The Washington College Review is a liberal arts journal that seeks to recognize the best of undergraduate student writing from all disciplines of the College and to publish work deserving of wider availability to readers in the college community and beyond.

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A Word from the Editors

Throughout the past academic year, an ongoing discussion about the meaning of the liberal arts in the digital age has taken place on campus. These conversations—among faculty, students, staff, administrators, and alumni—happened in a variety of venues. We debated over what the liberal arts consist of, what they look like at Washington College, and how the liberal arts experience here creates students who are engaged, thoughtful, and innovative citizens of Chestertown, Maryland, the United States, and the world.

Among our discussions, the notions of interdisciplinary knowledge and action were ever-present. Members of the Washington College community recognize the value and importance of not only studying the Humanities, the Natural Sciences, the Social Sciences, and the Fine Arts, but of also understanding how they inform and enhance each other. This edition of The Washington College Review is a stellar manifestation of that understanding.

As we sifted through submissions during the spring semester, the editorial team was struck by the thoughtful integration of the liberal arts and sciences within individual essays, creative writing, and artwork. The writing process—brainstorming, drafting, revising, editing, and publishing—is a fundamental component of a Washington College education. It is clear that the authors of this edition use both the writing process and their interdisciplinary knowledge and experience to exhibit some of the College’s core values: integrity, curiosity, leadership, and moral courage. While some may argue that thoughtful, contemplative writing is experiencing somewhat of a crisis in the electronic age, these student authors show otherwise.

For this edition, we worked proactively with the studio art faculty to thoughtfully and purposefully blend the written submissions with the artwork. Professor Bellas particularly aided the editorial team by carefully choosing and
sharing pieces of art from students at various stages of their artistic journeys. We then took great care to place them throughout the edition, interspersed between and among the written pieces. We hope that the juxtapositions of the artwork and written work spark curious conversations between the audience and the text.

There are many we would like to thank for the successful publication of this edition. Our editorial team—Jennifer Hopper, Matthew McCabe, Moriah Purdy, Tia Murphy, and Benjamin Bellas—worked tirelessly throughout the spring semester. We read and debated over a variety of student submissions representing departments from all over campus. We believe that we have included pieces that are interdisciplinary and thought-provoking.

We would also like to thank our new student editor, Lisa Anderson ’15, who worked diligently during the end of the spring semester and over the first half of the summer to meticulously prepare, revise, and edit multiple drafts of this edition.

Lastly, we would like to thank the many professors who inspired our students to create these pieces of written work and art. By guiding students through the writing and revising process and thus encouraging them to submit their work to The Review, our colleagues directly contribute to and strengthen the quality of this publication.

In closing, we hope that this edition of The Washington College Review sparks conversations among its audience members. One way in which we hope to encourage such conversations is with a public reading event where the authors read an excerpt of their piece—a new tradition. This event, to be held after The Review is released in the early fall, is meant to encourage provocative interactions between the authors and the audience: fellow students, professors, parents, and other members of the Washington College community. We invite you to attend and participate in this opportunity for both writers and readers of The Review to converse, debate, and celebrate.

Professors Bridget Bunten & Elena Deanda, Co-Editors
Chestertown, Maryland
July, 2013
“Sandy Hook: Forever Standing Tall” was taken to show support of Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut. The twenty-six colored pencils standing tall in the sand represent the color lost from the world, when the twenty-six students’ and teachers’ lives were lost due to a senseless act. The footprint leading away from the sand is that of a student survivor, learning how to remember the past and move forward in the world without his or her classmates and teachers by his or her side.
This kid missed the boat. His math skills are sub par. He’s prone to getting sunburnt. His left foot is slightly smaller than his right, and his teeth required years of orthodontic corrective work. He drinks too much, he sleeps too late. He’s lethargic and unmotivated. He’s been alive for 10,900,567 minutes.

That’s 181,676 hours, or 7,569 days, or 20 years. He is constantly tested. He is constantly learning. He has the capacity to be correct. He is wrong. He is well, and unwell. He has been sick. He has been cared for. He has been accepted. He has befriended. He has bullied. He has been hurt. His preoccupation with detail has both helped and hindered. He has the ability to choose. He has the ability to disagree. He can judge things critically. He has many parts, like a car. But unlike a car he is capable of running even when he is broken.

He plucks the lemons, as well as the plums.
Designing Towards the (Re)Discovery of Thought

By Amanda Eldreth

I. Logically thinking, it makes sense for students (or people in general) to need to organize their thoughts in a linear form when they are attempting to learn something new or make sense of something complicated. So sometimes, they start plotting with Roman numeral I and

a. move between the sub-sequential letters of A

b. and B

c. etc., etc.

i. Then the move to an unimportant, out of sequence i, which in truth makes little sense when someone tries to make sense of this scaffolding we use on the blank page to move towards an actual essay.

1. But does this scaffolding really disappear in the more widely accepted definition of the essay?

d. Are outlines in such manners only accepted because of the official name of being the Harvard Outline?

i. Or was I simply influenced by the writings of Ander Monson?

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1 Any quotations incorporated in the work are documented directly following their use. The author utilized online sources and provided links to these citations.
1. Who I’m looking to as a guideline for this format and some ideas containing form and the essay.
   
   a. Disclaimer:
      
      i. Some of the language and ideas I’m using above I have absorbed from Monson as well

   e. Perhaps this need to appear logical and sophisticated is why the definition of the essay has evolved from the styles of Montaigne and Emerson as being
      
      a. explorative
      
      2. and

      i. towards one that is more staged and stale.

   f. If this were being used to actually frame the essay that I was taught in school,
      
      i. I’m referring to the renowned, strictly linear, five paragraph, intro-bodies-conclusion essay,

   g. a thesis might go here.
      
      i. But that would suggest that our arguments are stuck and unchanging from start to finish.

      ii. “I may presently change, not only by fortune, but also by intention. ’Tis a counterpart of various and changeable accidents, and of irresolute imaginations, and, as it falls out, sometimes contrary: whether it be that I am then another self, or that I take subjects by other circumstances and considerations: so it is, that I may peradventure contradict myself… I never contradict the truth.”

      a. (Montaigne, Of Repentance)
2. Extending what Montaigne wrote, simply illustrating the evolution of arguments or ideas does not mean that the writer has completely changed what they believe is the truth.

3. Arguments and ideas evolve as we write and the essay should be about exploring and wandering through the possibilities of whatever topic we start off to write about.

h. So this leads to the idea that the definition of the essay we know now is structured to appear as an illusion,

   i. One that we have been led to accept and believe is fact. Something we must take as

   ii. Permanent.

      1. Defined as lasting or remaining unchanged indefinitely.

   iii. So we are taught that an essay must forever be a cohesive block of text that travels from

      a. Point a

         i. to

      b. Point b,

2. but these points are masked in paragraphs about a subject with an argument,

   a. which is trickery to fool the reader into seeing logic when there does not have

      i. to be.

3. This notion of how they are structured so linearly,

   a. much like this form,
4. suggests the ability to construct and create arguments or supports in controlled and concise ways.

a. A mind does not work in such ways.

i. One word or phrase could jog a memory,

1. cause a digression,

ii. or a different perspective read in the planning stages of essay writing could alter your argument and create contradiction.

1. One that you eventually get around to addressing in the essay,

a. if of course the old, academic art of essaying is done away with

2. and the notion of imitation

a. on how the natural mind circles and tries out ideas are followed instead.

i. This is part of my philosophy.

i. “Permanence is but a word of degrees… New arts destroy the old.”

i. (Emerson, *Circles*)
ii. As Emerson explored in his essay, there will always be evolution in art. It would be unwise to think that the form of the essay would remain unchanging

1. just as the modern essay we know will not be a permanent fixture in academia.

iii. Even the fact that I am redesigning the Harvard outline

1. (as Ander Monson has done)

iv. suggests that there can be a blend of new and old in order to

i. return

b. to when

2. the essay

ii. was not staged

b. but more

2. natural

v. and subject

i. to change.

II. The overwhelming acceptance of traditional forms for academic assignments seems to have replaced other genres of writing without many questioning the rationale behind using such genres.

a. As society has advanced, traditional texts require progressively more reconceptualization in order to maintain a familiar approach while also introducing originality.

i. Because somewhere along the lines, a prescribed approach to writing has defined what is acceptable in an academic sense
1. or really just the essay.

2. The essay being the container through which we are expected fit our arguments and thesis and points to prove something for feedback.
   a. A test.
   b. A challenge.
   c. An annoyance.
   d. An enforcement.
   e. A punishment.

3. In modern days it is expected to be typed on the screen only then

4. to be printed out in hardcopy for said feedback.

5. Afterwards the essay is useless because it has lived out its purpose
   a. the curtain falls
      i. and this is a fault of the current essay philosophy
   b. because,

   ii. “Our life is an apprenticeship to the truth, that around every circle another can be drawn; that there is no end in nature…”

1. (Emerson, *Circles*)
   a. As essays explore the truth behind certain topics, to have it rendered dead as it is handed in would suggest that there was never any purpose to begin with.
b. So really the page is just an act when it comes to the essay I know

i. or knew

1. because I rarely write in such a manner anymore.

ii. A part of the staging process that the more academic essay forces writers into.

1. That has rules with consequences.

   a. No using first person point of view.

   b. No using second person either.


      i. Everything has prescriptions to limit creativity-

2. much like a cubicle.

   a. “Men cease to interest us when we find their limitations. The only sin is limitation.”

      i. (Emerson, *Circles*)

iii. Needless to say, this framework is frustrating to me

1. as a writer

   a. and as a student.

2. Why can’t creativity be incorporated into an essay?

   a. Isn’t higher education supposed to be about pushing boundaries?

      i. I thought this sort of atmosphere would be more open to blending genres.
iv. But there is a stunning revulsion to new structures of how ideas are presented to people,

1. which can be tied back to how we are educated and learn

a. even from the beginning of life.

i. In order to teach, parents repeat words and phrases at their infants until they finally are able to speak, read, and ultimately think.

ii. We live by mantras like 'practice makes perfect'.

iii. Writers are told to imitate the classics in order to understand the moves those authors made and why they were successful

1. or not.

III. Formulaic writing has been perpetuated by imitation as well.

a. The kind of bad imitation that Orwell might have been writing about in his essay,

i. “written English, is full of bad habits which spread by imitation and which can be avoided if one is willing to take the necessary trouble.”

1. (Orwell, Politics and the English Language)

b. This is formulaic writing,

i. but aren’t I against that?

b. The answer is not always.
i. The core of the essay is about trying and experimenting.

ii. “Could my soul once take footing, I would not essay but resolve: but it is always learning and making trial.”

1. (Montaigne, Of Repentance)

d. If I have learned anything from Montaigne and Emerson it is that the essay is allowed to be more personal than ever previously thought.

i. It can be used to explore things in life

1. also synonymous with nature.

e. They aided in my articulation of what the essay has the potential to be.

i. An exploration of the self.

ii. An experiment to investigate something that complicates our thinking or ideas

iii. Not just a linear, point by point movement that serves to answer a prompt.

1. Which is meant to search for meaning and provide

2. a sound conclusion

   a. free of any holes and concerned only with

      i. vertical thinking.

f. Formulas are not terrible.

i. The idea that they cannot be molded for our own personal uses and ideas is what makes them seem oppressive.
ii. Formulas such as the one I am using
   1. are more visual at showing the different directions
      one should be able to
   2. approach ideas in what I consider my definition
      a. of the essay.
g. A designed essay is just as effective when there is an intersection of
   creativity and intellectual thinking or scheme.
   i. Similar to poetry or art,
   ii. My definition of the essay allows the author to contemplate
       composition and design,
       1. at once,
   iii. because both are part of the writing, and
       a. the process of
discovery.
WHEN I was younger I was deathly afraid of *Harry Potter*, particularly the scene in which Voldemort is discovered in the act of drinking a unicorn’s blood. The details of exactly how J.K. Rowling presented this scene in terms of language and imagery are long forgotten, but the feeling of pure terror that it inspired in me lingered for years after the initial reading. Moving quickly through the pages, devouring each word, this section struck me. I could picture the gruesome sight clearly, and I, at the time being a young, impressionable reader, decided that this passage utterly ruined the reading experience of this book for me. I put the book back on the highest shelf of my collection and did not pick it up again until well after I started to watch the films. Ultimately, the purpose of this story is not to convey how much I, as a particularly easily frightened child, did not appreciate J.K. Rowling’s plot devices, but rather to express how infinitely malleable and emotionally connected to reading I was as a child. I still feel that tug of the heartstrings when I read and have a shared experience with another person in the author’s fantasy world. It makes me wonder how I became so invested in someone else’s imagined world, sometimes even more so than the infinitely more tangible world around me.

This emotional connection with the written word, I believe, derives from the very social nature of reading I experienced when I was a child. I was one of those children who was constantly exposed to literature from a young age. My mother, who had experimented with writing children’s books, had a deep appreciation of reading and was eager to share with me this respect (idolization?) of literature even before I could decipher the black markings on these pristine white pages for myself. Teachers, too, who read in inflected tones for each new character made these imagined
people seem very real. This experience bonded all of us sitting there on the “reading rug” in a mutual love for our new make-believe friends. What I never learned, though, was the social aspect that writing inherently shares with the act of reading. As we grew up, these teachers began to restrict the nature of our own writing, making what we joyfully read in books seem very alien from what we were writing on the page. I used to think that reading was something to discuss and share with the world, but writing was something to be done while locked away in my room, and never, ever to be shared.

I will return to my experiences with writing that I have encountered, but to fully understand the act of writing as a social practice one must first understand reading as such. Sven Birkerts argues that the act of reading is a private matter in his collection of essays titled *The Gutenberg Elegies*. When first examining his argument on the nature of reading as isolation, I thought of numerous counterarguments and contradictions in his work, and it occurred to me that I had the same misconceptions of writing as solitary that he has of reading. Birkerts’s latent relationship with words, his “real reading life,” was much like that which I experienced with writing which “flowed on behind closed doors” (38). Birkerts’s experience with reading secretly stems from his father’s distaste for that which appears feminine or inactive. Reading never occurred to me as something that should be kept hidden. Moving past collective reading on the “reading rug,” reading as a group evolved into discussing reading as a group. Classroom discussions about literature—theme, characterization, structure, syntax—were always the most heated ways of developing verbal skills of rhetoric and of constructing our own arguments. Critical thinking skills are developed by interacting with a text, and it can only help students to grow these abilities by learning from peers in order to build onto the foundation each student creates individually for himself. Reading itself may be a solitary act, done silently, but this limited definition of reading does not encompass all that reading grows to be. A book is not created with one single reader in mind, and therefore it should not be confined to just one reader’s narrow interpretation. The world captured on the pages comes alive in different ways in each reader’s mind’s eye, but just as one does not solely rely on one biased network for all of his news, a reader should not rely on one interpretation of a text. The reader, singular, is part of a community of readers, plural, and should be encouraged to seek out and
converse with his neighbors. This idea, too, is true of writing. The two are combined. With this view of the social nature of reading, perhaps I have come to realize that writing, which is inherently connected to reading, shares the same obligation to be an interactive and communal act.

In this way, I have always had a very social relationship with books and other readers, all of us sharing a very personal connection with literature—much like that first encounter I shared vicariously in Harry Potter’s Forbidden Forest. However, as a young writer, I was never taught that writing could have the same impact. I was never a bad writer in school (this distinction was how we were categorized in school—either good or bad writer with no in-between or explanation), but I did feel restricted by the limitations in academic high school writing. I always got high marks on writing assignments, but I was still hesitant to share anything I had written. Afraid that my peers would find what I had written to be uninspired or flawed, I was convinced that they would no longer believe that I was talented or interesting. My insecure high school mind believed that if I was open with my transcribed thoughts, my written opinions, my peers would brand me with negative labels. Teachers, too, often suppressed the notion of creativity in writing. It was impersonal, and a good essay was expected to be unoriginal, rehashing the words of others to form the same arguments that had been turned in year after year. Given the rigid guidelines of the five-paragraph essay, I felt trapped and confined, feeling both unchallenged and frightened of stepping outside the norm. Just as Birkerts believes in the closeted life of readers, I retreated into the closeted life of an unchallenged writer, only putting pen to paper when it was required of me.

However, unlike Birkerts, I believe that reading is rarely done alone and acknowledge that perhaps my view of writing was flawed. In reading, we pick up books in the bookstore that are recommended by the staffers, reading their comments underneath the shelves and keeping them in mind as we plunge into them with fresh eyes. We search out the newest book on the best sellers list and read the reviews online or in print. We talk about what we are reading with others or slip in a quote or idea from something we have read into conversation. Even if we are not actively having a discussion in a book group or in class, the ideas we read on the page shape the ideas and thoughts that we carry around with us and share with others. Reading is rarely completely solitary, so why do I carry the idea that writing is? Birkerts insists that “in writing the writer reads and that in reading the reader writes”
The two are indelibly interconnected, woven together with the same fabric. To return to my childhood trauma with *Harry Potter* and the dead unicorn (if the book had been titled as such to begin with, perhaps I would never have picked it up and I would have been spared the nightmares), I recall vividly the emotional connection I have with words. Words molded with my thoughts and crafted by my hands seem deeply more personal than those I read on the page, but this way of thinking is simply not true. To borrow from Birkerts again, “we read ourselves, and then we report on the reading. We call it writing” (111). In reading and in writing we carry on a conversation with the words on the page. Reading does not occur in a vacuum, and neither should writing.

In this way, I have come to understand that thoughts are meant to be shared with the world. Birkerts believes that the relationship between the reader and the written word is incredibly private. In a way, he is right. It is not necessarily vital that everyone be informed of what is happening to all their “friends” at each and every moment of the day, but the issue is more complex than this notion suggests. Thoughts on reading, thoughts on life are complex as well. Some may point to writing as a highly self-serving action, especially in relation to personal subject matter. These objectors would perhaps want for writing of at least some subjects to remain a private act. In the time of digital messaging, status updates, and the self-indulgent celebrity memoir, it is true that oversharing and self-absorption lie in some forms of writing. However, it is not true to say that all personal writing is without purpose. The “I” of essay writing, that intangible, first-person form that is meant to signify individuality and personality of thought, has been excluded for too long. It leads to the alienation I have felt with the writing process, confined to expressing the ideas of teachers in their own cookie-cutter format. Writing is not meant to be confined within the dusty, peeling walls of the classroom, within the strict limits designated by stricter teachers. Unfettered thoughts lie beyond these borders and it is impossible not to be influenced by even the most subtle passing blow of literature. Even those who are most uninterested in books cannot say that they have never been affected by something they have read, be it a school assignment, an advertisement, or a letter. Written language shapes the consciousness of man, and this consciousness affects those with whom it comes into contact. My thoughts are not only mine. They are shared with the people I meet. Writing and reading are extensions of my interaction with the world.
Books and reading have always been sacred to me, held dear to my heart and shared with others in the hopes that they would find comfort from them too, much like how others cook or knit or buy gifts for the ones they care about. I realize that writing is no different. Books take on a unique meaning for each person, but that is not to say that they are personal. Writing originates from one person, but that is not to say that it should not be shared with many. I feel a connection to the worlds I create in my head while both reading and writing, but these are not mine to keep hidden away. Reading and writing, although often done in private, rarely fail to evolve and move beyond the walls and constraints of the reader/writer’s mind.
Mowing

By Bennett Remsberg

My cousin believes he is riding a tank
Blowing a clear streak of devastation
Across the battlefield of suburban lawn care
Pillaging the helpless land and reaping grassy spoils
Causing refugee insects to tremble in terror
As all they know is laid out flat before them
And spewed out the back of this unstoppable war machine
I am told I shouldn’t encourage his violent behavior
But the work is so hard
And he has so much fun
ON April 5, 1603, “accompanied with multitudes of his nobility and gentlemen,” King James IV of Scotland began a month-long procession through his new kingdom. His first stop was Berwick, and a half mile before the king even reached its gates, the town was smothered in a cloud of smoke from its soon-to-be monarch’s enormous train. James was greeted by the town mayor who “received him with great signs of joy, and the common people also, kneeling, shouting, and crying ‘Welcome’ and ‘God save King James’ till they were entreated to keep silent.”¹ From town to town, the wine continued to flow; in return for the lavish celebrations, the King rewarded his new subjects with knighthoods and gifts, and even freed prisoners in anticipation of his impending coronation.² On his April 21 arrival at Newark-upon-Trent, however, English subjects caught a glimpse of a dark side to their new monarch, an unforgiving, tempestuous contrast to the jolly king they so anticipated:

Here in the Court was taken a cutpurse doing the deed, who though a bas pilfering fellow yet was gentleman-like in the outside. Good store of coin was found about him, and upon examination he confessed that he had come from Berwick to this place and played the cutpurse. When the King heard of it, he directed a warrant to the Recorder of Newark to have him hanged, which was accordingly executed.³

³ Nichols, Progresses, Processions, 85-93.
Not even officially crowned England’s new king, James was already evidencing his belief in positive law—“asserting that law is simply whatever the sovereign commands”—over natural law—“asserting a necessary relationship between law and morals.”

James’ councilors, horrified at the severity and rashness of their new king’s reaction, alerted him to the English custom of due process of law. Under the title of James I of England, he respected his kingdom’s court system as much as necessary. His belief in total authoritarianism, however, would continue to define his reign as king, forcing England as a whole to question its fundamental notions of power and kingship.

It is easy to imagine King Lear in place of James in this story, blind to conventions of justice and order, barking at his attendants to “Come not between the dragon and his wrath” (I.1.123). Disdain for compromise, excessive knightings of subjects, lavish entertainments at the expense of monarchial duties—the parallels between England’s new king and Shakespeare’s tragic patriarch are not subtle, particularly given the time of the play’s conception. It was performed before the King himself on St. Stephen’s Day, 1606, only three years after his coronation and amidst growing tension concerning his controversial monarchical philosophy. Similarly, the political world of King Lear is rife with tension between natural and positive law: On one side are Cordelia and Kent, embodiments of morality and goodness; on the other, an army of villains that are, as R.S. White describes, “represented as an equation between power and positive law, without reference to conscience or any ‘higher’ morality.”

