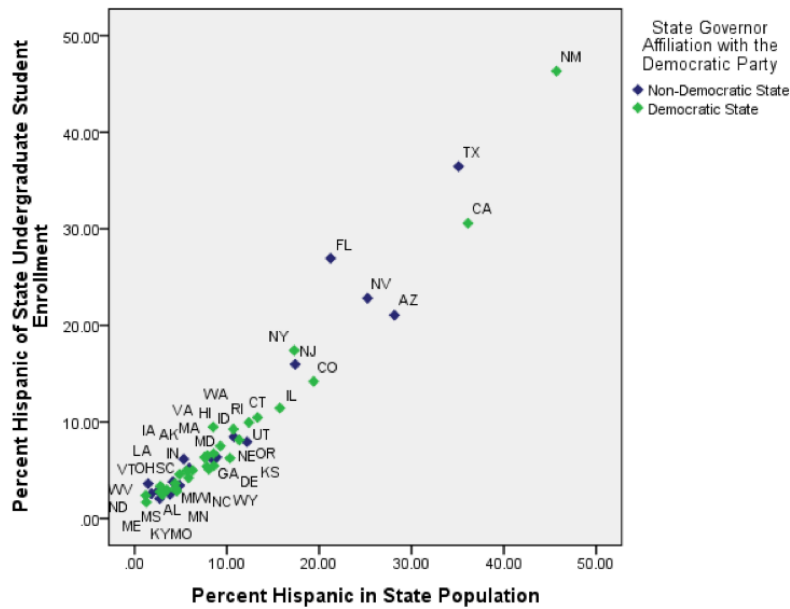
Figure 2

Referring back to Tables 2, 3, and 4 reminds us that the relationship between our primary independent variable of governor party affiliation and the dependent variables is very weak. The strongest relationship on the dependent variables is from the independent variable of state population demographic percentages. Because of the strength of that relationship, Figure 3 represents the relationship between the control variable of minority percentage of the state population and minority percentage of state undergraduate student enrollment.

Figure 3: Percentage minority in state undergraduate student enrollment by percentage minority in state population, marked by governor affiliation with the Democratic Party
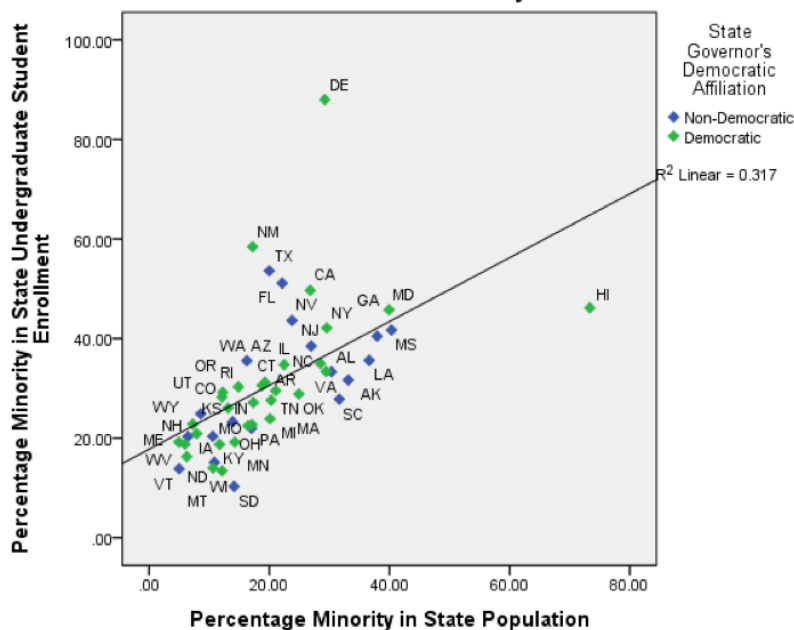
Figure 3

