UMBC REVIEW

JOURNAL OF UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH
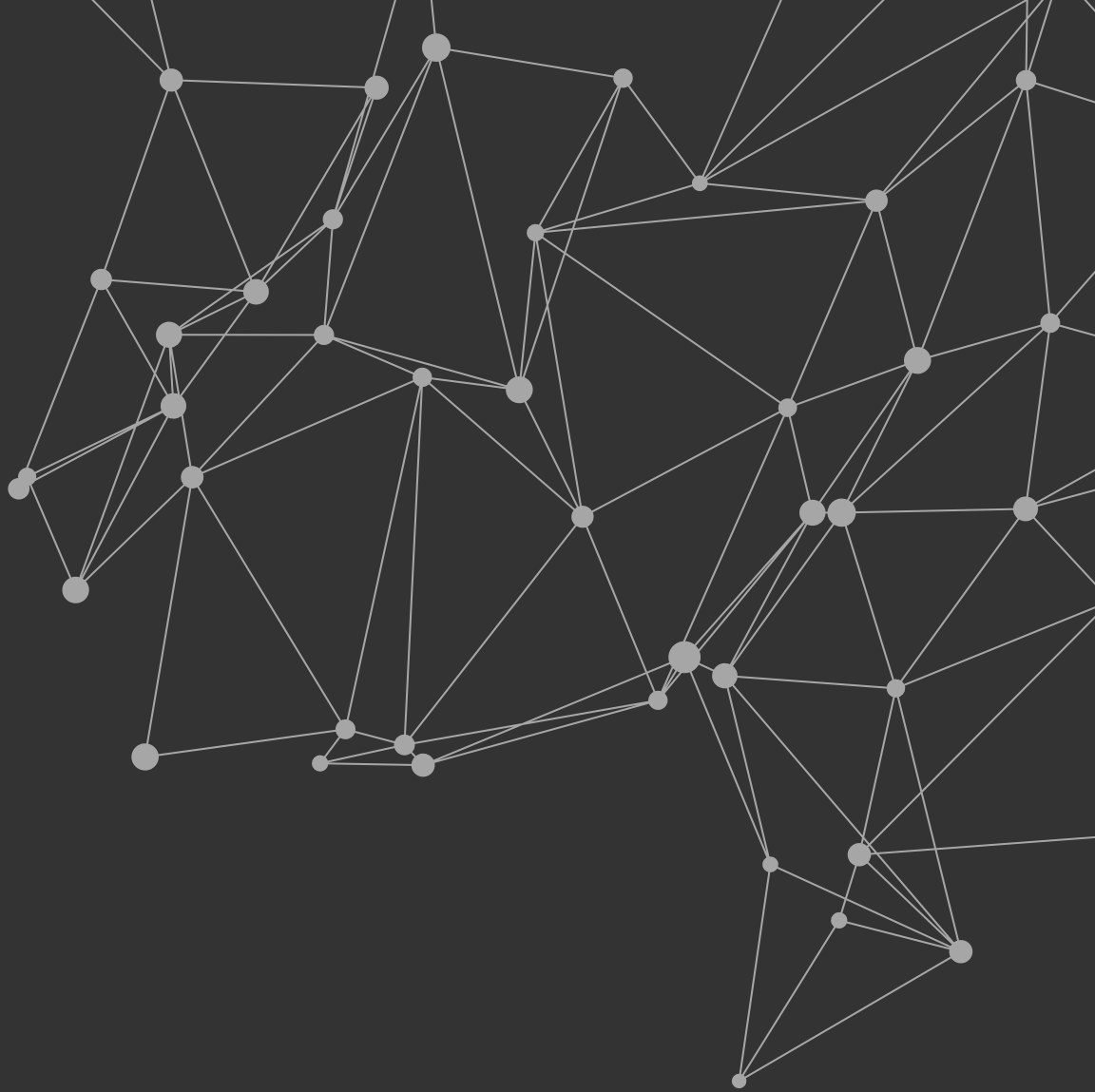
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EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

Welcome to the 20th Volume of the *UMBC Review*. Since 2000, this publication has been showcasing the work of creative thinkers, problem solvers, and investigators who all call UMBC home. We, the editors, take great pride in celebrating these students by bringing you ten exemplary articles produced by our undergraduate researchers.

