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# Symposium

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# SYMPOSIUM

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# Chapter 65

## *Coffee Dregs*

**Ryan Sobeck**

*(The quarter deck; the crew is busy securing Stubb's whale to the stern; Ahab retreats into his cabin, while Starbuck resigns control to Stubb on deck; Starbuck enters the kitchen).*

It was the first whale I had ever seen dead, and it was larger in capacity and scope than I had ever hoped to fathom. Stubb had sent me from the quarterdeck, and my work of securing the leviathan to the infinitely small-in-spirit Pequod, to alert the cook of his accomplishment, and his peculiar desire to consume a steak from the whale's ample stock.

I left the mechanical heaving of the ship's crew upon the leviathan at our side and descended into the damp dank hold of the ship. I entered the small kitchen<sup>1</sup> designed for efficiency at feeding in the bottomless black pit of a hungry ship.

The kitchen held every pot and pan in Russian doll form, each subsequent piece fitting into the size above it. After opening only a few pot lids and revealing a new layer,

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<sup>1</sup> The kitchen of a whaling ship deserves closer attention for it is a central hub from which all the essential nutrients that feed the body are consumed and turned into action or inaction. As I said before, the kitchen is designed for efficiency, with each instrument allotted a space from which it can be obtained with the utmost ease, and yet still take up the least amount of space. For in the hold of a whaling ship, space is considered second in value only to the essential oil the ship is commissioned for; and it is considered a horrible crime and the purest form of gluttony for someone to waste or misuse any space around them. This compressed ideology is impressed on the crew in every facet of ship life: most of the crew sleeps in tight fetal balls, hugging their knees and scowling their brows. Those who try to sleep extended often feel the uncomfortable push of the ship's mass rebel against such wastefulness and results in the person tossing and turning like a buoy on the rough seas, sleep escaping them to the very crack of the dawn bell. Upon all the open expanse of sea and sky, limitless in all directions known to the compass and human mind, the confined space of the ship's hold is but a thin membrane around a fragile cell of compressed human security. Just as Satan and his fallen angels believed they too were safe from God's further wrath within the extended space of hell's interior walls.

you would think that you had reached the end, only to open the next lid to find yet another new pot to use. Likewise, the worn and used utensils all nested together in small, but deep drawers built into the workstations of the kitchen. Everything in the kitchen was built into the walls or stacked within something of greater magnitude. The only piece of equipment that stood out like a lone island in the entire space was a small coffee press that rested stoically upon a chopping block.

Starbuck stood before the little coffee press, his eyes acting like measuring spoons as he carefully poured his own specific blend of coffee grinds into the contraption. He would not let the ship's cook touch his stash of coffee grinds, but always kept them locked in the trunk under his bed for fear that the cook would blanch his limited supply or otherwise waste the finite amount he brought on board. Turning deftly, as he had done hundreds of times before, Starbuck grabbed a boiling kettle of water that bubbled and hissed excitedly as the hot liquid made contact with new metal and was poured over the dry grinds. A puff of translucent steam rose from the press in a great plume and dissipated quietly as it passed through the planks above his head like a person's shadow disappearing in the expansive silhouette of a great oak tree.

With his massive, leathered hands Starbuck pushed down on the old and worn handle of the coffee press with a vacant expression of half expectation, half monotony. Oh how Starbuck's mind sifted through his thoughts like the thin membrane that separated the floating coffee grinds from the inky black water as the press bubbled and gurgled like the small waves that slap playfully in the shallows of low tide rocks.

"Pump once for a watery solution that will barely leave an impression upon your tongue. You might as well drink tea infused with cinnamon with one pump of the arm.

Pump twice for a drink of some dark fortitude. Pump thrice or more and marvel at the absolute blackness that consumes the cup like a dead night where the stars are muted by heavy, somber clouds and the moon conceals its brilliance with only shy advances peeping through. So strong and bitter, that black glass mirror can only be palpable with a sparing splash of cool white milk to temper not only the scorching of a hot cup, but also the bitter black brew taste. I take no small pride in my coffee and the bitter taste I swallow without even blinking after every sip.”

At last, Starbuck had finished the mechanical extension of the pump’s arm thrice, and he was left with distilled black coffee sitting innocently in the press container. He poured the black drink into his cup and savored the robust smell. His press produced the same cup of coffee every time, a constant on this ever-changing sea. But just as he finished pouring his cup, the *tap tap tap* of Ahab’s ivory leg could be heard coming closer. His frame came into the already small and now incredibly cramped kitchen, and he stared with his immutable gaze upon Starbuck.

“Master Stubbs has all but lashed the beast upon the ship,” Ahab said from the doorway.

“Aye, Captain,” he replied. Starbuck tried to meet Ahab’s gaze, but fell short at his cheeks or aimed too high and wound up reading the sharp shadows that fell across that Egyptian brow.

Already, I could feel the great weight of the lifeless leviathan pulling our small Pequod askew from its level plane. It was an almost imperceptible change in bearings, only made visible by the incline level of coffee still in the press. Both men stood as if unaffected by the ship’s shift, except for the shadow of an extension from Starbuck’s

hand which appeared to brace the counter for some invisible support, whether from the tilt of the ship or from the resilient stare of Ahab pushing his eyes into every corner and hole other than the iron sockets looking back at him. Starbuck could not figure out which force caused him to swerve more.

Ahab, however, stood resolute even on this slant. Perhaps his leg found some imperceptible niche in the wood for balance, giving him a look of permanency, like he was another piece of the ship. A support beam carrying the mast, driving forward with the billowing sails filled with untamable Aeolian gusts. But it was this shift of weight displayed in the contraption that eventually drew Ahab's gaze, and with it, his monomaniacal mind.

"Starbuck's mind is no trophy to be gloated and fawned over like some dead deer that was taken down among the woods by an expert shot. I possess him for now, and though I am confident he is mine for a short time since that fateful day upon the quarter deck where he inhaled my obsession like those noxious perfumes that prevail in the gypsy districts along the harbor fronts of Nantucket and foreign ports. Their herbal remedies creating shapes and phantoms out of smoke and black mirrors to play with the mind and ensnare the senses. But that unknowable sense still eludes the gypsies and it still eludes me. Starbuck's soul is still under lock and key, like this coffee that he keeps close to both his heart and mind. It is easy for me to keep the men enthralled in the chase. They are but Roman citizens screaming for bread and circuses which the sea graciously supplies in the form of whales or maelstroms. My smaller struggle is with this human beast. I must keep it under and subdued to my will. Have it feel fear and lose its courage



in the face of my gaze. That coffee which is kept under careful lock might also prove the key to my domain.”

“Starbuck,” Ahab’s voice growled like thunder caught in the echoes of a deep cave overlooking a turbulent sea, “pour me a cup of that bitter black drink so that I too may carry the aroma that so drives you to keep a store of it under heavy lock and key. Only something absolutely terrible would be held in such a way, and yet I am drawn to it all the more. I smell that infernal drink, with its aroma so complex and rich, my head turns and the hairs within this mortal nose stand at attention. Each breath consumes a shadowy part of your obsession.

“What is in that mysterious blend, Starbuck? I smell a chorus of places and stories between that phantom-like smoke. Hazelnut is always present of course. That is unmistakable. And cinnamon, which is perhaps too weak for some to enjoy fully. But what else accosts my senses? That deep black can only come from the very dirt of the earth. Rich top soil taken from the Nile and purified. That water acquired from some demonic well fed by the Styx or Phlegethon. Tainted by those souls eager to pass through hell. Each drop infused with a new horror of flame and ice and blood, the monotonous story told by mute poets that trail on to the end of days.”

Starbuck stood rooted to the floorboards of the ship, his coffee in hand. The drink was a small oasis in the middle of a scorching desert. But the moment to deny the request faded like the shore in the morning mist as Starbuck poured his captain a hot cup of black coffee as well, all the while his mind racing to interpret the request. But it was as useless as trying to read the hieroglyphic shadows of Ahab’s brow.

“You being a newcomer to the taste and bearings of this strong brew, would you take a splash of milk to cut the black and mask some of that bitter taste inherent in the drink?” Starbuck asked, hoping that his captain would accept the offer so that he might show him his own fortitude when he drank the dark drink black as night, and make up for his lack of resistance to the request for his precious black drink.

But alas, Ahab shook his head and took the cup. The black water giving birth to the swirling white smoke that issued forth and curled around his iron locks as he held the cup up to his face and inhaled the robust blend.

“I would never think of mixing two such opposites of color and composition: black, white; base, acid; bitter, sweet; dark, light; absent, present. But no, I shall drink the bitter brew untainted by the terrible white milk. For with the strong smell of hazelnut, and cinnamon, and earth all mingling in this small space from your exotic concoction, how will we be able to tell if the seemingly innocent white milk has gone bad or not? My mortal nose will not be able to know the true state of the milk, and I rather not risk the chance that we foul this special drink by mixing poisons,” Ahab said eloquently. His actor’s mask flawless in the sincerity of his delivery to the point that even Ahab could not tell where his shadow excuse ended and his true purpose began.

“Let us take our drinks to the quarter deck then,” Starbuck suggested, his heart beginning to pound with desperation to be rid of Ahab’s close proximity in the kitchen. His presence creating the kind of unease in Starbuck that is only expressed in slightly wrinkled brows, aching feet, and cold hands.

To this request, Ahab consented. “I must treat this like a deep sea fisherman treats the capture of the strong-willed swordfish. They are strong in mind, body, and spirit those

fish. But once they have been baited and the hook is firmly impaled in their cheek so that with every tug, they dig their inevitable capture further into their bloodied and scarred cheek, it is best to give them some slack in the line so that they might tire themselves out trying to run from the looming net of fate.”

Out upon the quarter deck, under the vast vault of heaven and over the swelling seas, Ahab and Starbuck stood silently staring out upon the visible world. Neither spoke. Both sipped at their steaming black coffee, watching the sunset over a bluish green ocean that day. Bitter tastes strong in each mouth, but swallowing them down in the face of such a sunset.

“Perhaps my mind is playing tricks upon its benefactor,” Starbuck thought. “Is it not normal and customary for the captain to share a drink with his first mate? There are no laws or decorum of the sea that state what that noble drink must be, or when it is to be shared. Coffee is as noble as any wine or aged spirits, and today is as good as any day. Does this not also send a positive message to the crew that the captain and first mate share commonalities, which make them leaders of ships and men? Yes, perhaps this cup of coffee can dispel those phantoms on the riggings of this ship and my mind.”

Starbuck drained the rest of his cup and swallowed the hot black drink in one gulp. He stood staring out at the sea for a moment longer before looking over at his captain, and handing him the cup in good favor, he turned to leave. Ahab took the cup and nodded his consent. As Starbuck walked away, Ahab looked and saw the loose coffee dregs sitting wet and discarded at the bottom of the cup. Ahab swallowed the bitter taste still lingering in his mouth, and gripping Starbuck’s cup in his hand, threw the dregs of his soul into the rolling sea.

# Ruminations on Positive and Negative Liberty in Revolutionary and Contemporary France

Alexa Savino

## *Introduction*

A great deal can be learned from France's presidential campaigns and elections which involve two rounds: the most successful candidates in the first segment of voting faceoff in a second run-off election which narrows the competition to the final two candidates. The most recent 2007 and 2012 elections epitomize the diversity of the French political system as new players and emerging parties entered the scene. In 2007, France saw its first female candidate, Socialist Ségolène Royal, reach the second round against the UMP's (Union for a Popular Movement's) Nicolas Sarkozy. In 2012, there was a resurgence of leftist candidates, including Socialists Francois Hollande and Martine Aubry, Communist Jean-Luc Mélenchon, and EELV<sup>1</sup> member Eva Joly, against incumbent Sarkozy and Marine Le Pen of her father's National Front<sup>2</sup>.

Though France is now settled in its 54<sup>th</sup> year of the Fifth Republic, Revolutionary reverberations still echo in its current political environment: the Revolution's legacy survives in the form of principles and ideals that, in a post-1789 world, have come to define the French political identity. After first analyzing the gender dynamics behind the French Revolution, this paper tackles a contemporary question: to what extent did the presidential campaigns of 2007 and 2012 reflect gendered interpretations of principles

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<sup>1</sup> *Europe Ecologie Les Verts*—The Green Party

<sup>2</sup> Right-wing party founded by Jean-Marie Le Pen in 1972

perceptible in France after the Revolution? I will be dissecting the programs and platforms of contemporary figures to explore the role played by gender and party affiliation in determining one's perspective regarding liberty. To what extent, if at all, have conceptions of liberty, as interpreted and defined by men and women of the Revolution, remained divided along gender lines in modern political campaigns?

Isaiah Berlin's distinction between "negative" and "positive" liberty provides a useful framework for my research. Berlin (1969) characterized the French Revolution, on the whole, as a movement for positive liberty; he argued that the push for "collective self-direction," the freedom to dictate one's own political behavior, took precedence over the preservation of individual freedoms from encroachment of authority (p. 37). However, the French Revolution's end-goals cannot be characterized by the pursuit of a single type of liberty since, at the time, elements of positive and negative liberty coexisted. In this essay, I will explore a more nuanced understanding of this phenomenon.

My research also raises the following question: Can one's position on the political spectrum (the UMP and National Front of the Right; the Socialist Party, Communist Party, and EELV of the Left) affect the "type" of liberty being advocated in the same way as gendered interpretations do? This paper grapples with such questions to prove that liberty is not just the universal "blue" found on the French flag, but shades and variations of the color that give different hues to its meaning based on various external factors.

#### *Male Revolutionaries and Negative Liberty*

Berlin (1969) calls upon John Stuart Mill, Benjamin Constant, and Alexis de Tocqueville to inform his definition of negative liberty: "no power, but only rights, can be regarded as absolute" and "there are frontiers, not artificially drawn, within which men

should be inviolable” (p. 39). Civil liberties and individual rights, as well as “protest[s] against exploitation, humiliation, [and] the encroachment of public authority” (Berlin, 1969, p. 8), fall under this category. Scholars interpret this as *freedom from* the interference of institutions or laws that inhibit an individual’s ability to make decisions for himself (Hirschmann, 2008, p. 2-3). Male deputies in France’s government of the late-18<sup>th</sup> century faced challenges that strengthened their attachment to this form of freedom. Since they were, unlike women, already legally recognized citizens, men of the Third Estate pursued a definition of liberty that would allow them to further refine the extent of the “power” of their citizenship, asking, “What is interfering with the expression of my political identity? What is preventing me from reaching my full political potential in this environment?” They sought to rearrange the parameters of their civic power in order to eliminate constraints, freeing themselves *from* sociopolitical inhibitors preventing them from realizing their full civic potential.

Historian William Sewell Jr. (1996) characterizes the problems faced by France in 1789

as a crisis of the system of social stratification..., a crisis of the privileged corporate institutions that were components of the social order of old regime France..., [and] a crisis of the very principles of the social and political order (p. 845).

The common thread woven through France’s multi-dimensional crisis is the notion of oppression rooted in an unbalanced sociopolitical system. Limits on the political “clout” of “men of the masses” were products not only of the absolute monarchy, but of strict class divisions that dictated the strength of one’s social and political influence. Abbé Sieyès’ work *Qu’est-ce que Le Tiers Etat?* communicates the primary argument made by

soon-to-be revolutionary bourgeois men who desperately sought a legitimate place in France's political machinery. Though the Third Estate was "everything" as the main body of the nation and most "representative" portion of the general populace, to Sieyès, it was rejected as the political equivalent of "nothing" (Sewell, 1994, p. 41). The organization of the Estates-General imposed limitations that justified its classification as an "encroachment" of a socioeconomic authority because it essentially disabled a substantial component of the French population. Economic status served as either a determinant of political advantage or a deterrent from participation, allowing for the formation of a coalition including the "two privileged orders" that, though "so out of touch with the public mind," monopolized the political arena and silenced the expression of the Third Estate's interests (Campbell, 2006, p. 90). The noblemen and clergy of the first two estates often voted as a bloc to promote unified interests, thus negating any legislative efforts of the third, and ironically most comprehensive, political component.

Because two-thirds of the deputies represented "not the territory and people that constituted the nation but a tiny minority of privileged nobles and clerics," the existing order was criticized for its inability to represent the nation in its entirety (Sewell, 1994, p. 51). Therefore, in being prevented from exercising their status as a politically-viable group, the Third Estate was essentially prevented from realizing Sieyès' vision of "[becoming] something" (Sewell, 1994, p. 41). Such sharp divisions among the French population are proof of the notion that "human goals are many, not all of them commensurable, and in perpetual rivalry with one another" (Berlin, 1969, p. 43). To remedy problems like this, Berlin (1969) posits that pluralism would best protect diverse needs and ensure freedom from political restrictions or neglect. However, a pluralistic

model which would allow coexistence and cooperation among various groups, could not survive under an absolutist regime which favored privileged orders. Thus arose the popular desire to carve out a political sphere of the people's own, free from the imposing wills of "monopolistic" factions. This "role-reversal" would turn the tables on higher-ups: to liberate the "common interest" from the constraining tethers of hierarchy, revolutionaries sought to apply the "prevented from" mentality to the government and upper echelons of society, as a measure of creating safeguards for the people against their abuses. Therefore, considering the specific circumstances they faced, male revolutionaries, both Jacobins and sans-culottes, came to understand liberty in terms of their *freedom from* an oppressive order that predetermined the boundaries of individual political capacity.

On June 17, 1789, men of the Third Estate created the National Assembly, symbolizing the "[transfer of] sovereignty from the king to the nation" (Sewell, 1994, p. 6). Protecting their political identity from being washed out by external interference, deputies of the Third Estate initiated a recurring trend displayed throughout the Revolution: the collective push for "the abolition of honorific distinctions between nobles and laymen and...the abolition of all forms of legal privilege" (Sewell, 1994, p. 54) marked a move toward freedom from socioeconomic distinctions reinforcing the limitation of political power. As a response to the rising public discontent among those seeking reform, Louis XVI sent royal troops to Paris and Versailles to reassert his authority. On July 14, 1789, crowds channeled frustrated efforts at a jail symbolizing political oppression: they stormed the Bastille, freed prisoners, and seized the ammunition being kept there for themselves (Sewell, 1996, p. 850). Troops of the



National Guard willingly joined in the fight. Upon realizing that “conquering Paris was impossible” (Sewell, 1996, p. 850), Louis XVI confronted an undeniable reality: male participants in France’s revolutionary movement had every intention of snatching political power for themselves by divorcing themselves from absolutist constraints.

*Female Revolutionaries and Positive Liberty*

Positive liberty is defined as the *freedom or right to* act in a certain way. According to Berlin (1969), it is a proactive push for self-mastery; the freedom “to lead one prescribed form of life,” to make decisions for oneself, and to act on certain personal beliefs is rooted in the desire “to be [one’s] own master” (Berlin, 1969, p. 10). Positive liberty is also used as a tool for achieving self-realization, which includes having the *freedom to* practice what is consistent with one’s *own* will (Berlin, 1969, p. 19). Why were revolutionary women the primary advocates of this concept? As Simone de Beauvoir argued in *The Second Sex*, women have historically been products of a society that defined and constructed them as “the Other” (De Beauvoir, 1949, p. 5-6). Since “active citizens were males over the age of 25 who were both independent...and able to meet a minimum property requirement” (McMillan, 2000, p. 16), women were immediately relegated to the margins of political involvement. Thus, they sought other avenues to foster their own “self-realization” through the exploration and expansion of their *right to*, and to achieve validation as an “Other” of equal status. As a result, they consciously associated themselves with freedoms that guaranteed a *right to*, indicating a linkage between positive liberty and the feminine image.

One of the most notable Revolutionary contributions made by women was their mass organization during the October Days. Female participants marched to Versailles,

demanded reasonable bread prices from the King, and, while occupying the National Assembly's meeting hall, "voted" on measures concerning the sale and distribution of grain (Levy, Applewhite, & Johnson, pp. 15-16). In displaying themselves as participants of a movement, women fought for issues concerning the "right to" reasonable pricing, fair treatment of consumers and families, and political recognition by an authority as high as the monarch. In aligning with such specific causes, women sought to enhance certain groups' abilities to manage and "master" the quality of their lives by increasing their access to resources. Through their defense of positive liberties, women wished to portray themselves to be "as strong-willed and as fierce as their male counterparts" (Yalom, 1993, p. 26).

As Revolutionary momentum picked up speed, women interested in "institutionalizing" their demands adopted a new model of collective representation—the political interest group, the first for common women in western history (Levy, Applewhite, & Johnson, p. 5). Formed in 1793, the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women distanced women from the confines of domesticity (Melzer & Rabine, p. 63), placing their right to bear arms and duty "to live for the Republic or die for it" at the heart of their "political self-definition" (Melzer & Rabine, p. 93). Regulations adopted by the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women promoted female togetherness and acknowledged what was socially expected of feminine identity. The club's founding doctrine stipulated that "one must recognize one's social duties in order to fulfill one's domestic duties adequately" (Levy, Applewhite, & Johnson, p. 161); such social duties, as will be later proven, consisted primarily of extending positive freedoms to society at large, concerning interests beyond the domestic realm. The purpose of the Society was to

represent and defend “all human beings” (Levy, Applewhite, & Johnson, p. 161) by increasing opportunities for political engagement and asserting validity through the pursuit of militant citizenship. This expansion of opportunity for which they aimed corresponds to the notion that one’s abilities and *right to* must be enhanced by action from external sources, such as organizations and institutions, a notion that fits Berlin’s definition of positive liberty.

The *Charité Maternelle*, an organization founded by female philanthropists in 1788 to help poor women care for their babies (Yalom, 1993, p. 30-31), was guided by motivations compatible with the idea of positive liberty. The *right to* adequate care and health provisions, as well as the *right to* communal assistance when necessary, was championed through female activity in this group. Female divergence from the “male” model of revolutionary action, which was characterized by dismantling oppressive orders to preserve negative liberty, can be attributed to the social definition of the female identity. Women’s demonstrations and institutions during this period, including the October Days and the *Charité Maternelle*, were “motivated by what philosopher Sara Ruddick calls ‘maternal thinking’—‘acting in the interest of preserving and maintaining life’” (Yalom, 1993, p. 32). A *right to* a certain quality of life, a *right to* utilize tools provided by society for one’s self-betterment, reflects the feminine “maternal” instinct behind their demands for positive liberty.

Female revolutionaries worked the undercurrents of Revolutionary dissatisfaction, waging their own war alongside, and simultaneously against, the men who were fighting the monarchical political order. Their methods of political involvement and unique end goals can explain their demand for a different *type* of liberty. Their push for citizenship is

the most noteworthy example of their advocacy of the *right to* political participation, motivated by the need for recognition. According to Berlin (1969), recognition ensures that there is some larger whole “to whom I belong” (p. 35). Striving for recognition can also include the concepts of “fraternity,” “solidarity,” and “some part of the connotation of the ‘positive’ sense of the word ‘freedom’” (p. 35). For instance, in their Petition to the National Assembly on the Fate of the King, women of the populist club, the Cordeliers, requested that the National Assembly “make [a] sacred commitment to await the expression of [the] public voice before pronouncing on a question which affects the whole nation” (Levy, Applewhite, & Johnson, pp. 78-79). The “public voice” is implicitly all-inclusive, and such a plea directly requests the *right to* their acknowledgement as legitimate components of the political dynamic. Asking to be included in the decision-making process is also an implicit request for validation, an extension of this *right to* be a part of some larger whole.

Another popular request concerned the *right to* bear arms. Pauline Lyon, who would later become the president of the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women, fashioned a petition regarding this issue and presented it to the National Assembly in 1791. She maintained that women, as *citoyennes*, wished to exercise their *right to* join the combat for the nation alongside their “fathers, husbands, and brothers” (Levy, Applewhite, & Johnson, p. 72). Before appealing to the “fraternity” component of her argument, she reduced her plea to its most basic form: “Patriotic women come before you to claim the *right to* which any individual has to defend his [*sic*] life and liberty” (Levy, Applewhite, & Johnson, p. 72). In transforming a “responsibility to” into a “right to,” Lyon attempts to substantiate the worth of a *citoyenne* by asserting her claims to positive liberty.

Finally, Olympe de Gouges' Declaration of the Rights of Woman (1791), though modeled after its "male" predecessor, Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789), focused on demands congenial with the idea of positive liberty. Constructed for men and by men, the earlier document aimed to liberate individual citizens *from* an overarching authority by assuring that the domain of natural rights, including liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression, remained untouchable by the government. De Gouges, however, wrote to show a legal parallel between men and women that required recognition of the equality of the latter. It was designed to grant rights to a collective, to *women* as a whole, the "mothers, daughters, sisters [and] representatives of the nation" mentioned in the Preamble (Levy, Applewhite, & Johnson, p. 89). In her request to the Queen, de Gouges intimates that her primary concern is not to dismantle the existing political authority; it is to further her immediate cause of expanding the powers granted to her sex.

Thus far, I have suggested that demands for liberty during the Revolutionary era can be examined along gender lines. Fast-forward to contemporary France and it becomes apparent that demands for liberty still exist in a modern context. To what extent, if at all, is the understanding of this concept divided along gender lines when considering presidential candidates in the last two elections?

*Revolutionary Reverberations: Negative Liberty in the Campaigns of Male Candidates*

#### The Left

The reputations of Francois Hollande and Jean-Luc Mélenchon are largely shaped by their "equalizing" programs which comply with both their affiliation with the Left and the aims of 1789, the latter maintaining that "old loyalties of order and locality had to be

torn down” (Shafer, 1938, p. 37) in order to implement effective reforms. The language of their campaigns is much like the language of Sieyès, who condemns the Third Estate’s humiliating subjugation to the aristocracy, despite “its utility, its competence, and its enlightenment” as a body of citizens (Sewell, 1994, p. 61). To reiterate, Berlin’s definition of negative liberty (1969) alludes to “exploitation [and] humiliation” (p. 8) that debilitates the action of individuals. Restructuring is a means of ensuring that abuse of power can be prevented from within a system. This is yet another manifestation of negative liberty since it suggests that “there must be an area within which I am not frustrated” (Berlin, 1969, p. 35). Sieyès himself sought to eliminate the “frustrating” constraints of the Estates by creating a new system of categorizing the French people, focusing the order around “nature” and titling each category as follows: agriculture, industry, commerce, and services (Sewell, 1994, p. 57). According to Sewell (1994), Sieyès “shifts the definition of society...to a collection of producers united by their common work on nature,” leaving “literally no place for the nobility” (p. 58). Hollande and Mélenchon seek a comparable end result; as advocates for the present-day 99%, both hope to free the majority from an economic system perceived as being run by *financiers* and large corporate bodies of the 1%, the same upper-echelons that Sieyès wished to oust out of influence by balancing-out French society. Their methods for leveling the playing field and supporting lower and middle classes are strikingly similar to the way in which Sieyès wished to restructure society by dismantling the prevailing hierarchical structure of social organization.

Hollande fashioned a domestic economic policy with a direct assault on an existing order that he deems harmful; he defended his proposals by arguing that “the 75%

rate on people earning more than one million euros a year is ‘a patriotic act’” that sends “a message of social cohesion” (Alexandre 2012) to the French people as a whole. Has Hollande inadvertently adopted the Jacobin notion of necessitating contribution to *la patrie* for the good of the Republic? For the Jacobins, “putting the benefit of all before one’s private self-interest and self-advancement” was paramount (Linton, 2008, p. 58). Hollande was very clear that taxation of this magnitude should *only* be taken from the “salaries, wealth, firms, banks, and financial income” (“And they’re off,” 2012) of the most privileged and prosperous tier. Thus, he resurrected the Revolutionary tradition of protecting the disadvantaged “common man” from those who inhibit his capacity by exploiting the system for their personal advantage. He also pledged to reduce Cabinet members’ salaries, including his own, by 30% in the first eight weeks of office and increase France’s controversial wealth tax to hit big businesses (Marquand 2012). As a man who is reported to have openly declared, “I hate the rich,” in spite of his own elevated financial status, such drastic policy measures should not come as a surprise.

Does this seem familiar? Hollande’s political reputation, which is defined by his aggressive approach to “undoing” what the Left deems an oppressive socioeconomic hierarchy, correlates to male Revolutionary (1789) traditions of the Left: liberating the lower classes from a stratified system of inequity through policies that reduce the financial “top,” preventing *them* from inhibiting the capabilities of the masses.

When compared to Hollande’s programs, the notably more radical nature of Jean-Luc Mélenchon’s proposals can be attributed to a party difference. France’s Communist Party is known for its distinct “fierce anti-capitalist rhetoric” (Bell, 2003, p. 59) that calls upon Marxist ideology, while the Socialist Party advocates a “critical rapport” with,

rather than a “rupture” from, capitalism (Opello, 2006, p. 44). However, the common denominator between Mélenchon and his main leftist rival is the underlying dynamic that reflects the battle scars of 1789. Mélenchon pushed to implement a sizeable tax on financial transactions and a 100% tax rate on incomes exceeding \$500,000, while also banning layoffs by profitable companies (Sustar 2012). Mélenchon has certainly earned his title as the “anti-establishment bruiser” (Aux Armes 2012).

Mélenchon’s ideological predecessor addressed the same concerns in a similar manner. In a speech to the National Assembly concerning property and freedom, Robespierre proclaimed:

[P]roperty carries moral responsibilities. Why should our Declaration of Rights appear to contain the same error in its definition of liberty: ‘the most valued property of man, the most sacred of the rights that he holds from nature’? We have justly said that this right was limited by the rights of others. Why have we not applied the same principle to property...[Y]our declaration appears to have been made not for ordinary men, but for capitalists, profiteers, speculators, and tyrants (Rudé, 1975, p. 135).

Robespierre’s suggested revisions of property laws included that “the right of property...may not be so exercised as to prejudice the security, or the liberty, or the existence, or the property of our fellow man” (Rudé, 1975, p. 136). This speech suggests that setting such conditions promotes *freedom from* an unjust system.

Furthermore, Mélenchon brought Robespierre into the modern era in upholding that “civil insurrection” is a “sacred duty of the Republic” when “there is no more liberty” (Baume/Erlanger/SF). When defending the notion that liberty “meant security from arbitrary power...that infringe[d] upon the rights of others” (Hyslop, 1968, p. 92), an overhaul of French society becomes justified. To reenact this same historic force, Mélenchon and his supporters convened at the Bastille, commemorating the anniversary of the Revolution’s spark and solidifying its strong relationship to his campaign



(Desmoulières 2012). First, it is important to note that the march to the Bastille is interpreted by historians as a masculine movement. Though women were present, the male contributors were “hailed as heroes who had saved the Revolution” (Levy, Applewhite, & Johnson, p. 29). Political scientist Rainbow Murray acknowledged in her article, “Fifty Years of Feminising France's Fifth Republic,” that France’s notion of a Republic is founded mainly on a “universalist tradition built on masculine norms” (Clift, 2008, p. 395). The collective storming as a political gesture, the take-over, and the symbolic over-throwing as attempts at restructuring society, can be characterized as masculine approaches to enacting the “dismantle reform” necessary to protect negative liberty. In attempting to align himself with the event, Mélenchon associates his political stance not only with Revolutionary fervor, but also with the gendered tradition of his ancestors involving disassembling an order and ensuring freedom from its abuses.

### The Right

Does the relationship to Revolution-era interpretation of liberty exist on the Right, as well as the Left? Consider the political program of Nicolas Sarkozy. “Sarkozysm” is an interesting conglomerate, known for its diversity and its “synchrétisme symbolique” (Musso, 2009, p. 392) that synthesizes seemingly disparate political perspectives. Despite his association with the right’s Union for a Popular Movement, Sarkozy has invoked memories of Socialist Jean Jaures’ “humanism” and Socialist Prime Minister Léon Blum in various public speeches to appeal to a larger sense of national unity (Marlière, 2009, p. 378). His campaign rhetoric is directed towards a “depoliticized national dream” (Marlière, 2009, p. 378) in hopes of expanding his following.

Nevertheless, his loyalty to the right-leaning principles of the UMP cannot be ignored, as they shaped the course of his platform. In 2007, Sarkozy's plan was as follows:

[to] restore the work ethic by "proving that work pays," [tighten] up welfare rules, and [lower] income taxes; [to] encourage job creation...by loosening restrictions that curb hiring, such as the mandatory 35-hr workweek; and [to] help control public spending and pay down...debt by streamlining the bureaucracy (Pedder, 2007, p. 124).

2012 saw an even more "right-minded" side to Sarkozy because of both circumstances and competition. His crackdown on immigration and "culture-war" issues (Dowd 2012) can be attributed to the Toulouse shootings which resurrected fears of terrorism in France and elevated the people's demand for security, and to Marine Le Pen who was a strong contender for the conservative vote.

However, when considering Sarkozy's adoption of immigrant integration and assimilation policies, one must look beyond his association with the UMP and recognize the presence of a potential trend in the masculine conception of liberty. Political scientist Vincent Martigny (2009) summarizes Sarkozy's views as follows:

Nicolas Sarkozy leaned on a *dirigiste* conception of the State's role [in defining] conditions of membership in the political community...[His] project is founded on the reinforcement of more subjective integration criteria, such as knowledge of French culture, attachment to the country of origin or acceptance of the Republic's "values," with the aim of restricting access to a residence permit or to nationality (p. 34).