Source: IPEDS 2013 Survey and 2010 US Census

The high percentages of minorities in the Deep South states (South Carolina, Louisiana, Mis-

sissippi, Alabama) seem to have lower enrollments than other states. Although those percentages are lower than other states and lower than the regression line, upon closer analysis, they are consistent with the percentage minority in the state population. Beyond some exceptions like the outliers Delaware and Hawaii, the percentage of minority students in a state's undergraduate student enrollment is reflective of the percentage of the state's population that classifies as a minority (using the inclusive minority variable). This suggests that the rival explanation explains the majority of the variation in the data.
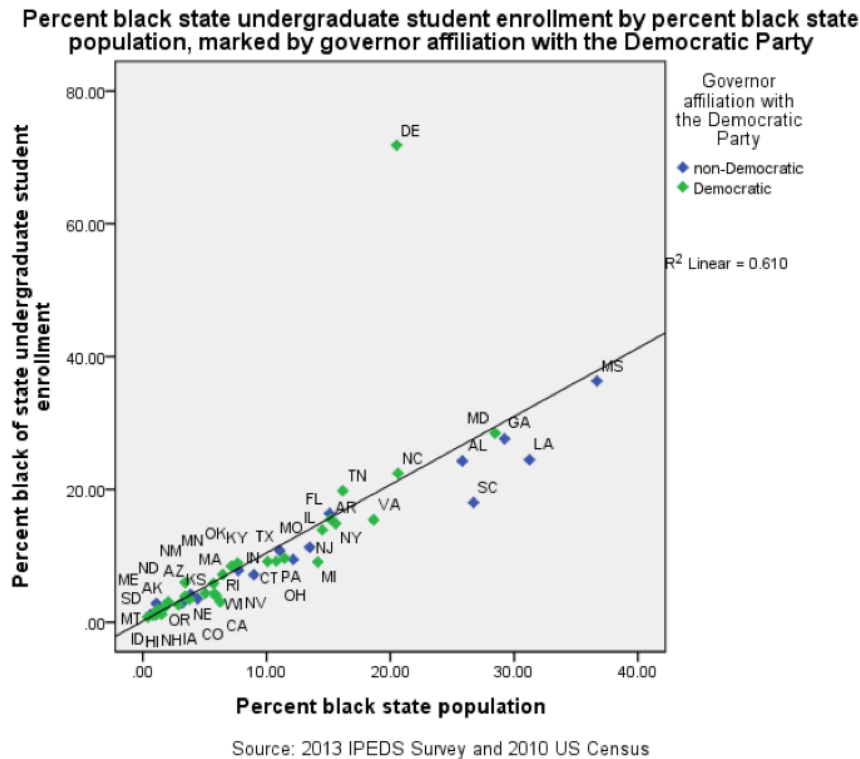

Figure 4

However, Figure 4 reveals that the Deep South states of South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi are below the predictive R-squared line for the percent of black undergraduate student enrollment. As a result, we can infer that these Deep South states are not only less likely to be Democratic, even though they have high percentages of black minorities in their population (which discredits the research provided in the conceptual framework that there is a relationship between Democratic Party affiliation and the percent minority in the state population), but also that these Deep South states enroll fewer percentages of black students in spite of their high percentages of blacks in their populations.

Conclusion

Implications

Though the original, overall hypothesis was confirmed by five of the six individual hypotheses used, the effect of the governor's party affiliation on minority student enrollment, black student enrollment, and Hispanic student enrollment was miniscule. The results of the regression proved that though there is a positive relationship between the independent and dependent variables, the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable is less than one percentage point, in

some cases less than .1 percentage points, and that this variable does not have a large or strong (refer back to correlation matrices, Tables 2, 3, and 4) relationship on minority student enrollment percentages.

The lack of significant influence of the Democratic affiliation of the governor on state higher education policy outcomes indicates one or both of two implications. First, the governor has little to no formal or symbolic power over state higher education. Though the governor formally serves in some capacity on all administrative boards of state institutions of higher education, there is no clear outline of duties, and the significance of the governor's role essentially must depend on his or her administrative agenda, his or her interest, and the overall effectiveness of the other administrators and board members. If this implication is true, Governor Wallace's "schoolhouse showdown" was futile and his inaugural promise of "Segregation Today, Segregation Tomorrow, Segregation Forever" was fundamentally misguided because he could not possibly guarantee the outcome. Because of the vague role of the governor, there is no real influence the governor can have over higher education policy and policy outcomes. If a governor's ideological and political aspirations include influencing higher education and if a state's citizens expect for the governor to be able to influence higher education in the state, just as the citizens expected of Governor Wallace in the sixties, then more specific powers and duties must be adjudicated to the Office of the Governor in regards to education and higher education policy and administration.