These antagonists exemplify the corruptive nature of authority, while their self-sacrificing counterparts demonstrate an alternative, enlightened philosophy toward power.

Lear is at the center of this bloody power struggle, and the play follows his evolution from a king into a human being. Given the political atmosphere in early Elizabethan England when the play was written, I argue that Shakespeare’s tragic king is a foil for James himself, and his story is a parable for the dangers of absolute authority. Shakespeare does not contest the King’s divine source of power; he recognizes the relationship between God and monarch, but demonstrates that the King is as human as a Bedlam beggar, and his actions

are at the judgment of God himself. A good king must enact natural law as well as positive law, ruling morally as well as politically. A king who disregards moral order in favor of institutional power is defying divine laws, leading to the devolution of political stasis into chaos. James often compared himself to Jove, the tempestuous god of thunder, sweeping down upon his subjects with the wrath and power of a furious storm. One spectator described an instance in Parliament when an “unexpected message” from the King “grew some amazement and silence. At last one stood up and said, ‘The Prince’s command is like a thunderbolt; his command upon our allegiance like the roaring of a lion.’”7 James not only believed his authority was derived from the heavens, he expected to be treated with godlike status as well. Shakespeare questions these notions of power, asking Poor Tom, “What is the cause of thunder?” (III. iv.151).

James’ devout absolutism permeated not only Parliament and the royal court, but all of England. Immediately upon his installation as king, James established his ideologies for his subjects in a reprint of The Trew Law of Free Monarchies.

And as ye see it manifest that the king is over-lord of the whole land, so is he master over every person that inhabiteth the same, having power over the life and death of every one of them; for although a just prince will not take the life of any of his subjects without a clear law, yet the same laws whereby he taketh them are made by himself or his predecessors, and so the power flows always from himself.8

According to his rules of kingship, James had a degree of responsibility toward his subjects to rule fairly and effectively. Any form of rebellion from these subjects, however, was treason against not only their king and country, but God himself. This positivist political theory was not new; in fact, it was old-fashioned, a call for an antiquated form of monarchy in which kings loomed

7 G.B. Harrison, “Court News,” Jacobean Journals, 144.
over their subjects like gods. Alvin B. Kernan iterates that James’s theory was the product of a strictly traditional education of Scottish history, a focus on a primitive world where figures of power clashed against nature and ruled with brute force. Like Lear and his ancient universe of Pagan gods, James emerged “out of the mists of the ancient past, as if there had always been kings of this kind.” In these kings’ worlds, where gods grant unquestionable authority to one man, morals are enacted when convenient; when they compromise a king’s authority, they fall wayside to his assertion of power.

There is, however, a glaring logical fallacy within James’s reasoning. If a king’s power is derived from God, he cannot be “called Gods” who “sit upon God’s throne.”10 Rather, he has a contract with God, who grants him power under the stipulation that he rule justly and morally. The King may be above the law, but he is at the mercy of God. Just as subjects recognize the faults in his absolutism—“When thou clowest thy crown i’the middle and gav’st away both parts, thou bor’st thine ass on they back o’er the dirt,” (I.iv.139) his Fool tells him—James’s flawed set of political principles did not go uncontested. As Paul Shupack demonstrates, political theorists were arguing over two conflicting concepts of authority, one which “saw the king as a human being, serving as king by the grace of God, but still a frail human being,” the other “taking the form of divine right of kings.”11 James, a fervent believer in the latter theory, entered a kingdom where the idea of the monarch as servant of the people was gradually taking hold. The tension between these two ideologies was especially evident in the King’s relations with Parliament, which had grown accustomed to working as a partner with instead of a servant to its monarch during Elizabeth’s reign. In his very first address to Parliament in March 1604, he advocated for his plan to unite Scotland and England, anticipating immediate accolades and support.12 After months without approval, however, he responded with a speech that would define their consistently uneasy

10 James I, "A Speech to the Lords and Commons of the Parliament at White-Hall, on Wednesday the XXI. Of March. Anno 1609 [1610]," in The Workes of the Most High and Mighty Prince, James … King of Britaine, France and Ireland (London: Robert Barker and John Bill, 1616,) 529.
relationship: “I will not thank where I think no thanks due…You see I am not of such a stock as to praise fools…You see how in many things you did not do well. The best apology maker of you all, for all his eloquence, cannot make you all good.”

The King remained at odds with the Commons throughout his rule, battling their desire for equilibrium between monarch and law in the hopes of instituting an authoritarian system.

Parliament was supported by a growing number of liberal-minded political theorists. One of the most radical of these was lawyer and jurist Sir Edward Coke, who advocated for a more balanced relationship between the King and lawmakers. In the face of James’s absolutism, he argued that justice be the responsibility of trained lawyers instead of a king unfamiliar with the intricacies of law. In one of his most famous exchanges with the King, he contested James’s protest that his word was greater than that of educated judges, saying “true it was that God had endowed his majesty with excellent science and great endowments of nature; but his majesty was not learned in the laws of his realm of England, and causes which concern the life or inheritance, or goods, or fortunes, of his subject.” Coke saw James as an imperfect human being whose authority should be executed carefully and modestly—a sharp contrast to the King’s absolutism. Like James, Lear’s naturalist subjects call his positivism into question, and his kingdom is in a state of transition between two vastly oppositional political concepts. The play made its stage debut in the early years of James’s tempestuous relationship with Parliament and his subjects, but the already bristling political atmosphere undoubtedly influenced how the audience interpreted Lear’s transformation.

Exactly how much Shakespeare’s play resonated with the King’s court has been the subject of significant critical debate in recent years, specifically as it applies to differences between the *The History of King Lear*, published in quarto form in 1607, and *The Tragedy of King Lear*, published in folio form in 1623. Many of the more significant changes—the removal of references to France and monopolies, the jarring absence of the mock-trial scene, Edgar’s expanded

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role and his assignment of the final line—have been used as evidence for censorship of more overt allusions to James in the second version.\textsuperscript{16} Since the publication of Gary Taylor’s essay in \textit{The Division of Kingdoms: Shakespeare’s Two Versions of King Lear}, however, traditional explanations have given way to the theory that Shakespeare revised and republished his own work. Taylor attributes only two instances of evidenced censorship; the rest of the changes are the product of extensive authorial revision and the quarto and folio texts should be considered two completely independent plays.\textsuperscript{17} White makes a pertinent observation about the two texts on a thematic level, arguing that “where the Quarto presents \textit{explicitly} issues of Natural Law, the Folio does so largely \textit{implicitly}.”\textsuperscript{18} Although White considers the texts thematically similar, his essay uses evidence from the more overt Quarto. For the purposes of my argument, however, I am relying on the Arden conflated version of the two texts. I agree with White that both versions fundamentally tell the same story, but unlike many scholars who prefer to use the earlier, more explicit text, I consider the two versions to be fluid. There are pertinent details from both texts that provide insight into how the play is a reflection of the political atmosphere at the time, and I intend to use them interchangeably. As R.A. Foakes writes in his introduction to the Arden text, “readers should be free to make up their own minds.”\textsuperscript{19}

Even the most ardent revision theorist cannot deny that the opening scene of both versions is, at its core, the same. It presents a king at the height of his power willingly renouncing his monarchial powers “to shake all cares and business from our age.” Lear’s intentions are deceptively simple: He intends to divide his kingdom among his three daughters and select a husband for his youngest (I.i.38). Some critics argue that this division motif is complimentary


\textsuperscript{17} Gary Taylor, “Monopolies, Show Trials, Disaster, and Invasion: King Lear and Censorship,” in \textit{The Division of the Kingdoms: Shakespeare’s Two Versions of King Lear} (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1983), 85-74.

\textsuperscript{18} White, “\textit{History of King Lear},” 187.

of James’s own fixation with unifying Scotland and Britain.\textsuperscript{20} Certainly, his obsession with bringing his two kingdoms under “one worship to God, one kingdom entirely governed, one uniformity in laws”\textsuperscript{21} was an enormous subject of debate among Parliament and England at large. Staging the opposite of James’s intents, a kingdom disintegrating as the result of division instead of unification of lands, does appear to reject the argument that Shakespeare was criticizing his king. As Harry V. Jaffa demonstrates, however, this decision is not the great king’s downfall. In fact, he argues that Lear is “the greatest of Shakespeare’s kings,”\textsuperscript{22} at least before he reconfigures his division plans in a fit of rage. Although the text provides little history of the King’s years on the throne, his followers’ devotion suggests his reign has been favorable. Even in the throes of his master’s temper, Kent says “My life I never held but as a pawn/To wage against thine enemies” (I.i.156). No one—not Kent, Cordelia, even his Fool—contests Lear’s original division plan. According to Jaffa, the plan is to divide the kingdom between his daughters and their husbands, “a third more opulent” to Cordelia with whom he would retire.\textsuperscript{23} Splitting the kingdom in three is a paradoxical method of ensuring unity in the future, creating “a balance of power...where there are three distinct forces, no one of which can overmatch the other two.”\textsuperscript{24} Shakespeare presents a competent, worthy king, who uses the law and tradition to ensure “that future strife/May be prevented now” (I.i.43). His division plan is not the playwright’s attempt to appease the king sitting in his audience; it is a savvy political maneuver by a man whose mental faculties are, at least for now, completely sound.

As Sandra Hole emphasizes, however, Lear’s decision is still an act of positive law, the first of many trials pitting moral law against authoritarian rule.\textsuperscript{25} Lear’s plans for the future of his kingdom constitute the play’s first speech, a lengthy announcement which offers no room for debate. He offers a series of commands during his first few lines; even his love test is framed with

\textsuperscript{21} Pauline Croft, \textit{King James}, 59.
\textsuperscript{22} Harry V. Jaffa, “The Limits of Politics: An Interpretation of King Lear, Act 1, Scene 1,” \textit{The American Political Science Review}, Vol. 51, No. 2 (1957), 405.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 413.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., 441.
the order to “tell me...Which of you shall we say doth love us most” instead of a question (I.i.49). Having determined the allocation of his lands before the ceremonial announcement, the meaning behind this infamous test is evident: It is affirmation of his kingship in the face of impending death, essentially a ritualistic flattery contest. Flattery held profound implications for Shakespeare’s audience, particularly in terms of its relation to the royal court. James was constantly showered with praises that often veered toward veneration more than honest compliments. James was so notorious for compulsively rewarding his flatterers with money and titles that praising him became “the orthodoxy of the court,” instilling a competition for favor mirroring Lear’s own love test.26

The Earl of Salisbury Algernon Cecil once described James as “Not only the wisest of kings (well I may say of most men) but the very image of an angel, that doth both bring good tidings and puts us in the fruition of all good things.”27 This praise verges on worship and reverence, resembling a prayer of thanks to a merciful god. Goneril and Regan’s answers rival Cecil’s adulations, claiming their love is “dearer than eyesight, space and liberty,/ Beyond what can be valued, rich or rare,/ No less than life, with grace, health, beauty honour” (I.i.56). Lear places his daughters on the witness stand, and these testimonies of love are, if shallow and insincere, fit for a king.

When Cordelia is put on stand, she answers with what Hole describes as “a refusal to enter a plea of guilty or not guilty,”28 challenging the fundamental system of positive law. She recognizes the folly in her father’s love test, and offers him the most honest answer she can provide: “I cannot heave/ My heart into my mouth. I love your majesty/ According to my bond, no more nor less” (I.i.87). Cordelia’s reliance on her heart instead of superficial tradition is grounded in conscience and reason, an evocation of natural law. Lear responds with a warning that she “mend your speech a little/ Lest it may mar your fortunes” (I.i.93). Lear equates Cordelia’s status and dowry with her merit as a person, indicative of his materialistic values. He banishes Cordelia and Kent, his two most honest allies, in a fit of blind rage, insisting that “thou has sought to make us break our vows; Which we durst never yet, and with strained pride/ To come betwixt our sentences and our power” (I.i.168). In Lear’s eyes, these

26 Akrigg, Jacobean Court, 245.
punishments are necessary on the grounds that the two protestors disrupted courtly order. Kent’s and Cordelia’s contended statements, however, resisted traditional practice for the sake of moral, natural law, even at the risk of their lives. Kent speaks with “plainness honour’s bound,” (I.i.149) and Cordelia’s words are not “untender” but “true” (I.i.107). Both recognize the court’s superficiality, and this enlightenment allows them to see more clearly the true nature of those around them. Before leaving for France, Cordelia tells her sisters “I know you what you are,” while Lear, clouded by his own authority, cannot even understand himself (I.i.271). It will take five acts of suffering and pain for him to finally see himself not as a king, but as a human and father.

When Lear next appears, his revised retirement plan is well underway. Significantly, however, Goneril expostulates about his stay at her castle before Lear reappears a scene later. She complains to Oswald that “By day and night he wrongs me…His knights grow riotous and himself upbraids us/ On every trifle” (I.iii.4-7). Goneril’s orders, to “put on what weary negligence you please” and “let his knights have colder looks among you,” seem harsh punishment for these minor annoyances (I.iii.13-24). Contextually, however, these knights’ unruly behavior would have resonated strongly with a contemporary audience. James was notorious for compulsively knighting subjects; on his coronation day alone, he dubbed 432 with the title.\(^\text{29}\) His motivation for knighthood was largely materialistic: The rank cost 30 pounds, and in 1603 James declared that any subject with a yearly income of more than 40 pounds was required to be knighted.\(^\text{30}\) An increasing proportion of knights were now of common blood, and the romanticized connection between knighthood and chivalry crumbled. Only a few years into James’s reign, knights had developed a reputation for their extravagance and audacity, particularly by those who hosted them when the king or an aristocrat visited with his train. One nobleman wrote in 1605 that “there are great complaints from Cambridge of the behavior of some of our new-made knights who usurp the place of ancient doctors very ill-manneredly…which is much resented in the University, for the young knights are of no noble birth.”\(^\text{31}\) For those who were not burdened with feeding and lodging these men, the knighthood trend was a popular joke, as there was

\(^{29}\) Akrigg, Jacobean Pageant, 233.

\(^{30}\) Ibid., 233.

“scant an esquire to uphold the race.” Goneril’s complaints were not, in this context, unfounded. Lear’s 100 knights nearly doubled the 60 which usually consisted of a king’s train, and although their unruliness is not dictated in the play’s stage directions, the audience would have inferred what those numbers meant to a hostess.

Goneril’s protestations, that Lear’s “insolent retinue/ Do hourly carp and quarrel, breaking forth/ In rank and not to be endured riots” (I.iv.192) are probably legitimate, albeit announced too candidly toward a king. Lear is again faced with a daughter whose challenge is perfectly logical, and once again, he rejects reasoned, natural law for kingly rage. Suddenly conscious of the shallowness of Goneril’s professions of love, he curses his mistake, striking at his head and saying “Beat at this gate that let thy folly in/ And thy dear judgment out” (I.iv.263). Once again, however, his judgment is misplaced. His self-reproach pertains only to his misplaced trust, not to his larger inability to see past his own authority. “Who is it that can tell me who I am?” he asks when Goneril undermines his authority by diminishing his train (I.iv.221). His answer is as superficial as his eldest daughter’s spouts of flattery: “I would learn that, for by the marks of sovereignty, knowledge and reason, I should be false persuaded I had daughters” (I.iv.223). Lear’s self-definition is intertwined with authority and entitlement, even now, when the validity of his earlier declarations is in question. Much like the real-life king sitting in the audience before him, Lear cannot see past his grandeur and recognize himself as a human being.

Stripped of the power to banish his eldest daughter, Lear curses her with one of his most famous pleas to the gods. It is one of many allusions he makes to the divine, which make appearances as early as the first scene when he banishes Cordelia “by the sacred radiance of the sun,/ The mysteries of Hecate and the night.” While denouncing Kent, he announces “by Jupiter/ This shall not be revoked” (i.i.111,179). As mentioned earlier James often drew parallels between himself and Jupiter, or Jove. The king, looming above his court and striking with bolts of lightning, was a frequent image in Parliament, a symbol of James’ impending wrath if his plans for the Union did not succeed. James’s
unquestionable authority was equated to that of a god, just as Lear’s entitles him to call upon the heavens for power. In this later scene with Goneril, he appeals to the gods once more: “Hear, Nature, hear, dear goddess, hear;/ Suspend thy purpose if thou didst intend/ To make this creature fruitful” (I.iv.267). Both of these entreaties, for Kent’s banishment and Goneril’s sterility, are committed in moments of outrage. Lear, like James, mistakes the nature of his relationship with the gods; he holds himself on their divine level, disregarding his human, monarchial responsibilities. In both kings’ worlds, power is divinely granted under the condition that they rule with integrity. As the destruction of Lear’s kingdom demonstrates, a monarch’s failure to uphold this contract has devastating, earthly consequences.

Lear’s godlike self-image begins to shatter when he hurls himself into the raging storm in act three. This moment is Lear’s emotional turning point, when he makes a noticeable shift from egocentrism to empathy. In his final speech before throwing himself to the mercy of the storm, he attempts to repress his fear and mortality, preferring to be affected with “noble anger” than let “women’s weapons, water-drops,/ Stain my man’s cheeks” (II.ii.465). This allusion to man instead of king indicates a gradual acknowledgment of his humanity, and as Hole notes, this scene signifies the first moment in which Lear sees himself as less than godlike. His attitude toward the gods is no longer commanding. Instead, he seeks their wisdom, imploring “I do not bid the thunder-bearer shoot,/ Nor tell tales of thee to high-judging Jove” (II.ii.415). It takes a full-fledged storm, however, for Lear to fully realize his vulnerability. No longer protected within castle walls or by an army 100 men strong, the King is at the mercy of nature and, by extension, the gods. “Here I stand your slave,” he tells them, “A poor, infirm, weak and despised old man” (III.ii.19). Lear is not the glorified monarch James insists upon, sitting for “God his Throne in the earth.”36 There is no throne in the midst of the gods’ storm, not even for the mightiest of kings.

Lear’s newfound humility, although not fully developed yet, is echoed in his interactions with his servants. As White suggests, natural law and humanitarianism are intertwined; positive law is an innately individualistic philosophy, while natural law, with its emphasis on empathy,

36 James I, Trew Law, 54.
is communitarian.\textsuperscript{37} Wandering through “sheets of fire” and “bursts of horrid thunder” Lear shows an unprecedented moment of kindness toward his drenched Fool. “How dost my boy?” he asks. “Art cold?...Come; your hovel./Poor fool and knave, I have one part in my heart/That’s sorry yet for thee” (III.ii.71-73). By ushering his servants into the shelter of the hovel before himself, Lear blatantly contradicts royal custom and invokes natural law. Even more explicitly empathetic is his subsequent epiphany about the “poor naked wretches” who populate his kingdom.

How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,  
Your looped and windowed raggedness, defend you  
From seasons such as these? O, I have ta’en  
Too little care of this. Take physic, pomp  
Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,  
That thou mayst shake the superflux to them  
And show the heavens more just. (III.iv.27)

He is experiencing the cruel world outside his courtroom for the first time, and these sudden strains of poverty and vulnerability alert him to his failings as king. According to the Arden edition of the text, “physic” and “pomp” refer to the traditional stately robes used for his costume. “Superflux” echoes these images of luxury and excess. Scholars have noted this may allude to a medieval Christian teaching, a call for the wealthy to distribute their excess goods to the poor.\textsuperscript{38} By playing the role of humanitarian instead of monarch, Lear is demonstrating a shift toward naturalism and away from his earlier egotism.

Such sentiments would have reverberated strongly for contemporary audiences, particularly during the play’s 1606 debut before the King. St. Stephen’s Day was a celebration of charity, when poor boxes were opened and distributed and the rich welcomed peasants to feasts at their estates.\textsuperscript{39} Although James advocated for hospitality and altruism when he arrived from Scotland, his words proved to be empty promises; the larger population of England was as poor as ever, while James basked in the lavishness of his new

\textsuperscript{37} White, \textit{Natural Law}, 210.  
\textsuperscript{38} Foakes, \textit{King Lear}, 273.  
\textsuperscript{39} Marcus, “Retrospective,” 154.
The royal court's expenses nearly doubled in the year after Elizabeth's death, exploding from 47,000 pounds to about 93,000. A sizable portion of these expenditures were for James's “Great Wardrobe,” and an entire department of the royal court was “charging a small fortune every year for the cloths, silks, velvets, furniture, saddle goods, etc.”

Clothing was a status symbol, marking the difference between peasant and aristocrat. For James, costume was a physical representation of his status as king. Godfrey Goodman describes one instance of the King lashing out against a subject for marring his expensive costume: “Pestered by the suits of his grasping courtiers, he could shout: ‘You will never leave me alone. I would to God you had, first, my doublet, and then my shirt; and, when I were naked, I think you would leave me to be quiet.’” This commoner threatened not only James's clothing, but his royal identity. His self-definition was grounded in status and title; without a wardrobe to differentiate him from his subjects, he would be stripped of his kingship and own self-worth.

Lear's costume is equally as definitive. Throughout the play's production history, Lear has been portrayed, and by extension costumed, as the quintessential English king, donning a classic crown and scarlet robe for the first half of the play. The deterioration in costume parallels the King's own transformation; as he strips down to nothing, he sheds his role as king and is left a naked, vulnerable human. Clothing is intertwined with status and power; when Edgar constructs a life story for his character Poor Tom, he says that when he was a servant in the court, he “hath had three suits to his back, six shirts to his body” (III.iv.131). This specificity about wardrobe is used as evidence of his fall from wealth into poverty and madness. As White asserts, minimalism is an element of natural law, a signifier that excess has been distributed to those whose need is greater. Lear, aware of this connection and envious of Poor Tom's disconnect from the superficial world of royalty, says “thou ow'st the worm no silk, the beast no hide, the sheep no wool, the cat no perfume…Off, off, you lendings: come, unbutton here” (III.iv.102, 106). While James lashed out against those who threatened to remove his robes, his fictional counterpart willingly sheds his clothes and welcomes the exposure of

40 Akrigg, Jacobean Pageant, 98.
42 Foakes, King Lear, 13.
nakedness. Only some scenes ago, Lear was incensed about having members of his overflowing train dismissed. Now, he is content with nothing. Lear’s ties to materialism and costume and, by extension, positive law, are beginning to sever.