He then attributes Sarkozy's policies to "a certain Jacobin integrationist tradition, that of presenting foreigners as having to adapt to a preexisting French reality, upon their arrival to France" (Martigny, 2009, p. 33). Martigny further describes assimilation as "completely typical of the evolution of the traditional Jacobin model, which passed from

Left to Right in the 80s” (p. 33). The fact that this idea was transferred from Left to Right suggests that one’s party affiliation, or position on the political spectrum, is secondary to his overarching interpretation of Revolutionary principles. In this instance, negative liberty is the common denominator: Sarkozy’s goal is to combine a neo-liberal approach to conservatism in hopes of protecting French culture and identity *from* dilution or *from* any external interference that can affect its self-expression. This is not an impulse strictly of the Right; after all, the Jacobins started it. Hence, it is possible that some correlation exists between past and present trends.

In April 2012, Sarkozy staged a rally for the center-right in the Place de la Concorde where, from his perspective, “all of our national tragedies and all our victories for two centuries” are symbolically housed (Lichfield 2012). This site is meaningful for another reason: it marks the spot where Louis XVI was guillotined in January 1793. Sarkozy’s attempts to “unify republican, socialist, communist, Gaullist and nationalist traditions” (Marlière, 2009, p. 378) are seen in his references to historical triumphs of the past that summon fervor and rally widespread support. His strategic selection of such a location speaks volumes of his link to Revolutionary ancestors. In this single gathering, Sarkozy harkened back to the tendency of negative liberty to free people from an oppressive, monarchical regime, and to the idea of taking down an order symbolizing this oppression.

Sarkozy’s ability to champion negative liberty predated his 2012 program. At a televised town hall meeting back in March 2007, Sarkozy warned, “We must do all we can to make work more lucrative than social assistance. We have been trying to share work when we should have been creating more...Work is emancipation, whereas

unemployment is alienation; I'm for a society of liberty" (Wells, 2007, p. 36). It is true that this approach to addressing the national economic crisis differs from solutions of the Left, thus indicating that partisanship cannot be ignored when examining campaign rhetoric. Its "seize opportunity," work-independently-for-oneself mantra is a distinct trait of the Right, and Sarkozy openly rejected the "social assistance" typically associated with the Left. However, the underlying commonality, notable in his word choice, is the demand for negative liberty; the Oxford English Dictionary defines "emancipated" as "*freedom from* a state of slavery or imprisonment" or "*from* prejudices, moral or customary restraints [and] conventional rules." This also implies *freedom from* alienation that limits or suppresses potential. In this instance, Sarkozy is referring to *freedom from* conditions that inhibit an individual's ability to support himself and his family, thus predisposing him to a disadvantaged state in society. This suggests that male politicians have a tendency to support the same conception, though executing it differently due to different positions on the political spectrum.

#### *When Interpretation of Liberty Trumps Party Alignment*

There are some situations in which the masculine interpretation of negative liberty triumphs over party alliance. The increasingly popular emphasis on "normalcy" that is prominent among male candidates in recent presidential elections supports this assertion.

Discussing the activities and aspirations of male revolutionaries, historian Boyd C. Shafer (1938) writes that their main goal involved urging "the privileged orders...to participate as ordinary citizens in the work of the nation" (p. 37). The tirade against upper-class male deputies and the legislative sway in their favor was manifested in this desire to make all male representatives of equal worth, equalizing their contributions and

incorporating the needs of the populace as a whole. There is an apparent correlation between tactics employed by Hollande and Mélenchon and their Revolutionary ancestors. In Hollande's case, linguistic implications of his campaign rhetoric justify his apparent connection to ancestors of the Left. When taking the public train to underscore his being a "people's president," Hollande said, "If I am elected, I will continue to move about in this way; I will never need a special train or an armored car" (Wieder 2012). His image and reputation associate him with "*la présidence normale*" (Wieder 2012). Breaking down barriers that separate the people from their government is nothing new for the French. Mélenchon has adopted a similar approach in "styling himself as the 'candidate of the people'" by "[traveling] about on the Metro" and insisting on "an end to the *ancien regime*" (Aux Armes 2012) of modern times. The idea behind this behavior is that a representative of the commoner must not merely "talk the talk," but "walk the walk": to relate to, or represent the interests of, the commoner, one must *resemble* the commoner in his daily practices.

However, the same idea has crossed party lines and spilled over into the center-right. Male candidates across the spectrum are consistently emphasizing "normalcy," indicating that they are appealing to ideals broader than Left or Right ideologies when attempting to swim alongside, rather than fly above, the populace. Consider Sarkozy's campaign rhetoric. Despite public appearances with high-society intellectuals and prominent cultural figures, Sarkozy stressed his "simple cultural tastes" as an "average Frenchman" (Marlière, 2009, p. 377). He strived to achieve "a familiarity with the people" through casual, sometimes "crude" speech aimed at solidifying his "proximity" to the populace (Marlière, 2009, p. 380). What is often taken as a "messy" presentation

given by Sarkozy due to his mix of ideologies may indicate that there is a sense of allegiance to something larger than parties. In 2007, Sarkozy argued that “the French elite...ha[d] lost touch with ordinary people” (Pedder, 2007, p. 126) and suggested that as a result French society became “stagnant.” His desire to address the “gap...between the elite and [the] electorate” (Pedder, 2007, p. 126) reminds us that the masculine interpretation of negative liberty as *freedom from* a constrictive, unbalanced socioeconomic or political order has been in the foreground of recent campaigns. Presidential candidates on both sides have invoked the revolutionary tradition of liberating the people from financial distinctions and a “stratified” economy that can predetermine both one’s capacity to get involved in French society and one’s power to penetrate and/or influence the political arena.

*Dirigisme* is a concept that seems also to transcend partisanship in France. According to political economist Ben Clift (2008), French politics is largely influenced by this perception of government that is “rooted in state traditions and policy practices of directive interventionism in the economy” (p. 391). Clift (2008) argues that, “After the Revolution, such interventionism became harnessed to Jacobinism and Republican ideals, integral to the development of France’s ‘one and indivisible Republic’” (p. 391). At first glance, this interventionism may appear to contradict the notion of negative liberty, which scorns the “encroachment of authority” (Berlin, 1969, p. 8). Does this mark a departure from the Revolutionary-era’s interpretation of freedom? Not necessarily. One must consider the intended target of the intervention; the target is not, as was true during the Revolution, governmental structures, but a modern-day manifestation of the Estates-System—forces comprising an implicit hierarchy that have the power to impose

limitations, either directly or indirectly, on the French people. In the context of the present-day, these “out-of-line” figures take on the form of the wealthy, big businesses, and entrepreneurs far removed from France’s “common-man” working population. Thus, people are being protected not from an absolute monarch or a socially-stratified legislature, but from the 21<sup>st</sup> century version of repressive authority embedded within the French socioeconomic structure. The government, in this case, is a protective tool. Men of the Left use it, rather than limit it, to rebalance the power dynamics of French society. Though the Right scorns intervention and champions a free rein for capitalism, there is still an element of caution among male politicians who opt for negative liberty. For example, in his 2007 presidential campaign, Sarkozy criticized “unfettered markets and laissez-faire economics” (Marlière, 2009, p. 386): “The idea of the complete power of the market, which ought never to be hindered by any rule, was a crazy idea.”

It is possible that Sarkozy, the founder of the distinct right-wing ideology known as Sarkozysm, is a political outlier and cannot be taken strictly as a true representative of the Right. However, his political rhetoric still serves as evidence that there was an overarching commonality existing above partisan lines in the 2007 and 2012 presidential elections. Sarkozy’s ability to secure 21% of the working-class votes in the first round of the 2007 election is indicative of his ability to stand apart from, while still being a part of, the Right. After all, he did not condemn capitalism in its entirety; he was careful to criticize its current application as « *le capitalisme financier*, » which enables unethical financial activities of “rogue bosses.” It is true that his application of *dirigisme* is not nearly as aggressive as the social reorganization attempted by the Left: he did not suggest replacing or dismantling the order of capitalism. However, he *did* suggest a “renewed”

capitalism: a new, more “equitable” order that promotes sharing opportunity, as opposed to inhibiting the potential of those not in its upper-echelon, and a new system founded on freedom from abuses or limitations on the individual imposed by an imbalance in power. This recalls France’s Revolutionary past.

*Revolutionary Reverberations: Positive Liberty in the Campaigns of Female Candidates*

For women, the fight for the *right* or *freedom* to is still manifested in their current political behavior. According to Sophie Rétif (2010), researcher for the *Centre de recherches sur l’action politique en Europe*, men and women generally pursue “collective” political involvement in distinct ways, with the former using political parties and trade unions to lead and manage political change directly, while the latter join voluntary associations as a means of interjecting themselves into French political dynamics (Rétif, 2010, p. 417). This assessment of modern female involvement in politics can be traced back to a history of “cause-based” group work like the *Charité Maternelle*. Historically, women partnered with organizations running “alongside” the larger political dynamic, adopting the undercurrents of broad political issues and associating themselves with specific “movements” such as the *right* to citizenship status, the *right* to reasonable financial assistance for struggling families, or the *right* to equal opportunity. This separation of domains, and the adoption of gendered concerns associated with each respective domain, is, according to several feminist historians, a product of a “new society” formed during the Revolution, which created “divisions between the public domain of men and the private domain of women” (Martone, 2009, p. 5). Supporting this notion, Rétif (2010) writes,

Historical works have...brought to light that women, well before attaining full and entire citizenship, had invested in a number of leagues and societies: charity



and public hygiene movements [and] Catholic groups. Even today, the field of community and non-profit organizations constitutes a privileged space for feminine civic engagements (p. 416).

In choosing to align for furthering such purposes, like defending human or family rights and combatting sexism (Rétif, 2010, p. 421), women became representatives for those who demand greater rights or fair conditions, giving character to the “female” approach to asserting liberty. Their motivation for harnessing this feminine image is based on their idea that “[helping] a cause...better serve[s] the general interest” (Rétif, 2010, p. 421). This is consistent with the definition of maternalism—the tendency for women to apply their “mothering” capacities to society as a whole, supporting policies that reflect the socially-defined pillars of femininity: “care, nurturance, and morality” (Martone, 2009, p. 9). Such an image can explain their repeated defense of positive liberties for various social groups.

### The Left

In 2007, Ségolène Royal broke with the trend proposed by Rétif (2010), as she aligned herself with a party of increasing popularity and became the first female to represent a major party in the second round of voting. What could account for her singular success? Royal’s political reputation is most strongly connected to the maternal, female, “caretaker” identity which, to voters, indicates a sincere commitment to her sphere. Her advocacy of programs to increase opportunities for various groups, defending their positive liberties, is Royal’s way of bringing her dedication to the Revolution-era private sphere into the public sphere, remaining loyal to the former while reconciling it with the latter. For instance, prior to embarking on her presidential campaign, Royal held positions as Minister of Environment, Minister of School Education, and Minister of

Family, Children, and Disabled Persons, areas deemed “suitable for feminine qualities” (Martone, 2009, p. 13). Her emphasis on the importance of these domains, underscored by her strategic political presence in such high-profile posts, is part of her attempt to elevate private, typically “feminine” concerns, to the level of a larger, masculine arena. Her ambitions of reforming primarily “domestic” areas of national health care and education is further evidence of this, as these realms are typically “gendered feminine in French culture” (Martone, 2009, p. 11). Thus, her program deals directly with Jacobin-era challenges of the present day, namely the notion that “public virtue and clear gender identity were only possible as long as separate spheres for men and women were maintained” (Martone, 2009, p. 13-14).

Royal makes it clear that her emphasis on proactive, interventionist programs is due, first and foremost, to her female identity; her identification with the Socialist Party is incredibly important, but *second* to her loyalty to women, as she “[attempted] to gain authority by flaunting, rather than hiding, her femininity” (Martone, 2009, p. 14). At a meeting of the Socialist Party on March 7, 2007, Royal called for “liberté, égalité, [and] *sororité*” (“Ségolène Royal aux Français,” 2007). Feminizing the last principle, which, during the Revolution, was masculine “brotherhood,” stresses the way her loyalty to a “gendered” understanding of history affects her interpretation of key ideals. Consequently, her belief that feminine cohesion builds political strength, her plea for unity among women, influences her application of ideology, perhaps more strongly than party alignment. Therefore, Royal “places herself in a long line of historical feminine figures [like] Olympe de Gouges” (“Ségolène Royal aux Français,” 2007).

In her 100-proposal platform, Royal had “something to offer to most groups in society” (Dano & Kazan 2012). She pledged “to raise pensions, to increase the minimum wage..., and to guarantee a job or further training for every youth within six months of graduating from university” (Dano & Kazan 2012). These policies reflect the *right to* proper compensation, care, and recognition of work ethic and educational experience. In addition, the government under Royal would provide free contraception for young women, €10,000 interest-free loans for struggling youth, and an increase in benefits for the handicapped (Dano & Kazan 2012). Again, the notion of “care” is carefully threaded throughout her presidential project, reflected in the *right to* assistance from the national government and the *freedom to* reach one’s potential after receiving such assistance. Her proposals ultimately serve to expand possibilities that will assist the individual or group in achieving a greater level of “self-mastery” (Berlin, 1969, p. 13) that implies *freedom to* dictate the course of, or improve, one’s own life; in other words, Royal would employ Socialist-style interventionism to protect French citizens’ *freedom to* engage in certain behaviors or to exercise their entitlement to certain services. It is undeniable, then, that her proposed reforms mirrored “a ‘feminine’ approach to politics” (Martone, 2009, p. 10).

Another of Royal’s goals was to broaden and deepen the public sphere, “[continuing] the work of the Revolution in creating a truly new regime” (Martone, 2009, p. 8). Her campaign rhetoric was infused with themes of pluralism to realize her vision of a participatory democracy—an all-inclusive approach to government that encourages greater citizen involvement and advocates “civic republicanism,” or the creation of a “political community” (Martone, 2009, p. 9). This vision is not so far removed from that

of her female politically active ancestors. In 1789, greater participation meant, to some, the ability “to bridge social differences,” and women in particular argued that “full political equality for the sexes” would “[destroy] the ‘old’ regime” and erect a more modern one (Martone, 2009, p. 8). For Royal, the *right to* recognition as a valid political entity can only be achieved when *all* are presented with the same opportunity to be a part of the larger national whole, as she believes

‘the Nation does not distinguish White from Black, Yellow, Catholic, Atheists, Jews, or Muslims. We are all citizens of the French Republic, of equality,’ and ‘this guarantee of real equality, this is primarily the first foundation of our national identity.’ This pluralist vision tends to privilege the future of the national community over...integration into a typically French cultural substratum (Martigny, 2009, p. 27).

While Sarkozy stressed his “rupture” with traditional campaign promises and party rhetoric, Royal’s propositions arguably symbolize the “*real* break” through their departure from “the Jacobin assimilationist paradigm” (Martigny, 2009, p. 34). It is true that Royal’s “openness” can be attributed, in part, to her alignment with the Socialist Party, which emphasizes not only “life, liberty, [and] equality,” but “justice, tolerance, solidarity and responsibility” (Opello, 2006, p. 44). However, her ties to “political femininity” cannot be ignored, as they are integral components of her persona that leave their mark on her policy. For “those with work permits who had resided in France for a certain length of time” (Martone, 2009, p. 10), Royal willingly supported giving out residency permits. When discussing opportunities for children of immigrants, she claimed to want for children of the suburbs “what [she] want[s] for [her] own children” (Dano & Kazan 2012). By widening the definition of who and what groups can be deemed “French,” Royal combines her maternal “sympathy” instinct with the desire to enable and

empower the French population by securing their positive liberties. This effectively creates a distinct “feminine” program akin to the goals of her revolutionary predecessors, who also sought to redefine the parameters of social and political inclusion.

Though Royal ideally typifies the feminine conception of liberty, she is not alone among prominent female politicians. Martine Aubry, who lost the Socialist nomination to Hollande in 2012, is clearly cut from the same cloth. Some *militantes* of the Socialist Party were tempted to support Aubry because they believed that she “better represented the values of the left” when compared with Hollande, due to her “concept of care” and “society of well-being and respect” (Le Monde) in which “society takes care of you, but you have to take care of others and the society” (Noblecourt 2010). Aubry, like Royal, advocated the “building up” of possibilities for individuals and groups. Her approach is not characterized by the dismantling of an inequitable order, as was the male method of reducing privileged statuses and tackling the Bastille; Aubry conformed to the feminine method of *assembling* a society through *creation* of opportunity and wider inclusion, as opposed to the specific *removal* of barriers and obstacles. This is yet again directly in line with “the social or communitarian self of positive liberty,” which maintains that “abilities and desires are themselves social” and “external factors can help maximize freedom” (Hirschmann, 2008, p. 3). Without openly referring to Sarkozy’s programs, Aubry strategically remarked that “we do not govern by pitting the French against each other” (“PS: Martine Aubry prend,” 2011). Can this be taken as an implicit criticism of negative liberty? Would Aubry view Hollande and Mélenchon’s economic reforms as antagonistic toward certain groups? Does Sarkozy’s assimilation policy concerning immigration perpetuate hostility and alienation? Since Aubry did not have the opportunity to present

her platform for even the first round of the presidential elections, much of this is unclear. However, her “positive” approach to liberty is evident in the programs she initially set forth to the Socialist Party.

To launch her campaign, Aubry wrote a letter to the French people stating her intentions, acknowledging the need to join “the battles of humanists, workers, feminists, who have all worked for the common good” (Aubry). Her emphasis on the *right to* is unmistakable. Several of her primary pillars of reform, the *priorités* in which her program is most deeply invested, are evidence of this. Aubry’s views concerning employment, buying power, and education reflect the notion of having a *right to* certain conditions that enhance one’s personal mastery of himself. Consider Aubry’s language and its implications. For the first pillar, Aubry acknowledges the need “to make the *right to* a job, a quality job, a job that lets us live, develop, progress...a reality” (Aubry 4). This contrasts with Sarkozy’s view of employment, as his “emancipation” approach is steeped in the “*freedom from* inhibitors to potential” perspective, while Aubry emphasizes the *freedom to* work and succeed. Aubry’s agenda includes the following:

The creation of a professional social security insurance with a job-training account, allowing each to go back to school, to bounce back after a lay-off, or to progress professionally; the presence of employee representatives in decision-making bodies of large companies...; a plan for improving work conditions to reduce stress (Aubry 5).

She also addresses the *right to* equality by strongly and adamantly advocating a law for equalizing the salaries of men and women occupying the same jobs (Aubry 5). Rather than reducing the benefits enjoyed by men, Aubry proposes raising women to the level of men; expanding one group’s “right to,” can be interpreted as a feminine approach to creating a new social standard in order to level the playing field.

Positive liberty “[allows] for the provision of enabling conditions to help [one] realize [his/her] true desires” and maintains that “abilities can come from external sources” (Hirschmann, 2008, p. 2-3); thus, it is no surprise that female candidates of the Socialist Party use government intervention to provide for such abilities, helping individuals and groups to realize their inherent potential. In “[marrying her] compassionate strain of reformism to a radical agenda of societal change” (Noblecourt 2010), Aubry constructs a political identity that can be directly associated with her gendered conception of liberty.

### The Right

There are instances in which women break from their identity mold, as seen in Marine Le Pen of the extreme-right National Front. Le Pen’s loyalty is, first and foremost, to her party, as opposed to Royal, whose primary objective involved using the Socialist program to reach and unite women as a whole. This can be attributed to the legacy of Le Pen’s father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, as the founder of the National Front, since Marine is said to be following in Jean-Marie’s footsteps. After securing 17.9% of the vote in the first round, Le Pen beat Mélenchon by a wide enough margin to earn the title of “troisième homme” [*sic*] of the 2012 election; such a deliberate means of characterizing Le Pen’s persona cannot be ignored when considering public opinion of her approach to certain ideals. Consequently, her programs seem to champion negative liberty, due to the masculine tone of her party affiliation and the political influence on the paternal side of her family.

Le Pen’s desire to preserve and maintain French character in the European world reflects the same desire of male Revolutionaries hoping to overthrow distant monarchical

authority and return governance to the French people: the method of taking down and pushing out the inhibitors to increase the realm of freedom open to the French people themselves. Hence, it is not surprising that she “[favors] trade protection over [globalization] and a policy of ‘national preference for ring-fencing jobs, benefits, and public housing for French citizens over outsiders” (Beaumont 2011). Denying that her platform is infused with racism and bigotry, Le Pen claimed to be “simply against...Islamic ‘radicals’ who would impose sharia on the French majority” (Beaumont 2011) after the shootings in Toulouse. Due to the party’s extreme emphasis on nationalism, a strong sense of negative liberty, in the form of *freedom from* impositions on the French by the international community, is present in Le Pen’s program.

When asked by a reporter from *Russia Today* what she wants to “liberate France *from*” exactly, Le Pen gave this response:

I want to free France *from* the EU straightjacket... We no longer control our own territory, our own currency, or our own laws. We don’t decide who comes in or stays in our country. They impose directives on us without even consulting people... Secondly, we must liberate the French from the inside, free them from this guilt their leaders have placed on them for so many years... that we’re bad people, that we’re ‘colonialists’... The French must rediscover a love... for their culture and civilization.

The criticism of an authoritarian EU and the idea that the people *themselves* are entitled to manage their own territory, currency, and laws reflect the same masculine indignation towards an absolute monarchy and repressive social order that became a “regime” of its own; her solution to this national identity crisis in the modern era involves establishing “an area within which” the French people “[are] not frustrated” (Berlin, 1969, p. 35). Consequently, her words ring with claims to negative liberty, *freedom from* imposition that has defined the character of “masculine” politics in France. Should it be surprising,



then, that women are “less likely than men to support the FN” (National Front)? (Murray 2012b).

Le Pen’s prioritization of ideals in her presidential program is very telling. Among all of the 2012 presidential candidates, Le Pen stressed security most adamantly. On her campaign site, Le Pen asserts that *sécurité*, both internal (domestic) and external, should be considered the “*première des libertés*,” the first of all liberties, making it a significant focal point of her project. This brings *protection from* to the top of the list of political priorities, as she stresses a zero tolerance policy when dealing with criminals, drug trafficking, and uncontrolled immigration. She promises that her leadership would mean “an apocalyptic scenario for criminality and violence in neighborhoods” (Hale Williams, 2011, p. 690) and advocates using the national government to intervene actively in potentially dangerous areas; this is evidence of a certain degree of *dirigisme* over on the Right yet again, and such an overlap is consistent with Jacobin traditions transcending party lines. However, most important to note is that this security, as defined by Le Pen and the National Front, resurrects the *freedom from* notion, championing protection and prevention. Fighting *against* the encroachment of external influences that can affect or disturb the quality of life of the French people is her main priority.

In March 2011, researchers at IFOP, *Institut français d’opinion publique*, conducted a study to determine if Marine Le Pen’s National Front is “dangerous to democracy.” According to the results, 67% of the women surveyed agreed with the statement, while only 58% of the men did. In addition, of those who *disagreed* very strongly, men came in at 20%, asserting that Le Pen’s approach was *not in any way* dangerous to democracy, with only 12% of the women adopting the same stance. Though

most of the polling indicated that Le Pen could be perceived as a threat, if analyzed in terms of gender, men were statistically slower to condemn the National Front in this area. What could account for such a difference? It is possible that, if women define democracy in a way that reflects positive liberty's expansion of a universal *right to*, Le Pen's approach is more offensive to them, since it appears that she outwardly favors *freedom from* external influence. Her association with the National Front suggests that her attachment to nationalistic protection eclipses the typically-female defense of positive liberties for marginalized groups and smaller, specific causes *within* France as a whole, as she once openly "attacked the state's willingness to support group interests [which are seen as a threat to the collective national identity]" (Murray 2012a). Le Pen's remark contradicts both the feminine notion of "care" and the trend suggested by Rétif—that women tend to sympathize with cause-based group interests and defend their *right to*. This is yet another instance in which she departs from the positive liberty approach.

In Le Pen's case, it is possible that party affiliation trumps gender when determining a candidate's prevailing "take" on liberty. After all, as Rainbow Murray suggests, "women's bodies do not always house feminist minds," and, at times, "partisanship and ideology may be better predictors than sex of whether a politician will defend" certain gendered positions (2012a). However, Marine Le Pen isn't "all man." While organizing her campaign, she tweaked her image to cater to the female vote without becoming consumed or defined by an overtly feminine identity or feminine politics. Her public declaration of post-Jean-Marie damage-control included openly "de-demonizing" the National Front, as she softened its reputation and tried to incorporate a mild positive liberty approach that might appeal to women.

An example of this is Le Pen's public support for establishing a parental salary which would give 80% of the minimum wage to stay-at-home mothers (Murray 2012a). She believed that, since women should have the *right to choose* the domestic option, the choice should also be "a financially viable option" (Murray 2012a). This distinct *right to* a "financially viable option" and the *right to choose* one's own course of life appeal to the female electorate, not merely because women are directly benefitting, but because of the symbolism behind the extension of such a benefit. Like Aubry, Le Pen also advocated the creation of a law equalizing salaries of men and women and threatened to hit businesses with sanctions if they refused to comply with its stipulations (De Larquier 2012). Support for such a law is often associated with the Socialist agenda, as even Hollande backed it, though it was not central to his campaign. However, Le Pen was in no way attempting to align with the Left, but with *women*, hoping to portray herself as a promoter of their collective interests from the Right side. Her intentions of appealing to the female electorate are seen in her advocacy of their claims to positive liberty.

Additionally, though she did not take the "all-inclusive" approach when dealing with immigrants, she *did* demonstrate this attitude when appealing to rural communities. She proposed an increase in public services given to "*la France populaire*," or "those battling hardest against the reality of globalization" (Mestre 2012). Providing government assistance to help them improve their conditions is indicative of the same motive behind the parental salary *and* behind all positive-liberty assertions: they are implemented to increase the degree of "self-mastery" realized by individuals and groups, while also reflecting the female "build-up" method. Le Pen's method of balancing her policies was "tapping [into] an electorate that traditionally does not support the far-right," and

although polling suggests that the National Front still has a predominantly male following, electing a woman to lead the party could “narrow the gender gap” and “bolster the party’s support with a new wave of voters” (Murray 2012a).

### *Conclusion*

Understanding the ways in which liberty was defined and interpreted in the 2007 and 2012 presidential elections allows us to better understand the intentions behind candidates’ proposals. Analyzing their various “applications” of liberty in terms of Berlin’s distinctions provides a useful theoretical framework for determining what candidates will extend *to* the French people, or what they hope to protect the people *from*. When considering the intersection of gender, party affiliation, and Revolutionary history, correlations found expose links and relationships involving behaviors of individuals and political groups.

My research suggests that the advocacy of certain negative and positive liberties can correlate with a gendered approach to politics – one that can be traced back to the Revolution of 1789. Men often championed negative liberty as a means of taking down political, social, and economic orders that inhibit one’s ability to be a viable component to the “civic dynamic”; the goal is to free people from anything that limits their growth and development as a politically active populace. Women often advocated positive liberty as a means of giving greater opportunities, often to specific groups and causes, in the form of asserting their *right to* certain benefits.

However, other factors, such as party affiliation, influence the type of liberty being championed, thus indicating that gender is not necessarily an ideological “determinant” but another strong factor influencing the divided understanding of certain ideals that rose

to prominence in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Le Pen's adherence to the principles of the National Front is a prime example of loyalty determined by partisanship before gender. In addition to party affiliation, the French response to certain types of conflict can also be a decisive influence on understandings of liberty. More research is necessary to determine if the "negative-positive" concepts are divided along gender lines in times of political upheavals or struggles, which can potentially alter the way the French see themselves, their country, and the global community.

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# Any Color You Like

**Brandon Dove**

It is without debate that the visual and auditory arts have always had an intrinsic sociological connection. A visual artist and a musician can share similar lives, and oftentimes art and music departments collaborate on exhibits or productions. Naturally, art, be it visual or auditory, tells a story or expresses emotion. This appeal to one sensory input can often be amplified by the support of another, so it is natural for the field of visual art to be concerned with auditory stimuli (i.e. what is audibly presented to the observer at the time of visual observation) and vice versa (i.e. the aesthetic visual protocol of staged concerts, operas, and musicals). As citizens of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, we are exposed on a daily basis to a myriad of combined sight-and-sound stimuli, including, but not limited to, television shows, film, videogames, music videos, advertisement in all of its forms, interactive applications for mobile phones and tablets, technologically-enhanced pedagogical classroom practices, and much of the content on the internet. Already with these occurrences, we see a psychological connection between visual stimuli paired with auditory stimuli, be it the dramatic and complex effects film scoring and sound effects have on the viewer, or the simple association one makes between a logo and a jingle in a commercial for McDonald's.

But perhaps the tie between sight and sound goes much deeper than just collaborative association. On a basic level, it is interesting to note that similar terms are used to describe similar sensations in the observation of pieces of art and music. These include color, texture, composition, contrast, and consonance and dissonance. But could

there be an even deeper scientific connection between the fundamental building blocks of both music and art, considering that both involve the perception of waves operating at certain frequencies or with certain wavelengths?

While both share the notion of time (or some sort of durational aspect) as an important fundamental component, it is viable to equate the most basic building blocks of music with pitches and notes, and of art with color. This is due to the fact that audible tones and visible colors directly involve perception and analysis of frequencies by our sensory devices (our eyes and ears, in this case), while duration is involved with the differences and intervals of time in between each of these particular perceptions. Since both sound waves and light waves exhibit quantifiable properties such as frequency and wavelength, there arises the possibility for a particular tone, operating at a particular frequency, to be scientifically connected with a particular color of light of equal frequency, implicating that visible light and audible sound have an inborn connection that far transcends a sociological one.

The audible spectrum, in which humans can detect sound, has a frequency range of 20 Hertz (Hz) to 20,000 Hz (or 20 KHz). The visible portion of the electromagnetic spectrum, which composes the entire spectrum of colors visible to the human eye, normally uses its wavelength as a standard of measurement. A normal human can detect wavelengths from about 390 to 750 nanometers (nm). In terms of frequency, this corresponds to a band in the range of around 400–790 THz. Unfortunately, due to these limitations of our human sensory devices, it would be impossible to observe a true connection between an audible sound wave and a visible light wave of identical frequencies. This would involve either trying to hear a pitch with a frequency of 400-790

THz, well beyond the audible spectrum and into supersonic territory, or trying to see a color with a frequency of 20-20,000 Hz, well into the band of invisible infrared waves. In theory, the direct connection between the two waves would still be there, but it would be unobservable for the human ear or eye.

However, when taking into account the shifting of pitch classes into different octaves or registers (i.e. C1, C2, C3, Middle C or C4, C5, C6 ... ), a particular pitch within the audible spectrum may be shifted up a number of octaves to reach the THz area and correspond with a light wave within that band, while still remaining within the same pitch class. For the observer, the result would be a “representative” model of the connection, where the frequency of the color observed would remain the same and the frequency of the pitch heard would be around 40 octaves below the actual pitch containing the matched frequency.

One important factor to take into account, particularly in the case of transposing a pitch up or down a number of octaves, is the notion of musical tuning and temperament. In the macroscopic system of musical tunings, a temperament can be defined as a system of tuning which slightly compromises the pure intervals of just intonation (a tuning in which the different frequencies of different notes are related by ratios of small whole numbers) to provide for other advantages, which may include a better perception of consonance or a better ability to play in multiple keys in tune on one instrument. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the system of twelve-tone equal temperament has dominated most instruments and compositions in Western music. Historically, the use of just intonation, Pythagorean tuning, and meantone temperament had various benefits, but

limited the ability of instruments to play in more than one key, or a few keys, without creating dissonance or “out of tune-ness” in the new keys.

The development of well temperament in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, perhaps owing much of its popularity to Johann Sebastian Bach’s famous “Well Tempered Clavier” collection for keyboard, gave fixed-pitched instruments the ability to play in all keys with a fair amount of precision. However, while many unpleasant intervals were prevented, there was still an inconsistency between the sizes of intervals in different keys, so each key still had its own character. In the eighteenth century, this variation led to an increase in the use of equal temperament. Using equal temperament, the frequency ratio between each pair of adjacent notes is made equal, allowing music to be transposed between keys without changing the relationship between notes. In the case of twelve-tone equal temperament, this means that the interval of an octave between frequencies is set to an exact ratio (2:1, in which a doubled frequency will yield the same pitch one octave higher, and a halved frequency will yield the same pitch one octave lower) and the octave is divided into twelve parts which are equal on a logarithmic scale. Using this twelve-tone equal temperament system, one may accurately transpose a musical composition into a different key (or 40+ octaves up, in our case) without sacrificing the relative tuning of the intervals between each note.