Second, the common conception of "liberal" ideology, including the promotion of race conscious policies, as being a characteristic unique and essential to the Democratic Party is misguided. The research of this study found that there is little differentiation in governor party affiliation on race-conscious enrollment outcomes. While the Democratic Party could actively and successfully implement other progressive policies and perhaps even race-conscious policies in other areas of administration, they are not significantly impacting progressive, race-conscious policy outcomes in higher education. As a result, either the collective sentiment should change its expectations of the Democratic Party so as to not include the support and promotion of race-conscious policies as part of their identifying platform or the Democratic Party should change their policy priorities and more cohesively and consistently advocate for the policy outcomes they are expected to implement, including higher percentages of minority, specifically Black and Hispanic, student enrollments in state institutions of higher education.

While state higher education enrollment trends appear to vary considerably by state, the strong correlation (refer to Tables 2, 3, and 4) between state population percentages and state enrollment percentages suggests that public higher education institutions are reflective of the states and the populations in which they reside; in fact, with large percentages of blacks living in the Deep South and in Alabama, Governor Wallace in the "schoolhouse standoff" could not protect his promise of segregation forever.

The data also reveals a serious concern with the inconsistency in the enrollment percentages of black students in Deep South states, confirming James Minor's hypothesis that there is a consistent "segregation residual" present in our systems of higher education. In order to fix this residual problem, there must be an active policy and administrative agenda in these Deep South states from both higher education officials and state leadership to change the current enrollment patterns to be, at least, more reflective of state demographic percentages. If the Democratic Party wants to abide consistently with their "liberal" identity and their assumed support for Critical Race Theory, it should create and advocate for policies that would actively seek to change these enrollment trends in higher education.

Limitations and Future Research

In the future, this research could greatly improve by including more rival explanations as control variables. These explanations include the percentage of students receiving financial aid, the percentage of minority students receiving financial aid, a measure of the various formal degrees by which the governor effects higher education policy at different institutions, and the party affiliation of the state legislators. The research would also include a time series that looks at the change in party affiliation over time, the change in the Offices of the Governor over time, the change in state population demographic composition, and the change in higher education enrollment over time, in order to have a more robust, contextualized understanding of the reasons for the current enrollment trends. Future research could also individualize the units of analysis into non-aggregate states and into the individual public institutions in order to consider more specific characteristics and the impact of each on higher education trends.

Furthermore, a qualitative case study and perhaps comparison of multiple states could reveal what the history of governors' influence on state policy outcomes is and from whence the governors' formal and symbolic powers derive. Specifically regarding the history and political legacy of Governor George Wallace, the research on this issue would benefit from an in-depth qualitative analysis of the history of governors' influences in all higher education institutions in the state of Alabama and what these influential or lackluster relationships look like today. Such an analysis could then be applied specifically to higher education policy decisions and outcomes in the state of Alabama today and to policy outcomes of other states.

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Enclothed Cognition: The Effect of Attire on Attention Task Performance

Rebecca Womack

Abstract

Enclothed cognition is the idea that a person's attire can affect his or her thought processes. The current study attempted to replicate and extend prior studies that found that, by wearing glasses or a lab coat, an individual can improve his or her performance on selective attention tasks. This study utilized a 2x2 mixed design, in which participants either did or did not wear glasses and either did or did not wear a lab coat, while performing both selective and sustained attention tasks. Prior work has examined the effects of wearing glasses and lab coat separately, but not in combination, and has examined the impact on an individual's performance on selective attention tasks, but not on sustained attention.

Forty participants were involved in the study. We used the same visual search task as used in prior work (Adam & Galinsky, 2012) and added a Stroop task to test for sustained attention. Based on prior work, we predicted that the combination of glasses and lab coat would lead to the best performance. After analyzing the data, our results failed to support any of our hypotheses. Participants showed no difference in time required for the selective attention task and the control group made significantly fewer errors ($F(1,36) = 16.474$, $p = .000$, $eta^2 = .314$). The Stroop task indicated the exact opposite effect on performance, finding no variation between the four conditions on the selective attention tasks and that the control condition performed the best on sustained attention task. For the Stroop task, wearing glasses had no effect on Stroop interference and wearing a lab coat actually increased errors ($F(1,35) = 4.997$, $p = .032$, $eta^2 = .124$). Thus, the results did not replicate the prior work on enclothed cognition even when using the exact same selective attention task. Reasons for the replication failure are discussed.