Ten articles that will allow you to explore everything from new techniques for tumor screening to contemporary museum exhibitions of ancient East-Asian art. This interdisciplinary approach truly showcases all of the wonderful research that UMBC students have to offer.

While this publication is crafted entirely by undergraduate students, all articles provide important contributions to their field and are subsequently held to the same standard as other research journals. A rigorous round of peer review was completed by anonymous, off-campus professionals that allowed us to select the best submissions. Our students authors worked through multiple rounds of editing feedback from the editors and implemented it with the help of their faculty advisor to craft the publication worthy articles you hold in your hands today.

Lucas McCullum presents the possibility of using piezoelectric (PZT) materials in a biomedical application to detect tumors and other similar forms of malignancies.

Flora Kirk questions whether citizens of the ancient Roman empire factored coin imagery into their spending habits.

Joel Ronning examines the intersections of philosophy and literature by comparing how two authors from different eras use the power of language to convey meaning.

Julian Tash examines the nuance of Japanese Buddhism in context of temples and explores the role of museums in portraying the true essence of Japanese Buddhism through exhibits.

Angela Ossana presents her research in laser induced breakdown infrared emission spectroscopy.

Adam Ng uses newspapers, personal notes, and other archival sources to delve into the causes of British Fascism and its appeal to the conservative party in the early 1900s.

Brandon LeGate investigates the role of gender in the development of Parisian-style restaurants in Baltimore through analysis of *Baltimore Sun* advertisements.

Trevor Pitts, Kavita Kumar, & Mai-Han Trinh present and evaluate a novel behavioral measure of empathy.

Kelly Wan explores the role of Chinatown in the identity of Asian Americans and the importance of Chinatown in Baltimore.

Yuwanyun Zhu investigates the differences between European American mothers, Chinese immigrant mothers, and Korean immigrant mothers when they exert control over their children using a qualitative method.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We'd also like to recognize the time and input of our UMBC faculty members that aided us in the proofreading process.

Dr. Lisa Beall - Academic Engagement and Transition Programs

Dr. Tara Carpenter - Department of Chemistry & Biochemistry

Ms. Janet McGlynn - Office of Undergraduate Education

Dr. Brian Souders - International Education Services

We are extremely appreciative of the following for their financial support of the *UMBC Review* and their commitment to undergraduate research.

Dr. Freeman Hrabowski - President

Dr. Katherine Cole - Vice Provost and Dean of Undergraduate Academic Affairs

Dr. April Householder - Director of Undergraduate Research and Prestigious Scholarships

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Finally, we'd like to thank our own advisors for all of their time, guidance, and support in helping us create a prestigious journal.

Dr. Susan McDonough - Editing

Ms. Guenet Abraham - Design

And now, we invite you to enjoy the 20th Volume of the UMBC Review.

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Michelle Guldan
Senior, Biology and Environmental Science

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Early Modern Studies

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CONTENTS

USE OF PIEZOELECTRIC MATERIAL FOR ADVANCED AND COST-EFFECTIVE TUMOR SCREENING

—

LUCAS MCCULLUM

SOOBUM LEE, LIANG ZHU

Lucas McCullum graduated from UMBC in Spring 2019 with a degree in Mechanical Engineering and Applied Mathematics and a minor in Economics. During his time at UMBC, he was involved in the Grand Challenge Scholars Program, Mechanical Engineering Scholarships in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics Scholars Program, Undergraduate Research Award Scholars Program, and Shattuck Family Internship Program. He has contributed to several research projects including mechanical engineering research at UMBC, computational neuroscience research at the University of Maryland School of Medicine, and self-authored published remote sensing research. While not taking classes during the semester, he has interned with the Baltimore-Washington Electric Vehicle Initiative (BEVI) conducting renewable energy reporting, and the National Renewable Energy Laboratory (NREL) developing websites to interactively visualize wind turbine data. He looks forward to pursuing a Fulbright scholarship to research computational neuroscience utilizing a supercomputer then attending Stanford University to study Computational and Mathematical Engineering with a focus on Imaging Sciences. He would finally like to thank all his faculty, friends, family, and familiars.