Nick Anthony Fiorenza, of the Lunar Planner website and periodical, uses equal temperament to conduct the same experiment in octave transposition of pitches into the visible spectrum. However, he chooses to convert the massive frequency measurements in Hz to wavelengths, instead of shifting the numbers to THz. According to the math, the “octave” of visible light, which in our case extends from red to violet, is around 40

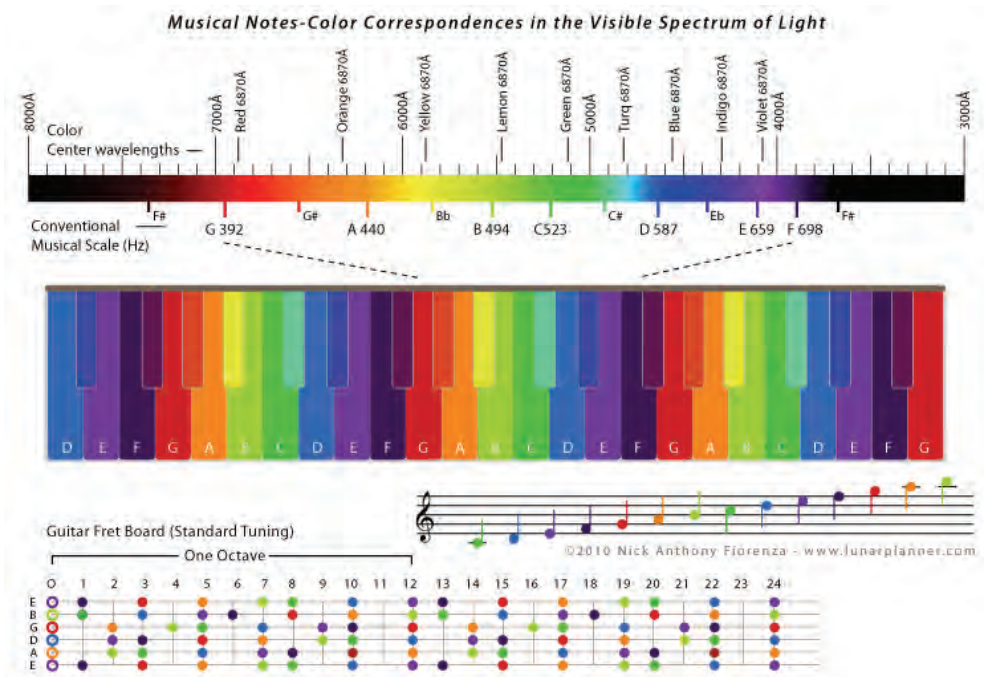
octaves higher than the middle audio octave you would hear on a piano. Middle C, which has a frequency of 523 Hertz, can be shifted up 40 octaves by doubling its frequency forty times ( $523 \times (2)^{40}$ ). The resultant frequency would be  $5.75044581 \times 10^{14}$  Hertz, or 575 trillion cycles per second. Because of these huge numbers, Fiorenza chooses to retain light's standard measure of wavelength (the space between each wave) rather than the frequency. Since frequency and wavelength have an inverse relationship, such a high frequency would indicate a very short wavelength.

In addition to nanometers, wavelengths of light are commonly measured in Ångströms (Å), which are each equal to 0.1 nanometers. We may convert frequency to wavelength using the following equation:

C is the speed of light	Wavelength	Frequency
f is frequency	$\lambda = \frac{C}{f}$	$f = \frac{C}{\lambda}$
$\lambda$ (lambda) is wavelength		

C = 299,727,738 meters/sec (the speed of light at Earth's surface - through air)  
 C = 299,792,458 meters/sec (in a vacuum).

Thus, we divide the 299,727,738 m/sec (the speed of light on the earth's surface) by 575044581326848 Hz (Middle C +40 octaves), to yield  $5.2122522 \times 10^{-7}$  meters, or 5212 Ångströms. This places the pitch class of C in the green band of the visible spectrum. Thus, applying this math to each note in the middle audio octave will yield the following pattern, where each chromatic note of the twelve-tone octave falls into the area or band of each color:



A few important observations must be made upon reviewing such information.

First, the colors of visible light are approximated when translated to the computer screen or a printed document. Additionally, Fiorenza appears to have misidentified Middle C (which is commonly identified as C4) as C5. C4 is identified as Middle C because it is the fourth C key on a standard 88-key piano. However, some other octave identification systems (which include those used by various electric keyboard manufacturers) designate different C's as Middle C, usually C3 or C5. In any case, Fiorenza's use of C5 instead of C4 may not make a huge difference, since we are already transposing octaves to make the pitch fit (if we were to use C4, we would discover that it needs to be transposed 41 octaves to fit into the visible spectrum). Also, Fiorenza himself noted that using the speed of light in a vacuum, as opposed to the speed of light in air, would yield slightly different

results. Likewise, the conversions made earlier would also be slightly different when using the speed of light in a vacuum. I suspect Fiorenza chose to use the speed of light on earth because every color or light wave our eye perceives is being observed from earth and within earth's atmosphere.

At first glance, it seems odd to assign the same set of color frequencies to every octave on the keyboard, since each pitch octave would yield different light octaves. However, in compliance with the basis of the whole experiment, one must remember that the connection being made is already a representation. If we kept the "+40" shift constant, then transposing pitches or octaves of higher or lower register with respect to the octave used would yield frequencies or wavelengths of light in the unobservable ultraviolet or infrared bands (just as converting the actual pitch-frequencies of our current octave would yield unobservable light waves with extremely low frequencies). Likewise, if we changed our "+40" to "+41," the current octave would not fall into the visible spectrum, but one octave lower would.

Yet, it is undeniably interesting to observe that a twelve-tone octave (or of course, any octave-central tuning with any number of tones in between) fits so smoothly into the spectrum or "octave" of visible color, regardless of its register. It would be fascinating to compare some properties of this visible "octave" of light and color, to see if they correspond with properties of the infrared or ultraviolet "octaves" of light we can't see, in the same way each musical octave is related to each other. Perhaps, in some way we cannot comprehend, if we could observe these infrared or ultraviolet spectrums or octaves of light, we would be able to observe a connection between them similar to the distinguishable connection between different octaves.

The position of F# in this experiment is also interesting. On F and F#, Fiorenza states the following:

Notice that the note 'F' lies in the far violet area of the visible spectrum. This is near where the human eye range of color perception begins to drop off (although unique to each person). Also notice that the note F# lies even further from violet, in the near-UV (ultra-violet) area of the spectrum. Thus (when raised 39 octaves rather than forty octaves), it also resides in the far-red (or near infra-red). Because of this, the note F# embraces the visible spectrum, and thus has some red and some violet, a combination that produces more of a purple color.

Upon doing my own math for verification (in which I kept my wavelength conversions in nanometers), I calculated the 40-octave transposition of F#5 (739.99 Hz) to be 813627609437962.24 Hz. This divided into the speed of light on earth (299,727,738 m/sec) results in about 368 nm, which is just outside the violet wavelength range of 400-425 nm and just about reaching ultraviolet light. Similarly, transposing F#4 (369.99 Hz) up 40 octaves (which is the same as Fiorenza's raising F#5 39 octaves) yields 406808307160842.24 Hz. Dividing this into the speed of light on earth results in about 737 nm, which is just outside the red wavelength range of 610-750 nm and just about reaching infrared light. Ultimately, with a color in between red and violet, F# indeed "embraces" the spectrum and provides the continuous "wrap around" that we see between near-infrared and near-ultra violet colors due to our limited visibility of the spectrum.

Of course, Fiorenza was not the first to explore this idea of connection between pitch and color, and his method was not the only one tried. According to Ian C. Firth, "The idea that there is a link or correspondence between music and color is a very old and very persistent one." Plato equated the intervals of the major second and perfect fifth with yellow, and the perfect fourth with red. This was an extension of the Pythagorean harmony of the spheres to encompass planets, tones and colors. Aristotle was also known



to have proposed a connection between harmony found in colors with harmony found in musical intervals and chords. Additionally, upon analysis of the visible spectrum, Newton linked a number of musical intervals to the colors red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and violet. It is interesting to note that these scientists and philosophers were more interested in connecting color with musical intervals, as opposed to particular pitches.

Following our current experiment, there don't seem to be any significant connections between the combinations of musical tones along with the combinations of colors. However, one interesting observation that can be made is that among a couple of the pitches on our chart (particularly between C and G, as well as D and A), the colors joined in a perfect 5<sup>th</sup> relationship are opposites on the color wheel (i.e. C and G = Green and Red). If one were viewing this chart with C as the tonal center, this could very well be connected to the foundational relationship between Tonic and Dominant in Tonal Harmony. The strongest opposition in all harmonies built from scale tones arises out of the tonic triad (a triad built from the root or tonic of a scale) and the dominant triad (the triad built from the 5<sup>th</sup> of a scale). Very much like the opposing Green and Red of their roots, the C and G triads in the key of C major or minor indicate a strong opposition and a feeling of consonance versus dissonance.

Overall, the experiment certainly seems to be of some value to the seemingly deep connection between music and color. It is quite interesting that the entire visible color spectrum can accommodate the entire 12 tones of the equal temperament tuning. Looking ahead, it would be interesting to continue studies in this vein, experimenting with connections between the visible spectrum and pitch relations built from different tunings

and temperaments. Another interesting study would be to experiment with halving, rather than doubling, pitch frequencies, which could possibly yield low-frequency oscillations that correspond with certain tempos in bpm (beats per minute). Additionally, a deeper study between the connections between the combination of musical pitches and their correspondent colors appears necessary. Ultimately, this experiment is one step on the path to understanding two things. First, why do music and visual art make us feel certain ways. And second, is the seemingly inborn connection between beautiful, harmonious music and beautiful, harmonious visual art (as well as dark, depressing works, and everything in between) also a metaphysical one which colors how we perceive our own worlds.

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# Everything Burns: The World According to the Clown Prince of Crime

Jaskirat Singh

From his first appearance in the comic *Batman # 1* to his role decades later in the summer movie blockbuster *The Dark Knight*, The Joker has captured the public's imagination. The success of the Batman franchise coupled with The Joker's role as chief villain has made The Joker a staple of popular culture. Yet, a strange dichotomy exists in the public's perception of his character. On one hand, critics see a harmless, jovial clown who pulls pranks – both harmless and macabre in nature – on Batman and the denizens of Gotham City. On the other hand, they see someone more sinister – a character who revels in chaos and madness with a large, gleeful grin on his face. Our fear, and sometimes our dismissal, of The Joker stems from a philosophical debate which became increasingly prevalent in the twentieth century.

From the beginnings of Existentialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, came a mode of thought known as nihilism. As defined by Lawrence J. Hatab, nihilism posits that “[t]he world itself possesses no value, human existence is ultimately meaningless, and knowledge claims are without foundation” (91). For some, such a belief is terrifying because, according to nihilism, our morals, social and political institutions, thoughts, and actions are ultimately meaningless. As a result, many philosophers quickly dismiss nihilism because of its byproducts, namely amorism and anarchy. Robert Black aptly criticizes the relationship between moral philosophers and nihilists: “amorism is a glaringly obvious

philosophical option, raised in passing by almost every writer on moral philosophy, but openly defended by no one" (67). However easily people wish to reject or dismiss nihilism, the philosophy exists and cannot be ignored. Some people fully support nihilism because they feel it liberates humanity from its self-imprisonment vis-à-vis morality in both social and political institutions. One such person is The Joker whose depictions throughout the "Batman" universe illustrate, both literally and figuratively, a character who continually challenges the institutions and beliefs cherished by human beings.

One of the foundations of nihilism and its associated beliefs such as skepticism and amorality is the subjective and idiosyncratic nature of human existence. In *Nihilism, Reason, and "The Good,"* Stanley Rosen argues that man's experiences are subjective because he creates them. As a result, "there is no basis external to human agreement [...] there is no way in which to certify the meaningfulness or value, in a rational sense, of man's construction of reason. It is a contingent, arbitrary fact, engulfed in the silence of nothingness" (qtd. in Magnus 295). The subjectivity of one's experiences means that one cannot make an objective, definitive statement about anything, e.g. vanilla is the best flavor of ice cream, because someone else may say chocolate is the best flavor of ice cream. In other words, differing perceptions imply that objective truths do not exist. Taken to the logical extreme, nihilists argue that if objective truths do not exist, then nothing is true and thus nothing possesses meaning or value, including morality and man-made institutions.

Concomitant with the subjectivity of the human experience, amoralism contends that “there are no such properties as goodness, badness, wrongness or obligatoriness. You can’t do genuinely good deeds since there is no such property as goodness for your deeds to instantiate” (Pidgen 442). Since perceptions of “right” and “wrong” vary, the concepts lack an objective standard and thus do not exist in the external world. Pidgen clarifies his claim with an illuminating example. He argues that people are not objectively “good;” they are only so in a specific context. Pidgen uses the hero from *The Iliad*, Achilles, as an example of a person who is good according to the qualities desirable in a hero but not necessarily in an objective sense since his actions nearly caused defeat for the Greeks in the Trojan War. Hence, Achilles is not objectively good, but only “according-to-the-heroic-code” (Pidgen 443). Pidgen then concludes his line of thought by citing the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche who argues that morality is “just an interpretation of certain phenomena” (qtd. in 444). Another writer, David Copp, most effectively sums up nihilism thusly: “The defining thesis of moral skepticism [or amoralism], as I understand it, is that no moral code or moral standard is or could be objectively justified” (208).

If one accepts the notion that morality is meaningless or does not exist, then the social and political institutions that are based on morals must be meaningless as well. Social concepts such as the “social contract” proposed (albeit in two distinct manners) by Thomas Hobbes and Jean Jacques Rousseau, order, civility, justice (what is “right” and “wrong”) and the political institutions that protect these concepts such as the government, police, and military are all baseless. However, without the

government, police, and military, we are left with anarchy. The Joker is a significant proponent of anarchy.

The Joker's primary motivation is to spread his nihilist message to the people of Gotham City and the world. And what better way to challenge the established order than by laughing at it? However, he is not above using violence to drive his point home. In fact, he often combines laughter and destruction while ruining lives and property. While we may see his actions as those of a madman, The Joker is actually making a legitimate philosophical statement. Whether it is in seminal graphic novels such as Alan Moore's *The Killing Joke*, Frank Miller's *The Dark Knight Returns*, or the critically acclaimed film *The Dark Knight*, his statement remains the same.

The Joker embodies amorality in Alan Moore's graphic novel *The Killing Joke*. In it, he shoots the daughter of police commissioner Jim Gordon—with the intention of driving him insane—to show that “[i]t’s all a joke! Everything anybody ever valued or struggled for...it’s all a monstrous, demented gag!” (Moore *The Killing Joke*). The Joker wants to prove that morality means nothing in the face of an absurd, cruel, and unforgiving world. Having had his daughter senselessly shot and presumably raped, Commissioner Gordon should give no credence to the law. In fact, one would understand if he wished to defy the law and kill The Joker. However, Gordon ultimately wants The Joker “brought in by the book” (Moore *The Killing Joke*). His strong moral conviction may be inspiring to some, but it is absurd to The Joker. Although he failed to make Commissioner Gordon abandon his morals, The Joker essentially proved his point that morality is a crutch to “help [man] survive in

today's harsh and irrational world" (Moore "The Killing Joke"). Gordon clings to his convictions even tighter rather than abandoning them as The Joker anticipated. Either way, he ultimately validates The Joker's point.

Similarly, Frank Miller's *The Dark Knight Returns* demonstrates The Joker's desire to destroy order and civility. After a long absence, Batman dons his mantle as crime-fighter once more to save Gotham City from its dismal state. Subsequently, "[t]he return of the Batman necessitates the Joker's return. Batman is too boring, brings about too much order. The Joker has to go back into Gotham to temper Batman's effect" (Spanakos 64). The Joker's mission to create anarchy and chaos manifests itself in his relationship with Batman. Without Batman in the picture, The Joker is content to stay in his padded cell since a world without Batman is chaotic enough for him. A world with Batman, however, has "too much order" and thus requires his presence to balance the equation. Although he is a vigilante, Batman strictly adheres to Gotham City's laws in some respects. For example, he brings criminals to the police and allows the justice system to prosecute them rather than directly punishing them. Batman ultimately strengthens political establishments rather than undermining them. As a result, The Joker must produce chaos to undermine the very institutions Batman protects.

In the critically acclaimed film *The Dark Knight*, Heath Ledger's portrayal of The Joker accurately depicts the character's need for complete anarchy. He combines The Joker's hatred of social institutions (morality) and political institutions (government and law) to create a terrifying anarchist. As opposed to other misrepresentations of The Joker as a mindless madman, "the unwanted logic

behind the character taps into something the audience cannot completely write off as psychosis. It is this danger, this attraction to the chaos he represents" (Kolenic 1024). The audience cannot dismiss The Joker because his desire for anarchy has an intellectually legitimate foundation, namely, nihilism. Additionally, The Joker makes anarchy appealing because "he aligns chaos with a brand of fairness, altruism, and purity..." (Kolenic 1031). In an anarchic world, one can liberate himself from the shackles of morality and rules to shape the world as he sees fit. The Joker himself says in the film, "[i]ntroduce a little anarchy. Upset the established order, and everything becomes chaos. I'm an agent of chaos. Oh, and you know the thing about chaos? It's fair" (Ledger). However, some critics incorrectly label *The Dark Knight* as a manifestation of post 9/11 fears rather than a battle between order and disorder. As Manohla Dargis aptly observes, a more appropriate observation is that The Joker "isn't fighting for anything or anyone. He isn't a terrorist, just terrifying" (Dargis).

Similar to the situation in the graphic novel *The Killing Joke*, The Joker in *The Dark Knight* tries to prove that morality is a thin veneer that hides man's true nature. He wants to see if people will abandon their morals when faced with a "harsh and irrational world" (Moore *The Killing Joke*). In the film, The Joker continually challenges Batman's morality. To his odd delight, he soon realizes that Batman is "truly incorruptible" (Ledger). Realizing that his time is being wasted in trying to corrupt Batman, The Joker then conducts a "social experiment" (Ledger) wherein he attaches a large bomb onto two ferries. One ferry contains "the innocent civilians" (Ledger) while the other contains numerous criminals. In a cruel twist, he gives each ferry the detonator to the other ferry's bomb. Either one ferry must blow



up the other or The Joker will blow up both ferries himself. Although neither ferry destroys the other, each side seriously considers it.

Ultimately, The Joker does not prove that “their morals, their code, [are] a bad joke dropped at the first sign of trouble. They're only as good as the world allows them to be. I'll show you. When the chips are down, these... these civilized people, they'll eat each other” (Ledger). However, the ferries do come dangerously close to proving The Joker right. As in the graphic novel *The Dark Knight Returns*, Heath Ledger's Joker in the movie *The Dark Knight* strives for complete and utter chaos to balance Batman's quest for order. Batman's lengthy efforts to rid Gotham City of crime come undone in a matter of days through the efforts of The Joker whose only clear agenda is that he must create chaos. The Joker creates this chaos through his various crimes: the attempted assassination of a mayor; the successful assassinations of a judge and police commissioner; the destruction of a hospital; and the taking of hostages just to name a few. He demonstrates that crime is “about sending a message. Everything burns” (Ledger). By indiscriminately killing people and causing rampant destruction, The Joker exemplifies the true nature of crime. Crime is not merely a method to gain wealth or power; it is a challenge to the established social and political authority. It is essentially the purest form of anarchy.

The Joker's complexities make him a difficult character to sympathize with, or dismiss. While his message may have an intellectually legitimate foundation, his methods disgust and frighten us. However, we should remember that The Joker is not just trying to kill Batman or blow up a hospital. He is also engaging in a philosophical dialogue with Batman and the people

of Gotham City. He wants them to see the world as he does. He wants to liberate them from their constraints and approach life as the absurd and unforgiving entity that it is. Understanding this quality of The Joker helps us better understand the nature of crime itself: crime is not only a way to gain wealth; more fundamentally, it is also an expression of dissatisfaction with the established social and political order. This expression manifests itself in both positive and negative ways. Civil disobedience, for example, represents a positive way to express unhappiness with the status quo. Terrorism, however, represents a horrid, violent extreme that some use to make themselves heard and seen. These two paths represent the symbolic battle between Batman and The Joker. Batman chooses civil disobedience; he operates outside the law in order to supplement and augment it, not destroy it. The Joker, however, wants to destroy everything indiscriminately. Ultimately, the two characters represent the eternal struggle between order and chaos with neither likely to triumph over the other. As The Joker says in the film *The Dark Knight*, "I think you [Batman] and I are destined to do this forever" (Ledger).

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# William Howard Taft, First Civil Governor: Avoiding the Imposition of American Culture in the Philippines

Annemarie Correa

Before William Howard Taft became President of the United States, he was assigned as first Civil Governor of the newly acquired Philippines in 1900. Prior to this time, the United States had never owned a colony. As Taft entered into his role as First Civil Governor, American officials had particular goals for their newly acquired colony. Some of Taft's contemporaries, like Roosevelt, saw the Philippines as an economic resource and recognized it for its strategic trade position in the Pacific. Others, such as Albert J. Beveridge and Rudyard Kipling, saw the Philippines as an opportunity to civilize an inferior culture. While Taft recognized the strategic, economic, and political importance of the Philippines, he demonstrated his will to oppose any unneeded interference in Filipino culture in three instances: in education; in negotiations with the Vatican; and in the process of establishing self-government. This paper will compare the American perception of the role of culture in the Philippines with Taft's perception of the role of culture by analyzing his actions in these three cases.

Historians generally note Taft's firm confidence in the intelligence of the Filipino people as well as in their ability to self-govern. Historian David H. Burton underlines Taft's role as a peacemaker: "Taft was determined that only by treating the inhabitants there, one and all, as equal—in his world that meant as citizens in a self-governing state

in the making—could the large policy of the United States be realized.”<sup>1</sup> Historian

Christopher Allen Morrison similarly observes:

Although American policy models and ideas played a role, the American-Philippine colonial project was not an ideological attempt to remake the Philippines in the image of the United States. U.S. rule in the Philippines had more limited goals aimed at stability and some economic development...<sup>2</sup>

While Morrison correctly recognizes that promoting American culture in the Philippines was not Taft’s goal, he does not sufficiently emphasize the way the American public perceived their role in the Philippines. Specifically, influential writers and politicians, such as British poet Rudyard Kipling and American Senator Albert J. Beveridge, promoted ideas of cultural supremacy across the United States and particularly linked diplomacy to promoting Protestant religious beliefs.

While Taft would have entered the Philippines with his own goals in mind, he would have also been aware of popular American thought regarding diplomacy. Typically, many Americans were influenced by representatives and writers who expressed their belief in a superior American culture. As historian Susan K. Harris explains:

What the anti-imperialists did have in common among themselves and with the expansionists was...a desire to maintain the illusion that the United States was a white Christian nation. The debates, conducted in congressional chambers, in editorials and letters to the editor, in sermons and in cartoons, show how intensely American conversations about national identity had become fixated on religion and race by the close of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Susan K. Harris, *God’s arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898-1902* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), Google Books [http://books.google.com/books?id=7eOC4op3MKoC&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](http://books.google.com/books?id=7eOC4op3MKoC&source=gbs_navlinks_s) (accessed December 19, 2011), 16.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Allen Morrison, *A World of Empires: United States Rule in the Philippines, 1898-1913*. (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2009), iv.

<sup>3</sup> Susan K. Harris, *God’s arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898-1902* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), Google Books [http://books.google.com/books?id=7eOC4op3MKoC&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](http://books.google.com/books?id=7eOC4op3MKoC&source=gbs_navlinks_s) (accessed December 19, 2011), 16.

Senator Albert J. Beveridge demonstrates the mindset and inherent biases regarding the supremacy of American culture that Beveridge, and many other Americans for that matter, would apply to the Philippines. Beveridge particularly uses the Philippines as an example of a nation that needs to be civilized by American culture throughout his famous speech “The March of the Flag.” He questions:

Have we no mission to perform, no duty to discharge to our fellow-man?  
Has God endowed us with gifts beyond our deserts and marked us as the  
people of His peculiar favor, merely to rot in our own selfishness, as men  
and nations must, who take cowardice for their companion and self for  
their deity?<sup>4</sup>

Throughout his speech, Beveridge presents the goals of many Americans at home and their perception of their own culture in relation to other colonies. “Civilizing” the “barbarians” of other lands was expected as a goal of American foreign policy in the Philippines by many of the American public. His speech also demonstrates that many Americans believed that spreading American values to other less “civilized” countries was a God-given duty. Beveridge presented this speech in 1898 before Taft’s arrival in the Philippines.<sup>5</sup> In contrast, while Taft did note that the current Filipino political system was unstable and disorderly, he did not equate the system’s disorderliness with inherent disorderliness in the Filipino race and culture. He argues that “[the Filipinos] lack practical knowledge as to how a popular government ought to be run. They always resort

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<sup>4</sup> Albert J. Beveridge, “The March of the Flag,” in *The Meaning of the Times, and Other Speeches* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1908), <http://www.historytools.org/sources/beveridge.html> (accessed November 21, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

to absolutism in practical problems of government;"<sup>6</sup> yet, he also defends the "intelligence and capacity of the natives."<sup>7</sup> Later, Taft would further demonstrate his confidence in the intelligence and values of the Filipino people.

Kipling's famous poem also represents the common American ideas of their own superior culture in comparison to lesser nations. Though he was British, he wrote his famous poem "The White Man's Burden" in 1898 to persuade the United States to take control of the Philippines, and the poem gained wide popularity in the United States.<sup>8</sup> In the poem, Kipling describes citizens of non-Western nations as "Your new-caught, sullen peoples, / Half-devil and half-child."<sup>9</sup> Kipling's use of the term "devil" not only shows that the Americans believed the Filipinos to be inferior and themselves superior, but it also shows that Americans at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century mentally linked colonialism to religious superiority; to make the culture of colonies more like American culture was to do the work of God. Similarly, "child" implies a belief in America's greater intelligence, experience, and overall greater superiority, therefore implying that the United States is morally obligated to raise and control the Philippines as a mother would raise and control a child. As will be discussed, Taft had a different point of view. While he did try to establish a semblance of order, he was tremendously confident in the intelligence of the Filipinos and their ability to govern themselves and to control their own culture. Additionally, Taft also largely omitted God from his analysis of American

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<sup>6</sup> William Howard Taft, "Civil Government in the Philippines" in *The Philippines: The First Civil Governor* (Boston: J.B. Millet Co., 1910), Google Books, <http://books.google.com/books?id= OQ0ZAAAAYAAJ> (accessed November 21, 2011), 94.

<sup>7</sup> William Howard Taft, *Information and Instruction for preparation of the Philippine Exhibit...* (Manila, Bureau of Public Printing 1902), Google books, <http://books.google.com/books?id=6RsaAAAAAMAAJ&pg> (accessed November 22, 2011), 30.

<sup>8</sup> "Kipling, the 'White Man's Burden,' and U.S. Imperialism." *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine* 55, no. 6: 1-11. *America: History & Life*, EBSCOhost (accessed November 20, 2011).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

progress in the Philippines, and instead remained objective. Unlike many Americans of his time, Taft did not necessarily link God-given superiority with colonialism, and he did not use his position of power to promote a particular religion based on popular Protestant beliefs in America.

Taft was aware of these expectations and biases of the American public with regard to the Filipinos while he was Civil Governor. During his time in the Philippines, he recognized several clear instances of American prejudice towards the Filipinos, one of which involved American journalists in the Philippines. In *Civil Government in the Philippines*, Taft states:

There are in the city of Manila American papers owned and edited by American Americans who have the bitterest feeling toward the Filipinos and entertain the view that legislation for the benefit of the Filipinos or appointment to the office of Filipinos is evidence of a lack of loyalty to the Americans who have come to settle in the islands.<sup>10</sup>

This incident demonstrates the American perception of the Philippines as a colony whose primary purpose was to favor American demands. In contrast, Taft recognized that Americans lacked an understanding of a Filipino culture, and he demonstrated his intent to keep Americans' perception of their own superiority separate from his policy.

While Taft would have had an awareness of American cultural perception of diplomacy in the Philippines, he was also aware of presidential expectations of his job as Civil Governor in the Philippines. Though Theodore Roosevelt was the president of the United States while Taft began work in the Philippines, President William McKinley assigned Taft to the position of Civil Governor before the end of his term. McKinley described why he believed Taft was qualified for the role of Civil Governor when he

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<sup>10</sup> Taft, *Civil Government in the Philippines*, 69-70.



defended him as “a stern honest tactful, a man of education and executive ability, a man...who would get along with the people.”<sup>11</sup> Ultimately, McKinley hoped that as Civil Governor, Taft would avoid antagonisms with the Filipinos while simultaneously creating a sense of order. McKinley’s description of Taft’s personality largely reflects the goals that Taft would bring to the Philippines. Taft was an educated man and he expressed his belief that an educated public is essential for an orderly society. Additionally, McKinley sought a leader who would “get along with the people.” Taft would frequently demonstrate that his goal was not to create antagonisms or impose American culture on the Filipinos, who hardly wanted another oppressive imperial power.

Even before McKinley’s death and Roosevelt’s subsequent presidency in 1901, Roosevelt also took an interest in America’s colony and did not necessarily view the Philippines in the same way as Taft. While Taft focused on creating stability and self-government in the Philippines, Roosevelt, as president, focused on the larger economic impact the Philippines could have on the United States. According to historian Annik Cizel, “Roosevelt’s personal commitment to the political and material development of the Philippines Islands therefore hinged on the extension of a network of trans-imperial relations which would not only match but perfect neighboring European colonial systems.”<sup>12</sup> In other words, Roosevelt viewed the Philippines as simply a stepping stone

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<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961), p.66, quoted in David H. Burton, *William Howard Taft: Confident Peacemaker* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph’s University Press 2004), 32.

<sup>12</sup> Cizel, Annick. "Nation-Building in the Philippines: Rooseveltian Statecraft for Imperial Modernization in an Emergent Transatlantic World Order." *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 19, no. 4 (December 2008): 690-711. *America: History & Life*, EBSCOhost (accessed November 22, 2011), 692.

in the larger American goal for global influence and additionally saw them as an opportunity to provide American industry with raw materials and markets.

Taft similarly acknowledged the Philippines' "immense benefit to its [the United States'] merchants and trade" especially with regard to its position near the Orient. However, immediately after this acknowledgement, he emphasized that in spite of this benefit "the real reason [for retention of the Philippines] lies in the obligation of the United States to make this people fit for self-government and then to turn the government over to them."<sup>13</sup> In opposition to the cultural goals of the American public and to other officials, Taft demonstrated through his actions regarding education, negotiations with the Vatican, and the establishment of their own self-government that he hardly thought of them as "Half Devils" or simply an economic resource. In fact, he was eager to help the Filipinos achieve freedom that they had not been able to experience under Spanish rule, and he was continuously conscious of their own goals and expectations. Finally, he continually expressed his confidence in the intelligence of the Filipinos and his hope that Americans would learn to see them as intelligent people as well.

Through the education system in the Philippines, Taft had two primary goals: first, he wanted the Filipinos to learn how to speak English, and second, he wanted to enhance public knowledge. In the Philippines before the 1900s, there was no single language to unite the people. Rather, there were various dialects based in each community.<sup>14</sup> Taft viewed this as a divisive characteristic and therefore in conflict with his goal of stability and a united government. Taft explains that "It is very important that

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<sup>13</sup> William Howard Taft, "Some Results of Our Government in the Philippines," in *The Philippines: An account of their people, progress, and condition*, (Boston: J.B. Millet Company, 1910), Google Books, <http://books.google.com/books?id=OQ0ZAAAAYAAJ> (accessed November 21, 2011), 35.

<sup>14</sup>Taft, "Some Results of Our Government in the Philippines," 27.

English be taught in all of the schools, in order that the next generation shall have a common medium of communication.”<sup>15</sup> To teach the Filipino teachers English, 1,000 American school teachers traveled to the Philippines to aid the 2,500 school teachers.<sup>16</sup>

Taft also wanted the Filipinos to be educated so that they could have an understanding of their political system. With knowledge, he believed the public would elect capable and competent representatives. Rather than blame the disorder in the Philippines on an inherent aspect of their culture, Taft understood that their history explained their struggle to create an orderly political system. He clarified in *Civil Government in the Philippines* that “three hundred years of Spanish rule have not been calculated to fit the people of the Philippine islands for self-government.”<sup>17</sup> Taft believed knowledge to be the key to Filipino self-government and explained that “[their] weakness...is their lack of knowledge as to how a popular government ought to be run.”<sup>18</sup> Through the education system, Taft hoped that the Filipinos would have an understanding of, and consequently respect for, an orderly representative political system. As a result of this new understanding, Taft believed they would then be capable of self-government.

While education could have provided an opportunity for Taft to require that certain American values be taught to the young Filipinos, Taft ultimately did not discuss education as an opportunity to promote Protestant ideals or American values, but instead focused on the importance of education for preparing the Filipinos for self-government and for a more republican political system. He saw education as a means of obtaining the

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<sup>15</sup> Taft, *Civil Government in the Philippines*, 49.

<sup>16</sup> Taft, *Civil Government in the Philippines*, 44.

<sup>17</sup> Taft, *Civil Government in the Philippines*, 114-5.