Keywords: embodied cognition, enclothed cognition, attention, performance, attire

Enclothed Cognition: The Effect of Attire on Attention Task Performance

Literature Review

Most people in our society have heard the expression "you are what you eat."

Few, however, have heard the phrase "you are what you wear." New research in an area called enclothed cognition (Adam & Galinsky, 2012), might demonstrate just that. Essentially, the term enclothed cognition refers to the concept that the way a person dresses can influence his or her thoughts and behavior in significant ways. Enclothed cognition is a relatively new idea and can be identified as a subcategory of embodied cognition (Adam & Galinsky, 2012).

Embodied cognition examines the way that the surrounding external environment can, consciously and unconsciously, influence human thought processes such as perception, judgment, and conceptualization. This phenomenon has been studied in a variety of settings. Exploring the common saying "something smells fishy," when referring to something suspicious, Lee and Schwarz (2012) found that participants who were exposed to a fishy smell were better at detecting deception in various scenarios.

Schnall, Haidt, Clore and Jordan (2008) looked at how the feeling of disgust can affect a person's moral judgment. In four different experiments, researchers induced the feeling of disgust via smell, working environment, recall of a specific disgusting memory, or a film designed to elicit disgust. In all four studies, researchers found evidence supporting a causal relationship between feelings of physical disgust and moral judgment. It is assumed that since cleanliness has often been symbolically associated with purity, the act of being physically clean can induce feelings of purity and morality (Zhong & Liljenquist, 2006). In Schnall, Haidt, Clore and Jordan's study (2008), the researchers induced feelings of disgust and found that participants made stricter judgments and harsher criticism about situations that, without the feeling a disgust present, were judged much more leniently.

In another study, teaching assistants who dressed more professionally were perceived as more intelligent than teaching assistants who dressed more casually. This remained true, despite the fact that those dressed in more casual clothes were perceived as more interesting (Morris, Gorham, Cohen, & Huffman, 1996). The symbolic meaning behind the clothing that a person chooses to wear can have an impact on how others view him or her, as well as how the person views him or herself.

In a study performed by Adam and Galinsky (2012), researchers examined how wearing a lab coat affected participants' performance when asked to complete a series of sustained and selective attention tasks. Lab coats are often associated with scientists or doctors; these two professions are generally identified with intelligence and superior focus. Considering that intelligence is one of the most well-known symbolic meanings behind the lab coat, Adam and Galinsky demonstrated that the act of physically wearing a lab coat increased participants' performance for both the selective and sustained attention task. In order to measure selective attention, participants were asked to perform a congruent and an incongruent Stroop task and the difference between the two times were calculated. To measure sustained attention, participants completed four timed, visual search tasks and the number of differences found for all four tasked was recorded.

Similar to the lab coat, glasses have also become a symbolic representation of intelligence; although often associated with terms like "geek" or "nerd," the symbolic meaning is associated with an individual's level of intellect. Leder, Forster and Gerger (2011) proved this stereotype to be true

in their study, which found that faces wearing glasses were judged by others to be more successful and more intelligent than faces without glasses. Likewise, Thornton (1944) also found that subjects who were rated while wearing glasses were perceived as more intelligent and more industrious than those subjects without glasses.

In application, Kellerman and Laird (1982) explored what effect appearance had on an individual's self-perception and found that when individuals performed experimental tasks while wearing glasses, they began to conform to the stereotype often associated with glasses. When subjects were assigned to wear glasses while performing the task and then asked to evaluate their performance, the majority believed that their performance on the experimental task was much better than when it was performed without glasses and perceived themselves as more competent and scholarly. Gender differences among this experiment found that men believed themselves to be more stable but less seductive and that they found the tasks to be less difficult. Females, on the other hand, found the task to be more difficult, but were more confident in their answers on the experimental task. Expanding on this idea, instead of testing whether participants perceive their performance as better, the present research is examining if they actually perform better on attention task due to the act of physically wearing glasses.

In addition to measuring performance based on the act of wearing glasses, the present research intends to both replicate and expand upon the study by Adam and Galinsky (2012) by examining how performance is affected by also wearing a lab coat. Both of these independent variables are being tested using the same selective and sustained attention tasks used in the previous research which were described above.