Although Lear’s evolution is not complete until he reunites with Cordelia in act four, his understanding of naturalism deepens during the subsequent mock trial scene. The sequence is merely a projection of the King’s madness, but there are illuminating parallels between this courtroom fantasy and the trial of Lear’s daughters in act one. Lear walks through the motions of an actual trial for his two traitorous daughters, vying to “arraign them straight” with Edgar as his “most learned justice,” the Fool as “his yoke-fellow of equity,” and Kent the “commission” (III.vi.21.37). Lear attempts to enact as fair an arraignment as possible, allowing the judge to preside over the scene while he, the King, participates merely as a witness. He takes the stand and tells the court, “arraign her first, ‘tis Goneril—I here take my oath before this honourable assembly—kicked the poor King her father” (III.vi.48). Here, Lear has enacted a system of checks and balances where his authority is subject to the order of common law. James strictly opposed Parliament’s common law principles, asserting that order was “a thing Regal, and proper to a King, to keep every Court within his own bounds.”

His concept of a fair trial more closely follows the opening scene of the play in which the king banishes his two most loyal subjects for coming “between our sentence and our power” (I.i.183). Now, Lear not only accepts the concept of justice and moral order but welcomes it, even at the expense of relinquishing his own power. Although Lear later tells Gloucester that he is still “every inch a king,” echoes of the real king watching from the audience become less frequent from act four onward (IV.iii.123). In fact, his mad interaction with Gloucester is the last time Lear ever says the word “king.”

Lear’s reunion with Cordelia in act four completely diverges from the pattern of trial and testimony. Rather, it is a genuine interaction between father and daughter, and notions of kingship and power do not interfere. Lear is brought onstage in a chair, reminiscent of the throne which many productions include in the opening scene. For Lear the all-powerful king, that throne was a symbol of unquestionable authority, a chair that placed him before an entire court of subjects; here, he sits because he is too weak to stand, representative

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43 James I, Speech in Star Chamber from Political Works of James I, 213.
of his own mortality. He tells his daughter, “You do me wrong to take me out o’ the grave,” contradicting the godlike persona he embodied earlier (IV.vii.50). He even welcomes death as penance for his sins against Cordelia, telling her that “if you have poison for me, I will drink it./ I know you do not love me, for your sisters/ Have, as I do remember, done me wrong./ You have some cause; they have not…Pray you now, forget, and forgive” (IV.vii.81,95). He retracts his condemnation of Cordelia’s protest, demonstrating that he grasps the concepts of justice and naturalism. He poorly judged his daughters in the first scene of the play; now, he can delineate between naturalism and positivism, even if it means admitting his own mortality.

He witnesses the frailty of life firsthand in the play’s final scene. “Howl, howl, howl! O, you are men of stones!” he cries as he carries his daughter’s lifeless body, the irrevocable consequence of his corruption of power, onstage (V.i.300). Throughout his journey, he “hath ever slenderly known himself,” but the differences between life and death are perfectly clear: “I know when one is dead and when one lives./ She’s dead as earth” (V.i.303). Critics still struggle to understand this haunting image of Cordelia’s body in her once-great father’s arms. The outward meaninglessness of her death was so painful to interpret that the theater abandoned it altogether in the eighteenth century for Nahum Tate’s rewrite. His version, in which Cordelia and Edgar emerge triumphant, enforces a sense of moral order and presents audiences with a satisfying conclusion. Samuel Johnson, who favored Tate’s script over the original, wrote in the eighteenth century that “Shakespeare has suffered the virtue of Cordelia to perish in a just cause, contrary to the natural ideas of justice.”

Natural justice would never have murdered the play’s most faultless character, particularly after the father who ignited the play’s tragic consequences has realized the gravity of his mistakes.

Since Shakespeare’s original play returned to the stage in the twentieth century, however, scholars have attempted to justify the playwright’s choice. Shupack argues that, if the play is a commentary on James’ rule, Cordelia’s death is not only fitting, but necessary. Her corpse symbolizes the inevitable failure of law to protect man from evil, indicating that society’s self-constructed systems of justice are useless without moral guidance. Other critics are more

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44 Samuel Johnson as quoted in Shupack, *Natural Justice*, 68.
45 Shupack, “Natural Justice,” 94.
optimistic about the ending. White, for example, insists that the surviving characters have learned from the mistakes of their predecessors. “Evil may be dead, but so is good...these sobered witnesses have the equipment for enlightened moral judgment.” I agree with Shupack that Cordelia’s death depicts the consequences of corruptive power, but also with White’s assertion that the ending is ultimately hopeful. If this play is a parable specifically for King James, the survivors demonstrate how a ruler should learn by example. The final lines of the play indicate that Edgar and Albany, left to reconstruct their broken kingdom, have learned from their elders’ mistakes:

The weight of this sad time we must obey
Speak what we feel, not what we ought to say.
The oldest hath born most; we that are young
Shall never see so much nor live so long. (V.i.380)

The end of the play is not as hopeless as Johnson and his contemporaries argued. The kingdom’s survivors exemplify how a good leader should take heed from his predecessors’ failures. In particular, they were speaking to their own king sitting in the audience, entreatling him to learn from Lear’s downfall. Just as Edgar and Albany realize the corruptive nature of positivism and absolute power, James would hopefully recognize himself in and learn from his onstage foil.

Sitting in the audience on St. Stephen’s Day, James was only 40 years old. He was in a strange, new kingdom, defending an antiquated system of government that likened kings to gods. Onstage before him was another king, ruler over a pagan, ancient land where authoritarian kingship went unquestioned. Like James, he basked in the glory of kingship; he traveled with a train 100 knights strong, shirked his political responsibilities to hunt and feast, and was smothered in veneration and praise. Unlike the young king in the audience, however, Lear is facing death and with it, the consequences of a life of extravagance and selfishness. It is impossible to know how James interpreted the play, but as he realized his own mortality, he was faced with many of the same questions Lear grapples with onstage. In a speech to Parliament in 1620, only five years before his death, James said, “And this I dare boldly say, and I

46 White, “History of King Lear,” 214.
am not ashamed to speak it, that People owe a kind of Tribute to their King, as a thankfulness for his Love to them.⁴⁷ Here he still echoes the furious, godlike Lear from act one. In the same speech, however, he humbly says:

So, it may be, it pleased God seeing some Vanity in me to send back my words as wine spit into my own Face, so I may truly say I have piped unto you, but you have not danced, I have often mourned, but you have not lamented. But now I have put on this Resolution for the few days I have to live in this World, wherein I know not how far I have offended God.⁴⁸

Shakespeare could not have predicted how the remaining nineteen years of James's reign ended, but his play proved to be a prophetic commentary on authority and morals; even the king who likened himself to the god of thunder was, at heart, “a very foolish, fond old man” (IV.vii.54). Regardless of whether or not James learned from King Lear, the play remains a warning for leaders generations later: Even scarlet robes and a golden crown cannot protect a king from his own mortality.

⁴⁸ Ibid., viii.
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SECONDARY SOURCES


CURIOSITY: Here, kitty, kitty.

A beat.

Don’t leave kitty, kitty.

A pause.

Don’t run away, kitty, kitty.

Curiosity chases the cat, an obvious pounce.

CURIOSITY: (lovingly) I’ve got you, kitty, kitty. I won’t let you go, kitty, kitty.

A last desperate hiss of the cat.

Scene the Only

Lights up. The sitting room of Curiosity’s home. The room suffocates with over-bearing cheerfulness yet retains a sterile atmosphere. The walls are white, the sofa downstage center is white, the delicate orchid inside the glass vase is white. The remaining furniture (a bookshelf, a coffee table, two chairs, a sideboard) orderly placed throughout the room shines in pristine and complimentary bright colors.
On the walls hang pictures, and picture frames perch on the surfaces of the various furniture. The pictures depict Curiosity throughout her childhood, Curiosity and her mother. The picture closest to the sofa depicts Curiosity holding the Cat.

Curiosity’s mother, Temperance, sits on the sofa and puts a mountain of photographs into a photo album. Temperance wears her wealth tastefully, though the effect of her sun-yellow dress against the incessant white is perhaps jarring. A string of pearls circles her neck. She hums along to the classical music that wafts gently through the air.

A door slams offstage. The music softens as Temperance speaks.

TEMPERANCE: Curiosity? Darling, is that you?

A pause.

Curiosity?

CURIOSITY: (offstage) Mother? Mommy?

TEMPERANCE: Yes, Darling, in here.

CURIOSITY: (offstage) Mommy. I have a present for you.

TEMPERANCE: Bring it in, then.

CURIOSITY: (offstage) I can’t.

A pause.

It will stain the carpet.

Another pause.

I’ll just leave it on the doorstep.

TEMPERANCE: If you’re sure it will stain, I suppose we had better wait for the surprise.

Temperance sorts through her photographs as Curiosity enters through the door directly behind the sofa. The blood on Curiosity’s hands has
dribbled down to smear her white pixie dress. Her low-hanging pigtails remain unperturbed; even covered in blood, she must maintain an innocence. The door closes behind her.

TEMPERANCE: Curiosity, I’ve waited all day to see you. Have you been playing all this time?

CURIOSITY: No, Mommy.

Temperance rises, turns to greet her daughter, screeches in horror.

CURIOSITY: (in a means of explanation) Mrs. Daley’s kitty has had a dreadful accident.

TEMPERANCE: (gasping) Darling. Dear. You’re covered in—

CURIOSITY: Blood, Mother. Yes. It’s what came out of Mrs. Daley’s kitty.

Temperance rushes to her daughter.

TEMPERANCE: Are you hurt?

CURIOSITY: No. No. It’s only Mrs. Daley’s kitty’s blood that bled.

TEMPERANCE: God in heaven, what’s happened?

CURIOSITY: Not God, Mommy. A car. A Chevrolet, I think, and it was silver like a bullet. I watched Mrs. Daley’s kitty run away and then I watched Mrs. Daley’s kitty not come back.

Sadness swallows Curiosity’s face, and the girl nearly begins to cry. Before any tears arrive, however, she emits a short and desperate giggle which quickly transposes into a hysterical laugh.

TEMPERANCE: Curiosity.

Temperance holds her daughter by either shoulder, careful not to touch the blood, and leads her daughter to the couch.

Curiosity’s laughter continues in gulping hiccups.

TEMPERANCE: (frantically) Darling, stop laughing. Please. Why are you laughing?
CURIOSITY: Because. Oh, because. What else can be done? Mrs. Daley’s kitty is dead because she wanted to run away. But she couldn’t. No one can run away.

TEMPERANCE: Shh, please don’t ramble. This is only the shock that comes after witnessing something traumatic. You’re fine.

CURIOSITY: (with increasing hysteria) No, I didn’t witness. I practically facilitated, Mother. Don’t you see? Mrs. Daley’s cat wanted to run away from me!

_Temperance rises, crosses to the phone._

TEMPERANCE: I’ll call the doctor and he’ll put you back to normal.

CURIOSITY: (with sobering anger) NO.

TEMPERANCE: No? But. You’re not well.

CURIOSITY: I’m better than Mrs. Daley’s cat, I think.

TEMPERANCE: What has happened to you?

CURIOSITY: Nothing’s happened to me; it’s Mrs. Daley’s kitty. It’s dead, but I’m not; I’m alive and I’ve learned what happens when we try to run away. But, oh, Mother! Mrs. Daley, poor Mrs. Daley. And the poor kitty. I only wanted to hold it and I held it tightly as I could because I didn’t want the kitty to leave me. I only wanted to love it but it didn’t want me to love it, or maybe it didn’t want me to hold it so tightly because the kitty it, she, he, it—it was neutered or spayed or something, wasn’t it?—it scratched me and bit me. Look at my arms, Mommy. My arms are bleeding; yes, that is my blood! Hah. I am bleeding and here I thought only kitty’s could bleed.

_Temperance begins to pace the room, wrangled with distress._

TEMPERANCE: Perhaps you’re infected. Yes. That’s why you’ve suddenly become so peculiar. I’ll get you some rubbing alcohol; it will sting at first, but everything does. It will sting but it’s the only way to clean the cuts.

CURIOSITY: How can you worry about my arms when I’m not dead? Don’t you see? Mrs. Daley’s kitty is dead. Dead. Dead. Flat as a tire, hair all clumped
on the road, stomach sort of hanging out of itself, eyeballs wild and wide but glassy. And the stench, Mother, the stench! I never knew that blood had such a smell, but now I do know and I’m so glad because I’ll never have to wonder any more about that. I’ve learned so very much today. Perhaps not as much as Mrs. Daley’s kitty. Do cats go to heaven, Mother? Is Mrs. Daley’s kitty in a much much better place? I don’t think so. If Mrs. Daley’s kitty went anywhere, it went to hell. It must be like hell to die like Mrs. Daley’s kitty, and running away from someone who loves you must certainly send you to hell, even if you are only a cat. Would I go to hell if I ran away? Maybe the hell is not trying to run away, and Mrs. Daley’s kitty knew that.

TEMPERANCE: Child, how you go on, but you’re not the cat.

CURIOSITY: No, Mother, I’m alive.

TEMPERANCE: Yes, yes, I’ve heard you. But you’re not well. I really think we’d better call the doctor; he’ll be able to tell us what to do with you.

CURIOSITY: You don’t have to do anything. Just let me be. I’ve only watched a cat die. The end is limpness, did you know? That’s what I’ve found out today. For all the struggle and fighting and biting the ending will always, must always be limp. Or else it’s not the end.

TEMPERANCE: Oh, stop it. Stop talking about it. You’re rambling on like a, like a—

CURIOSITY: What, Mother? Like an everything your doctors say I am?

TEMPERANCE: Darling, that isn’t quite what I said.

CURIOSITY: No, you didn’t finish. You never quite say what you mean anyway.

TEMPERANCE: Dearest.

Temperance, well-practiced at both ignoring and fostering her daughter’s illness, reaches to caress Curiosity.

CURIOSITY: I don’t want another doctor. All the diagnoses in the world won’t cure me of illnesses I don’t have.
This series of photographs features different postures of yoga, which has been long known to bring inner peace to those who take up the practice. Yoga teaches its students to focus on their breathing in order to overpower the chaos that is going on around them in the world. Therefore, these photographs show a yoga student trying to bring peace to herself wherever she may be.
TEMPERANCE: (reassuring herself) No, Sweety, of course not. You’re not ill. You’re healthy. You’re well. You’re beyond well. We’ll just pretend this never happened.

Violent knocking on the door. Temperance exits to answer the door.

CURIOSITY: Hundreds of kitties run away to death every day and hundreds of people don’t notice.

The sound of arguing as Mrs. Daley pushes her way into the house, storming to find Curiosity.

TEMPERANCE: (offstage) Now, really, Mrs. Daley, what on earth—

Mrs. Daley, a crotchety old woman, bursts onstage through the upstage door with Temperance shortly behind her. Mrs. Daley addresses Curiosity with unrestrained disgust.

MRS. DALEY: There. There’s the little wretch.

Curiosity flinches; Temperance is appalled.

TEMPERANCE: I am sorry about your cat, Mrs. Daley, but one dead cat does not give you the right to speak down to my daughter.

MRS. DALEY: One dead cat? Speak down to Curiosity? Hah! Didn’t she tell you, then? Should have known she was a liar.

TEMPERANCE: How dare you, Mrs. Daley!

MRS. DALEY: How dare I? Your head-case of a daughter killed my cat.

TEMPERANCE: (livid) Excuse me?

CURIOSITY: It isn’t true, Mother. I’m not a head-case.

MRS. DALEY: And what sort of normal child would kill a living thing, a pet, my pet?

CURIOSITY: I am normal!

TEMPERANCE: Stop saying that she killed your cat.
MRS. DALEY: I can bite my tongue until it falls off, but doing so will not change what your daughter has done. She needs to be committed.

TEMPERANCE: Committed? How can you even say something like that while she is standing right here?

MRS. DALEY: Put her on a leash or lock her up; she's a nuisance to this neighborhood and a hazard to our pets.

CURIOSITY: I am not a nuisance! You hazarded your own kitty, Mrs. Daley. You’re the senile one. You couldn't even take proper care of your kitty; I’m sure your kitty was happy to die.

MRS. DALEY: You impertinent child—

CURIOSITY: I am not a child!

MRS. DALEY: I took impeccable care of my cat.

TEMPERANCE: And I take impeccable care of my daughter. So I’m certain, Mrs. Daley, that you are quite mistaken about the death of your cat.

CURIOSITY: You drove the kitty to its death.

MRS. DALEY: Oh, there's the mistake, Temperance.

CURIOSITY: (with a flair of viciousness, angry at her own situation) I’m not mistaken! You’re so eager now to mourn your kitty’s death but you barely noticed your kitty’s life. You didn’t even name the poor thing. No wonder the kitty tried to run away every other day.

MRS. DALEY: That cat was my only pet, Curiosity. Don’t think because you’re a mad person you can address me so rudely.

CURIOSITY: I am not rude; I’m telling you the truth. You gave the kitty food and water and a home, but you smothered the poor animal with self-serving love.

TEMPERANCE: Now, Darling, you are approaching rudeness; the cat was only an animal.
CURIOSITY: And I’m sure Mrs. Daley thinks that I am only an animal. Perhaps I am.

_Curiosity leaps onto the downstage table, falling to all fours. Her intent is to make Temperance feel something other than what she has been prescribed to feel._

TEMPERANCE: Curiosity, you’ll wreck the house.

CURIOSITY: Meow, Mother.

_Curiosity begins to lick her ‘paws’._

TEMPERANCE: What—did you just meow at me?

CURIOSITY: Meow.

MRS. DALEY: There’s your proof, Temperance. Your daughter is—

CURIOSITY: —your kitty, Mrs. Daley.

_Curiosity, remaining on all fours, slinks toward Mrs. Daley and rubs against the older woman like an affectionate cat._

_Mrs. Daley shrieks and steps away. Curiosity has control of the scene._

MRS. DALEY: Get her away from me.

TEMPERANCE: (pleading) Darling!

_Curiosity ignores their cries and begins to voice the cat’s inner-monologue moments before running away, dying._

CURIOSITY: Mommy, Mommy! Don’t run away from me. Look! I’ve brought you a spectacular present!

_Curiosity mimes dropping a dead bird before Mrs. Daley’s feet._

A little birdie who tried to fly away! Feathered friends are my favorite.

—53—
MRS. DALEY: Well, they certainly aren’t mine; that’s why I have a cat.

CURIOSITY: But they’re my favorite, Mommy. I gave you a dead birdie because birdies are my favorite treasure and I wanted you to have what meant the most to me. It’s dead because I didn’t want you to have to worry about losing it. Birdies are apt to fly away, you know.

TEMPERANCE: Curiosity, get off the furniture.

CURIOSITY: Is that why you chose a kitty? You knew I wouldn’t run away. I might not be as loyal as a dog but even if something happens to me, at least I’ll have eight more lives! Mommy. Mommy? Are you listening to me?

Mrs. Daley turns away from Curiosity.

MRS. DALEY: Make your daughter stop this impossible nonsense.

CURIOSITY: Mommy isn’t listening to me and she didn’t like the present I caught for her. I’ve never been a birdie before, but perhaps I now can see why they like to fly away. If only I could fly—but, oh! Mommy gives me such excellent food and unparalleled shelter. Such shelter, I’ve never had the chance to discover if I really do loathe water or if it’s just a gross generalization for my kind. Would I like the water? I do like to drink it, even if Mommy gives me the most scrumptious cream every morning for breakfast.

Turning cruelly on Mrs. Daley who has now begun to realize that something about mother and daughter is deeply disturbed.

I wonder if it would curdle if I left it.

TEMPERANCE: Curiosity!

CURIOSITY: Would Mommy curdle if I left her? Maybe, but I must take my chances. I can feel it in my fur that I have curdled by staying here.

MRS. DALEY: Stop it. Stop it if you think your clever words mean anything.

Curiosity arches her back and hisses.
CURIOSITY: NO! Mommy must know the truth before I leave, for I fear I’m very close to something like death.

TEMPERANCE: Curiosity, your humor is inappropriate.

CURIOSITY: (to Mrs. Daley) The stranger thinks I’m funny, did you know, Mommy?

TEMPERANCE: I am your mother. Stop this!

CURIOSITY: My mommy doesn’t want me to leave, but she’s left the kitchen window open, so I think I’ll see the world. I don’t have to leave forever. I just want to know for sure what’s out there.

*A wry grin to Temperance.*

I’m curious, you see.

*Temperance makes a faint noise of weariness.*

*Curiosity leaps from the table onto the floor, crawling down stage with a wide grin.*

TEMPERANCE: Not the floor! The floor is dirty.

CURIOSITY: Oh! But even the small pebbles cutting into my sheltered paws delight my senses. Is this freedom that stands my tail to the sky? And how high the sky reaches. No wonder the birdie sang to fly.

MRS. DALEY: You killed your little birdie, my kitty.

TEMPERANCE: Mrs. Daley, please don’t encourage her. She’s always been a delicate thing.

MRS. DALEY: A delicate, deadly thing.

*Curiosity has paused in her monologue to clean her paws.*

TEMPERANCE: No, no. My darling girl wouldn’t kill a cat.
MRS. DALEY: How can you begin to imagine what she wouldn’t do until she has done it, Temperance?