<sup>18</sup> Taft, *Civil Government in the Philippines*, 94.

necessary knowledge for self-government and recognized that an intentional imposition of American culture on the Filipinos through the education system would diminish his ability to promote his primary goals. Taft clearly explains in *Civil Government in the Philippines* that even though “the American school-teacher is to teach the Filipino teacher English and the proper methods of teaching” ultimately, he reiterates “the plan is that the teaching of the Filipino children shall chiefly be done by Filipino teachers.”<sup>19</sup> He followed through on his initial goal and supported the Filipinos who took charge of their own education. For example, he explains in “Some Results of Our Government” that “a Filipino school managed and taught only by Filipinos called ‘Liceo’ has some 1500 pupils in Manila, and English is regularly taught as part of the curriculum of that school.”<sup>20</sup> Taft used this school as a model for education in the Philippines. He praised this school for independently taking charge of their education, and he demonstrated through his emphasis on English lessons that English was his primary goal through the education system.

Not only did Taft encourage Filipino teachers, but he also encouraged other educational institutions established by the Filipinos. For example, he displayed a willingness to cooperate with their religious groups in education, especially with church schools.<sup>21</sup> He demanded no changes to the material and values that they taught in school, as long as “a proper standard of education [was] maintained.”<sup>22</sup> As Civil Governor, he did not try to force the instruction of popular American values of the time in the Filipino schools, but instead encouraged the Filipinos to teach in place of American teachers

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<sup>19</sup> Taft, *Civil Government in the Philippines*, 45

<sup>20</sup> Taft, “Some Results of Our Government”, 27.

<sup>21</sup> Taft, *Civil Government in the Philippines*, 48.

<sup>22</sup> Taft, *Civil Government in the Philippines*, 48.

whenever possible. While the presence of the American teachers for a brief time in the Filipino education system may have had an unconscious and unavoidable effect on the Filipino culture, Taft intentionally avoided a direct opportunity to impose American culture on the younger generation of Filipinos.

His negotiations and careful diplomacy demonstrate Taft's goal to work with the culture of the Filipinos, rather than against it, and simultaneously provide the foundation for self-government. Taft recognized how important Catholicism as a religious and therefore cultural element was in their society. According to David H. Burton, "From the earliest times the Filipinos had been converted to Roman Catholicism....And they remained, in large part, faithful to the Church." Burton further explains that "the people working the [friars'] land were virtually serfs"<sup>23</sup> and explains that Taft observed this economic system to be an obstacle to self-government. At the same time, Taft recognized that when negotiating with the Church officials, he would have to be careful not to upset the religious beliefs of the people. Ultimately, rather than force the Church to give up their lands or prevent Filipinos from participating in Catholicism, he instead cooperated and compromised with Church leaders and the Pope:

Taft asked Pope Leo XIII to order the corrupt friars in the Philippines to leave. In exchange, the United States would purchase at a good price all the land owned by the friars, land that belonged to the Catholic Church.<sup>24</sup>

Taft himself notes in *Civil Government in the Philippines* that the Church has "usefulness in affording opportunities for religious worship to the people."<sup>25</sup> This is especially significant because he was not Catholic, and Americans during that time were

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<sup>23</sup> Burton, 35.

<sup>24</sup> Michael Benson, *William H. Taft* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Co., 2005), Google Books, [http://books.google.com/books?id=7eOC4op3MKoC&dq=congress+perspective+in+the+philippines+1898+1900&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](http://books.google.com/books?id=7eOC4op3MKoC&dq=congress+perspective+in+the+philippines+1898+1900&source=gbs_navlinks_s) (accessed December 19, 2011), 54.

<sup>25</sup> Taft, *Civil Government in the Philippines*, 123-4.

generally Protestant. Additionally, many missionaries who went to other non-European countries at the time were promoting Protestant Christianity.<sup>26</sup> Despite his own and the American public's general tendency towards Protestantism, Taft recognized that to establish order successfully, he would need to respect and cooperate with one of the main Filipino religious institutions, rather than try to change the Filipino's religious beliefs as a whole.

Taft not only encouraged the Filipinos to become leaders in education, but he also demonstrated an understanding of their cultural structure, and adjusted the political system to best suit the diverse needs of the Filipinos. First, he recognized that to have orderly communication with the Filipinos and to prepare them for their own eventual self-government, he would have to make sure that the people experienced the representative system despite American presence in their government. As historian Paul D. Hutchcroft explains "Politically, the American colonial state was highly decentralized...nearly all local executives were elected rather than appointed."<sup>27</sup> Taft's efforts to help decentralize government rather than centralize control demonstrated his belief in the Filipino's intelligence and their ability to be leaders and make laws that would best suit their culture. Taft additionally understood that Americans, because they were not a part of the Filipino culture, could not be the best government officials in the Philippines. Early on in *Civil Government in the Philippines*, Taft expressed his intent to install Filipinos in government positions and remove the American presence in their government. He describes his intent to "secure competent and faithful citizens to carry

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<sup>26</sup> Morrison, 39.

<sup>27</sup> Paul D. Hutchcroft, "Colonial Masters, National Politicos, and Provincial Lords: Central Authority and Local Autonomy in the American Philippines, 1900-1913." *Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 2 (May 2000): *America: History & Life*, EBSCOhost (accessed November 22, 2011), 298.

on the work of the central government, and to substitute them for military officers.”<sup>28</sup>

While the transition from American military control to self-government was not immediate, Taft carefully adhered to his goal to allow Filipinos more official positions as they gained a better understanding of the system. According to Paul D. Hutchcroft “Taft promoted the devolution of a considerable degree of decision-making authority to (1) elected local officials and councils and (2) indirectly elected provincial governors.”<sup>29</sup>

Taft could have used his position of Civil Governor in the Philippines to favor certain groups. Also, he could have used his control over the education system to promote certain values that fulfilled the American public’s longing to “civilize” and spread Protestantism, or fulfill other officials’ desires to make the Philippines into primarily a center for natural resources and trade. Whether or not Taft could ultimately avoid imposition of an American cultural system through his establishment of a new political system was debatable; the new education system, the new form of government and the decreased possession of lands would have undoubtedly affected the Philippine way of life. However, Taft demonstrated through his actions that his goal was not to make Filipino culture a mirror of American culture. Historians as well as Taft himself recognized that American leaders could not have ignored the economic value of the Philippines with its natural resources and strategic location.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, by imposing a political system as well as an education system on a nation, it may inherently have unintended or unforeseen effects that would upset the culture. Historians must question the effects that these impositions on the Philippines had on the Filipino culture. While

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<sup>28</sup> Taft, *Civil Government in the Philippines*, 36.

<sup>29</sup> Hutchcroft, 288.

<sup>30</sup> William Howard Taft, *Information and Instruction for preparation of the Philippine Exhibit...* (Manila, Bureau of Public Printing 1902), Google books, <http://books.google.com/books?id=6RsaAAAAMAAJ&pg> (accessed November 22, 2011), 29-30.

these are crucial and valid ideas to explore, Taft's actions demonstrate that he viewed his role as governor as simply a leadership position to bring about a representative, orderly system and not an imitation of American culture in the Philippines.

While many historians have similarly observed Taft's focus on creating the building blocks of Philippine independence, others also observe that the Philippines were mainly an economic asset for the United States. Annik Cizel, for example, explains how "The intention [of American nation-building in the Philippines] was to institute an enduring 'special relationship' to build up America's power in the Pacific".<sup>31</sup> While Taft had confidence in and worked closely with the Filipinos, Taft admits in *Information and Instruction for Preparation of the Philippine Exhibition* that he hoped Americans, through the exhibit of the Philippines, would "...look for permanent profitable markets for the natural resources, in showing and in illustrating the fertility of soil and climate and the great wealth in forest, agricultural, fishing, mining, and other products." At the same time, Taft emphasized his goal that "the purpose of the Philippine exhibit [was]...to create interest and sympathy for the Philippine Islands, and to give confidence in the intelligence and capacity of the natives."<sup>32</sup> Taft's hope that Americans would learn to see the Filipinos as intelligent and capable implies that many Americans did not see Filipinos as such. It also demonstrates the contrast between Taft's view of the Filipinos and Americans' view of the Filipinos: While their primary focus was on the Philippines' economic benefit to the United States, Taft's primary focus was to make the Filipinos capable of self-government. Though both recognized the ultimate economic importance

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<sup>31</sup> Cizel, 690.

<sup>32</sup> Taft, *Information and Instruction*, 29-30.



of the Philippines, each had different focuses in their approach. Hence, the differences between each of their goals and expectations are understandable.

Overall, Taft was an informed and knowledgeable diplomat. He was careful not to stray from his specific goals of preparing the Filipinos for self-government and maintaining an orderly society. While he acknowledged American ideas that contrasted his own, he recognized their lack of understanding of Filipino culture and society. Taft ultimately used his own understanding of the Filipino and of representative governments to help the Filipinos achieve stability in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Generally, Taft tried to keep American cultural influence to a minimum in the Philippines despite Congressional and public pressure to do otherwise. Instead, he recognized that to achieve his goal of long-term stability and self-determination in the Philippines, he would have to contain the amount of American culture imposed on the people. While his imposition of the English language and a representative form of government would inherently affect the Filipino way of life, Taft used his power to avoid changing Filipino culture to the greatest extent possible and even disagreed with the American public and other leading figures at the time to do so. He worked instead to create the necessary institutions and building blocks so that the Filipinos could have an independent and orderly political system. Taft did not intend for his position to be permanent or taken up by anyone else after him. Rather, it was a temporary role created to help the Filipinos establish a self-governing representative republic.<sup>33</sup> While he recognized the economic and strategic trade significance of the Philippines, his goal as

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<sup>33</sup> William Howard Taft, "Some Results of Our Government in the Philippines," in *The Philippines: An account of their people, progress, and condition*, (Boston: J.B. Millet Company, 1910), Google Books, <http://books.google.com/books?id=OQ0ZAAAAAYAAJ> (accessed November 21, 2011), 31.

Civil Governor was to establish a political system that resembled the United States, but not a cultural system that resembled the United States.

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# Art Meets Biology

**Georgina Podany**

These drawings are the result of a course I took entitled *Technical Drawing in Archaeology & Physical Anthropology*. Drawing is a personal interest of mine, so I thought I would learn the techniques necessary to create publishable illustrations. As a biology major who would like to incorporate art into my career, I thought it would be a useful skill to acquire. My usual choices of media are graphite and colored pencil, but I had never tried my hand at ink before, so I was a little nervous going into this class. I soon found there was no need to be worried; I developed an immediate love for this type of art since it marries my love of science with my love for drawing.

The technique seen in these drawings is called “stippling.” Stippling is merely patterns of dots of ink done one by one, varying in concentration to give the effects of shading, depth, and texture. Up close, all that can be seen are hundreds of individual dots of ink. But if the observer holds the illustration a little bit away from her, she will see an entire image that is recognizable and nearly identical to the original artifact or photograph being drawn. Some artists find the process of stippling to be tedious. Who wants to sit hunched over a piece of paper making dots over and over until somehow there are enough dots arranged in the right way to render an image? I don’t find it tedious at all. Rather for me, it’s almost a meditative process. My hand almost guides itself while my mind is free to wander as the stress of the day melts away. Looked at closely, each dot of ink is unique. A careful

observer can see where the pattern changes just slightly, an indication that my mood was a little different at that time. When I was focused and relaxed, my dots were deliberate, almost perfect. Other times when I might have been impatient or tense, my dots were more like dashes – each one has a little tail where my hand wasn't quite steady.

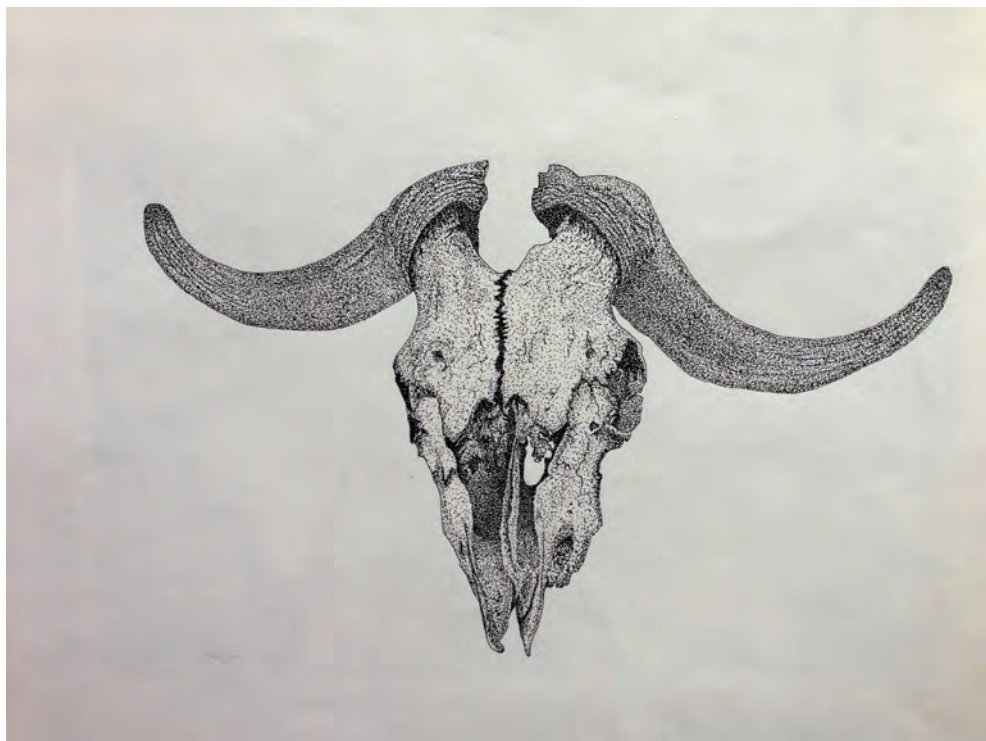
Of the three drawings seen below, my first one is *Busycon* which is a species of marine snail called the whelk. Sometimes, if you walk along the beach, you can find fragments of its shells, or if you are lucky, a whole specimen. This particular illustration was the first one that demonstrates my grasp of stippling.

My next drawing, *Skull of Ovis*, is the skull of an animal belonging to the sheep family. This drawing was my first attempt at using thick white paper, rather than the translucent velum which helped me see the photo beneath my drawing. The thick paper forced me to use my eyes and instinct to see where to shade and where to texture in order to capture the weathered, worn look of the bone.

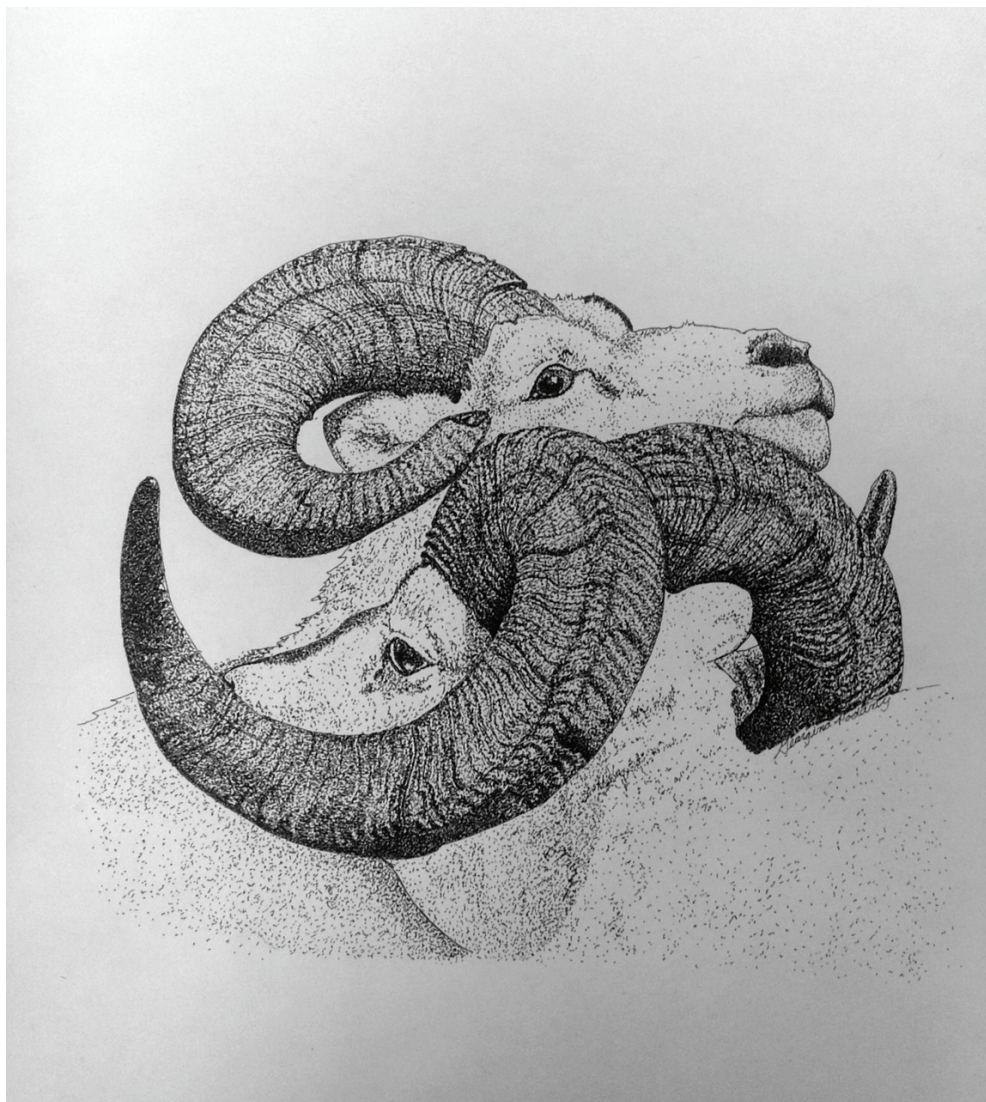
My final drawing, *Ovis dalli*, was my first attempt to illustrate a living creature. It depicts two Dall's sheep, but whether they are fighting or merely standing in each other's company is up to the interpretation of the viewer. While I still need to perfect the aspect of capturing the texture of fur, I feel this illustration shows the culmination of my development with using this technique.



*Nautilus Podany*









# Biophilia

Matt Massaia

Saturday night train crawling and happy hour in the bar beneath the platform is ending and I'm heading into a nightshift. It's two days post-Christmas—an off-duty machinist goes through the pockets of the varsity jacket his kid forgot when running out six years ago and he uncaps a bottle of Listerine, spearmint blue like Hypnotiq (but cheaper), which he drinks beside me.

— — —

At 190 metric tons/30 meters, the blue whale, *Balaneoptera musculus*, is the largest animal that has ever lived. This, I doubt, the blue whale knows.

But if she did know, she'd still float from one mouthful of krill to the next, bellow, never wait for a train, never miss a train because some sixteen year-old asked her to buy him a pack of cigarettes because he "forgot" his ID in Florida, never sway a fin in front of a train window. Still, she'd catch a current, eat plankton, and bellow.

— — —

The other day 5AM trainlit tentacles of light shoved snowdrifts windward, hooked onto the platform dragged in the carapace. East-bound, dawn bound, waved off by a woman staring out the waiting room windows—absentminded me kicks over a cup of three day-old coffee—but she's been here for the past four hours. She rehearses a good-bye wave, perfecting the trigonometry of her wrist and fingers and lips turned at ideal angles to match the wrinkles framing her eyelashes, she gives grand sendoffs to future lovers she'll never meet, petals she won't pluck from her eyelashes and kids that she'll never have kids she will not send

to college to friends' houses to war to coffins and her toes—she forgot socks again—caked in the dirt of her shoes, flecked joint lines in ice and drying blood—they were such nice socks too—eating through the plasticized leather around those feet.

Most

days turn into collections of individual hours of not saying anything—things hellos goodbyes doorways opening straight into the gaps between trains and platforms, ignoring the wobbles of drunken divorcees and the bits of skin, folding, crackling off into an industry standard smile.

— — —

I remember being nine-or-ten and having one of those oh-so-those-are-breasts moments when someone said my cousin was “filling out.” *Turritopsis nutricula* start at 1 mm, with eight tentacles at the polyp stage and “fill out” to 5mm and 80-90 tentacles with age. Unlike cousins, if inclined, they can revert/shrink down 4mm and start over again undying unless, of course, they float into some maw or fry on dry land and Dr. Maria Pia Miglietta of the Smithsonian Tropical Marine Institute said something about a “silent invasion” but personally I think they're kind of cute.

— — —

According to Google Maps in 891 lefts, rights, and keep-on-this-roads I could go 2,994 miles in 984 hours from New York to Big Sur on foot and I suppose those are conservative estimates—because, hell, I can walk kind of quick and do twenty miles from home to the beach in five hours and watch albatross pick through clam shells and squish the goo of jellyfish in the rust of their talons.

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If you held a blue whale at arm's length—fanned your fingers out against her face—you could close your eyes. Hear blue—not the kind floating in bottles of Listerine, or the kind folded into a pack of American Spirits in a sixteen year-old's coat pocket. New York water doesn't know blue, not like the mouthwash hues off Cuba and Cancun and Big Sur—isn't blue but is certainly antiseptic and there's sludge in the Gowanus Canal that has even eaten through plastic.

I could set off on foot, heading westward Pacific to try and see a whale under those albatross but sightings have grown rare due to some *Docidicas gigas* flailing their tentacles—like all cephalopods the Humbolt squid has eight arranged in pairs of two—and soon flying up with the gulls and albatross. *Back in Havana*, my grandpa said, *the fishermen called them "Diablo rojo."*

Oceans acidify and carbon dioxide's on the rise and so the Humbolt will sell their beach front homes and retire deep sea and then their corpses will stop littering Orange County beaches and they'll stop spritzing ink like pepper spray into bystanding blue whale eyes—like (former) Officer Anthony Bologna did off of Zucotti Park and maybe the Humbolt will take Mr. Tony Bologna with them.

If there are any whales left by then, any that haven't beached on America's shores—dehydrated failed science experiments perpetuated by the immature, the inadequate, the unknowing—I'd like to swim with one when I get off of Big Sur and maybe tell her of her size (*not* the way magazine covers do at trains stations) but compared to mine or *Loxodonta africana* but I know she'll glance the water's film and mention the stars and humbly smile, picking krill from her bristle teeth.

But I  
probably won't make it there—there's a sea otter  
refuge by the beach so if you need to forward my  
mail or phone calls, send them via jellyfish.

— — —

Wednesday,  
5AM, I finished what was supposed to be my last  
cigarette under an inexplicable pile of human  
hair and the spinal cord of seagull wrapped  
around a train station banister, examined the  
way lightlessness shows where stars should be.

# Transcript of Harvard's First Annual Poet's Debate: Whitman vs. Poe

**Mahnoor Misbah**

**Horace (The Moderator):** Thank you for joining us for Harvard's First Annual Poet's Debate. We're thrilled to be joined by two prominent *American* poets Mr. Walt Whitman and Mr. Edgar Allen Poe. Today we will be covering a wide range of topics in order to understand better the different visions these two artists have regarding literature and their overall outlook on life and the arts. So without further ado, let me begin by posing the first question: When you sit down to write a poem, what inspires you? Let's begin with you, Mr. Whitman.

**Whitman:** Thank you, Horace. First of all, what a pleasure it is to be here in Cambridge at this fine university. Now, I was never formally educated like the bright students here at Harvard, but I have learned a thing or two from the world, my surroundings, and my wandering about. In fact, these are the sources of my inspiration. You see, when I was younger, often I would take a break from my job as a compositor (don't tell my boss) and just walk the streets of Manhattan. There is no finer inspiration than New York City itself – no insult to Cambridge. I met everyone from the lawyer, to the street vendor, to the prostitute, and to me they are all divine. I saw them and wanted to write about them – to give them a voice in my poetry. You see, I am inspired by everyday experience and people as well as the sea, and especially the body! Yes! The body is a deity that must be worshipped, and it is never subordinate to the soul. It is beautiful and sex is beautiful! And that which I don't know much about is equally as fascinating. The United States of

America inspires me; American ideas and principles amaze me. Democracy and political liberty! I could spend days thinking about these subjects. And the child who said to me “what is the grass?” fetching it to me with full hands. This child and his question inspire me. The entire world fascinates me and I revel in it!

**Horace:** I’m sorry Mr. Whitman, but you have exceeded your time limit. I must now move on to Mr. Poe’s response. This is a debate after all! So, sir, what would you say inspires you?

**Poe:** That which instills fear into the deepest core of humans inspires me. Simply speaking, it is death. Now I am not inspired by death because I am morbid or dark. I believe there is an immense beauty in death which inspires me to write. I want to contemplate what is beautiful and do so with the most appropriate tone. You might ask what sentiment gnaws at the core of human beings the most. Why, of course it is sadness. And the most legitimate form of sadness is melancholy. And what is the most melancholy subject a poet might write about? It is death. Therefore, my subject is death and my tone is one of melancholy, but I am a poet after all, and want to make my work poetical. And the way I accomplish this is by associating death with beauty. In short, I am inspired by what is dark in life and I aim to make it beautiful without stripping it of its horrific element.

**Moderator:** Thank you for your concise response. Next ques-

**Whitman:** If I could just interrupt for a moment, I am tempted to ask my opponent, why is it that he focuses so heavily on what appears to be the darkest of subjects, and ignores the way beauty is manifested in all forms of *life*, in nature, in the body!

**Poe:** Well, Mr. Whitman, perhaps if I were writing a novel and had sufficient time to address the plethora of subjects you have mentioned, maybe I would. But seeing as how I am a *poet*, I write poems, not long, epic tales that you consider poetry. A poem should be brief – typically around one hundred lines, and it should excite the soul, not lull it. And there is nothing more exciting than a story of mystery and death. I want to engage my readers, not put them to sleep.

**Moderator:** All right gentlemen, I think that is enough crosstalk. Let's please proceed to the next question! What do you believe is the role of the poet? Mr. Whitman?

**Whitman:** The poet has quite a peculiar role. Many think it is his job to instill good values in his reader or teach them a lesson. I say the greatest poet does not moralize or make applications of morals. He knows the soul. It is then his job to explore the depths of it. Often the poet is still trying to figure out what exactly his place in society is. It is then the poet's responsibility to come to an understanding of human nature. So as a poet, I examine the peddler who sweats with his pack on his back, or the young fellow who drives the express-wagon, or the bride who un-rumples her white dress, and from these, I form the song of myself. I want to create music which includes everyone. I am the poet; I exist as I am, and that is enough.

**Horace:** Mr. Poe?

**Poe:** The poet's role is to create an effect on the reader. He must provoke an intensely emotional reaction within him but also allow him to use his imagination. It is the poet's job to be unique and find his own voice. From an early age, I have been different, and consequently I have felt alone. I was surrounded by darkness and that was unique to me. I have chosen to write from my distinct perspective as all poets and authors should. I

believe strongly in the depths of our imagination. As a poet, I always want to create something that is highly imaginative because what is in our imaginations is often much better than reality. It is my escape, and for my readers, I hope it is too.

**Horace:** Following up on that, Mr. Poe, can you tell us what kind of characters you like creating?

**Poe:** I create characters who struggle to find harmony, who are trying to find that balance between public morality and individuality, or one would say the soul and human nature. They are in a sense mad, and I intend them to be that way. For example, my character Roderick Usher in “The Fall of the House of Usher” is going mad because of the fears swimming around in his mind. He’s fractured and struggling. To me, that is a real character. The dimensions of his own mind are terrifying and that is what I enjoy writing about.

**Horace:** Would you agree, Mr. Whitman?

**Whitman:** I appreciate your point, Mr. Poe, about the complexities of the human mind, and I think that the quest characters embark upon to find some sort of harmony is worth writing about. One can always find an inherent darkness in people; the damp of the night drives deeper into my soul too. I see the flaws in humans, but what I do differently is that I entangle them in my vision. I am all-encompassing in my process. I see the darkness, but I also see the other side. I see the broad view, but I also focus on the particular. I am an individual, but I am also part of a democracy. I see the dark, and I acknowledge it and respect it, but I also say it is not chaos or death—it is form, union, plan—it is eternal life—it is happiness.



**Poe:** Would you not say then, Mr. Whitman, that your poetry is scattered? There is no mathematical precision to it, no structure, no rhythm or rhyme. You attempt to write about anything and everything, but will these ideas stay with your readers? They're so vast, there's no unity, so how can you build an effect?

**Whitman:** The effect will be there, Mr. Poe. My poetry is like a scent that will linger on the skin of my readers, or like a song whose tune they will not be able to stop humming. You read my poetry and you're mesmerized. It is so unorthodox and fresh that it will stay in the minds of my readers. The topics I address are so fundamentally human, that they cannot help but connect to them.

**Horace:** Well, all right, looks like we have to start wrapping up. We've had quite an interesting debate today featuring two prominent writers, Mr. Edgar Allen Poe, who has represented the Gothic Romantic vision, and Mr. Walt Whitman who has given us the more Transcendental and American voice. Gentlemen, for your closing remarks, I will pose this question to you both: what is your life philosophy and how does it apply to your art?

**Whitman:** I would say my life philosophy is summed up in my poetry: Do I contradict myself? Very well then I contradict myself, I am large, I contain multitudes. You may say I am "scattered" in my thoughts but that is a reflection of life. I want to incorporate every minute element of life into my poetry even if these ideas end up clashing. In the end, it is quite all right, because we cannot reduce life to a mathematical formula.

**Horace:** Mr. Poe?

**Poe:** My life philosophy is that one should always lead a life of imagination, fantasy, and beauty, and that one should always remember that his or her unique experience is the one

worth telling. I do not believe in the grand scheme of “the American voice.” Rather, I believe in the voice in your imagination. This is the voice I use in my poetry and throughout life.

**Horace:** Thank you both for a stimulating debate today. The American people have gained a better understanding of both your views and philosophies. Until next time, gentleman.

# Pen and Paper: Letters to Emily Dickinson

**Catherine Grover**

Much has been written about Emily Dickinson's verse, letters, and intensely personal lifestyle. Yet despite this – perhaps even in part because of it – reading and dissecting her language clearly and objectively often remains difficult. Dickinson often uses references which make sense only to certain members of her social circle to whom particular poems or letters were addressed. Still more frustrating are the many symbols she uses which appear to have no meaning to anyone other than herself. In order to gain a deeper connection to Dickinson's writing process and by extension, her language, I have attempted to think of her as she was during her lifetime: not yet a great literary figure, but just a clever young woman with a pen and paper. In this context Dickinson becomes someone approachable – someone another young woman such as me can communicate with. While the poet Billy Collins chose to “undress” Dickinson, I have chosen to write her letters. In these letters, I have attempted to imitate her style and have included original poems with the intention of unpacking some of Dickinson's images and patterns of allusion. In my exploration of and attempt to replicate her theatrical aesthetic, I have also used the letters to ask and answer questions of her work.

Letter writing constituted much of Dickinson's social interaction after a certain point in her life. I would argue that far from providing a retreat from society, Dickinson's letters were an intense way for her to communicate with a select group of people. For Dickinson, letter writing was extremely personal as she had to sit

down, choose a stationery that her recipient would find pleasant, and write thoughtfully and neatly. The poet would also include little gifts, usually flowers, in her letters. The writer's handwriting and narrative voice become the visual equivalent to a voice heard over a phone. These aspects of a letter are unique to the individual who pens it. In my own experience, it is often the case that I can write a letter more often than I can arrange a physical meeting, and this was certainly so for Dickinson. Many of her relationships were maintained entirely through correspondence. Like Dickinson, I have a few people with whom I communicate solely through letters. I find that the act of writing a letter removes distractions from my mind and allows a clearer more heartfelt message to emerge as a result. My experience writing letters to Dickinson has brought me closer to her work. I replicated the conditions under which she would have been writing as best I could. I handwrote each letter at my desk in front of the window. I revised each letter several times and then decided how to order them just as Dickinson chose to order her fascicles.

As I reread some of Dickinson's own poems and letters, I looked for "breadcrumb trails" of images which connected letters and poems to one another. While at first Dickinson's work often seemed unintelligible, upon closer inspection, I found many threads of images which I followed through her poems. Repeated images are abundant and I also found themes which connect Dickinson to both the Romantic and Victorian literary traditions.

Of course, it cannot be forgotten that it is quite impossible to explain any of Dickinson's works completely, and I am sure that some of my longing for

explanation has colored my letters to Dickinson. However, this lack of understanding is not altogether unhelpful since part of Dickinson's charm seems to be a refusal to explain what at times seems quite deliberately obscure. She used letters and poems as both a means of communication and a means of deception, particularly when she did not meet her correspondents making it difficult for them to tell if what she wrote was true or not.

Emily Dickinson was a woman of unique strength and genius with a lively spirit that drove her to literary innovation. But she was not an island. She had the normal fits of passion and fear of any young woman. However, she spent a lot of time with pen and paper in an environment where seclusion and a degree of education allowed her genius to expand and crystallize into words. When I replicated her writing environment, it became easier to enter her words and track her images. Writing about her work made the critical, personal.

Dear Emily -

These flowers make a poor introduction -  
They say nothing but themselves - But at  
least they stubbornly bloom even today.

I will give you the News - my brain  
is fuzzy today. It is cold -

I imagine there is fog in the corners -  
of the undulating panes of your window

I wander among my roses -  
And they are indeed mine - for it is I who  
love them best.