In order to examine the effects of embodied cognition, each participant was randomly assigned to one of the four conditions where they were instructed to wear a pair of glasses, a lab coat, the lab coat and the glasses, or remain in their normal state as part of the control group. Participants in each condition performed the same two Stoop tasks and the same visual search task. Based on the evidence found by Adam and Galinsky (2012), we predict that the participants in the conditions in which they were assigned to wear either glasses, a lab coat, or both will perform better on the selective and sustained attention tasks than the participant in the control group. We are also testing whether Adam and Galinsky's (2012) results about how wearing a lab coat increasing attention performance can produce the same results when replicated in our study.

Methodology

Participants

The participants were 40 undergraduate students from Samford University in Birmingham, Alabama. There were 25 female participants and 15 male participants, all between the ages of 18 to 22.

Instruments

In order to accurately replicate Adam and Galinsky (2012), the testing material used in our study was almost identical to the measures they used to test selective and sustained attention.

To measure selective attention, each participant was administered two Stroop tasks (Stroop, 1935). The first task was the control measure, made up of 30 non-incongruent trials in which the meaning of the "word," shown in X's, did not interfere with the task of naming the color (i.e., "XXXXXX" in red or "XXX" in green). The second task consisted of 30 incongruent trials in which the meaning of the word provided interfered with the task of correctly naming the color of

the word (i.e., "PURPLE" in red color text or "YELLOW" in blue color text). Participants were instructed to look at each word and to say the color of the word (not the word itself) as quickly and accurately as they could. Both the time it took the participants to complete the task and whether the participant said the correct color were measured. Selective attention was calculated by contrasting performance on incongruent trials with performance on non-incongruent trials.

In order to measure sustained attention, we administered four visual search tasks, which were found on spotthedifference.com. Each participant was shown four trials of two pictures side by side; these pictures were identical except for four slight differences (see Appendix). The participants were instructed to find each of the differences and circle them as quickly as they could. If a participant could not find all four differences, they were instructed to go on to the next page. Participants did this with four different pairs of photos. The time it took for the participant to complete the task and the number of differences found were measured and sustained attention was calculated by adding up the number of differences found across all four tasks.

Procedure

The experiment used a 2x2 mixed design, which is shown in Table 1. The testing attire (glasses and/or lab coat) was a between-subjects variable. Using a block randomization design, each participant was randomly assigned to one of the four conditions: Wearing-Lab-Coat, Wearing-Glasses, Wearing-Lab-Coat-and-Glasses, and No-Lab-Coat-nor-Glasses. The attention tasks were a within-group variable, which we measured via the Stroop and visual search task.

Depending on which condition he or she was assigned to, the participant was told that we were trying to replicate a previous study in which all of the participants were wearing, depending on the condition that was assigned, either a lab coat, glasses, or a lab coat and glasses. In order to rule out any confounds, we asked each of them to do the same as a precaution. Participants in the no-lab-coat-nor-glasses condition were not given a cover story. In the wearing-lab-coat condition, the participants were asked to wear a lab coat. In the wearing-glasses condition, participants were given a pair of "nerdy" glasses to wear. Participants in the wearing-lab-coat-and-glasses condition were given both the lab coat and the glasses to wear, and participants in the no-lab-coat-nor-glasses condition were not instructed to add anything to their wardrobe. Once the participant was given the attire for his or her specific condition, each group was instructed to complete the selective attention Stroop tasks and the sustained attention visual search tasks. Once these tasks were completed, the participant was asked to complete a post-experiment questionnaire, and he or she was free to go once they removed the glasses and/or lab coat.

Results

When analyzing the data, we entered the amount of time it took for participants to complete the attention task, the number of errors made in the Stroop task and the number of visual search items found and then we ran an ANOVA test for each dependent variable.

In regards to within-subject effects, we found a significant Stroop main effect with, $F(1,36) = 119.743$, $p = .000$, $eta^2 = .769$. Contrary to our hypothesis, there was no significant effect found for the lab coat and the amount of time spent on the Stroop task (see Figures 1 and 2). Figures 1 and 2 show the mean times it took for participants to carry out the Stroop task for all four conditions. There were also no significant findings for an effect between the time spent on the Stroop task and wearing glasses, $F(1,36) = .613$, ns. We ran a 2x2 between-subjects univariate ANOVA on the number of errors made in each of the conditions and found a main effect for the

coat-wearing condition with F(1,35) = 4.997, p = 032, eta^2 = .124, meaning that, overall, participants in the lab coat conditions made more errors than the other conditions, with a mean score of .589 for the condition not wearing the lab coat and 1.600 for the condition wearing the lab coat.