TEMPERANCE: She’s delicate; she’s spent too much time outside today, the sun’s gotten to her, that’s all, that’s all, that’s all.

_Temperance kneels, attempts to coax Curiosity into her arms._

CURIOSITY: Meow.

TEMPERANCE: Come here, darling. Here, let me hold you.

_Curiosity arches her back and growls uncertainly._

MRS. DALEY: Don’t you see, Temperance, what your daughter has become? How can you doubt that she could kill a cat and think it fodder for a horrible charade?

TEMPERANCE: My daughter has become nothing; she merely thinks she is your cat.

CURIOSITY: I am Mrs. Daley’s kitty.

TEMPERANCE: Darling, don’t say such peculiar things. Here, come here.

_Curiosity approaches with cat-like hesitancy. Temperance nearly pounces on her daughter, so desperate to hold onto her. Temperance begins to fervently pet her daughter’s hair. This must become an obvious reincarnation of the prologue._

_Mrs. Daley backs away from the scene with mounting horror._

MRS. DALEY: Your daughter killed my cat, Temperance. I saw it for myself.

_Curiosity mews uncomfortably, squirming in her mother’s embrace._

_Temperance holds her daughter tighter._

TEMPERANCE: I’ve got you, Curiosity. I won’t let you go, Curiosity.

_Curiosity gives a last, desperate hiss as the lights fade to black._
Grandfather promised to teach me to fish
And then didn't
Not while I was well, and not after I was sick
When he rowed off,
I could only lie down on the huge scarlet couch
Deathly pale skin sinking into rosy pillows
And listen to the seagulls squawking their laughter,
The waves outside striking blow after blow against the dock.
Wondering how I would conquer them,
Imagining what I would reap from them.

But today I am well again;
I woke up this morning
Fresh pink skin rising from bloody pillows
And felt myself
Grandfather standing over me, smiles and gives the nod;
Today is the day I become a boatman.
I sprint to the dock, faster than ever before
My feet barely stopping to taste the grass
I skim the ground on mercurial wings
He is there already, mounted atop the ancient vessel
Still undoing the knots that bind us to shore
He looks up at my shouting,
And gently reaches down, and helps me into the rowboat.
His hands are
so
cold

The shock brings me around, and I blink
The unfamiliar fog helps me see again
The boat is still there, still its rickety old self
But my ocean has shriveled into a deadly river
Consumed by fog, bereft of life
The seagulls have gone silent,
Their cries stolen in the mist.
I look overboard, but the fish are not there
Already hunted, or fled, or drowned
Sunk deep within the river’s icy grip.
Grandfather, hearing me crying softly
Trembling white skin in whiter fog
Comforts me with one ancient, frozen hand
He plucks the tears from my eyes
Holds them over his pocket,
And lets them fall.
*Clink.*
*Clink.*
Abstract

Autism spectrum disorder (ASD) is a neurodevelopmental disorder characterized by aberrant social behavior. Inbred mice strains such as BTBR T+tf/J (BTBR) act as animal models for experiments regarding both the disorder’s genetic origins and behavioral symptoms. There are currently inconsistencies in anxiety research with the BTBR model. It is the assumption that these inconsistencies are due to BTBR displaying heightened sensitivity to adverse stimuli such as light intensity and predator scent in comparison to controls. In order to isolate and characterize BTBR’s possible sensitivity to adverse stimuli, we compared BTBR to C57BL/6J (C57) mice as a control and subjected both strains to varying degrees of light intensity and presence of predator scent. The subjects were of even number per strain and gender, and were each subjected to four trials of altering combinations of variables. All trials were conducted on a modified open field platform with a dark box acting as a goal. Results illustrated that BTBR had a similar anxiety level to the C57 strain when only predator scent was included in the test, and that BTBR possess a significant increase in latency and anxious behavior when exposed to the adverse stimuli of high light intensity. This could illustrate that humans with ASD could have similar state anxiety reactions to aversive high light level stimuli.

Keywords: BTBR, C57, autism, state anxiety, behavioral tests, inbred mice
AUTISM spectrum disorders (ASD) are a category of neurodevelopmental disorders characterized by three overarching symptoms: deficits in reciprocal social interactions, qualitative impairments to communication skills, and highly repetitive patterns of behavior (McFarlane, Kusek, Yang, Phoenix, Bolivar, & Crawley, 2008). ASD diagnostic rates are high in many Western countries, with the U.S. having approximately 1 in 88 children diagnosed with some form of ASD as of 2008 (Autism Spectrum Disorder: Data & Statistics, 2012). While the cause of ASD is as of yet unknown, recently ASD has shown a strong correlation to genotype as evidenced by a heritability of $\lambda > 60$ (McFarlane et al., 2008). This is seen in the high concordance rate (as high as 90%) in monozygotic twins, and further substantiated in the low concordance rates seen in dizygotic twin (4-10%) (McFarlane et al., 2008; Pobbe, Defensor, Pearson, Bolivar, Blanchard, & Blanchard, 2011). Gene association studies have identified many candidate genes that may be responsible; however, in most cases this involves multiple gene interactions, and possibly some environmental factors, signifying a positive correlation of high concentrations of these candidate genes and symptoms of ASD (McFarlane et al., 2008; Pobbe et al., 2011).

ASD is diagnosed on a basis of an aberrant social and behavioral phenotype as opposed to the biochemical or physiological marks of a certain neuropathology seen in most other neurodevelopmental disorders (Pobbe et al., 2011). Due to this, animal models must also possess the same aberrant phenotypic behavioral patterns as those seen in ASD (Pearson, Pobbe, Defensor, Osay, Bolivar, Blanchard, & Blanchard, 2011; Pobbe et al., 2011). Mice are particularly helpful as a model for researching ASD as there is a high similarity between the mouse and human genomes, as well as a wide array of potential genetic manipulations for mice (Pobbe et al., 2011). Mouse models for ASD are typically inbred to express genetic traits related to ASD, as well as targeted for specific allele mutations within ASD candidate genes in order to provide better candidates for genetic hypotheses regarding ASD (McFarlane et al., 2008). This genetic manipulation is achieved both through observations of phenotypic expressions in behavior and by identifying genetic mutations similar to those found in ASD; these two methods are referred to as reverse and forward genetics, respectively (McFarlane et al., 2008; Pobbe et al., 2011).

The results of these two genetic approaches have displayed that the mouse strain BTBR T+tf/J (BTBR) consistently shows validity in all three ASD diagnostic criteria, through assessment of multiple tasks (McFarlane et al., 2008; Pobbe et al., 2011).
al., 2008; Pearson et al., 2011; Pobbe et al., 2011). BTBR mice exhibit atypical recursive behaviors such as jumping, bar-biting, and cage-top twirling, all of which are typically seen in animal models of neurodegeneration and atypical striatal systems (Pearson et al., 2011). BTBR exhibit unique differences in lower and higher-order cognitive faculties as the strain typically has irregular movements, self-injuring behavior, participates in repetitive tasks, and an aversion to change (Pearson et al., 2011; Pobbe et al., 2011). In addition, when compared to the more frequently utilized C57BL/6J (C57) strain, which possesses anxiety and behavioral traits similar to that of humans, BTBR illustrate lower reciprocal social interactions, social approach, exploratory behavior, impaired juvenile play, unusually high patterns of self-grooming, and reduced or irregular ultrasonic vocalization, further supporting its role as a model of ASD (Pearson et al., 2011; Pobbe et al., 2011).

BTBR and C57 strains are similar in that both show wide variability in trait anxiety (basal anxiety characteristics), yet differ in state anxiety (anxiety due to temporary environmental stimuli) when observed in an elevated plus maze (EPM) (Jakovcevski, Schachner, & Morellini, 2008; Moy, Nadler, Young, Holloway, Barbaro, Barbaro, & Crawley, 2007; Pobbe et al., 2011). An EPM is an elevated plus-shaped platform with two sides possessing walls (closed arms) and two sides without walls (open arms), which is used to measure and observe any exhibited anxiety related behaviors such as rearing, grooming, urinating, etc. for a set amount of time. In an EPM no discernible differences were found between the two strains across the open arm entries (Moy et al., 2007; Pobbe et al., 2011). When comparing only open arm entries, however, BTBR males were noted to enter the open arm segments significantly more than C57, suggesting a lower state anxiety level due to a lesser fear of heights (Pobbe et al., 2011; Yang, Clarke, & Crawley, 2009). A similar trend to this was exhibited in a separate study with an elevated zero-maze, which is a maze with similar purpose to an EPM but with a circular platform (Pobbe et al., 2011; Yang et al., 2009). Expansions of this study, such as that performed by Pobbe et al. (2011) have yielded different results than the original experiments by Moy et al. (2007) and Yang et al. (2009), with their data showing BTBR possessing increased risk-assessing behavior as well as higher state anxiety. Researchers have suggested that the difference in data between studies was due to an increase in stress factors, particularly a much higher (nearly triple) light level, illustrating that differences between BTBR and C57 may be sensitive to adverse stimuli, with BTBR being the more reactive of the two.
This present study aimed to extend the comparative results of BTBR and C57 state anxiety to a predator scent related task, which serves as a basal stressor, and also encompass variations in light intensity to display variations in stress levels. In addition, the experiment would distinguish whether the assumption of the researchers in Pobbe et al. (2011) that BTBR are more reactive to higher levels of stress than C57 was correct. The experiment consisted of four separate trials in a modified open field platform with a dark box, with each trial containing progressively more stressful stimuli. With increasing stress and light levels for each trial, BTBR was expected to show more anxiety and risk assessment behaviors, therefore performing poorer then the C57 strain.

**Method**

**Subjects**

Subjects in this study included 4 male and 4 female C57 mice and 4 male and 4 female BTBR mice (N = 16). Each gender and strain was separated into four groups (n = 4): C57 male, C57 female, BTBR male, and BTBR female, for the duration of the experiment. All four groups of mice were housed in standard vivarium conditions with a 12 hour day/night cycle and available food and water *ad libitum*. All mice were born into the same cohort and were four months old at the age of testing. Mice were housed separately based on gender and strain. Experimental procedures were reviewed and approved by the Washington College Institutional Animal Care and Use Committee, and conducted in compliance with the National Institute of Health Guidelines for the Care and Use of Laboratory Animals.

**Materials**

A four foot diameter circular raised platform was modified and used to measure anxiety in an open environment by placing a dark box on one edge of the platform as a goal, with any salient visual cues removed. A 4.5 in. PVC cylinder was used to house the test subjects before the beginning of the test. Stop watches were used to record latency to the nearest whole second. Between each trial session the open field platform, dark box, and PVC cylinder were thoroughly wiped down and sterilized with A-33 disinfectant, and dried with paper towels to eliminate any potential contaminating scent from the mice of the previous trial. A 25-watt red fluorescent light bulb was used to simulate...
low illumination for the mice, and three 500-watt halogen lights were used to simulate high illumination. Bobcat urine was selected as the predator scent for this experiment, and prepared as stimuli under a fume hood in a separate room. A disposable 1mL pipet was used to place three drops of urine onto surgical gauze, which was then placed within a small tissue cassette to prevent direct access by the mice. The scented tissue cassette was then placed in the center of the open field platform, directly between the mouse entry point and the dark box. Predator scent was prepared for trials three and four only.

**Procedure**

Four separate trials were created to test varying combinations of predator scent and light intensity, and the effects thereof on each strain’s state anxiety. Experimental cages with subjects were placed into the room for a five minute acquisition period before trials began. Subjects were placed within the dark box for 60s to familiarize themselves with it. Subjects were placed in a PVC cylinder which was placed opposite the dark box. Each trial was deemed completed once the subject had placed all four feet within the dark box or a time of 180s (3 minutes) had expired.

The first trial was comprised of overhead room lights to provide moderate light intensity (411 lux on average) and no predator scent was added. This was used as a control to compare the results of the remaining three trials. For the second trial the light source was replaced with a 25-watt red fluorescent light bulb, positioned to shine directly on the modified open field platform. The 25-watt red light bulb (average of 4.5 lux) gave the mouse the perception of low light intensity. No predator scent was added.

In trials three and four bobcat urine was added as a basal aversive stimulus to characterize state anxiety differences between strains. Experimental conditions of trial three incorporated the same fluorescent red lighting with the addition of the predator scented gauze pad within tissue cassette. Conditions of trial four incorporated both the red light and the predator scent; however, after an elapsed latent period of 3s, three 500-watt halogen lights, directed at the center of the platform from varying angles, were turned on. These lights created an average of 2,215 lux per trial, creating a brightly illuminated environment of over five times the lux produced by the ambient room lighting. The addition of the aversive light stimuli when combined with the predator scent provided an increase in stress by aversive stimuli. Data were recorded for each trial per mouse.
Results

Latency due to variation in illumination or scent was taken from averages of trials. Mean latencies were compounded of both strain and gender so that each experimental group possessed a separate dataset, to be used in statistical testing. A two-way factorial (2 strain x 2 scent) ANOVA was run to compare mean latencies between strains in trials in which scent was present and in which scent was absent. There was no significant main effect of strain on latency, nor main effect of scent on latency. There was, however, an interactive effect of strain and scent on the measured latency, $F(1,14) = 7.27, p = 0.02$ with a large effect size, $\eta^2 = 0.34$ (see Figure 1). C57s and BTBRs behaved similarly in the no-scent condition, but C57s had lower latencies than BTBRs in the condition in which scent was present.

In order to observe whether or not the presence of illumination had an effect on measured latencies, a two way ANCOVA was run in conjunction with illumination factored out as a covariate. The presence of illumination had a significant effect on latencies, $F(1,12) = 79.83, p < 0.001$, with a large effect size, $\eta^2 = 0.87$. The absence of illumination also had a significant effect on latencies regardless of scent or strain, $F(1,12) = 151.65, p < 0.001$, also with a large effect size, $\eta^2 = 0.93$. Even when illumination was factored out as a covariate, there was still a significant interactive effect of strain and scent, $F(1,12) = 5.87, p = 0.03$, with a large effect size, $\eta^2 = 0.33$ (see Figure 2). This illustrated that light did not have a determining factor in the significance of the latencies between BTBR and C57 strains.

Next a two-way (2 strain x 2 scent) ANOVA was run on male data sets only. There was a significant main effect of scent on male latencies, $F(1,6) = 11.27, p = 0.2$. Males exhibited significantly higher latencies in trials with scent present than in trials where scent was absent. There was also a significant main effect of strain on male latencies, $F(1,6) = 7.46, p = 0.03$. Male BTBRs also exhibited significantly higher latencies than C57 males. There was a nearly significant interactive effect of strain and scent on male latencies, $F(1,6) = 5.85, p = 0.052$, with a large effect size, $\eta^2 = 0.50$. This implies a sampling error that requires the use of more subjects in future trials to find more significant results. The same test was run again to observe main effects of scent between strains of females. There was no main effect of strain on latencies for females, nor was there a main effect of scent. There was also no significant interaction effect, $F = 5.16, p = 0.06$; however, there was a large effect size, $\eta^2 = 0.46$ (see Figure 3).
Results

Latency due to variation in illumination or scent was taken from averages of trials. Mean latencies were compounded of both strain and gender so that each experimental group possessed a separate dataset, to be used in statistical testing. A two-way factorial (2 strain x 2 scent) ANOVA was run to compare mean latencies between strains in trials in which scent was present and in which scent was absent. There was no significant main effect of strain on latency, nor main effect of scent on latency. There was, however, an interactive effect of strain and scent on the measured latency, $F(1,14) = 7.27, p < 0.05$, with a large effect size, $\eta^2 = 0.34$ (see Figure 1). C57s and BTBRs behaved similarly in the no-scent condition, but C57s had lower latencies than BTBRs in the condition in which scent was present.

In order to observe whether or not the presence of illumination had an effect on measured latencies, a two-way ANCOVA was run in conjunction with illumination factored out as a covariate. The presence of illumination had a significant effect on latencies, $F(1,12) = 79.83, p < 0.001$, with a large effect size, $\eta^2 = 0.87$. The absence of illumination also had a significant effect on latencies regardless of scent or strain, $F(1,12) = 151.65, p < 0.001$, also with a large effect size, $\eta^2 = 0.93$. Even when illumination was factored out as a covariate, there was still a significant interactive effect of strain and scent, $F(1,12) = 5.87, p = 0.03$, with a large effect size, $\eta^2 = 0.33$ (see Figure 2). This illustrated that light did not have a determining factor in the significance of the latencies between BTBR and C57 strains.

Next a two-way (2 strain x 2 scent) ANOVA was run on male data sets only. There was a significant main effect of scent on male latencies, $F(1,6) = 11.27, p = 0.2$. Males exhibited significantly higher latencies in trials with scent present than in trials where scent was absent. There was also a significant main effect of strain on male latencies, $F(1,6) = 7.46, p = 0.03$. Male BTBRs also exhibited significantly higher latencies than C57 males. There was a nearly significant interactive effect of strain and scent on male latencies, $F(1,6) = 5.85, p = 0.052$, with a large effect size, $\eta^2 = 0.50$. This implies a sampling error that requires the use of more subjects in future trials to find more significant results. The same test was run again to observe main effects of scent between strains of females. There was no main effect of strain on latencies for females, nor was there a main effect of scent. There was also no significant interaction effect, $F = 5.16, p = 0.06$; however, there was a large effect size, $\eta^2 = 0.46$ (see Figure 3).
FIGURE 3. Two-way (2 gender x 2 scent) ANOVA comparing anxiety levels in all four trials between genders in C57 strain only. Illumination was excluded as a covariate. $F(1,6) = 7.30$, $p < 0.05$, Error bars = Standard Error

FIGURE 4. Two-way (2 gender x 2 scent) ANOVA to compare anxiety levels in all four trials between males and females only in BTBR strain. Illumination was excluded as a covariate. $F(1,6) = 0.47$, $p > 0.05$, Error bars = Standard Error
Finally, two separate two-way (2 gender x 2 scent) ANOVA tests were run for C57 strain and BTBR strain to observe whether there were main effects of gender or scent within either strain (see Figure 4). There were no main effects of gender or scent on C57 latencies, though there was a significant interactive effect, $F = 7.30, p = 0.04$. The test on BTBR data illustrated that there were no significant main effects or interaction effect present; however, the main effect of scent, $F = 5.10, p = 0.07$, possessed a large effect size, $\eta^2 = 0.46$.

**Discussion**

The null hypothesis that BTBRs would exhibit the same anxiety levels as C57s was rejected. BTBRs illustrated higher levels of state anxiety in response to predator scent and high light intensity across all trials with scent present. In addition to this, BTBRs also had consistently lower mean latencies across all trials when scent was absent, in comparison to C57s which had higher latencies while scent was absent, due to observed tendencies to explore the table. These findings are consistent with other studies which found that both C57s and BTBRs show low trait anxiety levels in absence of aversive stimuli and that BTBRs do not typically engage in outgoing behaviors like exploration (Jacovceski et al., 2008; Pobbe et al., 2011). The present findings illustrate that BTBR contains a heightened sensitivity to light intensity when compared to C57; however, the significance of this effect is yet to be determined, as the scent alone created a significant interaction effect between strain and scent. BTBR and C57 illustrated no significant differences in latency in response to predator scent alone with light intensity factored out as a covariate, illustrating light intensity’s prevalence in the experimental results. This is most likely a result of the tendencies of BTBRs to react with disproportionate sensitivity to high light intensity and aversive stimuli as seen in studies by Pobbe et al. (2011) and Yang et al. (2009). This heightened sensitivity created a significant increase in state anxiety while under adverse conditions of the halogen lights which created a mean of 2,215 lux, over 400 times that of the red fluorescent bulb, which produced only 4.5 lux.

Within the C57 strain, males exhibited a significant lower mean latency, implying lower levels of anxiety during the testing. Male C57s were faster to return to the dark box regardless of scent presence. Female C57s had a significantly higher latency when scent was not present, in comparison to male C57s, indicating an exploratory behavior. There was no significant difference
between male and female anxiety levels within the BTBR strain, suggesting that within the BTBR strain the aberrant reactivity to aversive stimuli and light conditions applies to both genders. A possible explanation for lower mean latencies seen in C57s when compared to BTBRs is that in low light environments C57s seemed to employ better search patterns, enabling C57s to build a better cognitive map of the platform. In contrast, BTBRs often explored in more unpredictable, erratic patterns, and even participated in repetitive, confrontational behaviors such as returning to the scent and, in the case of two female BTBRs, tampering with it (Pearson et al., 2011; Phobbe et al., 2011). Some other BTBRs also returned to the scent multiple times, appearing to have forgotten where it was, and seemingly re-identified it as a threat before retreating (Pearson et al., 2011). This behavior in the presence of aversive light intensity and the confrontational behavior in the presence of predator stimuli are supported by previous studies (Pearson et al., 2011; Phobbe et al., 2011). BTBR illustrated low trait anxiety throughout the experiment; however, they illustrated a significantly higher reactive state anxiety than the C57 strain when presented with the aversive stimuli, especially high light intensity levels, as predicted (Jakovceski et al., 2008; Moy et al., 2007; Yang et al., 2009).

Findings within the study illustrate the highly sensitive nature of BTBR to aversive light stimuli. When in a scenario with low light settings BTBR have similar anxiety levels to that of C57; however, higher intensity light, over five times that of the room’s ambient lighting, significantly increased BTBR state anxiety levels and latency. This is concordant with previous studies showing similar results on EPM tests (Moy et al., 2007; Phobbe et al., 2011; Yang et al., 2009). Previous studies documenting ASD hypersensitivity conditions have found that ASD individuals have been found to be more accurate at detecting the orientation of simple, luminance defined structures than those without ASD (Baron-Cohen, Ashwin, Ashwin, Tavassoli, & Chakrabarti, 2009). In addition to this, autistic individuals have been known to score over two times the population mean in visual acuity due to visual hypersensitivity (Baron-Cohen et al., 2009). This difference in ASD visual hypersensitivity could also be assumed to cause disparity in photosensitivity of ASD individuals.