Too much Rain and Sun  
have distilled them

like a mug of tea -  
I watch the Suffer - and the Leveret who  
washes his ears

Then he settles himself down  
to stay cool in the mulch.

Do remember me and write -

(G).



## Letter 342a

I shan't sit up tonight to write you all about E.D. dearest but if you had read Mrs. Stoddard's novels you could understand a house where each member runs his or her own selves. Yet I only saw her.

A large county lawyer's house, brown brick, with great trees & a garden — I sent up my card. A parlor dark & cool & stiffish, a few books & engravings & an open piano —...

A step like a pattering child's in entry & in glided a little plain woman with two smooth bands of reddish hair & a face a little like I Belle Dove's; not plainer — with no good feature — in a very plain & exquisitely clean white pique & a blue net worsted shawl. She came to me with two day lilies which she put in a sort of childlike way into my hand & said "These are my introduction" in a soft frightened breathless childlike voice — & added under her breath Forgive me if I am frightened; I never see strangers & hardly know what I say— but she talked soon & thenceforward continuously — & deferentially— sometimes stopping to ask me to talk instead of her — but readily recommencing. Manner between Angie Tilton & Mr. Alcott — but thoroughly ingenuous & simple which they are not & saying many things which you would have thought foolish & I wise — & some things you wd. hv. liked. I add a few over the page.

This is a lovely place, at least the view Hills everywhere, hardly mountains. I saw Dr. Stearns the Pres't of College — but the janitor cd. not be found to show me into the building I may try again tomorrow. I

called on Mrs. Banfield & saw her five children—She looks much like H. H. *when ill* & was very cordial & friendly. Goodnight darling I am very sleepy & do good to write you this much.

E. —

If I send you Mme. Charlotte de la Tour's  
Le Language des Fleurs, will you translate  
 it for me — will you strike out whatever  
 you do not find in your father's garden —  
 And do write in what has been left  
 out — Your own associations —

Some Meaning that beneath "clematis" lies  
 and the Fog that creeps into my mind —  
 the silly Terrors of the night  
 touch an un-illuminating "slant of light" —

Your verse is alive with your Garden —  
 Surely he told you that  
 But it is not fair Emily — I  
 cannot see your father's yard if you  
 do not tell it to me —

Yours,  
 Catherine





Poem #440

'Tis customary as we part  
A trinket — to confer —  
It helps to stimulate the faith  
When Lovers be afar —

'Tis various— as the various taste —  
Clematis — journeying far —  
Presents me with a single Curl  
Of her Electric Hair—

Dear Emilie,

I went to the seaside today - even though it was steel-gray and stormy, it was alright for me to be adrift on it - A real adventure.

Have you ever been -

I fancy you have been from your Room

I would implore you out to sea - but you would not come -

Is not your pen the only helm needed? He brought the boat and we flowed a-way out with the tide, until I could see nothing save white sky and gray waves - It rather reminded me of your dresses -

- C.A.G.



Poem #30

Adrift! A little boat adrift!  
And night is coming down!  
Will *no* one guide a little boat  
Unto the nearest town?

So Sailors say — on yesterday —  
Just as the dusk was brown  
One little boat gave up its strife  
And gurgled down and down.

So angels say — on yesterday —  
Just as the dawn was red  
One little boat — o'erspent with gales —  
Retrimmed its masts — redecked its sails —  
And shot — exultant on!

(4)

To E. Dickinson,  
 My father too buys me books - or did -  
 I buy my own now and often enough - I  
 write them

Now that there is no one who reads  
 to me - I tell myself my own stories.

I do not think Father would approve  
 them. They are unkempt and passionate  
 blurry - and they jump about like  
 rabbits in the Garden because I already  
 know how they end -

What is it in a little girl  
 that longs to sleep beside a bearded man,  
 though he makes the bed too warm - and snores  
 - Something about a Rose  
 in a diamond prison -

Yours  
 Cathy



To T. W. Higginson

25 April 1862

Mr Higginson,

Your kindness claimed earlier gratitude—but I was ill—and write today, from my pillow.

Thank you for the surgery—it was not so painful as I supposed. I bring you others — as you ask — though they might not differ —

While my thought is undressed—I can make the distinction, but when I put them in the Gown — they look alike, and numb.

You asked how old I was? I made no verse—but one or two—until this winter— Sir —

I had a terror — since September — I could tell to none — and so I sing, as the Boy does by the Burying Ground—because I am afraid— You inquire my Books — For Poets — I have Keats — and Mr and Mrs Browning. For Prose — Mr Ruskin — Sir Thomas Browne — and the Revelations. I went to school—but in your manner of the phrase —had no education. When a little Girl, I had a friend, who taught me Immortality—but venturing too near, himself —he never returned—Soon after, my Tutor, died — and for several years, my Lexicon — was my only companion —Then I found one more—but he was not contented I be his scholar—so he left the Land.

You ask of my Companions Hills — Sir — and the Sundown — and a Dog—large as myself, that my Father bought me—They are better than Beings—because they know—but do not tell—and the noise in the Pool, at Noon — excels my Piano. I have a Brother and Sister — My Mother does not care for thought—and Father, too busy with his Briefs — to notice what we do — He buys me many Books — but begs me not to read them — because he fears they joggle the Mind. They are religious — except me — and address an Eclipse, every morning — whom they call their "Father." But I fear my story fatigues you—I would like to learn — Could you tell me how to grow — or is it unconveyed — like Melody—or Witchcraft?

You speak of Mr Whitman —I never read his Book — but was told that he was disgraceful —

I read Miss Prescott's "Circumstance," but it followed me, in the Dark—so I avoided her —

Two Editors of Journals came to my Father's House, this winter— and asked me for my Mind — and when I asked them "Why," they said I was penurious— and they, would use it for the World —

I could not weigh myself—Myself--

My size felt small— to me—I read your Chapters in the Atlantic— and experienced honor for you — I was sure you would not reject a confiding question —

Is this — Sir — what you asked me to tell you?

Your friend,

E — Dickinson.

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# Alfred Thayer Mahan, Sea Power, Theodore Roosevelt, and the “Asiatic Problem”

David Campmier

Admiral Alfred Mahan had a complex relationship with Theodore Roosevelt before, during, and after Roosevelt’s presidency and he influenced several of Roosevelt’s naval, strategic, and economic policies. While these two men shared a mutual respect for one another, there were distinct differences in their approaches to foreign policy in particular the “Asiatic Problem.” While on the surface it appears that Mahan’s influence was not as strong as many historians claimed it was, this paper will argue that the influence Mahan had in his relationship with Roosevelt diminished when Roosevelt became President, in particular regarding the “Asiatic Problem.”

The book [*Influence of Sea Power on History, 1660 to 1783*] could have been written only by a man steeped through and through in the peculiar knowledge and wisdom of the great naval expert who was also by instinct and training a statesman...Admiral Mahan was the only great naval expert who also possessed in international matters the mind of a statesman of the first class...<sup>1</sup>

These words were written by Theodore Roosevelt in 1915 as he reflected on the life of Alfred Thayer Mahan. It was indicative of his lengthy, fruitful, and friendly correspondence with Mahan. Roosevelt admired his acquaintance’s work which began with *Influence of Sea Power on History, 1660 to 1783*. The President was one of many politicians and naval officers whom Admiral Mahan inspired and impressed.

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<sup>1</sup> “A Great Public Servant,” *The Outlook* Vol. 109 (January 13, 1915 ): 85-86 quoted in William E. Livezey, *Mahan on Sea Power* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947), 52-53.

Mahan had great influence over crucial policy makers and government officials, including Roosevelt, during a pivotal time for United States' foreign relations. He was a key strategist in formulating naval and geopolitical policies.

The United States had finally settled its frontiers and began to look beyond continental North America for opportunities during the years 1865 to 1914. During this period, expansion was distinctly different and matched the imperialistic tenor of European states' foreign policy. The United States began to look abroad for economic expansion; this was a departure from the past. During this time, Great Britain, France, and Germany launched a wave of annexation and colonization of territories in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. This policy of rapid annexation and colonization for a variety of strategic and economic purposes became known as imperialism. The United States' experience with imperialism was different from its European counterparts, however. Admiral Mahan who was considered an intellectual authority on imperialism by other supporters of this policy lent considerable insight into the relationship between imperialism and the needs and goals of Sea Power.

Mahan and Roosevelt's relationship has been the subject of intense study and analysis. Roosevelt's policies and beliefs about the naval affairs often match Mahan's views closely. Their similar ideologies make it difficult to understand the nuances of their relationship. Richard Turk observes that historians such as William D. Paulson and William R. Braisted concluded that Theodore Roosevelt wholeheartedly accepted and closely followed Mahan's Sea Power doctrine throughout his political

career.<sup>2</sup> William E Livezey, similar to Paulson and Braisted, argues that Roosevelt was a disciple of Mahan's concept of Sea Power. Moreover, Livezey believes that Mahan used his relationship with Roosevelt to ensure that his ideas initiated change within the US Navy.<sup>3</sup> J. Simon Rofe argues that Roosevelt was "...an essential conduit..." for Mahan's ideas in particular expressing the basic ideas of Sea Power and empire to others such as Franklin Delano Roosevelt.<sup>4</sup> Rofe implies that Roosevelt disseminated Mahan's ideas to other policy makers without passing on his interpretation of them. Later, according to Turk, revisionist historians such as William Harabuagh, became more cautious about the nature of Mahan's influence, implying that while his ideas certainly inspired Roosevelt, Roosevelt himself used Mahan's ideas and communication skills to achieve his own political goals.<sup>5</sup>

Turk, in his book *The Ambiguous Relationship*, argues that Mahan did exert a great deal of influence over Roosevelt's policies, but there were several instances, such as creating favorable strategic conditions in the Pacific and the design of new warships, in which the two men differed. Their relationship, concludes Turk, "...might have been a famous friendship; on the other [hand], the Mahan-Roosevelt relationship bore within itself the seeds of serious discord. Neither extreme triumphed and thus ambiguity remains."<sup>6</sup> Despite their differences, Turk observes

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<sup>2</sup> Richard W. Turk, *The Ambiguous Relationship* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 1.

<sup>3</sup> William E. Livezey, *Mahan on Sea Power* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947), 113-114.

<sup>4</sup> J. Simon Rofe, "'Under the Influence of Mahan': Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt and Their Understanding of American National Interest," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 19, (2008): 733. <http://web.ebscohost.com.libproxy.adelphi.edu:2048/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=add1dc4d-b365-4411-b29d-339b08139e74%40sessionmgr113&vid=4&hid=119> (accessed November 11, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Turk, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 107.



that together they shaped policy for a new naval institution that would serve America's interests as the nation became both an imperial power and a Sea Power.

Mahan's ideas about Sea Power were formulated during his tenure at the Naval War College. As a naval officer, Mahan concerned himself with intellectual pursuits; he studied the impact of naval warfare on general economic and political history. His most famous work, *Influence of Sea Power on History, 1660 to 1783*, introduced his concept of Sea Power. Sea Power is not exclusively a military notion; rather, it primarily is an economic and political idea.

In the introduction to *Influence of Sea Power on History*, Mahan notes "The history of Sea Power is largely...a narrative of contests between nations, of mutual rivalries, of violence frequently culminates in war."<sup>7</sup> Sea Power, argues Mahan, had an impact on history's course because of its connection to the struggle for resources and commerce using sea routes. For Mahan, sea routes were "...a wide common, over which men may pass in all directions..." and were vital to the efficiency and safety of trade. Therefore, a navy's express purpose was to protect a nation's sea routes and commerce during war and peace.<sup>8</sup> Mahan did not define Sea Power as merely building and maintaining a large, modern navy for war. It was an economic and political strategy supported by a strong navy. Sea Power is essentially a method to build a commercial sea trade empire. Specifically, Mahan believed that Sea Power was the interplay between its essential economic and political elements:

*...production* [emphasis added], with the necessity of exchanging products, *shipping*, whereby the exchange is carried on, and *colonies*, which facilitate

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<sup>7</sup> Alfred T. Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power on History, 1660 to 1783* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1905 19<sup>th</sup> ed.) 1.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 25-26.

and enlarge the operations of shipping and tend to protect it by multiplying points of safety...<sup>9</sup>

Mahan notes Sea Power's elements are influenced by the "conditions" a nation possesses: geographical position, the geological make up of a nation's coast, territorial size, population size, and the character of a nation's people and government. The strengths or weaknesses of each condition, argues Mahan, determine the effectiveness of a nation's Sea Power.<sup>10</sup>

Britain was Mahan's example of a government with the ideal characteristics to achieve the ends of Sea Power; it benefited from two types of government character: "free" and despotic. For Mahan, the most influential condition was a government's character and the strength of its institutions. The character of the government and its institutions dictated the adeptness with which a nation pursued Sea Power. Ultimately, Mahan believed that a centralized and relatively democratic government led by an able executive had the necessary flexibility and strength to handle difficult diplomatic and strategic, naval problems. The British government combined "...intelligent direction by a government fully imbued with the spirit of the people and its true bent..." and "...despotic power, wielded with judgment and consistency...created at times a great sea commerce and a brilliant navy..."<sup>11</sup> Put simply, the ideal government obeyed the perceived will of its people while wielding "despotic" power to execute the people's will. Mahan further observes that Britain's success in pursuing Sea Power was the result of its unique political structure and its willingness to maintain a strong, flexible naval institution. The control of the British

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 28.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 28-29.

<sup>11</sup> Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power on History*, 58.

Parliament, comments Mahan, was given to a single class, the landed aristocracy, which had the martial traditions and economic resources to maintain robust martial institutions and expand Britain's sea trade routes. Parliament's careful examination of the military and trade led Mahan to believe that they achieved an "...increased efficiency of executive power in its management of the navy" for the express purpose of expanding and protecting its sea borne commerce.<sup>12</sup>

Mahan, in *Influence of Sea Power on History*, briefly discusses America's weaknesses regarding Sea Power including the character of America's government. Like his contemporary American intellectuals, Mahan was concerned about the loss of the American frontier and the economic depression of the 1890s. Mahan's solution was to focus American economic opportunities on the elements of Sea Power: production, shipping, and colonization. He believed that to remedy the United States' economic struggles, the government needed to build a commercial empire. Mahan, however, was careful to distinguish commercial empire from the past mercantilist empires. In the past mercantilist empires, Britain, Spain, and France applied direct political, martial, and commercial control over their colonies. Walter LaFeber argues that Mahan's Sea Power was not about direct political or military control of colonial markets, but a focus on expanding American economic opportunities, through production, shipping and colonization, and protecting them with naval bases and a strong navy.<sup>13</sup> The American government writes Mahan, regarding "internal development" and "great production," "...reflected the bent of

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 66-67.

<sup>13</sup> Walter LaFeber, "A Note on the 'Mercantilistic Imperialism of Alfred Thayer Mahan'" *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 48, No. 4 (March 1962): 685 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1893148> (accessed November 1, 2011).

controlling elements of the country ....” Unfortunately, Mahan observes, the reason for development and production was to achieve self-sufficiency which hindered the United States’ ability to pursue peaceful shipping and colonization, the other two crucial elements of Sea Power.<sup>14</sup> Mahan perceived that the American government was willing to let other nations carry out sea borne commerce and believed that the American people had no interest in “militarily” governed colonies because it conflicted with their commercial culture.<sup>15</sup>

Theodore Roosevelt applauded Mahan’s appraisal of the history of Sea Power and America’s dire problems in pursuing Sea Power; he wrote to Mahan in 1889, “My Dear Captain Mahan...I have spent half my time...in reading your book [*The Influence of Sea Power on History from 1660 to 1783*]; and that I found it interesting ...it is a very good book – admirable; I am greatly in error if it does not become a naval classic.”<sup>16</sup> As the Assistant Secretary of the Navy and Vice President, Roosevelt regularly corresponded with Mahan about major naval matters including naval institutional reform and Pacific strategy. For example, Roosevelt and Mahan were deeply concerned about Japan’s interest in annexing the Hawaiian Islands after American settlers overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy. Their correspondence about Hawaii revealed their close working relationship and ideological ties. Mahan wrote an article about the subject, “Hawaii and Our Future Sea Power” in January 1893. He argued that

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 84.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. 83-84.

<sup>16</sup> Library of Congress, Washington D.C.: Alfred Thayer Mahan Papers, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, quoted in Richard Turk, *The Ambiguous Relationship* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 109.

...the importance of the Hawaiian Island...[is] a position powerfully influencing the commercial and military control of the Pacific...the main advantages...namely, which directly advance commercial security and naval control. To the negative advantages of possession...if the islands were in the hands of any other power, would constitute to us disadvantages and threats...The serious menace to our Pacific coast and our Pacific trade...the immense disadvantage to us of any maritime enemy having a coaling-station well within twenty-five hundred miles, as this is, of every point of our coast-line from Puget Sound to Mexico.<sup>17</sup>

Mahan later wrote to Roosevelt in 1897 and reiterated the need to annex the islands when the government had the opportunity to do so and bolster the United States Pacific squadron with new battleships and skilled admirals.<sup>18</sup> Roosevelt replied in a letter to Mahan “as regards to Hawaii, I take your views completely...I have been pressing...that we act now without delay...With Hawaii once in our hands most of the danger of friction with Japan would disappear.”<sup>19</sup> Roosevelt’s agreement with Mahan on Hawaii does not explicitly indicate Mahan’s influence on Roosevelt; his own beliefs may have simply been in line with Mahan’s. Nonetheless, Mahan continually encouraged Roosevelt to continue to use his position to press for annexing Hawaii and to influence his superior, Secretary of the Navy John Davis Long. From time to time, Roosevelt requested Mahan’s assistance to convince politicians such as Senators George Frisbe Hoar and James H. Kyle to agree to annex the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>20</sup> Roosevelt clearly believed Mahan’s strategic vision was valuable and worthy of propagation. Rolfe’s supposition, I believe, that Theodore

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<sup>17</sup> Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Interest of America in Sea Power, Present and Future*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1897) Gutenberg Project <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15749/15749-h/15749-h.htm#II> (accessed November 15, 2011).

<sup>18</sup> Library of Congress, Washington D.C.: Alfred Thayer Mahan Papers, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, quoted in Richard Turk, *The Ambiguous Relationship* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 114-115.

<sup>19</sup> Turk, 115-16.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 27.

Roosevelt was a “conduit” for Mahan’s ideas, is applicable in regard to annexing Hawaii. By asking Mahan to speak with both Senators, Roosevelt demonstrated Mahan’s considerable influence on his political beliefs.

Their relationship changed when Roosevelt became President in 1901. As Charles E. Neu observes, Roosevelt had other more pressing domestic and international problems to confront such as the Alaskan boundary controversy, the Panama Canal, and American dominance in the Caribbean.<sup>21</sup> As a politician, Roosevelt had to placate American voters. He was not as active in Far Eastern foreign affairs until 1906.<sup>22</sup> Roosevelt concentrated on foreign policy in the Caribbean and Latin America because he believed that he would have the American public’s support pursuing economic opportunities there.

Mahan expected Roosevelt as President to be aggressive in dealing with the rising power of Japan and the changing state of affairs in China. Mahan wrote a series of articles about American interests in East Asia for *Harpers New Monthly Magazine* in 1900 entitled *The Problem of Asia and its effect upon international policies*. Mahan wrote these articles because he became increasingly aware of a need to shift the United States’ foreign policy to the “Asiatic Problem,” the competition between imperial powers in East Asia: Japan, Korea, and China. East Asia, he observed, was the prime focus of expansion for all imperial powers, the United

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<sup>21</sup>Charles E. Neu, “Theodore Roosevelt and American Involvement in the Far East 1901-1909,” *Pacific Historical Review* Vol. 35 Issue 4, (1966): 438. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3636977> (accessed October 25, 2011).

<sup>22</sup>Ibid. 438

States included.<sup>23</sup> Mahan argues that the United States' government and general public should support securing strategic footholds in East Asia through an alliance with the British because their navy would help further American interests, maximizing the key elements of Sea Power, and a strong naval presence. He writes that Americans could no longer afford to ignore Asian foreign policy concerns because it was an international power. America became an international power, observes Mahan, because of its use of the Monroe Doctrine and its commercial expansion in the Pacific. Moreover, the United States had vested economic and political interests in the Philippines and China which needed to be protected.<sup>24</sup>

Roosevelt was a wholehearted supporter of aggressively seeking to establish American Sea Power in East Asia until he understood the complex balance between public opinion and strategic goals. He wrote to Mahan in 1901, "I have read with great interest your Asiatic Problems, and in the main, with entire agreement...But I do not have to tell you...that while something can be done by public means in leading the people, they cannot be led much further than public opinion has prepared the way." <sup>25</sup> Roosevelt had to carefully monitor public opinion and curry political favor. Neu points out that some historians, such as Howard K. Beale, believe Roosevelt had many ideas for East Asian political and diplomatic strategy but executed only a few of them because he believed he had no political support for aggressive East Asian policies.<sup>26</sup> As President, for Roosevelt to rigidly follow

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<sup>23</sup> Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Problem of Asia and its effect upon international policies*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company: 1900) Google Books accessed October 25, 2011 <http://www.google.com/books> 131-132.

<sup>24</sup> Mahan, *The Problem of Asia and its effect upon international policies*, 68.

<sup>25</sup> Turk, 129.

<sup>26</sup> Neu, 434.

Mahan's arguments for an aggressive approach to Sea Power in the region was neither politically nor strategically feasible. His relationship with Mahan dramatically changed after the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War in 1906 and the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907.

Two events changed Roosevelt's attitude towards Mahan's ideas. First, a domestic crisis soon became an international crisis when a series of California State laws specifically discriminated against Japanese immigrants. The laws infuriated the Japanese government and President Roosevelt felt obliged to negotiate with the Japanese. The result was an informal "treaty" called the Gentlemen's Agreement. He feared Japan's growing power and pride in East Asia after the Russo-Japanese War; Roosevelt won the Nobel Peace Prize for brokering peace between the two but had ulterior motives for doing so. The treaty attempted to create a balance of power in the region and to protect American interests, in particular, to ensure the Philippines' security. Roosevelt desired friendly foreign relations with Japan and was willing to negotiate with Japan about domestic matters and to make concessions to the Japanese government. He wanted to maintain friendly relations with Japan at the expense of greater Sea Power in the region to ensure that US interests in China and the Philippines were free from Japanese interference.<sup>27</sup> Roosevelt, for example, allowed the Japanese to develop a powerful sphere of influence in Manchuria, China, and Korea to the possible detriment of US shipping and interest in ports in those regions. According to Neu, Roosevelt seemed to favor a "withdrawal" from East Asia in return for the Japanese government's control of immigration to the US thereby

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<sup>27</sup> Neu, 448-449.



keeping tensions between the two powers low.<sup>28</sup> Roosevelt was willing to sacrifice the shipping and colonization demands of Sea Power in order to maintain peace.

Mahan understood the situation in a purely strategic light. In 1908, he wrote again on the “Asiatic Problem” in light of Japan’s victory over Russia. Mahan argued that the United States must learn two important lessons from Russia’s defeat to keep Japanese imperialist ambitions in the region at bay. The first lesson Mahan termed “concentration” of naval forces; a nation must dispatch its full battle fleet to engage the enemy. Splitting or separating a fleet, as the Russians did during the war, allows a better concentrated enemy to easily beat a divided fleet.<sup>29</sup> The second lesson to be learned was peacetime preparation for future conflicts which included diplomatic, intelligence, and political preparations. The Russians, Mahan asserts, were poorly prepared for the conflict. While the Russians were aware they had potential enemies on two fronts, the British in the Baltic and the Japanese in the North Pacific, they were unaware that their aggression towards Manchuria threatened Japan’s interest to the point that the Japanese would instigate war at the opportune moment.<sup>30</sup> The United States, then, would have to plan systematically and forcefully and prepare for war with Japan in the Pacific.

Roosevelt, foreseeing possible conflict with Japan, wanted to decrease the US Naval presence in East Asia as relations deteriorated. Strategically, Roosevelt was concerned about the balance of power in the Far East while Mahan proposed

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 447-448.

<sup>29</sup> Alfred Thayer Mahan, “Retrospect upon the War between Japan and Russia,” *Naval Administration and Warfare* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1908) Google Books, <http://books.google.com/books> (accessed December 2, 2011), 169.

<sup>30</sup> Mahan, “Retrospect upon the War between Japan and Russia,” 171-172.

aggressive policies to establish the United States' presence there.<sup>31</sup> Roosevelt wanted to avoid Russia's blunder of angering the Japanese sufficiently to instigate military action; therefore, the U.S. "retreated" from aggressively asserting American Sea Power in East Asia. Instead, Roosevelt wanted to concentrate on Sea Power in the Caribbean. Mahan, nonetheless, was sensitive to any perceived US naval weakness and wrote to Roosevelt about a newspaper article in 1907: "...the statement in the morning paper that four of our best battleships are to be sent to the Pacific has filled me with dismay. In case of war with Japan what can four battleships do against their navy?" Mahan continues to say in his letter a conflict between Japan and the US was a naval contest which rested on Sea Power and would require the entire US fleet.<sup>32</sup> Roosevelt replied angrily, "...don't you know me well enough to believe that I am quite incapable of such an act of utter folly as dividing our fighting fleet? I have no more thought of sending four battleships to the Pacific while there still is the least possible friction with Japan...."<sup>33</sup>

This exchange reveals a great deal about Mahan's influence on and relationship with Roosevelt when Roosevelt was President. Mahan was unafraid to chastise the President on perceived strategic blunders. But Roosevelt had to balance foreign policy with Japan with foreign policy issues in the Caribbean and Latin America including curbing European interference in the Western Hemisphere and securing an isthmus canal. Mahan, however, did not give up on the issue; as he did with the issue of Hawaii's annexation, Mahan continually spoke to Roosevelt about

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<sup>31</sup> Neu, 434.

<sup>32</sup> Turk, 149.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. 149.

the necessity to keep the fleet undivided. Mahan eventually “prevailed” and Roosevelt wrote to Mahan in 1909 assuring him that he warned his successor, President Howard Taft, about the dangers of dividing the fleet.<sup>34</sup> It is crucial to note, however, that Roosevelt advised Taft only after he was leaving the Presidency; at that point, Roosevelt was not bound by complicated politics and strategic imperatives.

Mahan’s thinking influenced Theodore Roosevelt while he was the Assistant Secretary of the Navy when he was free to espouse and follow closely Mahan’s ideas about Sea Power. Roosevelt’s support for the annexation of Hawaii demonstrated Mahan’s influence over him. When Roosevelt was President, Mahan continued to be an influential figure in their relationship; Roosevelt seriously believed and often followed Mahan’s advice. Roosevelt, however, believed that he had a greater responsibility to align his policies with political and public opinion. He had his own ideologies and believed that Mahan’s argument about the strategic solutions to the “Asiatic Problem” was not politically feasible. Roosevelt had to deal cautiously with Japan and he retreated from aggressively pursuing Sea Power in East Asia. Roosevelt was inspired by the basic principles of Sea Power and used them in foreign policy when he judged them to be advantageous.

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# The Unimportance of Being

Brianna O'Neill

In music, when two songs that seem complete opposites are blended together, the result is given the slang term “mash up.” This play is what you might call a literary “mashup” where the world of Herman Melville’s *Moby Dick* encounters the world of Oscar Wilde’s *Importance of Being Earnest*. As a reader, keep in mind that nothing should be taken too seriously.

Act I  
Scene 1: Muffins

(Whenever Ishmael has a particularly dark looming in the waves of his soul, he looks towards the sea. The crashing of his soul pulls him towards Nantucket, specifically the Spouter Inn. The Spouter Inn is the exact replica of the darkness inside Ishmael’s head. The building has a chilly, cold air though inherently dark. The poison sits behind the bar, death being sold for a penny.)

*(Peter Coffin cleans the bar. Ishmael enters)*

Peter Coffin

Well, if it ain’t the wife of a savage! I heard you were the lucky survivor of the big wreck.

*(Ishmael pauses)*

Ishmael

Mr. Coffin, have you ever wondered about the conundrum that is your name?

Peter Coffin

Afore you jump to assumptions, I was named for my great grandfather. And he was a fellow of the living.

Ishmael

Aren’t we all of the living?

Peter Coffin

Not of the living, but of living. He was living until the day he died.

Ishmael

And what are you?

Peter Coffin

I am a landlord.

*(Ishmael adjusts his pack on his shoulder and clears his throat)*

Ishmael

I desire a place for the night.

Peter Coffin

The house is full but do you still have objections to sharing a blanket? An English (or was it Irish?) gentleman is lodging here, quite the civilized fellow. He eats his steaks medium well.

Ishmael

You're certain there is no other room?

*(Peter Coffin, with a case-closed manner)*

Peter Coffin

He's a Christian.

Ishmael

I believe you think there are reassurances in that statement.

Peter Coffin

Come on, this way.

*(Peter Coffin leads Ishmael to a small clammy room, similar to the one that Ishmael had shared with the late Queequeg. A large bed sits by the counterpane. Algernon pretends to sleep.)*

You'll make yourself comfortable and good night to ye.

*(Ishmael is left standing in the moonlight. Should he introduce himself or should he simply slip into the bed as unnoticed as possible?)*

Algernon

Are you a whaler?

*(Ishmael steps forward and extends a hand)*

Ishmael

Call me Ishmael.

*(Algernon looks at the hand but does not take it.)*

Algernon

Call you Ishmael? Are you not an Ishmael? Is that your Christian name? Then call me Ishmael as well.

*(Ishmael puts his hand in his pocket.)*

Ishmael

Do you have no respect for me, sir?

Algernon

A fish by any other name would smell as fishy.

Ishmael

Then how do we classify if names mean nothing?

Algernon

The name is actually nothing and everything at the same time.

Ishmael

You speak in riddles. You say one thing and then you contradict it.

Algernon

I changed my mind.

*(After a moment)*

Algernon (continued)

You appear agitated. Do you enjoy muffins?

Ishmael

What do muffins have to do with anything?

Algernon

What do muffins not have to do with anything?

*(Ishmael is silent)*

Algernon (continued)

I find whenever I find myself in the slightest bit agitated, eating muffins is always the way to be calm. Eating anything at all is actually very soothing. If I couldn't eat I would die. What are you thinking? I fancy myself to be a great reader of thoughts.

Ishmael

I am trying to decide if you are crazy or if I am dreaming.

Algernon

That is exactly what I thought you were thinking.

Ishmael

What am I thinking now?

Algernon

About how much you desire a muffin.

Ishmael

Have you ever thought of going to sea?

Algernon

Have you ever thought of getting any sleep? Man is inherently a very sleepy creature, waking only to sleep again.

*(Ishmael, still unsure whether Algernon is mentally stable, robotically climbs over Algernon who refuses to move. Still fully clothed, Ishmael lies next to Algernon and not under the covers.)*

Algernon

Now isn't this cozy?

## Scene 2: Bread and Butter

(Gwendolyn is vacationing at the beach when she comes upon a mysterious weeping figure. He is hunched over and obviously quite distressed. Gwendolyn is on her honeymoon with her husband, Ernest, who is currently at work procuring a meal of bread and butter for them to picnic.)

*(Gwendolyn is writing in her diary on the beach. Her foot has fallen asleep and she intends to walk it off. Gwendolyn is walking with her "boot foot" when she comes upon a hunched figure crying.)*

Gwendolyn

Sir, why are you crying?

*(Ahab looks at her face and cries harder.)*



Gwendolyn

Sir, are you hurt? If you are hurt, then you should see a doctor. Do you want me to call for help? Women are known for their ability to call for help.

Ahab

He's gone.

Gwendolyn

Your dog?

Ahab

A whale.

Gwendolyn

Maybe I should call a doctor.

*(Gwendolyn goes to leave, dragging her sleeping foot behind her but Ahab drops a spear in front of her feet, stopping her.)*

I thought you might be my cousin's poor invalid friend Bunbury. He was very much exploded. You look how I imagined he might look.

Ahab (aside)

I am as Lucifer cast aside. For so fallen am I, without even a bone to stand upon. Yet, still, that tingling of life still lingers within the empty limb. How am I to rise above? And there is this Eve who yet knows not the distance of the fall. She has not tasted the fruit that is the whale.

*(Gwendolyn looks behind her, behind Ahab, and then again behind her.)*

Gwendolyn (whispering)

Who are you talking to?

Ahab

You have both your legs. You wouldn't understand.

Gwendolyn

My left leg is quite dead.

Ahab (getting agitated)

But was your leg eaten by a great white monster named Moby Dick? And did he consume your life and then spit you upon this shore?

Gwendolyn

Not as I recall. And I write everything down in my diary, giving me an excellent memory.

*(Gwendolyn shows Ahab her diary. He attempts to spear it with his harpoon. She less than swiftly attempts to back away but in trying to use her leg that has fallen asleep, falls into the sand.)*

Now look what you've done! I think we shall not be Bunburying friends after all!

Ahab

They called *me* mad.

Gwendolyn

Because your dog ate your leg?

Ahab

It was a whale! A great white whale! I roamed the world looking for him.

Gwendolyn

You appear quite mad. And I am never wrong. But if you had a reason for this rage then I believe you to be sincere and reasonable. Reason is the height of fashion these days.

Ahab

Can you get me a ship?