We found no effect in regards to the time it took on the visual search task. Participants in the lab coat condition spent slightly less time on the visual search task indicating a non-significant trend. We also ran a univariate ANOVA on the total number of items missed, among the four conditions, in the visual search tasks and found a main effect on errors in both the coat wearing condition and glasses and coat wearing condition with, F(1,36) = 16.474, p = .000, eta^2 = .314 (see Figure 3).

Discussion

Researchers did not find significant evidence to support our initial predictions that the participants in the conditions in which they were assigned to wear either glasses, a lab coat, or both would perform better on the selective and sustained attention tasks than participants in the control group. Our results for the selective attention task revealed that the act of wearing glasses and/ or the lab coat did not have any significant effect on their performance; if anything, participants who wore the lab coat spent slightly more time on the Stroop task and also made more errors that participants in any other condition. These results are contradictory to those found by Adam and Galinsky (2012), whose results indicated that participants who wore the lab coat made half as many errors as participants in other conditions.

We found no significant variation in performance among the four groups, and our results for sustained attention actually indicates the exact opposite of our hypothesis. Out of the four conditions, participants in the control condition performed the best on the sustained attention task.

Similar to Adam and Galinsky's study (2012), we found no significant difference between the amount of time it took participants in each condition to complete the visual search task. Differing from their results, our findings indicate that in the conditions in which participants were asked to wear the lab coat, they missed significantly more visual search items than the other two conditions. The condition that performed the best on the visual search task was the control condition. These results also do not support our original hypothesis. These findings could be attributed to the possibility that the lab coat and/or glasses were more distracting than they were beneficial in improving performance. The classroom setting in which participants were tested in may have conflicted with the scientific and/or medical associations that we had anticipated to be associated with the lab coat. If participants had been tested in a laboratory setting, this may have enhanced the symbolic association with the lab coat and/or glasses and altered the results of the current study. We now hypothesize that enclothed cognition may only be effective when the symbolic meaning associated with the surrounding environment matches that of the article of clothing that is being used to potentially alter an individual's cognition.

We were also testing to see whether Adam and Galinsky's (2012) results, indicating that wearing a lab coat increased attention performance, could be replicated in our study. Our results indicate the exact opposite effect, showing that their study could not be properly replicated. While they found that wearing a lab coat improved participant's performance on selective and sustained attention tasks, we found no significant difference in performance on selective attention tasks. Furthermore, we found that those who wore the lab coat during the sustained attention task performed much worse than both the control and glasses conditions, indicating that wearing a lab coat may have hindered the person's performance.

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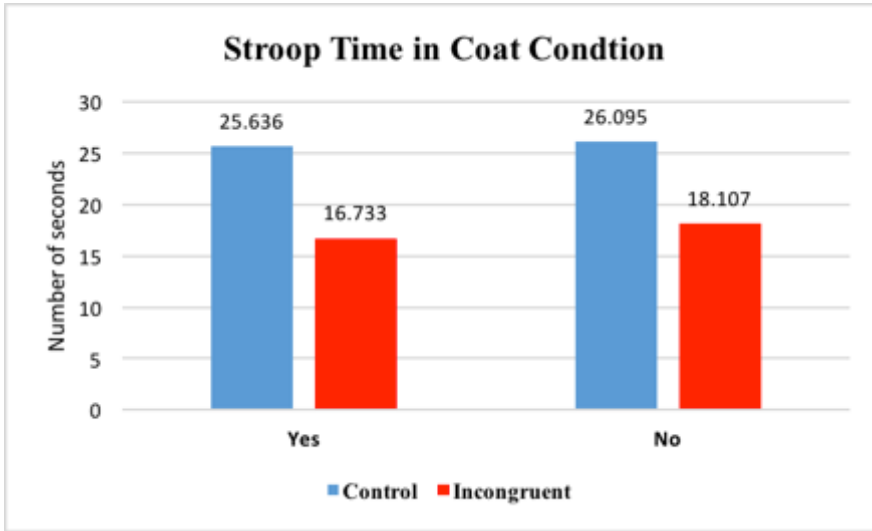
Figures