Given that BTBR mice are a model of ASD in humans, the high heritability of ASD symptoms, and high concordance of the genomes between mice and humans, it is quite possible that similar levels of photo sensitivity exist within some forms of ASD in humans. In addition to this, it has been suggested that state anxiety levels within ASD individuals is higher than that of non-ASD
individuals when presented with novel aversive stimuli. These two heightened sensitivities can impede cognitive development as well as education within school systems. It is important to take both of these two abnormalities into account when educating individuals with ASD for the maximum benefit of these individuals and their cognitive faculties. In further studies, researchers should attempt to find the specific cause of the unique cognitive mechanism responsible for visual hypersensitivity and the cause of increased state anxiety in the BTBR mouse strain as well as in ASD human behavioral trials in order to fully assess and understand the cause of heightened sensitivity to adverse light stimuli and state anxiety in ASD individuals. Understanding of the mechanisms by which these actions are performed could lead to therapies or treatments that could improve the learning and perception skills of ASD individuals and therefore their overall cognitive abilities and quality of education.
References


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HISTORICALLY, women have been viewed as inferior to men in many respects. Commonly seen as having little capacity for intellect and knowledge, many women were kept out of education and pushed toward a softer domestic life. This was especially true for women of noble or elite status who did not have to tend to multiple children and homesteads, but could remain idle and superficial. Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope are often cited as players in this misogynistic game. Their poetry frequently depicts women who spend their lives focusing on mere trivialities such as gossip, games, and beauty. It is this depiction of women as a weaker, less rational sex, that corners Pope and Swift into this misogynistic camp. Yet within “The Rape of the Lock” by Pope and “A Lady’s Dressing Room” by Swift, both authors use cosmetics and beauty as the empowering forces within women; this demonstrates not a hateful misogynistic viewpoint, but rather a glimpse at the insecurity of men.

To argue that Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope possessed sexist beliefs is easily founded. Katharine M. Rogers in her essay, “My Female Friends”: The Misogyny of Jonathan Swift, claims within the first lines that Swift’s reputation as a misogynist by his contemporary peers was well-known. His oral declarations of his biased beliefs that presented women prone to idiocy and incompetency (366) demonstrated a demeaning hostility toward women. Yet to further these accusations, Rogers argues that his disgust with women branched out to cover the “physical aspects of women...[by bringing] distinctively repulsive elements into his treatment of the ancient butt of cosmetics” (Rogers 366) as seen in the poem, “A Lady’s Dressing Room”. It is this resentment of women’s actions and mental capacity that paints Swift not as a man of his times, but as a man bent on degrading and demeaning women. Another example comes from Margaret Anne Doody,
who quotes John Middleton Murry in her essay “Swift Among the Women”, noting: “Nevertheless, it is not his direct obsession with ordure, which is the chief cause of the nausea he arouses. It is the strange and disquieting combination of his horror at the fact of human evacuation with a peculiar physical loathing of women” (qtd. in Doody 68) which demonstrates not only a dismissal of women, but also of their equivalency with fecal matter.

In a similar vein, Alexander Pope also finds himself criticized for being a misogynist as his work turns a critical eye on femininity and womanhood. His poem, “The Rape of the Lock,” has seen what Deborah C. Payne calls over “half-a-dozen articles in academic journals and books…devoted to this seemingly unlikely conjunction of feminist discourse” (Payne 3) in attempt to analyze the role of femininity. While Pope refrains from using excrement as a descriptor for women, he too focuses on the incompetency of women and their lack of intelligence. This humiliation and harshness can be examined through the reaction of female writers from the time. Doody quotes Sarah Green’s Menial Improvement for a Young Lady: on Entrance into the World; Addressed to a Favourite Niece, in which Green writes about Pope, saying, “He was as you will find, for I recommend his works to your perusal, no friend to our sex as such I cannot esteem the man” (qtd. in Doody 69). While these arguments uphold one analysis of Pope and Swift’s work, both authors’ works can be argued to empower women by focusing on beauty, the daily rituals, and femininity.

In “A Lady’s Dressing Room,” Swift demonstrates the power of the female appearance within the first stanza of his poem. In a society focused on outward beauty, Swift is quick to poke at the amount of time Celia spends making herself up. He writes, “Five Hours, (and who can do it less in?)/ By haughty Celia spent in Dressing;/ The Goddess from her Chamber issues/ Array’d in Lace, Brocades and Tissues/” (Greenberg 535). It is clear that Swift mocks the time it takes for Celia to dress, but he also emphasizes the end product. Celia is no longer a woman after putting on her makeup, wig, and dress, but rather a goddess to be adored and cherished. She loses her human quality by gaining the strong and alluring power of sexuality. Celia’s cosmetics create the aura of perfect beauty. She spends hours making up her face to be presentable to the men around her and to lure one of them into becoming her husband. It is through make-up that Celia finds her goddess-like identity. It is only with the empowerment of cosmetics and pampering that, “Celia’s efforts to evoke
desire evince both the power that lets itself be invaded by the pleasure of its pursuing; and opposite it, power asserting itself in the pleasure of showing off, scandalizing, or resisting” (Weise 711). Here Weise suggests that the construct of beauty and the use of cosmetics encourage a power over men. Men are often considered more sexual than women and thus, through beauty, women can use this to their advantage by flaunting what they have, or by withholding it.

As the poem continues, Strephon is seen entering Celia’s room while both she and her maid are otherwise distracted. Upon first glance, this masquerade of feminine beauty is destroyed within him. What was once a mystified glorification becomes a farce and something that undermines his current way of understanding women. Wendy S. Weise argues that as Strephon stands in the room, “He can control his fears and reassert his superiority by… investigating and demystifying woman’s mystery” (Weise 710). By invading Celia’s space and understanding her things, Strephon feels that his masculine power returns. He can use his powers of deduction to infiltrate and destroy the feminine power created by cosmetics. He essentially rapes the room by forcing himself in an unwelcome space and then objectifying it.

Using Celia’s belongings to describe her reflects Strephon’s readiness to beat down the goddess-like power of woman’s beauty and reassert his masculine authority. Strephon describes the room, saying, “And first a dirty Smock appear’d/ Beneath the Arm’pits well besmear’d” (Greenberg 535). By focusing on these soiled items, Strephon demonstrates his anger toward her imperfections and the illusion she has created for herself. He is so distraught that he must take clothing that usually flatters and empowers women and turn it into a dirty image. As a result, Celia no longer remains the beautiful woman that he once believed her to be. Instead, she is nothing but a pile of dirty laundry and a mess of cosmetic paint. Linda Williams uses a psychoanalytic idea that a woman is the un-castrated man and that her power comes from the ability to “mutilate and transform the vulnerable man” (Weise 717). By invading Celia’s space and describing her belongings the way he does, Strephon cuts away from the totem of femininity—cosmetics and beauty—which, following Williams’s logic, equates to male castration. In doing this, Strephon inadvertently demonstrates the sheer influence of women over men and his weakness, or inability to cope with that power.
Strephon also realizes that at any moment he could be berated by a woman for being in her chambers. This too emasculates him and he grows even more distraught over his inability to control the situation that he is in. With this realization and the realization that his perception of feminine beauty is a lie, he invades her privacy even more. He moves to the chamber pot and looks into it hoping to find it empty, so that he can keep some semblance of his point of view. The scene is described: “He smelt it all the Time before/ As from within Pandora’s Box...A sudden universal Crew/ Of humane Evils upwards flew He still was comforted to find That Hope at last remain’d behind” (Greenberg 537). Strephon’s plan backfires. His attempt to recreate his fantasy of women does the opposite and breaks his ego further. Rather than finding divinity, Strephon is again influenced by the power of a woman’s beauty, or lack thereof. His male identity, based off his understanding of women, is crushed. Standing alone waiting to be caught misbehaving, Strephon becomes insecure and in turn begins to hate women.

Swift’s use of scatological images demonstrates not a degradation of women, but rather physical equality between men and women, which even cosmetics cannot completely dispel. Swift recognizes the emphasis put on a woman’s beauty and the power that it gives her. This beauty also alludes to the notion that women do not have the same bodily functions as men and in turn puts them once again on a higher pedestal. “Thus, [as a satirist,] it is very fitting from the aspect of his general criticism of the human race... that he should be especially harsh on women, for that is hitting them where it hurts, the glorification of the physical woman” (O’Connor 18). Strephon realizes that women are not untouchable dolls but are equal to him, which causes him to have a moment of major insecurity and defeatism. He cannot completely fathom equality between men and women. He believes in his dominance over women regardless of their cosmetic behavior and feminine beauty. Yet in this moment, Strephon’s masculinity is removed and the triumph of a woman’s secrets empowers her more than it does him. It is from this that the power of cosmetics is demonstrated because they work to hide the female body and her unfeminine qualities. By putting on makeup a woman retains a certain aura and power over men even though she is equal in regard to bodily functions. While women continue to have the same functions as men in this physical manner, the power of cosmetics and feminine beauty cover them up.
Pope, in “The Rape of the Lock,” focuses on cosmetics and a lady’s drawing room as well. Belinda, the satirical image of Arabella Fermor, stands at her vanity about ready to do her make-up. Pope writes:

And now, unveil’d, the Toilet stands display’d,
Each Silver Vase in mystic Order laid.
First, rob’d in White, the Nymph intent adores
With Head uncover’d, the cosmetic Pow’rs.
A heav’nly Image in the Glass appears,
To that she bends, to that her Eyes she rears;
Th’ inferior Priestess, at her Altar’s side,
Trembling, begins the sacred Rites of Pride (Greenblatt 2517).

Similar to Swift’s initial portrayal of Celia, Belinda becomes something other than human as she puts on her cosmetics. Just as Celia becomes a goddess, Belinda becomes a heavenly image, a priestess sent to allure men. She too is empowered through this sexualization of her face and body. Tita Chico argues that, “The famous toilette scene (Canto I. 121–48) displays Belinda’s beauty under construction and reduces her lustre to cosmetics. Her beauty is the result of labor and, as in contemporary critiques of face painting, is therefore not “natural” (Chico 8). But it is through this unnatural beauty, this labor, that Belinda and women like her acquire this supernatural power.

We see the power and control that Belinda exerts over men as she goes about her day. Belinda finds herself playing a game of cards with two knights. Pope writes, “Belinda now, whom thirst of fame invites,/ Burns to encounter two adventurous knights…And swells her breast with conquests yet to come” (Greenblatt 2522). It is clear that Belinda, having made her face presentable for a public appearance, uses this power of sexuality over the two knights. She recognizes that her cosmetic skill brings the men to her. Belinda does not just desire to beat them in a game, but she hopes to conquer them, asserting her authority over the stereotypical masculine dominance. In doing this, she subverts their powers, leaving both men’s egos bruised. Pope demonstrates this, saying, “He springs to vengeance with an eager pace/ And falls like thunder on the prostrate ace” (Greenblatt 2523). It is clear that the knight has been humiliated by a woman and for it he must suffer.
Belinda’s beauty overpowers men again as she wanders through the street. It is her sense of dress and the femininity that she expresses in her visage that draws them to her. The men come to her in awe of the “sparkling cross she wore, which Jews might kiss, and infidels adore” (Greenblatt 2518). This “most famous effect of Belinda’s appearance centers upon the apparent willingness of her admirers to forsake their beliefs and to honor her” (Chico 15). Here the power of a woman’s beauty strips men of one of their most important identifiers: their religion. By doing this, Belinda undermines the strong patriarchal hierarchy that dominates religious institutions and beliefs. Her power over men emasculates their very essence and reduces them to blasphemers. “Belinda’s beauty serves as the figurative armor with which she will presumably devastate men; and it thwarts admirers’ empirical analysis of her, thus giving her the upper hand” (Chico 15).

Pope also places Belinda above himself by questioning whether female beauty rivals poetic beauty, or in other words, his manliness. As a poet, Pope worries about his form and whether what he creates is beautiful and as perfect as possible. Chico argues that he, “meditates upon the value of face painting as an art form. Specifically, Pope’s rendering of face painting as an art evokes the traditional distinction between the arts of verbal and visual ‘painting’” (Chico 14). Pope’s understanding of female beauty as art demonstrates that he too elevates women beyond the merely human realm. Just as the men in his poetry do, Pope questions whether he can overcome the great power of femininity. As a result of this insecurity, Pope uses his poetry as a way to control women. Thus, Belinda’s cosmetics and Pope’s work become synonymous with each other as they both hope to develop a sense of truth about women by painting them (Chico 15).

While the sexist ideas pervaded popular opinion of many men in the eighteenth century, Swift and Pope used their satire to demonstrate the power that women gain through their beauty and cosmetics. As a direct result, both writers demonstrate the insecurity of men and the unstable male identity, rather than the degradation of women. By placing less influence on the divine and heavenly nature of feminine beauty, thus removing women from a pedestal and creating a sense of equality, the struggle for dominance between the sexes fades. It is in keeping with traditional ideas about feminine beauty that one encourages male insecurity. This practice perpetuates the cycle of female objectification and the continuation of the misogynistic ideology that both Swift and Pope attempt to diffuse.
Works Cited


Gillian Hevey considers the meaning of data in contemporary society, saying, “I find that often the meaning behind data can be lost because the numbers are so big and there are so many of them that the mind cannot grasp what they actually represent.” Through the tactile representation of statistics—using bullet casings to symbolize the number of people killed by gunfire in Maryland in 2012—Hevey forces consideration not only of the social issues she unveils, but also of the nature of data in our age. Hevey created a three-dimensional display of this data for her Senior Capstone Experience. The following two photographs offer a glimpse of this display.
Abstract

In 1996, long-time Presidential scholar Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. conducted a poll asking a series of prominent professors and intellectuals for their rankings of every U.S. President from George Washington to Bill Clinton. With those polled able to rank each President great, near great, average, below average, or failure, each designation held a number value that helped Schlesinger to create a mean score out of 4.00 which would determine each President's overall ranking.¹ In the Fall of 2012 at Washington College, I was given a research assignment for Professor Jennifer Hopper’s class POL 312: The American Presidency. Our task, using Schlesinger’s study, was to make the case that one President on the list could be pushed up or down at least two places from his current ranking, based on a complete evaluation of his presidency. This paper makes an argument for the conventional wisdom on a President being misguided. In this instance I attempt to raise the ranking of the 37th President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, who according to Schlesinger was firmly placed in the ‘failure’ category as the fourth worst President of all time. Whilst Mr. Nixon’s flaws cannot be ignored, I feel that it is time for him to be reevaluated more positively.

Generally regarded as the most controversial President in the 237-year history of the United States of America, Richard M. Nixon continuously attracts negative analysis.² A key individual in the infamous Watergate Scandal, general public opinion both in a contemporary and a modern sense is incredibly unfavourable towards the former President, Vice President, and California Congressman. Arthur M. Schlesinger’s 1997
rating of “failure,” ranking Nixon as the fourth worst President of all time, is reinforced today by a November 2010 Gallup poll which highlighted that just 29% of Americans would give Nixon a positive approval rating—a feeble 5% increase from his final approval rating in office 38 years ago and the worst of any President since 1950.\(^3\)

It is undoubtable that this negative perception of Nixon, and the justification for his low ranking, is caused by his participation in the Watergate coverup. But whilst Nixon may still be villainised by general consensus, attempts can be made to play down the long-term significance of Watergate, suggesting it wrongfully dwarfs Nixon’s achievements whilst in office and places him further down the rankings than he should be. Joan Hoff argued that Nixon should have been remembered for both domestic and foreign policy before Watergate, and that by the 1990s, favourable evaluations of some of Nixon’s actions were “long overdue.”\(^4\) Nixon himself concluded that the year 2000 would host the beginning of more favourable evaluations of his presidency.\(^5\) Now nearly forty years since his resignation, and twenty after his death, is it time to start looking at the history of the rags-to-riches President in a more positive light? The strength of his résumé, if nothing else, certainly suggests so.

**Dark Clouds Over the White House: The Impact of Watergate**

Rather comically, there are many who contend that Richard Nixon’s greatest legacy after leaving office has been that any major scandal since the 1970s now becomes suffixed with the term ‘gate.’ The burglary and bugging of the Democratic National Headquarters at the Watergate Building in Washington D.C. on June 17, 1972 and subsequent cover-up by his administration led to Nixon resigning the presidency in August 1974 under what Melvin Small has described as the “darkest cloud in Presidential history.”\(^6\) The scandal sent shockwaves through society in the most extreme case of American political corruption ever witnessed, and Iwan Morgan argues Watergate gave Nixon a reputation so villainous that it was unmatched by “any other leader of a modern democracy.”\(^7\) The highest office in a land which made no bones about preaching democracy, freedom, and liberty the world over, had been completely undermined and tarnished by its most senior official.

Whilst historians such as Hoff have attempted to play down the significance of Watergate, there are others who aren’t as forgiving. Frank Mankiewicz highlights that an evaluation such as Hoff’s is not dissimilar to
Nixon’s own, in that his actions (cover-ups and secret tapings) were “nothing new.” Yet Mankiewicz dismisses the viewpoint, claiming Watergate was “not just a caper or a deplorable incident, nor something petty, murky and indecent.” He damningly chastises Nixon’s view that the events of Watergate were examples of “politics and national security as usual,” branding those comments “invidious, demonstrably false, and subversive to the ideas which have always informed American society.”

Facing three counts of impeachment (obstruction of justice, abuse of power, contempt of Congress), it is perfectly understandable to observe how the events of Watergate can permanently engulf Nixon’s brighter points. Morgan states that Watergate overshadows not only the achievements of Nixon’s presidency, but his entire political career. One must, however, account for the fact that Mankiewicz was writing in 1973, before Nixon’s resignation, and was thus making a strong case for his “necessary” impeachment. We have to consider the possible negative bias applied given the circumstances surrounding Mankiewicz at the time of writing. Compare this to the 2002 post-revisionist view of Morgan, who whilst condemning Nixon does also grant him a fair amount of slack, claiming Nixon’s place in history cannot be entirely determined by his misdeeds and believing that keeping Watergate “in the centre of history’s lens obscures Nixon’s importance in other regards.”

Behaviour like Nixon’s in today’s political world is certainly not unusual, and whilst not desirable there is a case to be made that it can no longer maintain a stranglehold on evaluations of what proved to be a multi-faceted presidency.

**FOREIGN POLICY: ’TRICKY DICK’ THE COLD WARRIOR**

Without doubt, I believe there is much more to the Nixon Presidency than Watergate. Amongst all the criticism he faced after the scandal, Nixon’s significant gains overseas and in foreign policy were, at least briefly, overlooked. Extending his previously documented point, Morgan claims that the general recognition is that Nixon’s record, alongside its flaws, included many achievements that marked him as “one of the most significant American leaders of the 20th century for positive reasons.” What is more, Melvin Small argues that 25 years after his resignation, many of the ideas and policies for which he advocated have been accepted by a majority of Americans, claiming few presidents have left such a legacy.
Nixon’s finest hour came at a crucial point of the Cold War, with the opening of a strong relationship between the United States and Communist China. By meeting with Chairman Mao in February 1972, he became the first ever U.S. President to visit China, setting a strong precedent for advancement of a relationship previously fraught with animosity. Nixon himself had called Vietnam “a war, in reality, against Red China” as late as 1965.\textsuperscript{15} Morgan deems the opening of relations with China the “biggest coup” of the Nixon administration and his most lasting legacy, claiming it represented a “fundamental shift in global politics.”\textsuperscript{16} It has been suggested that the key to Nixon’s success in China can be attributed to the “new world” vision he shared with National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, in which world superpowers would forego political ideology in the name of “geopolitics” and international co-operation, thus aiding trade and peacekeeping.\textsuperscript{17}

A fine example of Nixon’s astuteness as President, he must be given credit for undertaking such a policy, especially considering his staunch anti-Communist views; working for HUAC, Nixon had vigorously (and successfully) convicted the State Department official Alger Hiss case of being a Communist spy in 1950. Only Nixon was able to improve relations with China, contends Small, citing his years of “red-baiting” as making it impossible for anybody more liberal to achieve such a feat.\textsuperscript{18} Such was the successful nature of his visit in 1972, that the figure of 23% of Americans feeling favourably towards China before his trip had risen to 49% by January the following year. Fiscally, US-Chinese trade rose from $5 million in 1971 to a staggering $930 million by 1974, affirming the notion that a relationship with China was incredibly successful not only for America’s Cold War position, but also for its economy.\textsuperscript{19}

Nixon, prioritising foreign policy, also broke new ground regarding the USA’s relationship with the Soviet Union. An infamously strained relationship, the countries for the first time agreed a period of Détente, during which the two superpowers agreed to relax tensions and halt the production of nuclear weapons. It had marked the first time in the history of the Cold War that the two nations had co-operated in the name of the world’s safety, and Morgan feels that Nixon’s “unmatched geopolitical vision” that led to Détente marked “the beginning of the end of the Cold War.”\textsuperscript{20} Small adds that the establishment of Détente and Nixon’s gains regarding China were his “proudest foreign policy achievements”, branding the two interrelated.\textsuperscript{21}

Also significant was Nixon’s role in ending the Vietnam War. One cannot overlook his embarrassing authorisation of the secret bombings of Cambodia
and Laos from 1969-1973, which were estimated to have killed as many as half a million citizens. Crucial to consider, though, is the stranglehold that the Vietnam War had held on the Presidencies of John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Nixon himself. Although he was heavily criticised for the secret bombings, which had originally been devised by his predecessor Johnson, and for increasing the credibility gap, he ultimately drew an end to the conflict which had been plaguing U.S. foreign policy for nigh-on twenty years. By pursuing a “peace with honour” withdrawal campaign he did as much as possible to preserve (what was left of) America’s global image in the Cold War, claiming in January of 1973 that within sixty days all American troops would be fully withdrawn from the conflict. True to his word, on March 26th the final U.S. soldier departed Vietnam. It had become clear that Vietnam was an “un-winnable” war, and Nixon’s decision to ultimately cut America’s losses and finally withdraw can surely be seen as positive. Moreover, Small argues that for Nixon and Kissinger, the ending of Vietnam, the construction of Détente, and the opening of China became “monumental accomplishments which reflected the administration’s brilliant handling of foreign affairs.”