Gwendolyn

Mayhaps. If you ask me politely.

*(Ahab sighs loudly, being treated like a child only making him more agitated.)*

Ahab

Can you get me a ship, please?

Gwendolyn

Oh absolutely not! I am not a ship maker. I wish I could help you. Maybe when my husband Ernest returns he can ship you in the right direction.

Ahab

And what is the name of your husband?

Gwendolyn

Ernest!

Ahab

That isn't a name.

Gwendolyn

It is the mostly lovely of names, one of the most stable names for a husband to have.

*(Gwendolyn rises to her feet, wipes the sand from her dress, and goes to leave, her foot now recovered.)*

Ahab

You are the perfect image of a Christian.

Gwendolyn

They are rarely seen at the best houses now-a-days.

*(Gwendolyn exits, Ahab left alone on the beach.)*

### Scene 3: Cucumber Sandwich

(Lady Bracknell has one too many cucumber sandwiches and from the heaviness in her stomach, falls into a food stupor. She has a dream that she is floating in the ocean and comes upon a whale, specifically Moby Dick.)

*(Lady Bracknell swims around, feeling as limber as when she was a young girl romping through the green.)*

Lady Bracknell

This is absolutely lovely. I've never seen this at any party I've ever been to.

Moby Dick

00000ooooouuuu000uuuuueeeee

\*[What are you doing in the ocean?]

Lady Bracknell

I don't quite understand what you are saying? Can you speak up?

Moby Dick

00iiiiuuuuueeeoooooooo00000000

\*[Who are you?]



# Keats, Coleridge, and the Artistic Mind

**Jake Stamoulis**

In one way or another, we all look to art for salvation. Art and its imaginings offer us a place of solace when the “real” world overwhelms us. Whether we are lost in the music of our favorite album or are deeply engrossed in a movie playing in an empty theater, we use the media that surrounds to escape from the world. But of course, the album inevitably fades out, and the lights in the theater eventually go up. As passionate consumers of creative media, we are left unfulfilled and frustrated that our emotional connection has been severed.

In John Keats’ poem “Ode on A Grecian Urn,” the speaker finds himself captivated by the titular object; he is enthralled in the urn’s mythological and fantastic beauty and imagery. He agonizes over the fact that he cannot possibly articulate how the urn makes him feel; no matter how many times he gazes upon it, he can never enter its world. Time after time, he is left wanting more as the experience falls short of perfection. Just as we long to be a part of the media we consume – listening to that music, viewing that movie - Keats’ speaker longs to immerse himself in the urn’s story. But his view of the urn as a mere object, a piece of artwork, prevents him from becoming part of its narrative. Any kind of discourse is impossible; there is no communication. Because the urn is crafted as a work of art by someone else, the speaker does not feel he has the right (or the ability) to replicate its power in verse. And due to his inability to describe the urn, he does not believe that what he is feeling is actually “truth.” However, in reality, the speaker is

the one who conjures the romantic imagery that he thinks the urn is creating on its own. In writing an ode on the urn and its “beauty,” he has given it the value, meaning, and “truth” that he so longs to experience. Essentially, he is communicating with himself, delving into his own poetic and creative mind. The ode’s line, “beauty is truth, truth beauty,” acknowledges that we consume art in order to reach that level of self-fulfillment and self-communication. That is where real “truth” lies.

Keats’ speaker begins “Ode on a Grecian Urn” with imagery that frames his intimate esteem for the urn. To the speaker, the purity and untarnished quality of the urn cannot be overemphasized. He calls the urn a “still unravish’d bride of quietness” (line 1 see *Appendix*). This gives the urn a pristine and virginal character. The marriage between the speaker and the urn remains celibate – frustratingly unconsummated – despite the speaker’s devotion to the object. This presents a lack of true intimacy and understanding between the two, even though the speaker’s praise makes it clear that he repeatedly revisits the urn and its beauty. This strain in their relationship becomes clear in the poem: to the speaker, the urn is a “flowery tale more sweetly than our rhyme” (line 4); its tales of “deities or mortals, or of both” (line 6) are far superior to the speaker’s own poetic attempts.

The speaker’s firm yet curious fixation with the urn’s imagery constantly draws him back to this object of art. To him, the shapes he sees on the urn are foreign, mystical, and grandiose:

What men or gods are these? What maidens loth?  
 What mad pursuit? What struggle to escape?  
 What pipes and timbrels? What wild ecstasy? (lines 8-10)

What the speaker sees on the urn is certainly very interesting. The figures are so mystical that he can't make out the difference between gods and men. The "escape" and "wild ecstasy" that he makes out is also fascinating, considering that he is constrained by his perceived inability to turn his feelings into verse. The correlation between what the speaker sees and his mental state suggests that certain elements of the images that appear on the urn may actually be projections from the speaker's mind.

With these projections in mind, the "unheard melodies" of the following stanza carry great meaning. His visual perception of music on the urn is an instance of synesthesia, a common trope of Romantic poetry:

Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard  
Are sweeter: therefore, ye soft pipes, play on;  
Not to the sensual ear, but, more endear'd,  
Pipe to the spirit ditties of no tone.... (lines 11-14)

The "unheard melodies" are sweeter to the speaker because they have not been transcribed and scored. Rather, these songs have a conceptual resonance which appeals to his visual senses. Of course, the urn cannot possibly express music visually, so the melodies must be coming from the speaker's own mind, though at this point he remains unaware. The sound of the "soft pipes" are "more endear'd" because they come from his being. These thoughts and emotions which he projects onto the urn continue to deflect off the urn as they return to his mind. But the speaker continues to believe that the urn is able to articulate his exact feelings and passions miraculously as he takes it all in.

As the stanza moves into its second half, the imagery of the poem reverts back to the intimate and lover-like imagery of the first stanza:

Bold lover, never, never canst thou kiss,  
 Though winning near the goal - yet, do not grieve;  
 She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss  
 For ever wilt thou love, and she be fair! (lines 17-20)

The unconsummated yet passionate marriage of this imagery is moving closer to realization, to consummation. This connection is on the verge of perfection – “winning near the goal” – but this kiss is never fully realized. The strong sexual character of these lines elevates the poem’s tension and the urn’s tantalizing quality which captures the speaker’s attention and emotion. Just like a viewer who repeatedly watches a thrilling movie and hopes that it will have a different outcome, so the speaker is constantly drawn to the urn hoping for a physical moment of bliss which seems to be just out of grasp.

The following stanza expresses the emotional peak of the poem and places the speaker as close to the urn’s essence as possible; however, he then begins to fall backwards. The repeated phrase “for ever” underscores the speaker’s sensation of desire and expresses the frozen texture of the urn’s ecstasy :

For ever piping songs for ever new;  
 More happy love! more happy, happy love!  
 For ever warm and still to be enjoy’d,  
 For ever panting, and for ever young;  
 All breathing human passion far above,  
 That leaves a heart high-sorrowful and cloy’d,  
 A burning forehead, and a parching tongue. (lines 24-30)

The figures are “for ever panting, and for ever young,” free to enjoy the urn’s pleasures until the end of time. The words “panting” and “breathing” continue the



sexual thread that runs through the poem, but the last two lines of the stanza stand in stark contrast with the timeless wonder of the figures on the urn. For the speaker, “for ever” is not an option. The figures on the urn are “for ever” renewed by pleasure; however, the speaker is weary and weak – left with a “heart high-sorrowful and cloy’d, a burning forehead, and a parching tongue.” His heart is so involved with the figures on the urn that the lack of reciprocation is too painful for him. At this climactic moment when the urn’s true nature is tantalizingly revealed, the speaker reaches to grab it. However, he is unsuccessful and cannot enter the urn’s story.

As the fourth stanza shifts to the sacrifice of a cow, the speaker reverts back to questions and conjecture. He moves beyond the figures that have preoccupied him thus far, and focuses on a “little town by the river or sea shore” (line 35). The scenery is calm and tranquil rather than energetic and ecstatic. This appears to be a world entirely apart from the art and imagery found on the urn. The speaker is unable to describe in words what he has just experienced. He says: “thy streets for evermore/Will silent be/and not a soul to tell/Why thou art desolate, can e’er return” (lines 28-30). In this “little town,” he cannot begin to articulate the art and beauty of the urn, because the landscape is artistically “desolate.”

In the final stanza, the speaker once again returns to the eternal quality of the Grecian urn as a piece of art: “thou, silent form, dost tease us out of thought/As doth eternity: Cold Pastoral!” (lines 44-45). Though the urn garners a reaction from the speaker as an audience, he feels he is unable to comprehend and duplicate its beauty. His penultimate, and perhaps Keats’ most famous line, presents a conflict on

the subject of art and its perceived limitations in reality: “Beauty is truth, truth beauty” (line 49). The speaker’s ode validates the urn as a work of beauty. However, the conflict lies in the speaker’s difficulty with replicating the urn’s merits in the reality of verse. If the urn’s “flowery tale” is more effective than his “rhyme” (which means everything to him as a poet), then how can he accept the urn as “truth?”

The speaker’s initial and lasting confusion with what exactly is displayed on the urn leaves the titular object generally devoid of concrete description. The speaker makes sense of the urn in his own mind. And if he actively participates in the urn’s story, then he has a hand in weaving the “flowery tale.” For example, the “melodies” in the second stanza of the poem are heard in the speaker’s mind. By itself, the urn is a mere object that cannot create its own music. Still, the speaker can hear “soft pipes” and “ditties” that are not necessarily represented pictorially on the urn itself. With passion, the speaker continues to describe the urn as if it were a lover – an identity that can only originate from the poet who has the power to personify an inanimate object.

Without the speaker’s words, the urn would be a mere object with no power. However, he is the one who defines the urn’s eternal quality and meaning. He is left with a “burning forehead” because he doesn’t believe that what he has just experienced is his to keep. Because the urn has not been sculpted by his own hand, he feels that he has no right to use it for his own craft. This prevents him from having a consummated relationship with the urn – he comes close but eventually fails. He does not recognize that his thoughts and passion have empowered the urn and have given it value. The speaker feels he has failed as a poet because he cannot

articulate what the urn means to him, and yet he has written an entire ode in the urn's honor.

The title of the poem itself offers proof that audience participation in a piece of artwork does indeed have the power to alter the work and enhance its resonant power. Keats' choice of the title "Ode *on* a Grecian Urn" rather than "Ode *to* a Grecian Urn" greatly changes the meaning of the work. The word "on" suggests that the ode is physically written on the urn itself, meaning that the poet has physically altered the object and placed his verse and his passion upon it. The image of the speaker writing on the urn illustrates that he has imprinted his mind's work onto the urn. So rather than the poem being a communication with some foreign spirit, as the speaker wishes to believe, the experience of the ode *is* the communication itself. As the speaker recognizes the beauty of the urn, he wills it into existence by immortalizing his feelings in verse which becomes the "truth" of his verse. Keats' famous line "beauty is truth, truth beauty" demonstrates why art is made richer by repeated audience participation. When we look to art, we all seek beauty. In our dedication to works of art, we imprint upon them our own personal truths and interpretations, and in return we accomplish a rich communication with ourselves which reveals personal truth and clarity.

## Appendix: Ode on a Grecian Urn

THOU still unravish'd bride of quietness,  
 Thou foster-child of Silence and slow Time,  
 Sylvan historian, who canst thus express  
 A flowery tale more sweetly than our rhyme:  
 What leaf-fringed legend haunts about thy shape     5  
 Of deities or mortals, or of both,  
 In Tempe or the dales of Arcady?  
 What men or gods are these? What maidens loth?  
 What mad pursuit? What struggle to escape?  
 What pipes and timbrels? What wild ecstasy?     10

Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard  
 Are sweeter; therefore, ye soft pipes, play on;  
 Not to the sensual ear, but, more endear'd,  
 Pipe to the spirit ditties of no tone:  
 Fair youth, beneath the trees, thou canst not leave     15  
 Thy song, nor ever can those trees be bare;  
 Bold Lover, never, never canst thou kiss,  
 Though winning near the goal—yet, do not grieve;  
 She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,  
 For ever wilt thou love, and she be fair!     20

Ah, happy, happy boughs! that cannot shed  
 Your leaves, nor ever bid the Spring adieu;  
 And, happy melodist, unwearied,  
 For ever piping songs for ever new;  
 More happy love! more happy, happy love!     25  
 For ever warm and still to be enjoy'd,  
 For ever panting, and for ever young;  
 All breathing human passion far above,  
 That leaves a heart high-sorrowful and cloy'd,  
 A burning forehead, and a parching tongue.     30

Who are these coming to the sacrifice?  
 To what green altar, O mysterious priest,  
 Lead'st thou that heifer lowing at the skies,  
 And all her silken flanks with garlands drest?  
 What little town by river or sea-shore,     35  
 Or mountain-built with peaceful citadel,  
 Is emptied of its folk, this pious morn?

And, little town, thy streets for evermore  
 Will silent be; and not a soul, to tell  
 Why thou art desolate, can e'er return. 40

O Attic shape! fair attitude! with brede  
 Of marble men and maidens overwrought,  
 With forest branches and the trodden weed;  
 Thou, silent form! dost tease us out of thought  
 As doth eternity: Cold Pastoral! 45  
 When old age shall this generation waste,  
 Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe  
 Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou say'st,  
 'Beauty is truth, truth beauty,—that is all  
 Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.' 50

# Liberty Telling the People to like "Revolution" on Facebook

John Anglin

The internet is certainly the most popular tool of mass communication and social networking in our time, but is it the optimal one? It's often said that our obsession with the Web has reduced social interaction and the sharing of information to a single means, and that this has caused, in a strange and eerie way, our ability and willingness to act in the real world to devolve. With regards to political and social activism, my generation, Generation Y as they call us, is often accused of lacking the practical, hands-on approach to social change. Somehow, it is said, subscribing to a charity newsletter or re-blogging an activist symbol has become the equivalent of directly engaging in a cause. If this is true, we prefer the illusion of change over concrete results - the idea of activism is more appealing than activism itself.



Liberty Telling the People to Like  
"Revolution" on Facebook

# William Carlos Williams: “The crowd at the ball game”

Jillian Roesch

Most Americans have experienced the thrill of watching a baseball game while rooting for their favorite team. In these moments, the only dividing factor between the fans is the team of their choice. Fans feel the same emotions and have the same responses to shifts in the game. These feelings are the backdrop for the poem “The crowd at the ball game” by William Carlos Williams [see appendix]. However, there may be an emotion controlling the crowd far more sinister and worrisome than mere excitement or love for an American pastime.

This poem opens with a declaration of the crowd’s unity, but as the reader continues, this statement takes on more meaning. According to the narrator, “The crowd at the ball game/ is moved uniformly.” This first line sets the stage for the importance that the united actions and thoughts of the crowd play in creating the meaning of the poem. The word “moved” could signify either emotion or action; it suggests that the people in the crowd will act and feel as one in all circumstances. Though the fans are merely watching a baseball game, their actions are greatly affected by those around them. The seemingly meaningless exercise of the players’ athletic ability drives the crowd to feel as one.

However, it is not merely the act of watching the game that affects the crowd in such a way. Subtly, the fans are affected by some other external force. They are excited

by a spirit of uselessness  
which delights them –

all the exciting detail  
of the chase

and the escape, the error  
the flash of genius –

all to no end save beauty  
the eternal –

The “spirit,” “exciting detail,” “genius,” and “beauty” of the players on the field and the game itself create a state of ecstasy and harmony. The aesthetic “beauty” of the game is universal and powerful. Experience, not action, creates the connections among the crowd. In order to get the body to act together, something must make them feel together first. The dashes after the words “genius” and “delights” further emphasize this point, as there is specific attention placed on the words that either name or reflect emotion or a state of being. The fans feel the reasons for their actions rather than think about them, and this is the glue that holds them together.

This emotion can lead such a group down a dangerous road, as the individual fan’s own thoughts and opinions become muffled by the crowd. The narrator gives further insight into this reality saying,

So in detail they, the crowd,  
are beautiful

for this  
to be warned against

saluted and defied –  
It is alive, venomous

it smiles grimly  
its words cut –



For a moment, the narrator is one with the crowd. He sees the beauty that it holds, but he also realizes that this beauty is its true weapon. It can control emotions and force an individual into submission. This idea seems far from the experience of a baseball game, but “mob mentality” operates in the same way no matter what the circumstance. The emphasis on the word “defied” makes it clear that the narrator feels that these types of forces should be avoided and that individuals should stand up against their power. The mass has a sadistic aspect to it because its “words” and “smiles” pose just as much danger as any other brutal, living force.

In this atmosphere there is no dividing line between members – all individuals share common action and emotion. In this group,

The flashy female with her  
mother, gets I –

The Jew gets it straight – it  
is deadly, terrifying –

It is the Inquisition, the  
Revolution

It is beauty itself  
that lives

day by day in them  
idly –

No matter whether woman or man, Christian or Jew, all have the capacity to fall victim to such an overwhelming force that serves the purpose of the whole. This connection among fans rooting for a common baseball team is the same force that drives revolution – the same force that made the Inquisition possible. The repetition of the word “beauty” seems odd at this point in the poem but here the

narrator emphasizes the crowd's appeal as well its unity. The lust for a cause, no matter how trivial, is common to all humanity.

The need to unite stands idle until the time comes, but when it does, it is an unstoppable force. The word "terrifying" is emphasized with a dash at the end of its line and shows how destructive and dangerous this group can be. The word "idly" closes out this section of the poem and invites the reader to reflect upon his own, destructive capabilities: "would I fall into such a trap?" This is a question left unanswered until one is faced with the power of such an unthinking crowd. People tend to share the same urges and can fall into the same traps; this fact resonates with those who read the poem.

The loss of individuality is possibly one of this poem's most terrifying aspects, and the last few stanzas help to explain this circumstance:

This is  
the power of their faces

It is summer, it is the solstice  
the crowd is

cheering, the crowd is laughing  
in detail

permanently, seriously  
without thought

The narrator can see "power" within their united faces, but this force is "without thought." The crowd laughs and cheers but he is not able to see the intellect behind these supposed emotions. It is almost as if all thought has disappeared. Once again, the use of "thought" as the final word creates the possibility of the danger of the thoughtless mob. Perhaps the most frightening aspect of this struggle is the risk of

losing the judgment that helps make and keep them human.

Since Williams most often wrote about his observations of American life and in his daily environment, it would probably be safe to assume that he had some basis for his fear of “mob mentality.” Though crowds do become entranced and excited while watching sports, there appears to be a more global truth involved in Williams’ experience at the ball game. The possibility of this loss of “self” is wholly terrifying, and the chance for it to exist in America is an even greater worry. Williams’ use of such a common event as a ball game allows the reader to connect to its reflections about society easily. The poem’s implicit warning never to lose oneself, even in the face of an overwhelming force, is one that is essential to maintaining freedom.

## Appendix: The crowd at the ball game

The crowd at the ball game  
is moved uniformly

by a spirit of uselessness  
which delights them—

all the exciting detail  
of the chase

and the escape, the error  
the flash of genius—

all to no end save beauty  
the eternal—

So in detail they, the crowd,  
are beautiful

for this  
to be warned against

saluted and defied—  
It is alive, venomous

it smiles grimly  
its words cut—

The flashy female with her  
mother, gets it—

The Jew gets it straight— it  
is deadly, terrifying—

It is the Inquisition, the  
Revolution

It is beauty itself  
that lives

day by day in them  
idly—

This is  
the power of their faces

It is summer, it is the solstice  
the crowd is

cheering, the crowd is laughing  
in detail

permanently, seriously  
without thought

William Carlos Williams

# **Intellectual Property, U.S. Patent Law, and Gene Patents: Utilitarian Justifications and the Divided Libertarian Position**

**Joseph A. Bruno**

## **Introduction**

Widely debated amongst political theorists is the subject of property rights. Masterful philosophers such as John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau committed much of their writings to explaining the complex relationship between property, government and civil society. While these theorists contributed significantly to the arena of political thought, their discussions of property were mostly limited to simple appropriation and homesteading such as plucking an apple from a tree, fencing off a section of land, or pocketing a piece of gold. Less analyzed, but just as important, is the subject of intellectual property. Encompassing the ownership of “physical manifestations or expressions” of ideas, inventions and discoveries, intellectual property rights are not grounded in sheer appropriation (Moore, 2003, p. 604). On the contrary, intellectual property rights pertain to a special type of ownership—one granted by governments in the form of patents, trademarks, copyrights, and trade secrets.

Of these aforementioned expressions of intellectual property, patents have garnered the most attention within American scholarly discourse. Debate about the patent eligibility of specific mechanisms and discoveries has existed since the enactment of the first Patent Act in 1790. Even today, similar discussions are commonplace in American courtrooms. Recent scientific and technological advances, however, have complicated the subject of patent eligibility. In fact, the complexities of American patent law are perhaps

best illustrated by the ongoing legal battle over isolated human gene patents. The very idea of a gene *patent* undeniably sounds strange; yet, the concept of patenting isolated forms of human DNA has acquired substantial legal footing in the United States throughout the past forty years.

Isolated human genes are sequences of DNA that have been removed from the chromosomes in which they naturally occur. Scientists, along with biotechnological and pharmaceutical companies, have attempted to patent isolated genes, arguing that once removed from their natural chromosomes, they become a distinct chemical entity. Their efforts have been overwhelmingly successful; Cook-Deegan (2008) has estimated that in the United States alone there are currently 3,000-5,000 isolated human gene patents on file with the United States Patent and Trademark Office (p. 69). Several of these patents have been challenged via lawsuit. All the while, the scholarly and scientific communities have been offering their opinions on the subject.

The sheer amount of ongoing discussion directed toward the issue of gene patents demands that we ask a simple, yet powerful question: can gene patenting truly be justified?<sup>1</sup> This paper will strive to offer a substantive answer through analyzing the practice of gene patenting from the distinct theoretical perspectives of utilitarianism and libertarianism. U.S. patent law justifies patents based on the notion that they increase scientific and artistic progress, and in turn, benefit society—an extension of Jeremy Bentham’s “Greatest Happiness Principle.” By using the utility measurement techniques of Bentham and theorist James MacKaye, we can observe that isolated gene patents are

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<sup>1</sup> Terms such as “gene patenting,” or “gene patents” are in reference to patents filed on *isolated human* genes.

justified according to the utilitarian standards of American patent law because they can encourage innovation in the areas of biotechnology and pharmacology.

Libertarians, on the other hand, are divided over the issue of intellectual property, and consequently we can deduce that their opinions on the subject of gene patents would also be split. Within the libertarian camp, support for gene patents would undoubtedly come from Ayn Rand and Robert Nozick who, through uniquely interpreting the writings of John Locke, suggest that individuals have a right to own intellectual property. Those who subscribe to the beliefs of libertarian theorists such as Stephen Kinsella and Tom G. Palmer would condemn gene patents because they restrict the ways in which we can use our own bodies, thereby violating the thesis of self-ownership.

## **Chapter I: The Utilitarian Paradigm**

### **1.1 A Brief Overview of the “Greatest Happiness” Principle**

Advocated by political thinkers such as John Stuart Mill and Jeremy Bentham, utilitarianism is a consequentialist theory that evaluates actions based upon the outcomes they produce. The ideal outcome of any action, according to utilitarians, is one that satisfies what Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill referred to as the “Greatest Happiness Principle.” According to this rule, actions are considered to be “right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, [and] wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness” (Bentham & Mill, 1961, p. 407). Utilitarians also demand that the happiness produced by an action bring “benefit, advantage, pleasure, good or happiness...to [any] party whose interest is considered” (p. 18). Notably, these “parties” can consist of the “community in general” or solely a “particular individual” (p. 18). To



simplify, utilitarians are commonly said to seek outcomes that generate “the greatest amount of good for the greatest number” (Driver, 2009, para. 3).

It is critical to understand that classical utilitarian thinkers such as Bentham and Mill were primarily concerned with evaluating governmental action and legislation. In their view, if “measure[s] of government” did not “augment the happiness of the community,” they needed to cease immediately (Bentham & Mill, 1961, p. 18). Based on this desire to analyze governmental action, we can be sure that utilitarians would express an interest in evaluating U.S. patent law.

### **1.2 The Utilitarian Nature of U.S. Patent Law**

According to Title Thirty-Five of the United States Code (U.S.C.), a patent is a property right issued by the United States Government that grants inventors the authority to exclude others from making, using, or selling their invention for a twenty-year period. The United States Patent and Trademark Office (USPTO) issues three distinct kinds of patents: utility patents, design patents, and plant patents. Utility patents pertain to “any new and useful process, machine, article of manufacture, or composition of matter, or any new and useful improvement thereof;” design patents encompass “new, original, and ornamental design[s] for an article of manufacture;” lastly, plant patents are awarded to individuals who invent or discover and “asexually [reproduce] any distinct and new variety of plant” (USPTO, 2011b). Regardless of their categorization, each form of patent is nonrenewable. Importantly, patent holders *can* grant other individuals limited rights to use, produce, or sell their invention; however, in doing so, the patent holders often demand sizeable payment in the form of royalties and licensing fees.

Since the rights granted to patent holders are so exclusive, patents have been described as a twenty-year monopoly granted to an inventor by the U.S. Government (Rothbard, 1962, p. 655). To justify this “monopoly,” the United States Government uses a utilitarian standard that relates closely to the Greatest Happiness Principle.

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 8 of the United States Constitution (The Patent and Copyright Clause), grants Congress the authority “to promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive right to their respective Writings and Discoveries.” Even a quick glance at this historical document reveals that patents are intended to establish what we can call a utilitarian tradeoff. In recognizing inventors’ “exclusive right[s],” the Constitution inherently denies others the right to make, sell, or use patented inventions or texts (US Const. art. I, § 8, cl. 8). However, in utilitarian fashion, the incentive of exclusive property rights is intended to encourage the creation of novelties that promote the progress of the arts and sciences, thereby aiding society. To summarize, while issuing patents restricts the rights of certain individuals, this slight inconvenience is to be heavily outweighed by the overall utility generated by patented inventions (Moore, 2003, p. 607).<sup>2</sup>

The Founding Fathers of the United States distinctly agreed with this utilitarian approach. Thomas Jefferson felt that granting inventors “the exclusive right to [their] invention[s],” served “the benefit of society” by encouraging innovation (as cited in Bell, 2002, p. 4). A similar view was held by James Madison, who argued “the public good

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<sup>2</sup> Of course, it may be argued that design patents do not serve a utilitarian function because they apply to the appearance of an item. However, according to the USPTO (2012) a design patent cannot be obtained on an ornamental design in its abstract form; the design is only patentable if it exists as part of an actual object. Interestingly, the USPTO (2012) has also asserted that it is often difficult to separate the utility and ornamentality of an object, and therefore, individuals can obtain both a utility patent and a design patent on a single item.

[coincided]” with granting “the right to useful inventions...to the inventors” (as cited in Bell, 2002, p. 4).

Complying with the Patents and Copyright Clause, and the words of the Founding Fathers, U.S.C. Title Thirty-Five contains qualifications for patent eligibility that also reflect utilitarian sentiment. To be considered patentable subject matter, the USPTO must determine that an invention fulfills critical requirements: it must be new, useful, and non-obvious (Shamoo & Resnik, 2009, p. 174-175). Additionally, an invention must “be reduced to practice,” meaning it needs to be embodied in a physical form or the inventor must provide a detailed description of how the invention will work (Eisenberg, 2000, p. 3). Collectively, these criteria attempt to ensure that a patentee cannot patent an invention or discovery that is already known to the public. Again, the goal is to justify the restriction of rights imposed by patents through the creation of scientific and artistic innovations that offer significant benefit to society as a whole.

### **1.3 Fitting within the Paradigm: Gene Patents in Historical Context**

Although the qualifications for patents may appear straightforward, substantial debate has long existed pertaining to the patent eligibility of biological products and substances. For example, in 1911 the United States Supreme Court, in the case, *Parke, Davis & Co. v. H.K. Mulford Co.*, upheld a patent on purified animal adrenalin (Beauchamp, 2012, p. 5). Debate concerning gene patents specifically, however, can be traced to the year 1980, during which, the United States Supreme Court heard the controversial case, *Diamond v. Chakrabarty*. In reviewing the case, the justices contemplated the patent eligibility of a genetically modified bacterium developed by biological engineer Ananda Chakrabarty. The bacterium possessed the unique ability to

break down crude oil, and could be used to help clean up oil spills. Chakrabarty (and his employer, General Electric) had tried to obtain patent rights “to the bacteria themselves,” but were denied by a patent examiner (*Diamond v. Chakrabarty*, 1980). Indeed, it was asserted that the bacterium was nothing more than a product of nature, and thus, could not be patented.

In a groundbreaking decision, Chief Justice Warren Burger affirmed the ruling of the United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals which had granted the patent rights to Chakrabarty and General Electric. Burger noted that Chakrabarty had chemically altered the bacterium’s DNA in such a way that it could no longer be qualified as a normal bacterium. Since the bacterium was “non-naturally occurring,” Burger declared that it was essentially a “product of human ingenuity” and therefore patentable (*Diamond v. Chakrabarty*, 1980).

Allowing Ananda Chakrabarty to patent his bacterium helped to establish a legal precedent that has been used to defend the patentability of isolated human genes. In fact, the USPTO issued its first gene patent in 1982—only two years after Chief Justice Burger handed down his decision (Salzberg, 2012, p. 969). Scientists and biotechnological companies have closely followed Chief Justice Burger’s reasoning, arguing that isolated human genes are chemically different than regular DNA. As a result, they should be patent eligible. Federal courts have carefully scrutinized this argument, especially with regard to an ongoing (and particularly notorious) court case: *Association for Molecular Pathology (AMP) v. Myriad Genetics* (formerly known as *Association for Molecular Pathology v. U.S. Patent and Trademark Office*).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> From herein, *AMP v. Myriad Genetics* will simply be referred to as the “Myriad Genetics case.”

In 1994, Myriad Genetics filed a patent application for a gene sequence isolated from chromosome 17, known as *BRCA1*. Two years later, Myriad filed an additional patent application for another isolated gene sequence located on chromosome 13, referred to as *BRCA2* (Gold & Carbone, 2010, p. S41). When mutated, these genes have been linked to increased chances of breast and ovarian cancer in women. By 1998, Myriad was awarded patents on the actual gene sequences (p.S41-S42). Throughout the coming years, Myriad also filed for, and was granted, numerous patents on methods used to detect and assess mutations within the genes (Myriad Genetics, 2012, p. 8). The controversial patents, however, did not go unnoticed. In May 2009, the American Civil Liberties Union, along with the Public Patent Foundation, agreed to represent the AMP in a lawsuit challenging the validity of Myriad's gene patents. The lawsuit challenged fifteen of Myriad's patent claims: nine pertaining to the gene sequences and four relating to diagnostic methods (*Association for Molecular Pathology [AMP] v. United States Patent and Trademark Office [USPTO]*, 2010).

The case was first heard in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York where Judge Robert Sweet asserted that all fifteen of the patent claims in question were invalid (*AMP v. USPTO*, 2010). Myriad filed an appeal which was granted by the United States Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit. In July 2011, the appellate court voted to overturn Sweet's ruling in part. Three of Myriad's diagnostic methods were found to be unpatentable because they dealt merely with comparing mutated DNA sequences to normal ones. The final diagnostic claim, which involved exposing cells containing mutated *BRCA* genes to potential cancer therapeutics, was deemed perfectly legitimate. Most importantly, the patents pertaining to the actual

*BRCA1* and *BRCA2* genes were declared constitutionally valid. Drawing on *Diamond v. Chakrabarty*, the court noted that the isolated genes were “markedly different” from DNA within the body (*AMP v. USPTO*, 2011). The AMP responded by petitioning the United States Supreme Court which remanded the case back to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit. Following two petitions from the AMP, the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case. Oral arguments were scheduled for Monday, April 15, 2013.

Recall that American patent law anticipates that inventions will increase societal utility, thereby justifying the exclusive rights granted to the inventor. Thus, in granting and upholding gene patents, the USPTO and the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit have acknowledged that, in some way, gene patents *do* fulfill the utilitarian prescriptions outlined by American patent law. Interestingly, judges have held that striking down gene patents would actually inhibit scientific innovation. This was precisely the argument posed by Judge Kimberly Moore of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit who voted to uphold Myriad’s patents. Moore, in a concurring opinion, charged that disallowing the practice of gene patenting would “likely...impede the progress of science and useful arts” (*AMP v. USPTO*, 2011).

However, Moore’s opinion is by no means universal. Indeed, we have already noted that prior to reaching the United States Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit, Myriad’s patent claims were deemed invalid by Judge Robert Sweet of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York. Sweet claimed that the isolated gene sequences were not structurally different from “native DNA as it exists” inside the human body (*AMP v. USPTO*, 2010). Consequently, the isolated human genes offered little

advancement to the scientific community—they were simply products of nature and not eligible to be patented.

The incompatibility of the opinions of Judge Sweet and Judge Moore enables us to raise a crucial question: is there any way to determine that patents on isolated human genes actually increase societal benefit? Recall that American patent law is grounded in utilitarian principles. We must also remember that utilitarianism is a *consequentialist* theory. To justify any action requires an analysis of the consequences produced. The practice of gene patenting is no exception. But how exactly can the societal benefit of gene patents be measured? American patent law contains utilitarian underpinnings; thus, we may look to the utility measurement standards of notable utilitarian theorists such as James MacKaye and Jeremy Bentham.