Stroop Time in Coat Condtion

Figure 1. Mean time to complete the Stroop task for participants wearing a lab coat and for those who where not assigned to wear a lab coat.
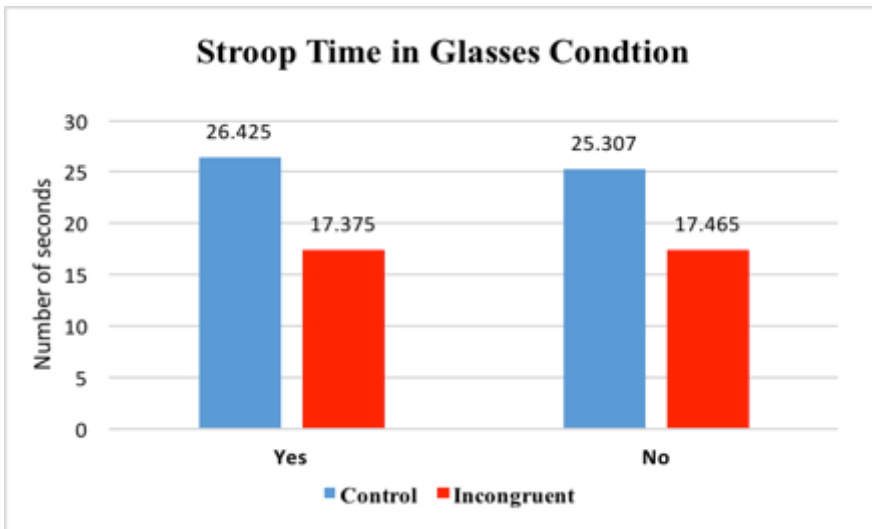
Stroop Time in Glasses Condtion

Figure 2. Mean time to complete the Stroop task for participants wearing glassing and for those who where not assigned to wear glasses.
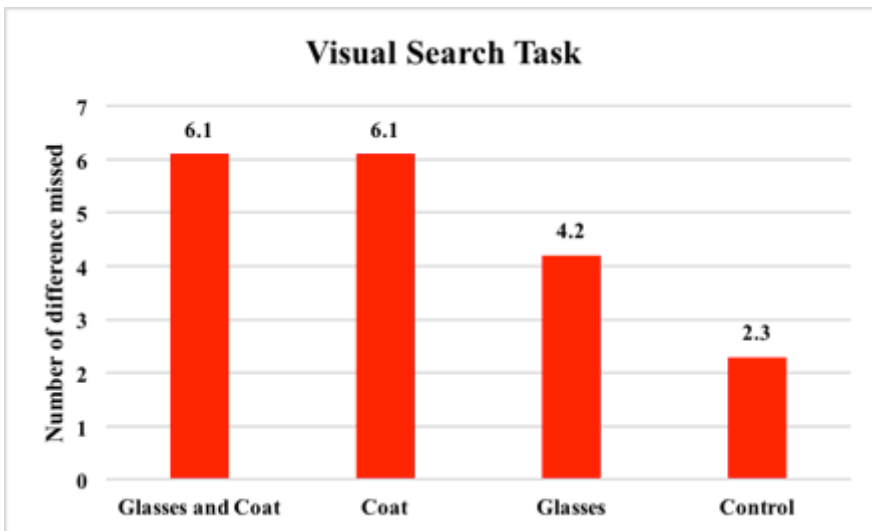
Visual Search Task

Figure 3. Mean number of items missed in the visual search task among the four conditions.

Appendix

Please look at each word, going from left to right through each row, and say the **COLOR** not the word.

XXXXXX XXXXXX XXX XXXX XXX XXXXX

XXX XXXXXX XXXXXX XXXX XXXXXX XXXX

XXX XXXXX XXXXXX XXXX XXXXXX XXXX

XXX XXXXX XXXXXX XXXXXX XXX XXXXXX

XXXXX XXXX XXXX XXX XXXXXX XXXXX

Please look at each word, going from left to right through each row, and say the **COLOR** not the word.

PURPLE YELLOW RED PINK RED GREEN

RED YELLOW ORANGE BLUE PURPLE PINK

RED GREEN YELLOW BLUE ORANGE PINK

RED GREEN PURPLE YELLOW RED ORANGE

GREEN PINK BLUE RED PURPLE GREEN

Appendix

CAN YOU SPOT THE DIFFERENCE?

There are four differences between the two pictures depicted below.
Please find the each of these differences and circle them as quickly as you can.
* If you cannot find all four differences, just go on to the next page.

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