Nixon: The Unsung Hero of Domestic Politics

Although Richard Nixon has been described as “obsessively preoccupied” with US-USSR/Chinese relations, it is foolish to also overlook what proves to be a plethora of domestic reforms. Joan Hoff argues that Nixon should be remembered primarily for domestic policy, then for foreign policy, and thirdly for Watergate. The Nixon administration passed reforms that included the establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency (1970), the Clean Air and Water Acts (1970, 1972), a national rail system in Amtrak, increased Federal funding for students from low-income families, extension of the vote to 18-year-olds (1971), and more beneficial health insurance plans for low-income families. Notably, Morgan points out that only Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson could claim “a superior record of reform.”

Morgan also contests that Johnson was the only president who did more “in substantive terms to advance African-American rights in the 20th century.” Nixon’s legislative legacy was not that of Kennedy or Johnson, who had both been strongly responsible for landmark Civil Rights decisions and acts in 1964 and 1965. Yet, it is notable that he did not inherit a favourable situation. In 1968, the year of Nixon’s election, severe rioting broke out in 125
cities over April and May in reaction to the assassination of the Civil Rights Movement’s most prominent figure, Martin Luther King. Further fueling conflict was the assassination in June 1968 of Civil Rights activist and Democratic candidate for President, New York Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Whilst serving as Vice President in the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration, Nixon was an advocate of the 1957 Civil Rights Act and urged his skeptical President to sign the bill. Moreover, when he took office himself, fourteen years after the landmark *Brown vs. Board of Education* case (ruling school segregation unconstitutional), 68% of African-American children were still attending all-black schools. By the time of his resignation in 1974, Nixon ensured that the figure had dropped to an impressive 8%. The President issued $1.5 billion in emergency school-aid assistance to provide desegregating schools with the funds to transition from their “dual systems,” and Nixon, who campaigned on a right-wing “law and order” platform in 1968 in response to the riots, deserves recognition for his aptitude towards Civil Rights.

His insistence to “enforce the constitutional mandate” and to note that “deliberate racial segregation of pupils is unlawful wherever it exists” shows a real commitment to the law, the American Constitution, and the obligations of the Office. Citing the Supreme Court’s requirement to “eliminate it [segregation] ‘root and branch’ and at once”, Nixon on this issue made clear his commitment to unconditionally respect and observe the law.

Whilst the precedent for racial change had been set by JFK and LBJ, Nixon was by no means obliged to further it, and in some instances he did not. Take for example his subtle exploitation of Southern racism, the “Southern Strategy,” in order to obtain white votes in the South. Despite this, though, the importance of his actions can be seen if we compare what the outcome may have been if, for example, staunch segregationist Alabama Governor George Wallace had taken the Presidency instead. Whilst unlikely, it shows that Nixon was willing to implement and push policy that he was not particularly interested in and often opposed to in order to better the United States. Morgan too concedes that JFK and LBJ were the “liberal protagonists of African-American civil rights”, but highlights that the full desegregation of schools occurred on “Nixon’s watch, not theirs.” Furthermore, he asserts that Nixon’s role in “promoting and helping to end discrimination” should feature as “a cardinal element of his historical reputation.”
In conclusion, there is clearly much to be said about the entirety of the Nixon administration, surrounding both his policies and the shortcomings revealed by Watergate. There is no denying that Nixon made several significant gains in both foreign and domestic policy. Simultaneously, it is often difficult to overlook Watergate when ranking the Nixon Presidency against others. Morgan states that his accomplishments “continue to be outweighed by his abuse of presidential power and his betrayal of the people’s trust.” What is more, Watergate is always considered in evaluations, as Morgan argues that to judge Nixon’s presidency without it is simply “not worth debating,” for it “must be factored into every evaluation of him.”

However, Melvin Small is keen to point out that at the time of Nixon’s death in 1994, he was once again “among America’s most admired leaders, a wise elder statesman whose life’s work drew praise from Republicans and Democrats alike.” John H. Taylor adds that Nixon had an impact on future, more successful presidents in their decisions on relationships with the Soviet Union and China, regardless of political affiliation.

Based on my readings, it is definitely possible to suggest that the Watergate scandal justifiably overshadowed Nixon’s achievements as president in the short-term, but should not do so in the long-term. For example, Mankiewicz’s contemporary opinion is clearly and acceptedly less forgiving than that of say Hoff or Morgan. However, even in 1996 Schlesinger still ranked Nixon as a truly dreadful President. Whilst we know Schlesinger’s view may be aligned with Mankiewicz in that he was a prominent scholar during the scandal (and was also extremely close with Nixon’s political opponent, Democratic President John F. Kennedy), the more recent 2010 Gallup Poll reinforces that Nixon’s public perception has not changed.

I feel that to still overlook Nixon’s achievements is simply an injustice. As Small notes, Nixon hosted over 142 foreign leaders, and maintained support for his policies over four years, taking 520 electoral college votes in a re-election landslide. In ending the Vietnam War, Nixon, the bigoted anti-Communist, was able to “make peace” with an ideology that he and America had fought for decades in a country they had contested for twenty years. I feel that thirty-nine years on, the Watergate scandal simply should not overshadow Nixon’s achievements as President and restrict his low ranking.
I do understand justification behind earlier distaste, as Nixon can be described as what James David Barber calls an *active-negative* President. Barber, a political scientist with strong experience in the study of presidential character and psychology, highlights the active-negative President as one who seeks to maintain power, control, and authority in office, usually because of a flaw they perceive themselves to have; he had branded Nixon “psychologically defective” as early as 1972, an observation which won him many plaudits in the wake of Watergate.\(^{38}\) Schlesinger reinforces Barber’s theory, claiming that Nixon possessed an “inner mix of vulnerability and ambition which impelled him to push historical logic to its extremity.”\(^{39}\) Yet historians and the public must consider the bigger picture. Political corruption today is almost a given, and whilst not justifiable is arguably more likely to be expected by the public as part of a politician’s role. One only has to look at the minimal and arguably non-existent negative effect that President Clinton’s affair scandal had on his approval ratings in the 1990s to consider whether Nixon would have faced the same vilification if Watergate had occurred in 2012.

An article in British newspaper *The Times* in 1994 claimed that in a post-Cold War world, the need for a President such as Nixon stood out “far more vividly than the memories of Watergate.”\(^{40}\) His achievements both domestically and internationally marked an era of change and set a precedent for others to follow, shaping the world as we know it today. What is more, if we are to look at the seriousness of the political climate during which Nixon was President, could we not also make the case that a President not able to assert himself as strongly as he did would have weakened the United States’ global position in the Cold War? With all things considered, I firmly believe that we must take into account and consequently prioritise the “many dramatic accomplishments abroad and at home” for which he was responsible, and ultimately conclude that Richard Nixon should be remembered as an astute and versatile politician who played a dominant role in some of the most crucial and pivotal decisions in American history.\(^{41}\)
ENDNOTES


5. Small, The Presidency of Richard Nixon, XIII.

6. Ibid., XIV.


9. Ibid., 16.


11. Mankiewicz, Nixon’s Road to Watergate, 251.


13. Ibid., 4.


17. Isserman and Kazin, America Divided, 282.


19. Ibid.


21. Ibid., 97.

22. Ibid., 123.


28. Ibid., 193.


33. Ibid., 9.
34. Ibid., 191.
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By Gary Fenstamker
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By Eli Banghart

I. Introduction

INTERNATIONAL Organizations (IOs) have grown into an integral part of the current international system, causing high levels of growth in the realm of globalization while simultaneously increasing multilateral law-making in said international system. Different theories of IOs, such as realism and internationalism, have suggested that the international system is a zero-sum game or increasing globalization and multilateral solutions, respectively. Whereas in realism each state views any gain or loss in power as the subtraction or addition of power to another, internationalism sees small secessions in sovereignty to build a more international community, with some ultimately hoping for a world government. One such IO, the World Trade Organization (WTO), formed to provide a universal framework that oversees trade among its members related to agreements and treaties found in the WTO charter. Throughout time the WTO developed into an organization whose goals include providing equality of trade between developed and lesser-developed countries (LDCs). While the WTO claims to aid international trade through the semantics of its charter, this IO has further divided the imbalance between developed and LDCs.

This paper will encompass two different sources of evidence showing the WTO’s imbalance between the developed and lesser-developed world. First, an analysis of the WTO’s lack of trade balance in the agriculture market, whose legislation is dealt with outside of the normal framework of the WTO, will be conducted, showing the unfair advantage that developed nations have in the market through their use of protectionist policies, unfair subsidies, and positions in other IOs. Second, an analysis of the WTO’s system of hearing complaints between member nations, the Dispute Settlement
Understanding (DSU), is conducted. This analysis highlights that, while the organization has continued to evolve from its origins of its General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) days, it still further divides the cleavage between developed and lesser-developed nations. Arguments for and against LDCs’ participation in the DSU are used, further displaying the current ineffectiveness of the DSU in maintaining the goals in the WTO charter. Finally, conclusions from both sections of analysis are compared with the writings of the WTO charter, showing the IO’s lack of ability to uphold the goals outlined when establishing the organization.

II. UNFAIR BALANCES IN WTO ACESSIONS BY LDCS

For a rule-based organization, the WTO has created a system of accession that fails to hold any rules in its work—instead it is a system of power and precedence, taking from LDCs in order for the right to membership. Instead of an organization breeding equality in its actions, the WTO system of accession has its members using realpolitik, the focus of political principles rather than moral or ideological principles, further aiding in the creation of a zero-sum game of power politics. Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) have recommended LDCs against signing new policies for accession, highlighting the harm they could do, while a case study of the Pacific Islands shows the nations as pawns in the developed countries’ power politics, which will be discussed later.

Guidelines proposed by the WTO acknowledge the difficulties LDCs face in the accession process, but the guidelines propose high liberalization in some areas where LDCs have already faced damages to their respective nations. While a majority of WTO members know guidelines must be changed to aid LDCs, the United States blocked ideas, creating rules that LDCs must reduce tariffs to promote the free trade policies of the WTO. The effects of the WTO on LDCs’ agriculture industries have served to further cripple these states from furthering their development. Reducing tariffs does promote international trade, but when developed nations

2 Ibid.
are not held to the same standards, the damage to LDCs is vast. Tariff revenue helps LDCs with their economies, some earning more than 76% of government revenue from them,\textsuperscript{3} while developed nations such as the USA do not plan to lower tariff levels, but will instead impede on LDCs’ markets, increasing their trade while hindering LDCs’ development. For example, the Most Favored Nation (MFN) clause holds the goal of aiding nations in their international trade, but studies have shown that its adoption in fact reduced tariff revenue.\textsuperscript{4}

With WTO membership offering no real gains in commercial trade, why do nations bother joining? Small nations, such as the Pacific Island of Tonga, mostly use bilateral trade agreements to suffice their trade needs.\textsuperscript{5} The real reason behind joining the WTO is the development the organization offers LDCs, but in reality there is little to be done in aiding LDCs. Tonga cannot produce foodstuffs domestically, so when bilateral trading partner New Zealand made the island cut its tariffs ($6 million in revenue),\textsuperscript{6} the citizens of Tonga kept buying New Zealand imports because they are necessary for survival. Secrecy shrouds the WTO’s accession process,\textsuperscript{7} while it is obvious that LDCs are dealt great damage to their economies before membership is granted, creating more work necessary for development of the nations, which the WTO does not accomplish. The WTO charges nations for observer status, the amount of which is the entire budget of Tonga’s Department of Trade.\textsuperscript{8} If members cannot implement WTO policies, created by dominating developed countries, then there are consequences, including forced implementation. When LDCs join the WTO for aid in development, they truly lose, ranging from the fees of joining, possible dispute action if bilateral agreements are not kept, secrecy in the process of joining, and exploitation of LDCs’ markets to developed nations.

\textsuperscript{3} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{8} Ibid.
III. The Agriculture Market: How the WTO Has Failed to Aid LDCs while Allowing Developed Nations Monetary Gain

A. Problems between Developed and LDCs in the Agriculture Market

Agriculture industry has long described the staple part of a developing nation's economy, where many of the nation's poor live in rural areas. Over time, subsidizations of agriculture in highly developed nations created surpluses that led to high levels of disposal in the world market, strikingly limiting growth in the agriculture industry by LDCs. The effect of these subsidizations increased poverty and crippled agricultural security in LDCs. Though the WTO is a young, evolving organization, opportunities for the IO to create fair international trade policies continue to be disrupted by developed nations.

First and foremost, the agriculture industry continues to hold treatment separate from the normal framework in the WTO. Through this industry’s framework, artificial expansion of agricultural production in developed nations continues to exist and grow while conversely, potential expansion of agriculture markets in LDCs is limited. The power that developed nations hold over the agriculture industry’s framework within the WTO exemplifies the imbalance the IO continues to push by not implementing necessary changes to enhance equality of LDCs and developed countries. Not only must the WTO lift the specialized treatment from developed nations’ utilization of protectionism and subsidies on their products, but the organization must also take in the heterogeneity of LDCs and the various solutions. Doing so would cease general solutions for LDCs worldwide, as each holds specificities such as climate, geographical location, and political culture, in order to create a level international trade arena for all WTO members.

Though widespread policies and theories for LDCs as a whole have been developed and implemented, their success never reaches the level needed. LDCs have varied food security status throughout the world, although none exist in a very high food-secure group. Differences in rural and urban population placement deem blanket policies and theories unable to work for LDCs as a whole. Higher, broad growth in international trade by an LDC

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10 Ibid., 22.
speeds that country towards a lower poverty and higher growth rate, while small, closed levels of trade slow the process of decreasing poverty. For the imbalance between developed and LDCs to shrink, policies towards developed and lesser-developed countries must be analyzed separately, in order to avoid a blanket theory propelled by a theorized cause-and-effect relationship of the two categories’ policies.

Next, developed countries’ policies of protectionism and subsidization continue to harm LDCs and prevent their growth. Developed nations consistently argue that domestic agriculture has additional benefits for their societies, and therefore must be protected and subsidized, while at the same time, poor countries must be forced to contract.\(^\text{11}\) These developed nations have not only remained at the top of a market where they would not remain if not for their economic hegemon, but have reduced the principle of free trade through such activities. The reluctance of the WTO to move the agriculture industry into the standardized framework of the organization further supports developed nations, placing the importance of their trade preferences above those ideas outlined in the WTO charter—specifically, the promotion of free trade and equality among all members.

Through power wielded in various other IOs, such as the World Bank and the IMF (International Monetary Fund), developed nations can and have used their monetary influence to protect their own interests by protecting domestic policies while forcing LDCs to lift their own protection policies, further exploiting new markets. To receive funds from the IMF, various nations in Africa introduced trade liberalization policies, exposing their staple agriculture markets to exploitation by developed nations with strong protectionist and subsidization policies.\(^\text{12}\) When LDCs are using loans from the IMF to supplement and try to gain a broader market for their agriculture markets and developed countries further impede on the LDCs’ markets, no developing nation can hope to improve their trade levels in the international trade arena. The only way the WTO can solve this epidemic is to create levels for subsidies and protectionist policies that will limit the encroaching powers of developed countries while also increasing the ability of LDCs to equally

\(^{11}\) Ibid., 25.
\(^{12}\) Wole Akande, “How Agricultural Subsidies in Rich Countries Hurt Poor Nations” (October 19, 2002).
enter into international trade. These policies must be conducted within the boundaries of the WTO charter, but the charter’s semantics may hold a base problem in LDCs’ unfair treatment within the IO.

**B. Analysis Conducted with WTO Charter**

Article III, point five of the WTO charter reads, “With a view to achieving greater coherence in global economic policy-making, the WTO shall cooperate, as appropriate, with the [IMF] and World Bank for Reconstruction and Development and its affiliated agencies.” The first part of this point creates an atmosphere that should, in theory and in practice, accommodate the heterogeneity of LDCs, allowing for solutions that encompass the vast differences of the WTO’s members. While the WTO charter reads well with its cooperations with two of the largest banking IOs, it fails to recognize that the IMF and World Bank are ruled by their biggest donors, who are developed nations, while nations who pay the minimum dues or do not donate a considerable percent of either IO’s budget garner little to no say in policies enacted by the IMF or World Bank.

One of the biggest criticisms of the WTO is the organization’s lack of acknowledging of LDCs’ (who make up two-thirds of its membership) vast heterogeneity, especially in the agriculture market. Some LDCs have higher food security than others while some have higher urban or rural populations, and different trading partners for each LDC have created different levels of trade between each other and the developed world. Since the WTO has failed to notice that blanket economic development policies do not work throughout the entire developing world, coherent economic policies cannot exist globally, hindering the effectiveness of the WTO. Developed nations will continue to survive because of their economic power in the international system, while LDCs will continue to be stuck in a realm of perpetual inability to progress in international trade.

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16 Ibid.
Though the IMF and World Bank were established to ameliorate the developing world, the successes of each organization appear to be few and far between. Unlike the WTO’s one member, one vote policy, the IMF and World Bank operate on policies of historical situation, where those who donate most to the budget gain the most say in the organization.\textsuperscript{17} LDCs cannot hope to achieve economic development when the nations that decide on terms of a loan from either IO are largely created by developed nations who contribute highly to each organization’s budget. In the realm of reconstruction, those developed nations who control a disproportionate amount of votes in either IO control the way a country is recreated, leading to a heavy influence in its foreign trading policy. Forced liberalization of a nation’s economy allows for greater exploitation from heavily subsidized exports from developed nations, who will only gain from penetrating a new market. Development is also stopped in the same manner. Developing nations receive loans from these IOs. However, the constraints and obligations designed by developed nations allow for exploitation and high liberalization of markets. In order for the money to be received, it can only be used for specific projects.

IV. THE WTO AND THE DISPUTE SETTLEMENT UNDERSTANDING (DSU)

A. Why the DSU Further Separates Developing Countries and LDCs

Throughout its evolution from GATT policies into today’s DSU, the WTO has evolved into a more factual-based system of jurisprudence, moving away from disputes about large trade laws and theories and into a system focusing on a specific, case-by-case basis for solving disputes. Specialized experts are thus needed to gather evidence—both economic and scientific—in order to further a state’s claim in the realm of the DSU, where the WTO itself has noted that this specific type of evidence strengthens arguments from claimants.\textsuperscript{18} It is of no doubt that the evolution of the DSU is good—the specificity and case-by-case basis of the DSU shows a further understanding of each state’s specific matters. However, LDCs struggle to catch up; financial, legal, and political capacities stand in their way of obtaining equal opportunities in the DSU.

\textsuperscript{17} Barkin, \textit{International Organization}, 20.
Bohl correctly exemplifies the equal opportunities of both developed and LDCs during a WTO dispute, though as well he correctly points out that pre-litigation truly harms LDCs’ chances of equal opportunity in the DSU. The state that has more money will win the dispute—a wealthier opponent can bury its opposition with the factual evidence it has gathered. Though the pre-litigation does not directly coincide with the DSU, the basis of the modern DSU is fact-finding before cases, creating an imbalance between those states that have the ability to spend the money on specific economic and scientific experts for each case and those states that do not.

Multiple times, Bohl states that it is necessary to combine the public and private enterprises, due to the WTO’s rule that only state governments can bring complaints to the DSU. Most international trade conducts outside of the government, therefore many violations of international trade policy occur outside the scope of at least one nation’s government. The United States and the European Commission have created bodies that allow for complaints outside of the government to be brought to the WTO—Section 301 and the Trade Directorate-General of the European Commission, respectively—but such public/private enterprise agreements and relationships do not exist in LDCs, further hurting LDCs’ chances to succeed in the DSU. Without relationships between the public and private sectors, LDCs will forever be at a disadvantage in the DSU, never fully being able to bring forth complaints involving the private sector that makes up most of international trade.

A recurring theme in the inequality of the DSU is the lack of legal and political capacity of LDCs in international trade. Staff in Geneva from LDCs generally lack the training needed for solving WTO disputes, putting all pressure on the home government to solve the problems. Programs do exist, and have had varied success for some LDCs, but the states tested are strung in the international system, and thus do not create an even spread of developing nations throughout the world. For those LDCs that can afford to create international training programs, further discussed later, there is a lack of political and public will to do so, because even if a state brings a case to the WTO and wins, there is no guarantee that beneficial trade results will be

19 Ibid., 150.
20 Ibid., 160.
21 Ibid.
produced. Fear of political reprisal from bringing disputes to the WTO exists, and theoretically it exists in both developed and lesser-developed countries, but in reality a developed country will not fear political consequences for bringing a dispute against an LDC whose trade depends heavily on the developed nation. A developing country’s fear of retaliation fully breaks down the WTO’s rule-based system, instead demonstrating a power-based system of trading relations. The lack of legal and political capacity faced by LDCs, including lack of funding and fear of political reprisal, further serve to imbalance the WTO in favor of developed nations while also creating a bigger cleavage in the IO’s charter.

B. Arguments in Favor of the WTO’s DSU

While numerous arguments exist in favor of an imbalanced WTO, international trade specialists and various scholars have, so far, written numerous articles and works praising the ability of the WTO to have a fair system for all its members. Dispute Settlement at the WTO: The Developing Country Experience creates an argument stating that the main reason LDCs do not take full advantage of the DSU is due to a lack of legal capacity to pursue action in the WTO’s legal system. Further into this piece, the authors more specifically state that inter-[governmental]-agency coordination is necessary for successful navigation of the WTO’s legal system, while brain-drains and political barriers serve to further impede LDCs from becoming successful in the WTO legal system.