#### 1.4 Measuring the Utility of Gene Patents

Utilitarian theorist James MacKaye, in his groundbreaking book *The Economy of Happiness* (1906), posed a distinctive method by which we may measure utility. MacKaye asserted that utility is fundamentally generated through human interaction with natural resources, especially those possessing economic worth. Building on this concept, MacKaye (1906) described utility as:

Having the same definiteness as tons of pig iron, barrels of sugar, bushels of wheat, yards of cotton, or pounds of wool...we need to proceed as any manufacturer trained to his business would proceed, were he endeavoring to ascertain how he could most economically produce beer, or molasses, or oil, or tacks (p. 183-184).

MacKaye's standard of utility measurement is unique in two respects. Firstly, it suggests that utility can exist in the form of physical entities such as cotton, wool and wheat. Secondly, and more importantly, MacKaye's theory compares the creation of utility to an

industrial process such as making beer. To make any industrial product there is a need for specific resources—perhaps, metal, labor, or fire. The value of MacKaye’s theory lies in its suggestion that utility can be measured as the physical output generated by various inputs.

MacKaye’s theory is directly applicable to the subject of gene patents. In the biotechnological and pharmaceutical industries, key inputs are needed to aid in the creation of innovative drugs and technologies. Perhaps the most important contribution is money. Resnik (2004) has noted that the biotechnological and pharmaceutical industries face “economic constraints and pressures” because their products “cost millions of dollars and many years to develop and implement” (p. 67). In light of these immense costs, companies are often hesitant to invest money into the research and development of new drugs and biological technologies.

To eliminate this hesitancy, these organizations look to patents—more specifically, gene patents. The twenty-year security offered by gene patents provides an incentive for companies and even universities to invest millions of dollars in new biological products. Gene patents essentially ensure that individuals “who incur no investment costs” cannot simply “seize and produce the intellectual effort of others” (Moore, 2003, p. 611). Unsurprisingly, six of the top ten gene patent holders across the world are biotechnological and pharmaceutical companies located within the United States. An additional two are American universities (Resnik, 2004, p. 67). Clearly then, gene patents can serve as catalysts that encourage investors to supply a crucial input needed to create biotechnological and pharmaceutical products: money.



Jeremy Bentham offered a different—and remarkably significant—measure of utility. According to Bentham (1961), mankind is placed “under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure” (p. 17). There are “four sanctions” of these feelings according to Bentham’s theory: the physical, the political, the moral, and the religious (p. 33). And while each is an important source of pleasure and pain, Bentham directly notes that the physical is the most prominent because it “is included in [the] other three” (p. 35-36). In following Bentham’s beliefs, we can measure the utility generated by an action based on its tendency to promote or diminish physical pleasure and pain.

Using Bentham’s standard of measurement, we observe that isolated gene patents can play a crucial role in developing innovations that improve the physical well-being of countless individuals. Consider the following: in 1982, the pharmaceutical company Eli Lilly developed the first form of synthetic human insulin. Known as Humulin, this drug has drastically improved the physical lifestyles of individuals with diabetes (Marrs, 2003, para. 7). Notably, the crucial factor that allowed Eli Lilly to produce Humulin was a patent issued by the USPTO in the late 1970s. The patent application was filed by (and granted to) the biotechnological company, Genentech, and it secured the rights to the human insulin gene (Lewis, 1998, para. 2).

According to Resnik (2004), biotechnological company, Amgen, used gene patents to secure its interest in the production of Epogen, a drug used to aid those with anemia (p. 71). Other “companies such as Avigen, Transkaryotic Therapies [and] Imperial Cancer Research Technology Limited” have also used gene patents to develop innovative approaches to gene therapy, a process used to help prevent and treat genetic diseases (Resnik, 2004, p. 71).

Once again, the Myriad Genetics case also lends itself to our discussion. As noted earlier, mutations located within *BRCA1* and *BRCA2* significantly increase a woman's chance of developing breast or ovarian cancer. To be precise, according to the National Cancer Institute (NCI) (2009), a woman who possesses a mutated *BRCA1* or *BRCA2* gene is five times more likely to develop breast cancer than a woman whose genes are not mutated (para. 5). Moreover, the NCI (2009) has estimated that between 15% and 40% of women with mutated *BRCA1* or *BRCA2* genes will develop ovarian cancer throughout their lifetimes (para. 6). Combined, the American Cancer Society estimates that these cancers will kill over 55,000 women in the United States during 2013.<sup>4</sup>

After securing patents on *BRCA1* and *BRCA2*, Myriad Genetics was able to develop several procedures to test for possible mutations. Testing is conducted through taking a sample of the patient's blood or through obtaining an oral rinse sample. Those who test positive for a mutated *BRCA1* or *BRCA2* gene are encouraged to obtain frequently medical surveillance as a means of catching cancer (should it develop) during its early stages. Prophylactic surgery (mastectomy or oophorectomy) is also a considerable option for those who test positive for genetic mutations (Myriad Genetics, 2013, para. 4).

Based on the abovementioned examples, it appears that gene patents comply with the utility measurement standards of MacKaye and Bentham by acting as a catalyst in the development of innovative drugs and biotechnologies. Consequently, we may assert that gene patents fulfill the utilitarian standards of American patent law. As we shall see,

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<sup>4</sup> Please note: the American Cancer Society estimates that in the United States (for 2013): 39,620 women will die from breast cancer, and 15,500 women will die from ovarian cancer. These statistics can be found on the American Cancer Society's website ([www.cancer.org](http://www.cancer.org)). Please refer to the References page for further details.

however, utilitarian justifications for gene patents do not comply with libertarian perspectives on the subject.

## **Chapter II: The Divided Libertarian Position**

### **2.1 A Brief Overview of Libertarian Thought**

As the name of the theory suggests, libertarianism is primarily concerned with safeguarding the liberty and freedom of all individuals. Yet, libertarians are not naïve enough to believe that we all live harmoniously; conflict frequently arises between human beings resulting in aggression and theft. To ensure that our natural rights to life, liberty, and property are protected, libertarians recognize the need for government. However, a state with too much authority could also violate the rights of individuals. For example, an excessively powerful government may attempt to take the rightful property of its constituents. This is precisely why libertarians reject Rawlsian egalitarian-liberalism which suggests redistributing wealth to assist the least-advantaged individuals in society. For libertarians then, the only acceptable form of government is what Robert Nozick (1974) calls the “minimal state”—an entity with a monopoly of force limited solely to “the narrow functions of protection against force, theft, fraud, enforcement of contracts and so on” (p. ix).

Because they believe government has a responsibility to protect the property of its constituents, it makes sense that several libertarian theorists support the issuance of patents. Still, libertarian justifications for patents are not the same as those prescribed within utilitarian-based American patent law; rather, they are in direct conflict. We have already recognized that libertarians advocate for limited government. It is therefore unsurprising that libertarians are frustrated by the power granted to the U.S. Government

via the Patents and Copyrights Clause. Again, this section of the Constitution grants Congress the ability to issue patents as a way to encourage the advancement of the arts and sciences. Inherent in this clause is the idea that the United States Government actually has a *responsibility* to promote these entities. Such authority is incompatible with libertarian thought because it extends far beyond the limited functions outlined by Nozick's minimal state. The purpose of government is not to advance the sciences; "rather, the goal is [to ensure] justice...by giving each man his due" (Kinsella, 2001, p 12).

## 2.2 The Pro-Patent Libertarian Alternative to Utilitarianism<sup>5</sup>

Aside from the fact that the Patents and Copyright Clause grants government unnecessary authority, several libertarians recognize a fundamentally larger problem with utilitarian-based American patent law. Many libertarians believe that individuals have a natural right to own intellectual property. However, in issuing patents solely for the sake of increasing scientific or artistic utility, American patent law undermines this concept. To understand how this is so, we may look to the writings of libertarians such as Nozick and Ayn Rand, as well as the texts of political theorist John Locke (whom libertarians oft cite as their most important influence).

For libertarians, the heart of individual property rights lies within the "thesis of self-ownership." First posed by John Locke in the *Second Treatise of Government* (originally published in 1689), this concept pertains to the belief that "every man has a property in his own person" (1980, p. 19). As the rightful owners of our bodies, we may use them as we see fit so long as we do not forcefully "deploy them aggressively against

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<sup>5</sup> Please note: "Pro-Patent libertarian" is an original term created by the author Joseph A. Bruno.

others” (Cohen, 1995, p 67). Furthermore, we also retain natural ownership over the physical forces our bodies exert, including our labor (Locke, 1980, p. 19).

Rand (1966) creatively interpreted Locke’s theory to imply that, in owning our bodies and forces they exert, we also naturally own our ideas. Importantly, Rand argued that all inventions begin as products of thought (p. 125). Simply thinking of an invention, however, does not guarantee its protection from the theft of others. For example, imagine that Aldon tells Justin about a simple idea for an invention. However, at the time of talking to Justin, Aldon had not yet put his idea into practice. Justin, being rather sly, discusses the invention with every individual he knows and passes it off as a product of his own creative thoughts.

Fearing that similar hypothetical situations may become reality, Rand (1966) stressed that ideas “cannot be protected until” they have “been given a material form” (p. 125). In turn, Rand was a proponent of issuing patents, so long as the invention in question is “embodied in a physical model” (p. 125). That is, to obtain a patent an inventor must first put his/her idea into *practice*. Yet, while inventors must create a physical manifestation, Rand asserted that the main function of patents is to protect “the mind’s contribution” to an invention (p. 125). In doing so, patents simultaneously recognize our natural property right in “product[s] of the mind” (p. 125).

Much like Rand, Nozick also used the writings of John Locke to argue that we have a natural right to intellectual property. However, Nozick arrived at this conclusion in a fundamentally different way. We have already explained that Locke believed that we own our bodies and labor. Building on this belief, Locke (1980) also claimed that we own whatever we “remove out of the state that nature hath provided” and mix our labor with

(p. 19). In his examination of Locke's theory, Nozick raised a critical question: what if an individual appropriates all of a naturally occurring substance? Can this be justified? Locke sought to remedy such a situation by demanding that we always leave "enough, and as good, left in common for others" (p. 19).

Tweaking this proviso slightly, Nozick (1974) believes that an individual's appropriation of an unowned resource should not "worsen the situations of others" (p. 175).<sup>6</sup> Following this logic, Nozick attempted to pose and analyze several hypothetical situations that would seem to violate the Lockean proviso. For example, if we stumble upon, and appropriate all of a previously unknown resource, are we truly harming others? According to Nozick, had we not stumbled upon the resource, others would not have known it existed (p. 181). Therefore, in appropriating the entire supply, we do not necessarily worsen the situation of others. Nozick applied this same logic to patents. While patents restrict other individuals' access to an invention, the invention would not have come into existence without the effort of the inventor (p. 182). Therefore, according to Nozick's logic, individuals have a right to intellectual property because it is compatible with Locke's proviso.

We can easily see how the utilitarian foundation of American patent law conflicts with the beliefs of Rand and Nozick. As we have consistently noted, in the United States, patents are not issued to secure inventors' natural right to their intellectual property. Instead, patents are granted solely to inventions that the USPTO judge as advancing societal utility. Furthermore, in granting patents for this utilitarian purpose, American

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<sup>6</sup> In using the phrase "worsen the situation of others," Nozick is by no means appealing to utilitarianism. In fact, Nozick (1974) explicitly states that his examination of the Lockean proviso does not attempt to invoke "a utilitarian justification for property" (p. 177). Instead Nozick's writings are intended to dispute the claim that "no natural right to property [could] arise by a Lockean process" (p. 177).

patent law inherently suggests that the property of certain individuals is more worthy of protection than others. If an inventor creates a device that is denied patentability, this invention is essentially deemed less deserving of governmental protection than the invention of an individual who receives a patent.

It is not coincidental that the Patents and Copyright Clause fails to mention that inventors and artists have a *natural* right to their writings and inventions. As already noted, the Founding Fathers (such as Jefferson) believed patents were simply a reward granted to inventors for generating scientific and artistic knowledge. The Supreme Court has also upheld this view in ruling that “the patent monopoly was not designed to secure to the inventor his natural right to his discoveries. Rather it was a reward, an inducement to bring forth new knowledge” (*Graham v. John Deere co*, 1966).

To be fair, we must recognize an area of mutual accord between the beliefs of Rand and Nozick, and utilitarian-based American patent law. Both parties have recognized the need for patents to expire after a duration of time. U.S.C. Title Thirty-Five explains that patents only last for a twenty-year period and are non-renewable. Though Rand (1966) believed in the issuance of patents, she did not hold that they should exist perpetually. She argued that “intellectual achievement...cannot be transferred, just as intelligence [and] ability cannot” (p. 127). Rand also contended that intellectual property cannot simply be passed from generation to generation like a prized piece of family jewelry. On the contrary, patented inventions are the product of a *specific* individual’s mental efforts; therefore, intellectual property rights for an invention cease to exist when the inventor perishes. Transferring the patent rights to the inventor’s family or acquaintances would be fundamentally unjust. After all, these individuals did not exert

the mental labor needed to create the invention. Nozick (1974) also believed that patents should possess a limited lifespan. In his view, patents should only last for as long as it would have presumably taken another individual to create the same exact invention (p. 182).

Thus far, we have observed that libertarians such as Rand and Nozick disagree with utilitarian justifications of patents. Instead, these libertarians believe that patents exist to secure our natural rights to intellectual property. Yet, if certain libertarians believe individuals have a natural right to intellectual property (particularly patents), does this imply that they would also justify *gene* patents?

Of course, it may be immediately argued that Nozick would not have supported gene patents because genes are naturally occurring in the human body. As a result, we may argue that they would still exist even without the efforts of scientists and biological technicians. However, the patents exist on genes in an isolated form, meaning they are separated from the chromosomes in which they naturally occur. Such isolated forms of human DNA do not occur in nature. Accordingly—so long as we recognize that isolated genes are a non-naturally occurring entity—Nozick’s opinion on this subject would most likely have been similar to his position on patents as a whole. For example, if not for the efforts of certain scientists, perhaps no one would have isolated disease-causing genes. Consequently, tests for particular genetic mutations would have never come to fruition. Thus, since patenting human genes does not violate the Lockean proviso, Nozick would have surely believed that we have a natural right to the practice.

Support for gene patents would also have come from Rand. Prior to actually isolating human genes, scientists at Myriad Genetics or the technicians at Genentech



must have generated an idea of how to accomplish such a feat. By nature of self-ownership, said idea naturally belongs to the individual(s) who thought of it.

### **2.3 The Anti-Patent Libertarian Dissent<sup>7</sup>**

While we have seen that theoretical positions posed by Nozick and Rand provide compelling justifications for patents (and consequently gene patents) that are quite distinctive from utilitarian rationalizations, these theorists' opinions are not universally held within the libertarian camp. In fact, libertarian philosopher Stephen Kinsella (2001) has acknowledged that libertarian perspectives on patents range from "complete support" to "outright opposition" (p. 8). It is therefore unsurprising that libertarians such as Kinsella and Tom G. Palmer have provided a stinging critique of intellectual property as a whole.

Anti-Patent libertarians have a rather specific view of property rights in general; they believe property rights only exist in tangible natural resources, such as gold, land and oil. The logic behind such a claim is that natural resources are scarce. Subsequently, interpersonal conflict may arise over how such resources are allocated amongst individuals (Palmer, 2002, p. 79). For example, if an individual owns a piece of gold (a scarce resource), there is legitimate concern that another may wish to steal it. In turn, Anti-Patent libertarians believe that the fundamental purpose of property rights is to prevent "interpersonal conflict over scarce resources" (Kinsella, 2001, p. 20).

However, if humans lived in a world where resources were infinite, there would be no need for property rights. Consider the following scenario offered by Kinsella (2001):

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<sup>7</sup> Please note: from herein the collective group of Stephen Kinsella and Tom G. Palmer and all libertarians who comply with their beliefs will be referred to as "Anti-Patent libertarians." This is an original term created by the author, Joseph A. Bruno.

Your taking of my lawnmower would not really deprive me of it if I could conjure up another in the blink of an eye. Lawnmower-taking in these circumstances would not be “theft.” Property rights are not applicable to things of infinite abundance, because there cannot be conflict over such things (p. 22).

Taking this idea a step further, Anti-Patent libertarians uncover a severe problem with intellectual property, especially patents. As we have already noted above, the concept of intellectual property refers to property rights in physical manifestations of the mind such as ideas. Yet, Kinsella has argued that “much like the magically-reproducible lawnmower, ideas are not scarce” (p. 22). If an individual uses someone else’s idea, he does not take it from him—such a feat would be physically impossible. Ideas exist perpetually regardless of who uses them. However, when recognizing intellectual property rights, Anti-Patent libertarians believe that we create an artificial scarcity because restrictions are implemented on the use of patented inventions (Palmer, 2002, p.79).

Anti-Patent libertarians take serious issue with patents specifically. Due to the fact that patents prevent individuals from using, selling, or making a patented invention, Anti-Patent libertarians assert that they restrict others from using their *own tangible* property (Kinsella, 2001, p. 25). To showcase the validity of the libertarian argument, consider the following hypothetical situation: an inventor thinks of creating a revolutionary steel frying pan with a non-stick aluminum coating. After creating the pan, he files for, and is granted a patent. If other individuals now wish to create the same frying pan they cannot do so without violating the patent. Even if others wish to re-create the pan using their own steel and aluminum, the original inventor could still restrict them from doing so. As a result, they are denied usage of their own rightfully acquired property. Contemplating similar predicaments, Palmer (2002) contended that patents restrict “an entire range of

actions unlimited by place or time, involving legitimately owned property...by all but those privileged to receive monopoly grants from the state” (p. 54).

Because patent holders can dictate how third parties use their own tangible goods, Anti-Patent libertarians charge that patents are a form of property redistribution by government. In issuing patents, the government essentially grants inventors “some degrees of control—ownership—over the tangible property of innumerable others” (Kinsella, 2001, p. 8). Such governmental action is on par with what prominent libertarian Frederic Bastiat (2010) calls “legal plunder.” According to Bastiat, when “the law takes property from one person and gives it to another,” it is utterly unjust (p. 14). Patent holders do not rightfully acquire the tangible property of others; instead they are unfairly granted partial ownership through the government’s issuance of patents.

Anti-Patent libertarians also note that the issuance of patents violates perhaps the most critical aspect of libertarian theory: the thesis of self-ownership. This occurs both directly and indirectly. A patent (such as the one on the innovative frying pan) restricts not only the way we use our tangible property; it also indirectly dictates the way we use our bodies. In not being able to assemble our tangible property into an already patented invention, we indirectly lose the ability to use our own hands. Yet, patents can also directly restrict the use of our bodies. For example, Palmer (2002) has explained that if an individual were to patent a dance, it would forbid others from moving their own feet in an explicit pattern (p. 77).

Ironically, as we have seen, Rand and Nozick held firm to the thesis of self-ownership in justifying patents. However, it seems that Rand and Nozick failed to realize that in restricting individuals from using certain inventions, patents can also prevent them

from using their own bodies as they see fit. Furthermore, Anti-Patent libertarian logic also invalidates utilitarian justifications for patents. Kinsella (2001) has explained that simply because patents are intended to increase the well-being of society does not justify their restriction on our tangible property, and subsequently, our bodies (p. 15).

Through understanding that patents violate tangible property rights and the thesis of self-ownership, we also come to understand why Anti-Patent libertarians would condemn the practice of gene patenting. Seeing as gene patents forbid others from “testing, using, or experimenting” with a particular gene, they directly restrict the tangible property rights of doctors and laboratory technicians (Robertson, 2011, p. 381). Consider the following: a doctor rightfully owns all of the equipment needed to test individuals for a specific genetic disorder. However, the doctor soon realizes that said genetic disorder is caused by a gene on which there is a patent. Even though the doctor rightfully owns his equipment, he is limited to three options: conduct the test, thereby violating the patent; cease testing; or attempt to obtain a license from the patent owner to conduct the test. In turn, the gene patent holder restricts how the doctor uses his tangible property. There is evidence to suggest that such a phenomenon is actually occurring in doctors’ offices and laboratories across the United States. According to a study cited by critically acclaimed author Rebecca Skloot (2010), when confronted by gene patents “53% of laboratories surveyed stopped offering or developing genetic tests” (p. 324). Andrew Robertson (2011) has also reported similar findings—scientists and doctors sometimes cease conducting research once they encounter patents on isolated human genes (p. 384).

Precautions taken by doctors and laboratories can be explained by a general fear of patent enforcement. Recall that gene patents were absent in the creation of diagnostic tests for genetic hearing loss, Sickle Cell Anemia (SCA), Long QT Syndrome (LQTS), and Hereditary Hemochromatosis (HH). This does not indicate, however, that institutions did not eventually *acquire* patents on the genes that code for these diseases. Merz, Kriss, Leonard, and Cho (2002) have noted that “many US laboratories began genetic testing for hemochromatosis [*sic*] before...[any] patents were” filed (p. 577). Disturbingly, roughly 30 percent of laboratories surveyed by the researchers “reported discontinuing or not developing genetic testing” when patents were issued on the genes involved in the development of HH (p. 577). Merz and his colleagues, based on the nature of their data, could not conclude definitively that fear of patent enforcement specifically motivated laboratories to stop issuing tests, but the “respondents...reported that the patents weighed heavily in their decisions” (p. 579).

Merz, Kriss, Leonard, and Cho’s study about HH, though startling, pales in comparison to the abundance of literature that has been published about the patent enforcement procedures of Myriad Genetics. Indeed, Myriad has been absolutely relentless in its attempt to clear the market of potential competitors. Myriad formed this habit early—it entered into a sizeable legal confrontation only a year after filing for its first patents on *BRCA1*.

In 1995, the University of Pennsylvania’s Genetic Diagnostic Laboratory (UPGDL), began to experiment with a new technique for gene sequencing. The technique was notably “cheaper and faster” than traditional full DNA sequencing methods because

it relied on gel electrophoresis (Parthasarathy Declaration, 2009, p. 10).<sup>8</sup> When the UPGDL began to use this technique to test for *BRCA* mutations, Myriad quickly produced a cease and desist letter. The UPGDL would not back down; it insisted that it was allowed to conduct the tests because it was not providing a commercial service. On the contrary, the UPGDL declared that it “limited its testing services to individuals enrolled in *research* [emphasis added] protocols...funded by the National Institute of Health” (Parthasarathy Decl., 2009, p. 12). Myriad vehemently disagreed. Because test results were disclosed to patients, Myriad countered that the UPGDL was not merely conducting research—it was providing a commercial service. The UPGDL, realizing that it was about to embark on a drawn-out and expensive legal battle, simply chose to terminate its *BRCA* testing (Parthasarathy Decl., 2009, p. 13).

Myriad’s aggressive policies did not end following the encounter with the UPGDL. For instance, in December 2000, Yale University “received a letter from Myriad Genetics directing [its]...lab[s] to cease *BRCA1* and *BRCA2* genetic testing that was being conducted” (Matloff Decl., 2009, p.3). A similar situation also occurred at Emory University School of Medicine. Laboratories at Emory possessed “all of the personnel, expertise, equipment, and facilities necessary to do comprehensive” *BRCA* testing, but were unable to circumvent Myriad’s gene patents (Ledbetter Decl., 2009, p. 4).

Aside from restricting the tangible property rights of scientists from universities and laboratories across the nation, Anti-Patent libertarians would suggest that gene patents violate the self-ownership of patients. Due to the fact that gene patents can

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<sup>8</sup> Gel electrophoresis is a method of DNA analysis in which DNA molecules are cleaved into small pieces and then separated via size and electric charge.

prevent laboratories from conducting particular genetic tests, patients can be restricted from having their own bodies examined.

Predictably, the Myriad Genetics case once again illustrates the legitimacy of Anti-Patent libertarians' concern. As we have already explained, Myriad Genetics currently owns patents on the isolated cancer genes, *BRCA1* and *BRCA2*. With the advice of a genetic counselor, some individuals may request that each gene be fully sequenced and analyzed, while others may only need to have specific portions of their genes observed. Depending on the extent of the testing, Myriad Genetics charges anywhere from \$300 to upwards of \$3,000 to examine an individual's genes ("Genetic Testing Facilities," 2012, para. 3). But what if patients do not have the funds to pay for the testing? Or what if the patient's insurance (provided that patient has any) refuses to cover the cost? Patients cannot simply have another laboratory perform the test because it would violate Myriad's patents. Furthermore, let us imagine that a patient received the test from Myriad, but wanted to ensure the results were accurate through obtaining a second opinion. Unfortunately, by nature of the patents, a second opinion is absolutely unavailable; that is, unless the patient is willing to pay for a second test from Myriad

### **Concluding Remarks**

This paper has outlined the utilitarian and divided libertarian perspectives on the subject of gene patents. As we have noted, utilitarian justifications for gene patents rely on the fact that they encourage the creation of beneficial biotechnological and pharmaceutical products. The aforementioned examples we have provided (*BRCA* testing, Humulin, Epogen, etc.) illustrate gene patents' ability to aid in the construction of

new drugs and biological technologies. Yet, the SACGHS report, along with studies cited by Robertson and Skloot seem to suggest that gene patents actually deter doctors and scientists from researching and developing new biotechnological and pharmaceutical products. Thus, we arrive at a stalemate; it appears that no one knows for sure whether or not gene patents truly encourage scientific innovation.

Whether or not they spur innovation, we have seen that Pro-IP libertarians (based on the writings of Locke) believe individuals have a natural right to their ideas and inventions. Patents, in their view, simply protect these rights. In many respects, the Pro-IP libertarian argument for patents is enticing. We do have a natural right to our ideas and our inventions. Contrary to what Anti-IP libertarians believe, when an individual uses our idea, he does take it. While, of course, the idea is still physically in our minds, it is no longer solely ours. To recognize the mental and physical efforts involved in generating an idea and putting it into practice, patents are necessary. Others should not simply be able to reap the benefits of our creative efforts without first gaining permission—even if it means restricting others’ tangible property rights. After all, without the inventor’s original idea, others would not think to use their property in such a way in the first place. Unfortunately, while Pro-IP libertarian logic justifies intellectual property rights, it falls short when attempting to validate the practice of gene patenting. It is *never* just to allow an individual to control the body of another. As duly pointed out by Anti-IP libertarians, gene patents do exactly this.

However, we simply cannot revoke gene patents that are already in existence. Recall that there are between 3,000-5,000 gene patents on file with the United States. Questions would immediately arise about ownership of several processes, drugs, and



biotechnologies that came about because of contributions from patented genes. Perhaps then, the most just course of action would be to enact legislation that places a moratorium on patenting human genes. Though at the current moment no such legislation has been introduced, the U.S. Government has attempted to tighten restrictions on the type of biological materials that can be patented. According to Section 33 of the recently enacted Leahy-Smith America Invents Act of 2011, patents cannot be issued on anything “encompassing a human organism.” Yet, while this legislation attempts to clarify the issue of patenting biological materials, it only blurs the subject further. What exactly is a “human organism?” Does it encompass a fertilized egg, or an embryo? These are complex questions that the USPTO, legislators and court justices will be forced to answer in the future.

**Note:** On June 13, 2013, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously that human genes may not be patented.

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# “She, the Diademed Queen:” The Function of Wealhtheow in *Beowulf*

Caitlin Stamm

“Mindful of courtesies; attired in her gold, she welcomed the men”

(Chickering 85). In *Beowulf*, Wealhtheow stands as a representative of the gifts offered to Beowulf and his men. Offering protection and the giving of gifts are of paramount importance throughout *Beowulf*, particularly so in the feast scene early in the narrative after Beowulf, having defeated Grendel, arrives at Heorot. Wealhtheow, who offers gifts to Beowulf, simultaneously appeals to her husband, King Hrothgar, to be loyal to his kinsfolk by measuring these gifts which he will bestow, thus at the same time remembering his own people. Wealhtheow offers the reader an understanding of the complex system of kinship, loyalty, and gift-giving in Anglo-Saxon literature through the power she wields as queen.

The first question one might ask is: Who is Wealhtheow? Her character is deceptively complex. In various media, including textual translations, literary renditions, and film, the major characters are consistently described in great detail: Beowulf is always strong and heroic and Hrothgar is an aging king. But Wealhtheow’s character is less defined; it varies in age, power, and function. In the original text, for instance, no mention is made of Wealhtheow’s age. But in John Gardner’s *Grendel*, she is young, “as innocent as dawn on winter hills” (100) and “more child...than woman” (104). In the film *Beowulf and Grendel*, Wealhtheow is middle aged: an older, shriller Wealhtheow who slaps her husband. Although some

may judge these differences as minor, Wealhtheow's age and other factors are important in how we perceive her. Does Wealhtheow's power lie in her ability to use her beauty and youth to charm men? Does her power lie in her keen perception of social affairs? Since Wealhtheow plays an important role in the system of the devotion of thanes and the king's gift-giving, ascertaining her character is invaluable.

In the many translations of *Beowulf*, the characterization of Wealhtheow differs greatly. Barry Tharaud's rendering of *Beowulf*, for instance, is written in very simple, modern prose, which appeals to contemporary readers' sensibilities. Prose allows Tharaud more flexibility in his writing and word choice; he is freed from having to create perfectly structured poetic lines. Tharaud titles the scene of gift-giving which occurs after Beowulf defeats Grendel "A Conflict of Kinship Resolved." As the primary speaker, Wealhtheow plays a central role in this chapter. She is announced in the first line, "Queen Wealhtheow made her appearance wearing a golden crown" (Tharaud 31), and the reader's attention is immediately drawn to her.

In Tharaud's straightforward translation, Wealhtheow is an even-minded and powerful counselor. The idea that Hrothgar should be loyal to his kin while at the same time giving gifts to Beowulf is clearly and simply stated. He writes, "It is right that you bestow your treasure as you see fit while you are able, but when the fated hour comes for you to pass away, leave your people and your kingdom in the hands of kinsmen" (Tharaud 31). Free from ambiguity, Wealhtheow's meaning is immediately clear. Of the translators discussed in this essay, Tharaud is the only

one who introduces her as “Queen Wealhtheow” (31) which emphasizes her power as royalty. Wealhtheow’s influence emerges further Through her commands to her husband. She tells him, ““Take this cup, sovereign lord and giver of treasure; rejoice, generous benefactor of warriors: Speak graciously to the Geats, as befits a host, and treat them generously” (Tharaud 31). Wealhtheow’s forcefulness demonstrates the importance of kinship; Hrothgar’s wife feels that it is necessary to remind her husband not be *too* liberal in his gift-giving.

Howell D. Chickering, Jr. takes a very different approach from Tharaud; he emphasizes Wealhtheow’s deference to her husband. Chickering’s poetry is divided into the Old English half-lines which makes his translation decidedly regal. Wealhtheow is introduced in the middle of a half-line, as is done in the Old English, and while she “advanced” in the Tharaud edition (31), she more demurely, “came forth.../to greet” her husband and nephew in Chickering (lines 1163-1164). As in Tharaud, Wealhtheow issues a string of imperatives to her husband; but in Chickering’s rendering, Wealhtheow’s statements are tempered by the epithets she employs in her advice. Wealhtheow tells her husband,

‘Accept this cup,      my noble lord,  
gold-giving king;      be filled in your joys,  
treasure-friend to all...  
in your generous mind,      be gracious.’ (Chickering lines 1169-1173)

Though Tharaud’s Wealhtheow uses similar epithets, in Chickering, they sound more cloyingly deferential. This may result from her “stacking” these titles syntactically, one on top of the other. While in Tharaud these words can be read quickly in a prose line, the reader cannot ignore Wealhtheow’s words when they are



in verse. There is also a different connotation to Chickering's use of the word "accept;" Tharaud uses the seemingly more forceful "take." The reader, accordingly, is offered a different perspective of Wealhtheow in Chickering's translation; she knows how to be appropriately deferential in order to ease into her appeal. Wealhtheow is bound up in the male-dominated ritual of kinship because she has family, her sons, to represent and defend. In addition, as the king's wife, she must also make sure that her husband is appropriately loyal to all parties at Heorot. Her role is largely that of standing behind her husband; it is clearly in her best interest to make sure that the relationships he has forged for service and protection are adequately maintained. As such, she politely reminds her husband to "leave to [his] kinsmen/ the nation and folk when [he] must go forth/ to await [his] judgment" (Chickering lines 1178-1180). Here, Wealhtheow seems more timid and less overtly powerful; she uses her knowledge of her place in the society and the customs of deference to influence her husband.