Meléndez-Ortiz and Shaffer highlight the successes of Argentina, Brazil, and China in the WTO after each nation implemented the above points, but what the authors fail to recognize is those states which do not have the international status of Argentina, Brazil, and China. Each of these states has a position of power historically up through today’s international system. Each of these states can successfully bring disputes against developed nations without fear of political barriers, such as sanctions, placed before them. The study used, written by the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development

22 Ibid., 163.
23 Ibid., 165.
(ICTSD), only chooses nine states for its work, while the three LDCs picked as successful navigators of the WTO's legal system have more power than most LDCs in existence. Though points made in this article correctly display LDCs' successes through implementation of programs, such as internships, international training programs, and the utilization of NGOs, these solutions are tailored specifically to a somewhat biased analysis of LDCs copulated by the ICTSD.

Asif Qureshi also attempts to argue the effectiveness of the DSU's importance, highlighting a three-fold book of its importance for LDCs. Qureshi first explains that the DSU is a guarantor of rights of LDCs as permitted through the WTO and its charter, secondly as a check against economic hegemony in the international trade arena, and thirdly as a "mechanism to ensure systematic changes brought through the WTO jurisprudence do not undermine developing country interests and concerns."25 Throughout his article, Qureshi promotes the use of the DSU by LDCs, citing that they can use a voting block to gain an upper hand within the WTO, but fails to recognize the lack of legal and research resources necessary to create a strong case against a developed nation. Though the DSU and the WTO overall have measures to ensure the claims made by Qureshi, the implementation of the DSU has not been kind to LDCs.

The DSU as a guarantor of rights exists, but to what level? How fair are certain states’ rights compared to others? LDCs that mainly engage in bilateral trade of one export with developed states have a severe disadvantage. If an LDC wants to take a complaint to the DSU and faces off against a powerful, developed nation, to what extent will a victory keep the state's rights when the LDC depends, almost entirely, on the developed nation for its trade? The lack of economic alternatives for the LDC does not allow for an arena where challenging its developed trading partner exist. Until the DSU has the ability to prevent unfair dealings in bilateral agreements created outside of the WTO, it will never live up to its stature to promote free trade.

While the prevention of economic hegemony would create an international system with a higher promotion of free trade, the DSU does not live up to Qureshi’s point. There is a clear advantage for states that heavily


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use the international trade arena and are powerful economic hegemonies compared to states who trade less in the international markets and also have less powerful economies. A study by the US Congress has stated that a claim brought forth by the United States does not have much, if any, influence on American trading policies, though the decision can readily change the scope of international trade for LDCs.²⁶ While the USA has been involved in a number of cases proportionate to its trade volume, the high amount of foreign trade policies changed due to the state’s involvement in DSU proceedings paints a clear picture that the DSU has not prevented an economic hegemon from shifting international trade policies, especially at no expense to its domestic policies.

Qureshi’s third point remains largely uncontested—it’s specificity and various safeguards for LDCs in the WTO have created a strong final point for his argument. The various safeguards for LDCs include a longer period until which WTO policies have to be implemented, giving certain LDCs a bigger berth to move their foreign trade policies up to speed with WTO standards. Within an organization, and specifically the DSU, that has enabled great changes in foreign trade policy through the actions of the world superpower, the only reason systematic changes to the organization have not arisen that may halt LDCs’ interests and concerns is the formation of the WTO’s governing body and its ability to approve legislation systematically changing the organization as a whole.²⁷

C. Analysis of the WTO Charter in Regards to the DSU

It is outlined in the WTO charter that “Annex 2” lists all specificities dealing with the DSU. Any member who agrees with the WTO charter document also readily agrees with all annexes outlined in the charter. Vague wording combined with gaps in the annex’s semantics create room for developed countries to further excel their trade imbalance with LDCs by putting LDCs at a disadvantage in the DSU. DSU texts are not vague in only one section or article, but throughout the entire work, creating a system that can easily be taken advantage of, especially by nations who have the resources and technology to do so.

²⁶ Ibid., 8-9.
²⁷ World Trade Organization, Agreement, 13.
One of the biggest problems in Annex Two, regarding the rules of the DSU, comes from Article Three, point two. Instead of serving the rights and obligations guaranteed under the WTO charter, it instead covers the rights and obligations of Members under covered agreements, leaving vague wording to harm nations not pulling benefits from already created agreements.28 “Covered agreements” fully extends to the unfair treatment of LDCs by developed countries through the use of fear of political reprisals and developed countries use of other IOs, such as the IMF and World Bank, to create provisions that exploit the markets of LDCs.

Article Eight, point ten’s declaration that an LDC may have one panelist from its country if the dispute is against a developed country is a weak attempt to help LDCs gain ground in the DSU. It has already been shown that third-party influences from the USA have drastically changed foreign trade policy, such as international business leaders, whose levels of influence have been shown to be higher than policymakers.29 So of what importance is a three-person panel separate from third-party talks when a developed nation can change international trade policy without being one of the two nations directly involved in the dispute? This point, and the majority of Annex Two’s semantics, allow for developed countries to fully take advantage of the DSU in their favor, thus keeping LDCs in a status below that of equal membership.

V. Conclusion

The vitality of IOs in today’s international system cannot be discounted—without them, international law would not be where it currently resides. One such organization, the WTO, formed to promote equality of trade throughout the international market, grew out of its predecessor GATT. While the goals and ideologies of the WTO promote equal markets for all of its member states, there have been many setbacks in the organization, and it has furthered the cleavage between developed countries and LDCs.

The international agriculture market is plagued by domestic subsidies from developed nations that hinder the sales, and thus development, of LDCs, while developed nations further penetrate LDCs’ agriculture markets through accession tactics for membership to the WTO. Separate rules in the agriculture industry have only served to harm LDCs, while cooperation with the IMF and World Bank have further served developed nations’ ability to impede on LDCs’ markets, making it increasingly difficult for these nations to move themselves out of poverty. These accession requirements serve to harm LDCs before they become eligible for membership, while the development policies promised by the WTO are never implemented. The DSU was also created to help settle disputes in the international system, but various factors have led to the system being unfairly advantageous for developed nations, such as research and education resources available to each nation, while communication between the WTO’s headquarters in Geneva and member nations’ domestic governments lacks the ability to effectively work together in the creation of DSU cases.

These imbalances in the WTO, and its complaint disputer the DSU, need to be reviewed by the WTO not only under the guide of its members, but also under the guide of reforming the semantics within the WTO charter. It will only be after unfair practices between the WTO and other IOs, such as the IMF and World Bank, are dispelled that some level of semblance can be reached where the WTO’s practices can be reevaluated to create the fairness the organization boasts in the international trade system. Fairness between all IOs and the member states of the WTO create the first step for WTO fairness, but the IO and its member states must reform practices hindering LDCs’ development to fulfill the mission of the WTO.
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MANY countries experienced asset price bubbles in their real estate markets during the early 2000s, but the United States’ housing bubble garnered the greatest amount of attention. While this attention and research helped to elucidate some of the factors that contributed to the US’s experience, they have not allowed for generalizations about bubble behavior overall. However, the investigation of housing bubbles outside of the US provides such insights on the basic behavior of bubbles. Exploring the housing bubbles of economies outside of the US also allows for a more accurate understanding of the global economy in the early 2000s and how supply and demand may affect a bubble’s size.

In this age of globalization, industrialized countries have great influence on one another and by considering multiple countries during the same periods of time, broader conclusions can be drawn. The common links among countries provide valuable starting points for research into how an economy can best be managed and an asset price bubble avoided in the future. The similarities and differences across nations show how the amount of demand growth or the responsiveness of a supply influences the size of a bubble. This paper analyzes the housing bubble that occurred in Ireland, providing an in-depth look at housing bubbles that previously did not receive as much attention and valuable insights into how bubbles behave.

A brief summary of the economic climate leading up to and after the housing bubble will first be presented. This will be followed by sections on demographics, the economy, construction, and prices for Ireland during the economy. These sections will explore individual country differences and illuminate why Ireland and Spain saw larger bubbles and
slower recoveries than the United Kingdom. A theory on bubbles will also be presented to better describe the state of the economy during such an economic phenomenon. Subsequently, country growth rates for relevant statistics will be presented, such as real GDP, consumption, real gross fixed housing investment, gross residential loans, housing completions, nominal house prices, and mortgage debt per capita. The implications for differences among these statistics will then be discussed.

In addition to the United States, Ireland experienced a historically large, but unique real estate bubble in the early 2000s. During this time there was a global mindset of deregulation where it was believed that market forces brought about the most efficient outcomes and therefore, government intervention should be kept to a minimum. Following this philosophy, financial regulators trusted in banks and financial institutions to allocate risks and funds efficiently. These institutions were not monitored very carefully and once real estate lending began growing, regulators decided against reining it in. This led to extreme competition as every lender wanted a larger share of the market. During this period, competition decreased the cost of borrowing through lower margins and new financial products, which hurt consumers rather than helped them. Consumers lacked the information necessary to make perfectly efficient decisions in the market place. The new mortgage products were complicated and borrowers were hard-pressed to fully understand what they were signing. Borrowers blindly trusted their lenders who assured them that they could afford a more expensive home without verifying the knowledge for themselves.

In the past, banks would have never given out loans to consumers that had a high potential to default, so consumers trusted that any loan they were approved for had to be safe. But in this modern world of globalization, funding was plentiful, profit potential high, and risks seemed low. Banks and other lenders allowed borrowers to take on debts far beyond their means based on the assumption that property prices would never come down so homeowners could simply sell their homes for a profit if they had trouble paying off their mortgages. The focus for financial institutions during this period was on increasing market share and profit, instead of diversification and informed lending. Politicians even encouraged this moral hazard in an effort to keep growth and tax revenues high and pressured regulators to ignore warning signs and relax
policies further in an effort to keep confidence going. Homeownership had become a staple of wealth for each of these countries and was leading economies to new heights. No one wanted the growth to stop, and some believed it never would.

But the growth did stop. As the real estate market began to cool off in 2007, banks remained confident. They believed that even if prices declined 20% to 30%, they would still have stable mortgage payments for the next 20 to 30 years to sustain them. The downturn in the US mortgage market shattered these hopes and cast doubt on the financial soundness of homeowners. Confidence in the real estate market and in the financial sector quickly fell and made borrowing difficult. On August 9, 2007 short term lending along with interbank lending came to a standstill after BNP Paribas announced that it planned to sell off some of its investments in the US subprime mortgage market (Shin, 2009). As subprime mortgage owners in the US began to default, financial institutions became reluctant to lend to one another and liquidity quickly dried up. The full risks of wholesale funding became apparent as banks became unable to roll over debts and obtaining new funds became nearly impossible.

As wholesale markets came to a standstill, so did mortgage lending. Banks struggled to pay their own debts and no longer trusted consumers to pay off mortgages. The shortfall of lending limited housing demand and caused prices to fall further. These falling prices caused demand to further decline since investors were no longer able to profit from buying and selling expensive homes. Trust in the housing market and banking sector plummeted and consumers began hoarding their savings to prepare for high unemployment rates and low growth.

The housing bubble experienced by Ireland from 2000 to 2007 provided the country with extraordinary growth; its gross domestic product (GDP) per capita grew to 48% above the European Union (EU) average in 2006 (Coates & Norris, 2010). This growth came from an invigorated construction sector and a large volume of property purchases encouraged by lenient loan regulations, low interest rates, a surplus of foreign funds flowing into the country, and overconfidence in the market. As the bubble came to an end, however, the growth slowed and speculators were left with unmovable and vacant properties. By summer 2012, there were 35 million vacant properties within the country (O’Brien, 2012).
This article will begin with a discussion on the past significance of homeownership in Ireland followed by a description of the large population surge that helped to initially drive housing demand. Afterwards, important aspects of the Irish economy will be presented in order to give a better understanding of the growth during the housing bubble which resulted in never before seen house prices and debt levels. By understanding the economic conditions, it can be made clear why expectations were so high during this bubble period. This will be followed by sections concerning construction and prices seen over the past decade and how distorted they became from excessive demand. The latter half of this article will then describe how the economy changed once the bubble burst and how quickly conditions deteriorated.

History

In comparison to many other Western European countries, the Republic of Ireland has had historically high home ownership rates; over 61% of Irish households owned homes in 1971, compared to 50% and 35% in Britain and Sweden (Coates & Norris, 2010). Homeownership rates in Ireland further expanded over the years, reaching 80.2% of households in 1991 and surpassing 14 other countries such as the US, UK, Italy, and Canada with the highest home ownership rate of 82% in 2002 (Coates & Norris, 2010).

These high rates of ownership were due to a culture that strongly valued owning a home; there had even been a tradition of peasant farmers owning land instead of simply being tenants. The Irish government also greatly supported homeownership. Since the 1920s, the state actively promoted the housing sector through fiscal and monetary incentives which significantly reduced the initial cost of entering the market. The government also encouraged those renting in the public-sector to move into the private sector through tactics such as the “Surrender Grant.” This consisted of the government giving public-sector tenants €5000 if they surrendered their tenancy and moved to private housing. Direct government support for ownership in the form of grants and tax deductibility of mortgage interest encourages housing investment. In addition, the government sold social houses to tenants below market value (Coates & Norris, 2010).
Demographics

From the 1990s and onwards, Ireland’s population expanded from high birth rates and positive net migration. From 1996 to 2006, the population rose by 17% along with the number of households by 16.9%, indicating that there was a much larger number of individuals in need of a dwelling (Coates & Norris, 2010). The portion of the population that was increasing the most were individuals aged 25-34 years: those most likely to become first time buyers. This portion of the population steadily rose in the early 2000s, but accelerated in 2004 due to migration from new EU member countries. A high labor demand in Ireland also encouraged migration from 1996 to 2007; half of the overall population increase from 1997 to 2007 could be accounted for by net immigration into Ireland (Malzubris, 2008).

In summary, an increased population and number of households helped to initiate the boom in real estate. During the main bubble years, the population increased by 17% and the number of households rose by nearly the same proportion. However, once the real estate boom took hold, property purchases came to be about profit rather than housing needs.

Economy

The mid-1990s saw the arrival of what has commonly been referred to as Ireland’s Celtic Tiger economic boom period. GDP per capita went from 10% below the EU15 (the first 15 countries that joined the European Union, comprised of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom) average in 1995, to 48% above the average in 2006 (Coates & Norris, 2010). From the middle of the 1990s and throughout the bubble, real disposable income per capita grew faster than in any other industrialized country. The average annual growth rate for Ireland from 1996 to 2006 was 9.1%, compared to 4% in the EU15 (Malzubris, 2008) and unemployment fell to nearly full employment at around 4% (Connor, Flavin, & O’Kelly, 2012). The confidence and unrealistic expectations brought about by this extraordinary growth contributed to forming the housing bubble.
The boom that lasted from 1994 to 2000 gave way to real long-term economic growth. Education increased throughout Ireland, which led to increased productivity and exports. Ireland had aspired to become a leader in “offshore” financial services for companies. The country offered several benefits, such as an educated workforce who spoke English, a western European location, and very relaxed taxes (Connor et al., 2012). These factors attracted many foreign companies to make the move to Ireland, bringing both jobs and capital to the country. Foreign direct investment in Ireland grew especially from 1997 to 2000, but the opposite is true of the later bubble period. Foreign direct investment decreased, resulting in an increase of debt and equity funding. This later period consisted of financial assets that could quickly be reversed during an economic downturn and offered no real long-term benefits for the economy (Connor et al., 2012).

Nonfinancial and housing assets accounted for 84% of the increase in household net worth between 2001 and 2006 (Cussen, Kelly, & Phelan, 2008). This meant that household wealth was driven not by an increase in disposable income, but primarily by overvalued property. Doyle (2009) used statistics from the Central Statistics Office and work by Cussen, Kelly, and Phelan (2008) to find that the net worth of households increased from 250% of GNP in 2002 to 373% of GNP in 2007. As households felt wealthier, they consumed more. Average real private consumption growth was around 7% during the peak of the bubble between 2005 and 2007 (Ali Abbas, Andritzky, Jurzyk, & Laeven, 2012). This consumption led to high debt levels; Irish household debt accounted for 81% of GDP in 2008 and was among the highest in the Euro area (Malzubris, 2008). Outstanding mortgage debt rose by over 300% in just 7 years from 2000 to 2007 (Coates & Norris, 2010). Going along with these debt numbers, the majority of credit offered during this period was to the real estate sector; this number stood at 72% in 2006 (Coates & Norris, 2010).

While many industrialized countries saw an economic boom during the past decade, Ireland saw one of the largest explosions in growth and credit. During this boom, Ireland had exceptional growth and almost full employment. After decades of struggling, Irish households felt that the growth achieved during the bubble would continue for years. Unfortunately, this growth proved to be unsustainable and because
Ireland climbed so high, it was one of the countries that fell the furthest. The growth seen in these later years turned out to be unsustainable and gave way to few long term benefits.

Construction

Initially, the Irish housing supply could not handle the increased number of households and their demands for expensive homes. The number of dwellings per 1,000 people in 2003 stood at 391, compared to 422.3 per 1,000 people among all of the EU member states (Norris & Shiels, 2005). This supply shortage led housing prices to skyrocket.

The housing supply eventually caught up, but planning regulations and restrictions made it difficult to construct new rural housing, resulting in pressure to build within existing towns and villages. This led pre-existing homes to increase in value further and contributed to the extreme price appreciation in the secondhand market (Connor et al., 2012).

Although the housing supply in Ireland did not respond quickly to the exorbitant demand, it eventually began to accelerate. By 2003, building rates surpassed that of the EU15 average (comprised of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom). The EU15 in 2003 had an average building rate of 5 new houses per 1,000 inhabitants, while Ireland produced 13 new houses per 1,000 inhabitants (Coates & Norris, 2010). From 1996 to 2005, over 553,000 houses were built, bringing the total stock to 1.7 million units. By 2007, Ireland and Spain were both producing more than two times as many units per person—more than anywhere else in Europe (Boyle, Gleeson, Keaveney, Kitchin, & O’Callaghan, 2012).

This surge in construction led to new employment opportunities. From 2002 to 2008, employment in construction rose by 40%. This led the Irish economy to become heavily dependent on the housing market. By 2007, the construction sector was responsible for 13% of total employment in comparison to 8.4% in 1998 and the EU average of 8% (Central Statistics Office, 2008). Construction also provided 10.3% of GNP in 2006, up from 5.5% in 1996 (Coates & Norris, 2010). Overall housing output from 1996 to 2006 grew by 177% (Coates & Norris, 2010).
Table 1.1 illustrates total housing completions during and after Ireland’s bubble. Completions peaked in 2006 with 93,419 homes; nearly double the amount built only 7 years earlier (EMF, 2010, pg. 75).

Over the course of the housing bubble, Ireland’s construction sector grew substantially to accommodate excess demand. Eventually Ireland, along with Spain, began producing more homes per person than anywhere else in Europe (Boyle et al., 2012). From 1996 to 2006, overall output grew by 177% (Coates & Norris, 2010) and the construction sector accounted for 13% of total employment in 2007 (Central Statistics Office, 2008). This growth fueled the housing frenzy from 2000 to 2007, but left many banks with unsalable properties after demand began to fall.

**Prices**

The IMF (2008) reported that Ireland’s housing prices deviated the most from fundamentals (32%) among a sample of 21 developed Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries taken a short time before the financial crisis. Ireland experienced one of the largest house price booms in all of Europe. The country saw a 185% increase in house

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**Housing Completions in Ireland by Year**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Completions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>46,512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>49,812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>52,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>57,695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>68,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>76,954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>80,957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>93,419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>78,027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>51,724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>26,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>14,620</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1.1. Source:** *(EMF, 2010, pg. 75)*
prices from 1997 to 2005 (Hay, 2009). The housing bubble was especially acute in Dublin where from 1990 to 2006, home prices increased six-fold (Hay, 2009). A stable ratio of house prices to earnings is 4:1; ratios above this tend to leave housing unaffordable for a large part of the population which would then lead prices to eventually decrease. For all the main occupations in the Irish economy, this 4:1 ratio has been consistently violated since the late 1990s (Norris & Redmond, 2005).

The extent of the mass house price increases in Ireland is illustrated in Figure 1.1. House prices consistently grew until 2007 when the market began to downturn. From 2000 to 2006, Ireland’s home prices averaged annual growth of 11.8%. The extraordinary growth in housing demand initiated the strong house price rises. Price increases were then further exasperated by restricted home building in rural areas. Prices rose far above fundamentals until 2007 when they began crashing down.

**Finance**

In the more globalized world of the 2000s, Irish banks were no longer constrained by growth in their resident deposits. They were able to have significant non-resident deposits, along with external interbank borrowing (Kelly & Everett, 2004). These new sources of funds led to an unprecedented amount of lending and mortgage debt through the seven year period between 2000 through 2007. Outstanding mortgages rose by over 300% and went from 31.1% of GDP in 2000 to 75.3% in 2007.

Irish banks’ primary funding sources were domestic in 1999, but by 2008, Irish customer deposits only accounted for 22% of bank funding. Instead, banks began depending more on international capital market deposits and...
securities which provided over 37% of the banks’ funding. Table 1.2 illustrates the drastic changes in funding that took place over the years. Due to this capital inflow, Irish bank balance sheets were six times greater by 2008 (Connor et al., 2012). In Q2 2012, foreign liabilities remained high and amounted to €358 billion (Central Bank of Ireland, 2012).

While foreign funding was growing in Ireland, securitization did not play as large a role in the funding of loans in Ireland as it did in many of its neighboring countries because the market was just beginning to develop. Approximately 75% of all bank loans were held on bank balance sheets leaving the banks with the full credit risk (Connor et al., 2012).

Cheaper mortgages from low interest rates also encouraged mass lending and borrowing. The decline in interest rates was not only significant in nominal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Amount in EUR Million</th>
<th>Percent of Total Liabilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deposits from non-Irish credit institutions</td>
<td>15,542</td>
<td>149,465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish customer deposits</td>
<td>35,142</td>
<td>114,235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deposits from Irish credit institutions</td>
<td>6,472</td>
<td>87,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other liabilities</td>
<td>9,671</td>
<td>57,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt securities - non-Irish</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>43,574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Irish customer deposits</td>
<td>4,336</td>
<td>23,415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt securities to Irish residents</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>19,092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital and reserves</td>
<td>6,990</td>
<td>19,746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>78,465</strong></td>
<td><strong>513,950</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1.2. COMPOSITION OF IRISH BANKING LIABILITIES, 1999 AND 2008**  
*Source: Central Bank and Financial Services Authority of Ireland. Table C4, Quarterly Bulletin, Q3 2010*
terms, but in real as well due to high inflation. The average real interest rate from 2000 to 2006 in Ireland was -0.89% (Coates & Norris, 2010; World Bank, 2013). These extraordinarily low real interest rates were due to the European Central Bank (ECB) imposing one monetary policy on many different countries with varying business cycles and economies. The Irish business cycle was typically “asynchronous” with its neighbors within the union, meaning that when conditions such as inflation were low in neighboring countries, they were high for Ireland (Coates & Norris, 2010).

From 2000 until 2007, mortgage lending and private sector credit increased across the European Union and most developed countries, but the growth was particularly strong in Ireland. Ireland’s expansion of mortgage credit of 80.2% was four times more than all 27 of its EU neighbors. The expansion in Irish mortgage lending was outpaced only by Greece. As a result of this extraordinary expansion, Ireland’s mortgage debt to GDP ratio was more than one third higher than that the EU average of 50.2% (Coates & Norris, 2010). Overall, from 1997 until 2007, mortgage debt grew at an annual rate of 23%, while the debt for most other Eurozone members grew by only 10%. Mortgage debt accounted for 82% of Irish household debt at the end of 2007. In the same year, Ireland’s residential mortgage debt to GDP ratio was at 74% compared to the Eurozone’s ratio of 57% (Doyle, 2009).

High inflation coupled with low nominal interest rates led Irish real interest rates prior to the financial crisis to be extremely low and even negative for many years. The rates set by the ECB were less than Ireland’s inflation for most of the ten years leading up to the crisis (Connor et al., 2012). The decline in these interest rates led to a reduction in the average mortgage servicing costs by 5 percentage points (Coates & Norris, 2010).

The cost of borrowing during the bubble was further decreased due to the large amount of competition among lenders in the Irish mortgage market. At the beginning of the decade in 2000, 12 banks were registered with the Central Bank as mortgage lenders; by 2010 this number had risen to 17 banks (Central Bank, various years). During this decade, many of the major domestic mortgage lenders also created spin-off specialized lenders. The Bank of Ireland and Allied Irish Bank are both examples of this. They created the Bank of Ireland Mortgage Bank in 2006 and Allied Irish Bank Mortgage Bank in 2008, respectively. The Anglo Irish Bank also entered into the mortgage lending market for the first time. Foreign lenders also entered into the Irish residential mortgage market. The Bank of Scotland and Danske Bank A/S are
two such examples. They established subsidiaries in 2004 and 2008. Foreign lenders provided 30% of mortgage loans in Ireland in 2007 (Coates & Norris, 2010).

This increased competition led to the creation of risky debt products and deterioration of credit standards. Risky interest-only mortgage products accounted for 2% of new loans in 2001 and then soared to 15% in 2007 (Doyle, 2009). Fixed rate mortgages accounted for almost one in three loans in 2000. In 2010 this number decreased to only 15% of loans (Coates & Norris, 2010). Fixed rate mortgages were still a part of the Irish economy, but by the end of 2007, less than one third were fixed for longer than 3 years and 8% were fixed for more than 5 years (Doyle, 2009). Instead of traditional fixed mortgages, variable rate mortgages began to dominate. At the beginning of 1999, variable rate loans were slightly over half of all outstanding mortgages; by the end of 2007, three out of four Irish mortgages were variable (Doyle, 2009). These variable rate mortgages made borrowers extremely sensitive to interest rate changes and increased their risk of default should the ECB increase rates.

In addition to new products, margins charged to borrowers decreased further than in other western European countries during this time (McElligott 2007). The margin of a mortgage is a fixed amount of interest that the lender adds to an adjustable rate mortgage's value to determine the mortgage's overall interest rate. It serves as a fee for providing the mortgage. Some of the initial cuts were sparked by the entry of the Bank of Scotland into the market. The Bank of Scotland bought an Irish bank (ICC) in 2001 and began their mortgage lending in 2004 at significantly lower margins than others in the market. To add to this was the arrival of tracker mortgages which generally had very low margins above ECB rates (Coates & Norris, 2010). These lower margins made mortgages even more affordable and helped to encourage even more borrowing.

Although competition led to these new mortgage products, low regulations allowed them to pervade. Anglo Irish and Irish Nationwide in particular demonstrated very aggressive lending practices, which forced other Irish banks to respond with their own accommodating conditions for borrowers. Financial institutions were allowed to lend excessively and concentrate most of their risk in property related loans (Honohan, 2009). Woods (2007) reported that, as a portion of lending to the private sector, property-related lending grew from 38% in 2001 to over 62% in 2007. The only step that the Irish financial regulator took to correct slipping credit standards was to increase the
risk weighting on the portion of a residential mortgage written above an 80% loan-to-value (LTV) ratio to 100% (Connor et al., 2012).

As mentioned earlier, in the 1990s, Ireland sought to become a world leader in off-shore financial services. This led to a very “light touch” regulatory system that helped encourage investment. Policymakers and regulators allowed financial institutions to take on excessive risk due in part to strong political pressures to increase the housing supply and strong dependence on tax revenue from the real estate sector. At the peak of house prices in 2006, the tax from stamp duty on the property purchases accounted for 17% of all tax revenue. If the income tax paid by construction workers was added along with tax collected on property sales, then the housing industry accounted for one-fifth of all government tax revenue (Connor et al., 2012).

As the housing bubble increased, mortgage amounts grew along with future expectations. Many Ireland residents felt they could afford expensive housing evidenced by the amount of mortgages over €250,000 increasing from 2.3% in 2000 to 41% in 2006 (Coates & Norris, 2010). The average amount of new mortgage debt in 2007 was €266,000, almost double the amount for 2002 (Boyle et al., 2012).

In summary, Irish financial institutions took advantage of cheap short term debt with euro denominated bonds and interbank borrowing from Euro area banks. Increased competition pushed banks to their risk limits and allowed households to take on excessive debt. New products and lower margins attracted borrowers of all incomes and persuaded many consumers to invest in more expensive housing. Overall, the Irish economy was extremely vulnerable once the global financial crisis occurred.

**After the Bubble**

Once the bubble burst, the economy went down quickly. GDP showed negative growth beginning in 2008 with a decrease of 3% followed by a 7% decrease in 2009, and a 4% decrease in 2010 (EMF, 2010). Ireland was the only country in the EU that recorded negative house price growth as early as 2007 (EMF, 2008). The country finally achieved positive GDP growth in 2011 when economy grew by 0.7% (IndexMundi, 2013).

Mortgage lending also began declining in 2008. Only 53,000 home loans were given out for the year, amounting to €14.5 billion, representing a 36% drop in volume and a 35% decrease in value from 2007 (Department of the
Environment, 2008). In 2010, the number of loans shrank by 40% compared to 2009 along with net lending which declined by 8.2%. By Q4 2011, new lending was still falling and recorded a 35% decrease from the same quarter the previous year (EMF, 2012).

When housing demand began plummeting, banks began to tighten their lending standards and offered risky products less frequently. By April 2009, tracker mortgages were virtually unavailable to new borrowers anymore. Variable rate, interest only, and buy-to-let mortgages were also less available and instead banks offered more fixed rate products (Doyle, 2009).

Interest rates in 2007 doubled which, in combination with high house prices, locked many out of the housing market and increased mortgage payments for the majority of borrowers that had obtained non-traditional mortgages (Department of the Environment, 2008). These conditions were magnified by high debt levels, difficulties obtaining credit, and uncertainty among consumers and investors.

Over the course of the housing bubble, Irish construction workers developed a substantial skill base and expertise; unfortunately, this skilled workforce could not obtain work after the market downturn. At the peak of the bubble, one in every 5 persons working in the economy was employed in construction. However, because of the lack of need for construction workers after the downturn, construction employment fell significantly. In Q2 of 2012, Construction employment reached its lowest level since mid-1998 with only 127,300 persons employed in this sector. This represented a loss of 145,300 jobs in only three years and corresponded to 57% of all job losses in the economy (DKM Economic Consultants, 2010).

Ireland’s housing sector deteriorated further than most other western European countries. GDP per capita grew by 5.3% in 2007, and then declined by 4.2% in 2008 and 7.1% in 2009. In addition to declining growth, unemployment soared. As can be seen in Figure 1.2, unemployment escalated from 4.6% in 2007 to 14.4% in 2011 (Central Statistics Office, various years).

Ireland’s economy suffered its worst performance on record in 2009 with the contraction of GDP by 7.6% and GNP down by 10.7%. This was fueled by investment down by 31% and consumption contracting by 7%. This lack of spending was accentuated by rising unemployment, falling house prices, and low expectations (DKM Economic Consultants, 2010). The volume of investment in new housing contracted by nearly 50% and national house prices were 18.5% lower at the end of 2009 than in 2008. The Irish
government tried to lessen this sharp decline by increasing spending, and in 2009 the general government deficit rose to 14.3% of GDP (DKM Economic Consultants, 2010). Government debt as a percent of GDP grew from 24.9% in 2006 to 64% in 2009; this figure almost tripled in 3 years due to costly interventions in the economy (Central Bank & Financial Services Authority of Ireland, 2010).

Irish households became some of the most leveraged in the world during the housing bubble. Since the economic downturn, this has left many in financial ruin. As of August 2009, there were 116,000 households in negative equity (Central Bank & Financial Services Authority of Ireland, 2010). In Q1 2010, more than 32,300 mortgages were in arrears over 91 days, which constituted for 4% of all mortgages and a rise of 13% from 2009. However, repossessions were low with only 96 repossessed in the same quarter. It is estimated that 116,000 homeowners were in negative equity at the end of 2009 and then 196,000 by the end of 2010 (Department of the Environment, 2009). Only 364 properties were taken into possession in 2010. Mortgage lenders were very active in assisting borrowers with 59,229 cases of mortgage restructuring (59% of these were not even in arrears) (EMF, 2010). In 2011, Ireland possessed one of the highest savings rates in all of Europe at 14% due to the downturn in housing investment and high debt levels (Andritzky, Jurzyk, Abbas, & Laeven, 2012).

The magnificent growth achieved in Ireland came to an end at the close of 2007. So much of the growth seen by the country has now been reversed and many realize the mistakes made and the excessive risk taken on. As Dermot Gleeson, Chairman of Allied Irish Bank stated in May 2009, “[Ireland] drank too deeply from the national cup, I suppose, confidence. The national mood

![Ireland Unemployment Rate by Year, %](image)

FIGURE 1.2. Source: (Central statistics office, various years)
of self-confidence brewed itself into overdrive” (Connor et al., 2012). Ireland was guilty of unrealistic expectations and overconfidence in its abilities. This confidence led to shady practices and risky behavior that came back to haunt the economy.

Overall, Ireland experienced some of the highest demand and supply growth during the course of its bubble from 2000 to 2006. These statistics can be seen in Table 2. Real GDP grew at an average rate of 5.6% during the bubble. This was excessively high compared to other countries that experienced housing bubbles over the same time, such as Spain and the United Kingdom, which experienced real GDP growth of 3.6% and 2.8%, respectively. This high growth was driven by increased housing investment which grew on average by 9.3% and consumption which grew on average by 5.7%. These factors were encouraged by high nominal house price growth (11.8% on average) and led to growing mortgage debt levels.

Table 2 also shows the strong economic contraction that the country experienced during the downturn in real estate demand. GDP began to contract and housing investments and completions dropped dramatically. The growth that had occurred in Ireland during the bubble was primarily based on speculation in the housing market and was quickly reversed once home prices began to decline.

Compared to other European countries that experienced similar housing bubbles, such as Spain and the United Kingdom, Ireland had the largest growth in real estate investment and consumption and the largest contraction after the bubble collapsed. Housing demand in Ireland grew rapidly during this time and was met with an

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2000-2006</th>
<th>2008-2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Real GDP</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>-3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>-1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Gross Fixed Housing Investment</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>-29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Residential Loans</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>-46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Completions</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>-42.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal House Prices</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>-12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortgage Debt Per Capita</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>-7.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 2. ANNUAL PERCENTAGE GROWTH FOR IRELAND BY PERIOD**

*Source: (EMF, 2010)*
almost equal expansion in the supply of homes. This high supply and demand for housing led to a greater number of individuals connected to the real estate market than in Spain or the United Kingdom. After the collapse, once home prices began declining, a larger number of consumers were affected and saw their wealth decrease. This decrease in wealth encouraged many to save their money and further decreased growth for the Irish economy. However, while the economic growth such as GDP was highest and the subsequent collapse the most devastating, Ireland did not experience the highest growth in nominal home prices.

The case of Ireland can help countries to better understand the ways in which asset price bubbles behave. The highest growth in investment does not always lead to the highest growth in home prices. Spain experienced lower investment levels and growth along with a smaller supply increase which led it to have higher price growth than Ireland, but lower GDP growth. The United Kingdom experienced lower investment levels and a very restrained supply which led to low GDP growth and a mild contraction, but price rises very similar to that of Ireland. These countries would indicate that Ireland experienced the optimal amount of supply and demand growth to achieve rapid GDP growth, but a worse recession. Prices alone were not a true indicator of the size or consequences of each countries bubble (EMF, 2010).
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Unemployed

By Aydan Sultanova

HE stood in front of the elevator, facing the circular mirror in the hallway. He stared at his reflection and then sharply turned away. Looking down, he observed the pattern on the carpet. There were concentric circles symmetrically strewn on the floor beneath him. Purple on the inside, black, brown, and then gray. He concentrated on the purple circle, imagining its depth and sorrow and how lost it must feel as it lies among the other three colors.

As he began walking toward his apartment, an off-white sheet of paper that lay in front of one of the apartment doors caught his eye. It was a restaurant advertisement for Happy Hour. As he glanced at it his face became hot and he turned a light pink color. He put his briefcase down and took off his jacket, remembering the first time he bought his suit. It was at a department store near his first apartment. He entered the store with an air of contentedness because he was the first one out of all his college friends who was employed.

Only two months after graduating college, he was offered a position at an accounting firm. Two of his professors told him that with his lack of experience, the likelihood of him getting a job offer right away would be rare. Five minutes into the store, and he spotted it. It had all the features he was not accustomed to seeing; it was canvassed rather than fused, had working buttonholes, and it was made out of high quality wool with an inner silk lining. That was the first day he felt like an employed man.

The flashback faded, and the man of thirty-seven continued to walk down the hallway. When he stopped in front of his apartment door he reached into his pocket and felt the Texas-shaped keychain he and his wife bought three summers ago. He traced the edge of it, his thumb gliding over the metallic surface. He always did this before entering his apartment, but this time it was different. It took longer.
Finally, he found his apartment door key and slowly pushed it into the keyhole. It was difficult to turn at first, as the unusual dampness of his hand made the key slide around in between his fingers. When he finally managed to open the door, he placed the set of keys on the dark coffee table. After taking off his shoes and hanging up his jacket, he glanced at the black clock in the kitchen. 5:42 PM. Only eighteen more minutes until his wife would be home.

All of a sudden he had the urge to turn on the television. Normally, he was against mindless television watching after work. He thought it was an unproductive end to a busy day. However, today he felt it was a necessary distraction. As he pressed the power button, his muscles began to relax and he leaned back against the couch. Nothing on T.V. interested him, until he switched to the news channel. The subject at the moment was unemployment. He briskly turned the T.V. off and sat there for a few seconds. The clock read: 5:52 PM. The room felt several degrees warmer, so he decided to turn on the air conditioner. Pacing back and forth, he started to plan on what exactly he was going to tell his wife, but all he could picture was the label: unemployed. Suddenly, the apartment door opened. The man of thirty-seven stood at the heart of the purple circle.
We live in a nation that seems to be mostly safe, at least compared to some other places in the world. We feel secure because brave men and women stand ready to fight on our behalf. They lay their lives on the line everyday so that we don’t have to and it is disheartening to see how little they get in return. We spend millions of dollars on the latest combat weaponry to keep soldiers out of harm’s way—this is a great thing. But as we reduce the need for troops by using mechanical force multipliers, the number of men and women in harm’s way decreases. This means that there are still those select men and women who are vastly outnumbered by the opposing force, which is inadvertently putting them in more danger. We need these men and women, and they deserve more than we can ever give. A higher salary isn’t a bad place to start.
LISA ANDERSON, Class of 2015, is an English and Philosophy double major. Her interests in writing and discourse have led her to become a consultant in the Writing Center, Editor-in-Chief of the philosophy journal *Apeiron*, and Student Editor of the *Washington College Review*. In addition to her involvement in these publications, Lisa is an athlete on the Varsity Volleyball Team and a Voyager for the Office of College Advancement. She is honored to be a member of the Review’s Editorial Board and extends her gratitude to those who made this opportunity available.

ROBERT ANDERSON is a member of the Class of 2014, with majors in Biology and Behavioral Neuroscience. He is involved in the Health Occupations Students of America, the American Chemical Society, and the Service Counsel. His academic interests encompass a wide assortment of subjects, with biology, immunology, psychology, sociology, and philosophy being some of the most compelling. He strongly believes that in order to be the best one can possibly be, all fields of study must be examined in order to ascertain the most practical knowledge and experience in life.

ELI BANGHART is a member of the Class of 2014, double majoring in International Studies and French with concentrations in Peace & Conflict Studies, African Studies, and Near Eastern Studies. He also has a minor in Economics. After graduation, Eli hopes to obtain a Master’s degree in African Politics.

MAEGAN CLEARWOOD, a 2013 graduate, was editor-in-chief of The Elm, a Sophie Kerr finalist and a member of Omicron Delta Kappa, Sigma Tau Delta, the Cater Society of Junior Fellows and Phi Beta Kappa. Her Review submission was the first chapter of her English and Drama double thesis, a dramaturgical examination of the Spring 2013 production of King Lear. She is continuing her passion for dramaturgy with a season-long education fellowship at the Olney Theatre.

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VALERIE DUNN is an English and Drama double major with a minor in Creative Writing. As the spokesperson for Writers’ Union and the assistant artistic director for the Independent Playhouse, Valerie enjoys promoting the writing life on campus. She additionally writes for the Collegian and works for the Writing Center. Upon graduating in 2015, Valerie hopes to pursue work in the theatre as a playwright, dramaturg, and patron for provocative art.

AMANDA ELDRETH is set to graduate in 2014 with an English major and Creative Writing minor. One thing has remained a constant throughout Amanda’s schooling: a love of writing. Words have always provided a type of freedom and expression that nothing else has been able to grant. Originally only interested in fiction, her campus involvement led to the discovery of an interesting side to the non-fiction genre—creative non-fiction. With the title of Opinion Editor for the 2013-2014 year and as a returning peer consultant at the Writing Center, Amanda plans to continue to explore and experiment with the boundaries of this newly emerging hybrid genre.

GARY FENSTAMAKER is a recent Washington College 2013 graduate who double majored in Art and Computer Science. He won The Lynette Nielsen Professional Practice Award for his Studio Art Senior Capstone Experience.

GEORGE GABRIEL is a member of the Class of 2014, majoring in American Studies and minoring in Political Science. Hailing from Cambridge, United Kingdom, he was initially a one-year exchange visitor to Washington College in 2012/13, before deciding to transfer to Chestertown for his senior year after falling in love with the school. On campus, he is a proud member of the Washington College Men’s Soccer team and will begin a job in Washington College’s Office of College Relations and Marketing from the Fall of 2013. George is also a blog writer for The Huffington Post UK.
CATIE HAMILTON is a student of the Washington College Class of 2015 who is majoring in Physics. Late in her senior year of high school, she developed an interest in photography. Upon entering Washington College, she was fascinated by the abundance of images in nature and architecture. A friend encouraged her to join the athletic department as a photographer, which expanded her view. Catie’s passion is to draw out meaning from what she sees in the viewfinder. Catie resides in Phoenixville, Pennsylvania with her parents Chuck and Colleen Hamilton as well as her three mini dachshunds.

GILLIAN HEVEY is a member of the graduating Class of 2013 from Davidson, North Carolina. She was an Art major and Business minor and was a member of Alpha Chi Omega.

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ABIGAIL SCHWARTZ, a member of the Class of 2013, graduated with majors in Business and Economics and a minor in Psychology.

ALEXANDRIA SMYTHE is a member of the Class of 2016 at Washington College. She is a member of the Presidential Fellows program and intends to declare an English major. In the fall, she will be working as a consultant in the Writing Center. Alex has enjoyed her first year at Washington College and is looking forward to her next school year.

REBECCA STRING, a member of the graduating Class of 2013, majored in English and minored in History. She has worked as a Staff Writer for The Elm and is a member of Phi Alpha Theta. Born in Korea, she is now a current resident of Flemington, New Jersey. Her interests lie in Postmodern literature, women’s issues, and politics. She has written her thesis on the importance of women in Walt Whitman’s Democratic Vistas.

AYDAN SULTANOVA is a member of the Class of 2015 at Washington College and is studying Clinical Psychology. She grew up in Washington D.C., but is originally from Baku, Azerbaijan. She has had previous works published, as she enjoys writing during her leisure. Additionally, she enjoys listening to music, biking, and hanging out with friends.

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