John Earle's 1892 translation offers a view of Wealhtheow that is more than a century old. Earle describes Wealhtheow as she "came...forward, moving under her golden diadem" (Earle 38). Writing from a nineteenth-century British sensibility, Earle emphasizes the queen's jewels. He phrases her entrance intriguingly: she is moving, but the crown, her outward manifestation of her power as the queen, remains stable. Wealhtheow's queenliness is her source of power and stability. Without her crown, Wealhtheow has no authority to warn her husband. Wealhtheow does not rush to speak—the narrator has time to notice how she moves, to notice her crown. Also interesting is Earle's prose rendition of the

warning; it is done quickly, in only two lines. Wealhtheow's words to her husband are conventionally formal and reserved: "Dispense whilst thou mayest many bounties" (Earle 38). While she employs the traditional respectful epithets, she is congenial to her husband: "Receive this beaker, sovereign mine, wealth-dispenser! be thou merry, and speak...with comfortable words. So it behoves one to do! Near and far, thou now hast peace" (Earle 38)! Earle's Wealhtheow is comfortable in her position as the king's queen: she is assertive, but not abruptly so.

Dick Ringler's poetic translation offers a very different view of Wealhtheow; his lines, sparse both linguistically and syntactically, highlight Wealhtheow's dominant role. Ringler employs clear, straightforward language when introducing Wealhtheow; he describes how she "strode forth" (line 2324). His short lines present Wealhtheow as a determined woman who will be heard. Even the narrator is caught off guard; as he explains her narration of Unferth's story, he remarks, "And now Wealhtheow was speaking" (Ringler line 2326). It is as if he must hurry to catch up; she has presented herself and has begun speaking before he expects her to. This sense of urgency does not stop; I found myself reading Wealhtheow's words more quickly than I did in other translations; the reader is spurred on by Ringler's succinctness. Wealhtheow declares,

'Giver of treasure,  
my great consort!  
Drain this beaker,  
drink and be merry!' (Ringler lines 2337-2340)

Interestingly, Ringler makes her opening statements exclamatory which has a double effect: it heightens the sense of urgency, but also downplays the traditional

sense of deference applied to Wealhtheow's words in other translations. This Wealhtheow is clearly not Chickering's; his complaisant, mild queen is replaced with a strong woman, who, it seems, understands that she must offer respect to the king as a triviality, a matter of course, but does not take her time doing so. It is important to note that Ringler's Wealhtheow is not purely powerful; she is still "graceful in her golden necklace" (line 2324). "Graceful" is an interesting choice of word; it implies both elegance and agility. Wealhtheow is very aware of how she presents herself. Ringler is the clearest of the three translators when recounting Wealhtheow's appeal to Hrothgar to remember his kin. She tells him,

'Enjoy good fortune  
as long as you can;  
but leave the kingdom  
to your own children,  
your heirs.' (Ringler lines 2354-2358)

Here, Wealhtheow is the most strong-willed and powerful. The reader's understanding of the importance of kin is heightened; as Wealhtheow rushes to make her point forcefully, she does so because of the importance of kin in her contemporary society. It is vital that Hrothgar act appropriately as king, and she deems it necessary to inform his decision.

The many representations of Wealhtheow in *Beowulf* raise the question of how we are meant to view her. In the translations discussed above, Wealhtheow is many things. It is necessary to consider how Wealhtheow is characterized because the perception of Wealhtheow determines how the reader defines women in the narrative. Wealhtheow is the only woman in the poem who is discussed as more than just a name, other than Grendel's mother, who is clearly not human. She is

present at integral moments in the text and attempts to orchestrate a system of gift-giving that is amenable to all parties. There are no other women comparable in the text. Film adaptations of *Beowulf* recognize this fact and therefore films like *Beowulf and Grendel* create other strong-willed female characters. Wealhtheow's worth is clear. She represents her family, her society, and women. It is understandable that she is difficult to define since she represents so many things.

Wealhtheow's value is reflected in her association with gold. When she enters the hall, Wealhtheow is "radiant in gold" (Ringler line 1228). In Chickering, this is especially emphasized; he continually describes her "glistening in gold" (line 1163) and "attired in her gold" (line 614). In *Grendel*, she is described as having hair "soft as the ruddy sheen on dragon's gold" (Gardner 100). Wealhtheow literally shines. Her affiliation with gold is not only indicative of her power and her value, but also illustrative of the value of gift-giving in the community. Wealhtheow not only wears gold, she gives it to others. To be in the queen's favor means to receive her gold – both king and queen give gifts. Wealhtheow represents the king, but she also represents the people. In her speeches, she always urges Hrothgar not to give too lavishly to outsiders. Gold is not only a token of the king's favor and promise of loyalty, but is also sign of the community's favor.

Wealhtheow's value in terms of the community as a whole is better understood when one considers her sense of diplomacy. Perhaps most immediately obvious is that she urges Hrothgar to remember to reward his kin. However, Wealhtheow's diplomacy is twofold: she is a pawn in the service of her family and Hrothgar's kingdom, and she is also the broker of peace with her life as the term

offered. Chiockering notes that *Wealh* can mean “‘Celtic, British’ or by extension ‘foreign’” and that the latter half of her name “can mean ‘slave,’ ‘captive,’ or ‘servant’” (304). In *Grendel*, when she is given to Hrothgar, her family tells the Danish king, “‘Let her name from now on be Wealhtheow, or holy servant of common good’” (Gardner 100). This is not an overly dramatic sacrifice; “she surrendered herself with the dignity of a sacrificial virgin” (Gardner 100). Even under these circumstances, Wealhtheow is gracious. Kinship is a many-faceted concept; it governs how people approach their roles in society. Not only does Wealhtheow’s speech reflect her place in the nexus of this intricate social ideal, but so too does her life in Hrothgar’s court. It is easy to say that one can see the value of loyalty and kinship in terms of the men in *Beowulf*, but Wealhtheow’s presence in Hrothgar’s court epitomizes the concept of being loyal to one’s kin.

Wealhtheow is successful in her station because she knows and understands her role. In each translation discussed, she clearly understands the appropriate amount of respect she must show and her place. Balance is essential and Wealhtheow *is* this balance; she is the meeting point between the opposing forces of her family and Hrothgar’s kin, between a king’s loyalty to his family and thanes and their loyalty to him. There is value in kinship and in giving gifts in exchange for loyalty as long as there is a balance between them. A king’s gifts are valueless if his thanes do not act accordingly and defend him. A thane’s loyalty is useless if his king does not reward him for it. Wealhtheow understands and represents the necessity for balance in *Beowulf*. She does not have physical power or even the power to rule on an equal plane with her husband, but she has the benefit of comprehending and,

in this case, reminding her husband, the man who has the power that she does not, that an imbalance of power is detrimental. Wealhtheow is advantageous to Hrothgar and his community because she brokers peace and because of her clear perception of her society.

As the many renditions of *Beowulf* demonstrate, it is difficult to pinpoint Wealhtheow's exact character. She is at once strong, deferential, timid, reasonable, and perceptive; no single translation offers a definitive characterization of Hrothgar's queen. But when one considers the role she plays in Hrothgar's society, her character becomes clearer. Wealhtheow's strength and value in her community is evidence of a much more understated, subtle power. Wealhtheow is both the balancer and the balance itself; she has literally given her life to her husband and his kingdom. She has a uniquely feminine strength not shared by any male character in the text. Indeed, while Beowulf battles dragons and Grendel's mother speaks of her son's heroic death, "she, the diademed queen" (Earle 21) is also there, offering her advice, and equally, but oppositely, sacrificing herself.

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# True Power or True Womanhood: The Struggle of Female Slaves to Gain Recognition as Women and Power as Individuals

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## Introduction: To Follow or Not to Follow

The issue of slavery is in part a question of power and racial acceptance or denial in society. Most historical documents or commentaries regarding slavery focus predominately on the black male experience with the discussion of black females rarely mentioned or limited to a few lines. The real story of the lives of slave women is more complex than previously recorded. Slave women did not willingly allow victimization and some commenced or at least endured relationships with white men and black men. How these women handled these relationships was dictated by the definition of womanhood at this time which author Barbara Welter would later call “The Cult of True Womanhood.” This idea was an unspoken, but important set of values that all “women” were expected to demonstrate. The four cardinal qualities of womanhood under this definition, according to Welter, were, “...piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity.”<sup>i</sup> After an initial discussion of female life under slavery, this article will explore slave women’s relationships and actions which were outside of “proper expectations” – their relationships that reflected the values of a “true woman” and the community’s views of these

relationships. According to Welter, during this time period, women's adherence to the four cardinal virtues was of the utmost importance: "without them, no matter whether there was fame, achievement or wealth, all was ashes. With them she was promised happiness and power."<sup>ii</sup> Although many slave women, through their romantic relationships, tried to gain the "gender appropriate" power promised to those "females" who demonstrated "proper womanhood," ironically many of those female slaves who acted in defiance of these values had the chance to gain the power to combat gender and racial prejudice.<sup>iii</sup>

### **Life and Love on the Plantation**

The types of relationships slave women pursued and tolerated were largely influenced by the varying levels of treatment they received under slavery. Sociologist Marietta Morrissey notes that male and female slaves suffered different forms of abuse, with the female slave having the double burden and disadvantage of race and gender. Most major sources from the ante-bellum south have one common flaw: the documentation of slavery came from a white point of view. At the same time, the published black narratives of the 1800s were dominated by a male point of view. Writer Frances Foster notes that this meant an oversimplification of female slaves' experiences with a focus on the abuses they suffered at the hands of masters or overseers. Female slaves' voices documenting their own experiences were all but mute and would have been permanently silenced if not for their own published writings and The Works Progress Administration (WPA) slave interviews. These interviews of former slaves, conducted in the 1930s, were done in order to preserve



the stories of those who witnessed this chapter of American history. Writer Norman R. Yetman notes that often interviewees were too young at the time to remember slavery clearly and many family histories were passed down orally and were open to interpretation. Yet, he believes that the interviews demonstrate that “...slaves did not accept slavery...but they did accommodate [it]...by defining the relationship in their own terms,”<sup>iv</sup> while preserving the story of a people who had long been stereotyped.<sup>v</sup>

One of those major stereotypes, according to historian Brenda E. Stevenson, is the female slave, “...as an evil, manipulative temptress who used her insatiable sexual appetite for personal gain...seducer, adulteress, whore for hire, all wrapped up in one....”<sup>vi</sup> Respectable relationships were unachievable since miscegenation and slave “marriages” were either unthinkable or illegal. Therefore, any relationship was outside the boundaries of “propriety.” Yet, slave relationships had a number of manifestations, according to historian Steven E. Brown, ranging from soul mate matches to purely physical interactions which often included female slaves being attacked or propositioned for sexual relations by white males. In rare cases some of these women, usually lighter skinned, were bought and sold specifically for sex or kept as concubines. Brown notes that slave women often complied in order to avoid punishment of themselves and their families. Characterizing slave women as immoral further justified their ill treatment. Enslaved females could be violated and through this the slave system ensured that they would never be seen as “respectable.” Accordingly, one of the clearest beliefs of “Proper Womanhood” was that women were the more virtuous of the two genders and were supposed to keep

men's impure desires in check. Contrary to "Proper Womanhood," the slave woman was perceived as the instigator of impure thoughts and viewed as the "anti-woman." Although many enslaved women realized that their skin color kept them on the periphery of society, some kept striving to prove their virtue, while others resisted the rules that characterized and controlled a "Proper Woman."<sup>vii</sup>

### **Defiance: Life Outside of "Proper Womanhood"**

While it was true that most black and white relationships were forced, a slave woman chose to become the "lover" of a white man, according to Morrissey, in the hope that she, "...might be rewarded...[with]...freedom...food, clothing, and petty luxuries for herself and her kin."<sup>viii</sup> The use of relationships for personal gain or protection is highlighted by the slave narrative of Harriet Jacobs, the WPA interview of Harriet Ann Daves, and archival documents regarding Julia Alexander. The WPA interview of Rose Williams considers the choices slave women made in order to protect their families, and illuminates how some slave women refused to be subjugated by black men. These texts show how slave women broke free of the restraints of society and managed to gain a form of independent power.<sup>ix</sup>

In Harriet Jacobs' 1861 published narrative, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, she documents her relationships with a free black man and a white man to show how slavery violated both the individual and society. Jacobs notes how her second relationship reflected her lack of power: "...to be an object of interest to a man...not married, and...not her master, is agreeable to the pride and feelings of a slave, if her miserable situation has left her any pride or sentiment...There is something akin to

freedom in having a lover who has no control over you....”<sup>x</sup> Jacobs’ other motives for this decision are revealed in her comment that “...nothing would enrage Dr. Flint [her master] so much as to know that I favored another; and it was something to triumph over my tyrant even in that small way.”<sup>xi</sup> Jacobs sought revenge against the most evident symbol of oppression, her master, who earlier in Jacobs’ life denied her the chance to be “married” to a free man of color because of Flint’s own sexual desires. Jacobs’ choices of relationships demonstrated how she fought for and gained some independent power in a life that was largely controlled by others.<sup>xii</sup>

Female slaves were economic commodities because the children they bore could be used as future labor or sold. According to historian Kenneth M. Stamp, slaves were not always unaware of this and “...seldom did female chattels disappoint their owners. After all, sexual promiscuity brought them rewards rather than penalties; large families meant...less toil....”<sup>xiii</sup> Stamp notes one southern mistress, Frances Anne Kemble, believed that slave women continued to have children because they, “...understood distinctly what it was that gave them value as property.”<sup>xiv</sup> Enslaved women were used for economic reasons, yet some slave women used their own affections for personal incentives. By being the aggressors in relationships, slave women who demanded compensation for their favors gained power but lost “respectability.” The WPA interview of Harriet Ann Daves explores this very subject. Daves recalls the affectionate relationship between her parents, Mary Collins, a black and Native American slave, and Milton Waddell, Mary Collins’ white master. Daves recalls what her mother gained from this relationship with the master: “mother would make me ask him [Milton] for things for her. She said that it was no

harm for me to ask him for things for her which she could not get unless I asked him for them.”<sup>xv</sup> Collins’ verbal insistence, couriered by her daughter, was instrumental in gaining power and economic benefits for herself and her children.<sup>xvi</sup>

Considering slave women as property was tied to the question of inheritance. Many white men who fathered children of slave women had to contend with these children technically being heirs. This issue was solved by laws making a person’s slave status based on his or her mother’s status.<sup>xvii</sup> These laws did not always stop black women from trying to gain power and economic protection for themselves and their children, as proven by the archival documents regarding the experiences of Julia Alexander. Although the research is vague on whether Alexander was a slave, it does mention that the legal title of the child was under the control of a Mr. Dunnovant, therefore possibly conveying both mother and child’s slave status. An archival letter of correspondence found through the South Carolina Historical Society, dated January 20, 1860 between J.L. Petigru and Dr. A.P. Wylie, regards a third party who had a child with Alexander. While this man refused to publicly recognize the child, he did wish to financially provide for it. In a later correspondence Petigru calls Alexander’s demands for compensation extortion and was not in favor of her being paid any money because she would, “...find in that an excuse for a renewal of the same annoyances. She had again and again received money on her promise to ask for nothing more.”<sup>xviii</sup> Although she was regarded as an extortionist, Alexander demonstrated the power that slave women exerted on behalf of their children.<sup>xix</sup>

The interview of Rose Williams reflects how slave women protected their families while undermining their submission to both slave and white men. Williams says that she and her parents were bought by a man named Hawkins who then forced Williams to live with a fellow slave named Rufus. Williams, who was sixteen at the time, did not understand why until one night Rufus tried to accompany her while she was asleep. After pushing him out of the bed, Williams recalls the following scene: “he [Rufus] starts for de bunk and I jumps quick for de poker [fireplace poker]...I lets him have it over de head.”<sup>xx</sup> The next night the same event with the same results occurred. Ultimately she submitted to the arrangement after her master threatened her with physical harm; however, she never forgot nor forgave this violation of her “innocence.” While Williams had two children with Rufus, one before and one after freedom, eventually she forced Rufus to leave. After separating from Rufus, according to Williams: “I never marries, ‘cause one ‘sperience an ‘nough...After what I does for de massa, I’s never wants no truck with any man.”<sup>xxi</sup> Although Williams agreed to the arrangement with Rufus, it was only in order to protect herself and her family. In the end, however, Williams exerted her new freedom to become an independent woman. Many slave women faced similar situations, but instead of fighting, they molded their views and actions in a way that adhered to the rules that “true women” followed.<sup>xxii</sup>

### **Adherence: Respectability at a Cost**

Slave narratives, according to writer Maria Diedrich, mirror the style and themes of white literature of the Victorian and Romantic eras. Diedrich notes that while sexual prowess was praised by African Americans in the first part of the twentieth century, in slave narratives the opposite was the case: "...as people who were constantly denounced as brutes, they insisted on their capacity of controlling their carnal desires, of expressing love in the same richness and complexity as any other responsible human being."<sup>xxiii</sup> For slave women, these narratives demonstrate their attempts to exhibit the "correct" values of white society. The archival documents regarding Margaret Bettingall, and the WPA interviews of Sam and Louisa Everett, Harriet Ann Daves, Sarah Frances Shaw Graves, and Valley Perry, are some of the many sources that demonstrate how despite limitations, slave women chose relationships which paralleled the values of "True Womanhood."<sup>xxiv</sup>

Adherence to the "correct values" of society did not necessarily mean "respect" for black women. This was most clearly demonstrated by the 1904 South Carolina Supreme Court case regarding the estate of Adam Tunno. Although the judgment occurred in 1904, the racial issues and comments brought up in the case demonstrate clearly how pre Civil War views of enslaved women and their "power" continued to be manifest in society. The case considered Tunno, a "bachelor" merchant of the early 1800s who resided in Charleston with his black housekeeper Margaret Bettingall. It was believed that compensation owed to Tunno's estate would be awarded to his nieces and nephews. However, a group of individuals, the Barguets, claimed to be Tunno's real heirs through Barbara Barguet (married name)

the daughter of Tunno and Bettingall. During the trial, the testimony of Thomas N. Holmes revealed that although Tunno and Bettingall resided together, they were never seen together in public, while John N. Gregg's testimony countered this by attesting that Bettingall's standing as a member of St. Philip's Church could only have been possible if she were recognized as Tunno's "spouse." Interestingly no one contested that Bettingall was in charge of Tunno's home, a fact that fits with Stamp's research revealing that in rare cases a slave woman could have become the "unofficial" mistress of her master's household. However, according to court records, the law in Bettingall's time stated that every black person was automatically considered a slave. As a slave, Bettingall's "marriage" would have been unlawful and her descendents were therefore not recognized as Tunno's heirs. In the end, although Bettingall adhered to the requirements of "womanhood" through her domestic role, her race prevented her from recognition as a "wife."<sup>xxv</sup>

Narratives of female slaves who willingly chose "proper" partners are rare and the details unusual. In reality, for all women but in particular female slaves, adherence to the domestic and wholesome virtues that being a "true woman" demanded was difficult. The interview of Sam and Louisa Everett exposes what many enslaved women faced. Louisa recalls how her master forced slaves to have sexual relations in his presence and "...quite often he and his guests would engage in these debaucheries, choosing for themselves the prettiest of the young women. Sometimes they forced the unhappy husbands and lovers of their victims to look on."<sup>xxvi</sup> Louisa and Sam discuss how their joining as "husband and wife" was due to forced relations, and although they found the experience revolting, Louisa notes that

"...I never had another man forced upon me...Sam was kind to me and I learnt to love him."<sup>xxvii</sup> Louisa and Sam took exploitation and turned it into love, and together they created a home. In viewing the experiences of enslaved women, the choice of "lover" or "spouse" in line with the "correct values" of the time was a challenge, but not impossible.<sup>xxviii</sup>

Sometimes relationships were matters of the heart, as in the case of the parents of Harriet Ann Daves. Daves' comments that their relationship was of a truly rare sort because "...my father never married. He loved my mother, and he said if he could not marry Mary he did not want to marry. Father said he did not want any other woman."<sup>xxix</sup> Although she took advantage of her relationship with Milton, according to Daves, Mary wanted more: "when the surrender came my mother told my father she was tired of living that kind of a life, that if she could not be his legal wife she couldn't be anything to him, so she left...."<sup>xxx</sup> In the end Mary rejected romantic love because her relationship with Milton was not sanctioned by society.<sup>xxxi</sup>

Adultery, according to historian Eugene D. Genovese, "...ranked as a serious offense against their [the slaves] own standard of decency."<sup>xxxii</sup> Faithfulness was about personal purity and pride and, as authors Diedrich and Genovese note, a way for slaves to show that they were human beings with morals. The choice of a black man as a lover or "spouse" was another side of power for black women and a way for them to demonstrate their "womanly virtue." Sarah Frances Shaw Graves recalls in her interview how her mother's relationships demonstrated this. Graves notes that her mother and father were devoted to one another and tried to find each other



after being sold apart. The master wanted Graves' mother to find someone else to "breed with." According to Graves, her mother, "...said she would never marry a man and have children so she married my step-father, Trattle Barber, because she knew he had a disease and could not be a father."<sup>xxxiii</sup> Although forced to choose another "spouse," Graves' mother's selection ensured that no other children would be born into slavery through her. She conformed to her master's wishes, and exercised power by undermining the outcome.<sup>xxxiv</sup>

Although slave "marriages" were not legal, female slaves treated their relationships with black men as sacred. The interview of Valley Perry regarding his slave grandparents' relationship, shows how enslaved females chose male "spouses" and in doing so adhered to the values of a "true woman." Although his grandparents belonged to different masters who hated each other, his grandfather would slip into the grandmother's cabin to court her. Eventually the pair was discovered, and when the master asked the grandmother why Jake was in the cabin, she replied: "...dat she loves Jake an' dat she wants ter marry him."<sup>xxxv</sup> The grandmother demonstrated the virtues of a "proper woman" by choosing a respectable "marriage" even though she knew that her wishes might not have been granted. By choosing each other as spouses, Perry's grandmother and grandfather showed power despite being enslaved.<sup>xxxvi</sup>

### **Community, Companionship, "Virtue"**

The values of "True Womanhood" controlled society not only by indoctrinating women, but also by influencing the values of the community. The WPA interview of

Charlotte Raines and the memoir of Harriet Jacobs further exhibit how both whites and blacks viewed slave women's relationships.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

Some women were ridiculed for their relationships. Charlotte Raines, according to the interviewer, usually ignored such mocking but, "once when...pressed...a bit too far she hurled a butcher knife..."<sup>xxxviii</sup> at a man taunting her. Slave relationships, according to historian Rebecca Griffin, were amusements for the community, while slave folklore reflects how female slaves' aggressive pursuits of relationships were viewed as unnatural. Griffin notes that stories involving male trickster animals, such as a Brier Rabbit, had "happy" endings which reflected the community belief that courting was a game with the woman as a submissive prize to be won. Folklore with female characters as the courter contained a different meaning. According to Griffin:

...tales in which female characters took active control of a courtship...demonstrate the power of female sexuality and hint at the perceived threat that this posed to the established gender hierarchy...the empowerment of females in the courting...always resulted in their downfall and the end of the courtship.<sup>xxxix</sup>

Women who took courtships into their own hands were chastised by both races, while Genovese notes that enslaved men and women had different reasons for disapproving.<sup>xl</sup>

Views of the immoral nature of female slaves' relationships by males of both races reflect the contemporary ideas about women's roles, in particular black women's roles. The male black community disliked enslaved females enduring or encouraging relations with white males, or choosing certain men as lovers within the black community, because it emasculated them. Genovese notes that when

enslaved men were denied male power, their form of retaliation manifested in, "...violence, they ran away, sulked, or shirked work."<sup>xli</sup> Men, both black and white, constantly tried to control the sexuality and power of enslaved women.<sup>xlii</sup>

Harriet Jacobs notes that her decision to have a sexual relationship with an unmarried white man deeply wounded her grandmother who drove Jacobs from her house saying, "I had rather see you dead than see you as you now are."<sup>xliii</sup> Her grandmother's statement about "proper womanhood" and the importance of purity mirrors Welter's comments about, "...a dried rose [which] symbolized 'Death Preferable to Loss of Innocence.'"<sup>xliv</sup> Slave women viewed the aggressive actions of other enslaved women as examples of the erosion of moral and familial foundations. In her narrative, Jacobs discusses how unlike white women who were protected throughout their lives, enslaved women suffered the indignity of having their innocence robbed from them.<sup>xlv</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Generalized views of the slave woman as a victim of male sexual aggression or as a harlot have been proven to be mere stereotypes. On the contrary, slave women who used their sexual and romantic choices showed the world that they were still human beings with will, intellect, and morals. The lives of Harriet Jacobs, Harriet Ann Daves' mother Mary Collins, Julia Alexander, and Rose Williams are testaments to how slave women resisted the labeling of promiscuity as they fought gender and racial inequality. The stories of Margaret Bettingall, Sam and Louisa Everett, Sarah Frances Shaw Graves, Valley Perry, and Charlotte Raines demonstrate how slave women, by making their own choices, attempted to prove their virtue, despite the obstacles. In

a time when they were denied recognition as “women,” these female slaves defined their value in their own terms.

## Endnotes

<sup>i</sup> Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860,” *American Quarterly* 18, No. 2, Part 1, (Summer 1966): 151-174, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2711179>.

<sup>ii</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

<sup>iii</sup> *Ibid.*, 151-174.

<sup>iv</sup> Norman R. Yetman, “Ex-Slave Interviews and the Historiography of Slavery,” *American Quarterly* 63, No. 2 (Summer 1984): 200, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2712724>.

<sup>v</sup> Marietta Morrissey, *Slave Women in the New World: Gender Stratification in the Caribbean* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1989), 3-147; Frances Foster, “In Respect to Females: Differences in the Portrayals of Women by Male and Female Narrators,” *Black American Literature Forum* 15, No. 2 (Summer 1981): 66-67, 70, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2904084>; Welter, 151-174; Yetman, 181-210.

<sup>vi</sup> Brenda E. Stevenson, “‘Marsa Never Sot Aunt Rebecca Down’: Enslaved Women Religion, and Social Power in the Antebellum South,” *The Journal of African American History* 90, No. 4 (Autumn 2005): 355, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20064018>.

<sup>vii</sup> *Ibid.*, 345-367; Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), 341, 350; Steven E. Brown, “Sexuality and the Slave Community,” *Phylon* 42, No. 1 (1<sup>st</sup> Quarter 1981): 1-10, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/274880>; Welter, 151-174.

<sup>viii</sup> Morrissey, 147.

<sup>ix</sup> Stampp, 350; Welter, 151-174; Morrissey, 3-147.

<sup>x</sup> Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, with introduction by Valerie Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 85.

<sup>xi</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>xii</sup> *Ibid.*, 85; Welter, 151-174.

<sup>xiii</sup> Stampp, 248.

<sup>xiv</sup> Frances Anne Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation in 1838-1839* (New York, 1863), 59-61, cited in Stampp, 248.

<sup>xv</sup> Harriet Ann Daves, interview by T. Pat Matthew. United States Work Projects Administration (USWPA), *Slave Narrative Project North Carolina Narratives*, Volume 11, Part 1, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Digital ID: mesn 111/236232: 3, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=111/mesn111.1.db&rec Num=236&itemLink=D?mesnbib:2:/temp/~ammem\\_KCsy::](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=111/mesn111.1.db&rec Num=236&itemLink=D?mesnbib:2:/temp/~ammem_KCsy::)

<sup>xvi</sup> Kemble, 59-61, cited in Stampp, 248; Stampp, 11-418; Welter, 151-174; Daves, 1-4.

<sup>xvii</sup> Stampp, 248.

<sup>xviii</sup> Letter from J. L. Petigru to Dr. A.P. Wylie? 24 January 1860 (12/229/10), 1-2. James Louis Petigru Papers, 1816-1863. (1169.03.01). South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina.

<sup>xix</sup> Stampp, 248; Letter from Dr. A. P. Wylie to James Petigru 20 January 1860 (12/229/10), 1-2. James Louis Petigru Papers, 1816-1863. (1169.03.01). South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina; Letter from J. L. Petigru to Dr. A.P. Wylie? 24 January 1860 (12/229/10), 1-3. James Louis Petigru Papers, 1816-1863. (1169.03.01). South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina; Letter from Mr. Dunnovant 5 January 1860 (12/229/10). James Louis Petigru Papers, 1816-1863. (1169.03.01). South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina.

<sup>xx</sup> Rose Williams. United States Work Projects Administration (USWPA), *Slave Narrative Project, Texas Narratives*, Volume 16, Part 4, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Digital ID: mesn 164/180174: 3, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=164/mesn164.db&rec Num=179&itemLink=D?mesnbib:1:/temp/~ammem\\_zVee::](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=164/mesn164.db&rec Num=179&itemLink=D?mesnbib:1:/temp/~ammem_zVee::)

<sup>xxi</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>xxii</sup> Ibid., 1-4; Welter, 151-174.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Maria Diedrich, "'My Love Is Black As Yours Is Fair': Premarital Love and Sexuality in the Antebellum Slave Narrative," *Phylon* 47, No. 3 (3<sup>rd</sup> Quarter 1986): 240, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/274991>.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Diedrich, 238-247; Welter, 151-174.

<sup>xxv</sup> Statement of First Circuit Supreme Court County of Charleston, State of South Carolina 1904. Benjamin H. Rutledge vs. M. R. Tunno and Others, Respondents, and Liston W. Barguets and Others, Appellants (12/107/5), 1-13. Langdon Cheves, 1848-1939. Legal Papers, 1875-1932. (467.01.03). South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina; Charleston County State of South Carolina. B.H. Rutledge, Administrator of Adam Tunno Plaintiff vs. M.R. Tunno ET. Al, defendants. Testimony of Thomas N. Holmes, 3 February 1900 (12/107/3), 5-13. Langdon Cheves, 1848-1939. Legal Papers, 1875-1932. (467.01.03). South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina; State of South Carolina, Charleston County B.H. Rutledge, Administrator of Adam Tunno Plaintiff vs. M.R. Tunno ET. Al, defendants. Testimony of John S. Gregg, 3 February 1900 (12/107/3), 13-18. Langdon Cheves, 1848-1939. Legal Papers, 1875-1932. (467.01.03). South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina; Stamp, 355; Welter, 151-174.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Sam and Louisa Everett, interview by Pearl Randolph, October 8, 1936. United States Work Projects Administration (USWPA), *Slave Narrative Project, Florida Narratives*, Volume 3, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Digital ID: mesn 030/129126: 2, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgibin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=030/mesn030.db&recNum=128&itemLink=D?mesnbib:1:/temp/~ammem\\_o47X::..](http://memory.loc.gov/cgibin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=030/mesn030.db&recNum=128&itemLink=D?mesnbib:1:/temp/~ammem_o47X::..)

<sup>xxvii</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Ibid. 1-3; Welter, 151-174.

<sup>xxix</sup> Daves, 2.

<sup>xxx</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Ibid., 1-4; Welter, 151-174.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: *The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 466.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Sarah Frances Shaw Graves (Aunt Sally). United States Work Projects Administration (USWPA), *Slave Narrative Project, Missouri Narratives*, Volume 10, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Digital ID: mesn 100/140135: 1, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgibin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=100/mesn100.db&recNum=139&itemLink=D?mesnbib:2:/temp/~ammem\\_2u1a::..](http://memory.loc.gov/cgibin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=100/mesn100.db&recNum=139&itemLink=D?mesnbib:2:/temp/~ammem_2u1a::..)

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Genovese, 465-466; Diedrich, 238-247; Brown, 3-4; Graves, 1-4; Welter, 151-174.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Valley Perry, interview by Mary A. Hicks, August 17, 1937. United States Work Projects Administration (USWPA), *Slave Narrative Project, North Carolina Narratives*, Volume 11, Part 2, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Digital ID: mesn 112/171167: 4, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgibin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=112/mesn112.db&recNum=170&itemLink=D?mesnbib:1:/temp/~ammem\\_qNrn::..](http://memory.loc.gov/cgibin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=112/mesn112.db&recNum=170&itemLink=D?mesnbib:1:/temp/~ammem_qNrn::..)

<sup>xxxvi</sup> Ibid., 1-5; Welter, 151-174.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Genovese, 3-465; Welter, 151-174.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> According to the interviewer, the documentation of this interview was written after Raines' death. Charlotte Raines, interview by John N. Booth, January 18, 1937. United States Work Projects Administration (USWPA), *Slave Narrative Project, Georgia Narratives*, Volume 4, Part 3, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Digital ID: mesn 043/192189: 3, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=043/mesn043.db&recNum=191&itemLink=D?mesnbib:1:/temp/~ammem\\_VRZE::..](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=043/mesn043.db&recNum=191&itemLink=D?mesnbib:1:/temp/~ammem_VRZE::..)

<sup>xxxix</sup> Rebecca Griffin, "Courtship Contests and the Meaning of Conflict in the Folklore of Slaves," *The Journal of Southern History* 71. No. 4. (Nov. 2005): 799, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27648904>.

<sup>xl</sup> Raines, 3; Welter, 151-174; Griffin, 769-802; Genovese, 3-465.

<sup>xli</sup> Genovese, 421.

<sup>xlii</sup> Stamp, 36-361; Genovese, 420-422; Welter, 151-174.

<sup>xliii</sup> Jacobs, 87.

<sup>xliv</sup> Lucy Hooper, ed., *The Lady's Book of Flowers and Poetry* (New York, 1842), cited in Welter, 154.

<sup>xlv</sup> Foster, 66-70; Jacobs, 6, 57; Hooper, cited in Welter, 154; Welter, 151-174; Stamp, 36-361.

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