After developing an interest in the attainment of deeper knowledge in the field of mechanical engineering outside of the classroom, I reached out to Dr. Soobum Lee and his Energy Harvesting and Design Optimization Laboratory due to his interest in energy harvesting for biomedical applications. I first began research in his lab in fall 2016 and during the following winter session, began this project to detect tumors using piezoelectric devices. Piezoelectric devices are used in a wide range of applications including energy harvesting, biomedical transducers, and structural health monitors. To continue this project, I applied for and was awarded, the Undergraduate Research Award to continue my investigation into cost-effectively and non-destructively detecting tumors using piezoelectric materials. This award was an amazing opportunity for an undergraduate researcher and I am extremely grateful to UMBC for continuing to support this program. Furthermore, the results achieved in this project could not have been attained without the help of Dr. Liang Zhu and her Bioheat Transfer Laboratory as well as the assistance of both her's and Dr. Lee's student researchers. Without their dedicated assistance and guidance, this project, and all that stem from it could not have been possible.

ABSTRACT

The use of piezoelectric materials including lead zirconate titanate (PZT) has emerged as one of the most promising sources for energy harvesting applications; however, more recently the use of PZT materials has progressed towards investigating areas of advanced defect detection and fatigue-life estimation. This technology can be utilized in mechanical engineering systems as well as biomedical applications such as tumor detection. In this research, we evaluated the feasibility of using piezoelectric materials for detection of tumors and similar forms of malignancies. Specifically, the changes in the impedance-frequency response of the PZT material is monitored for accurate diagnosis about the tumor's depth and location relative to the PZT sensor. We utilized only the real part of the impedance, or resistance, to increase the data quality and tumor detection accuracy. Successful development of a transducer for tumor detection utilizing PZT materials will contribute to an accumulating knowledge base for PZT-related bio-sensing, wider use of cost-effective sensors, and improved prognosis and treatment options for patients with malignant tumors.

INTRODUCTION

Piezoelectric materials including lead zirconate titanate (PZT) have been increasingly evaluated in research and industry utilizing piezoelectric properties. A material with piezoelectric properties can produce a measurable electric charge upon the application of a mechanical strain, denoted as the direct piezoelectric effect. This is the most common property of piezoelectric materials and is primarily exploited in energy harvesting applications, including damage detection and extracting power on aircraft wings, where serviceable electric signals are desired from various sources of mechanical stress (Manbachi & Cobbold, 2011). On the contrary, piezoelectric materials generate measurable levels of mechanical strain upon the application of an electric field with limited variability depending on the specific PZT doping material used, denoted as the indirect piezoelectric effect. Previous studies have experimented with utilizing this effect to detect damage in structures such as metal beams, composite beams, and pipeline joints (Peairs, Park, & Inman, 2004). In this study, we exploit the indirect piezoelectric effect to detect tumors by locating the piezoelectric material on a gel specimen representing human tissue. The response from the piezoelectric material can be monitored by using an impedance analyzer, electronic circuit board, or similar technology; however, we utilized the impedance analyzer due to its availability. By analyzing the measured current and voltage, the resulting impedance can be determined and used to describe the structural

features of the specimen. This technique is commonly referred to in the damage inspection industry as non-destructive evaluation (NDE) due to the minimally invasive procedures involved. The use of piezoelectric materials is considered superior to similar NDE techniques such as ultrasound, X-ray, and Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI) due to its cost-effectiveness and simplicity.

In a previous study, Mohammadabadi et al. developed and tested the performance of a low-cost acoustic impedance device integrated with an input/output (I/O) electronic circuit board (Mohammadabadi, Gu, LeBrun, Younis, & Zhu, 2016). This device successfully demonstrated a distinguished change in impedance measured when the device was placed on a tissue-equivalent gel with and without embedded tumors. Furthermore, the measured impedance dissimilarity is attributed to the differential stiffness between the embedded tumor and the tissue-simulating gel. However, this research only tested the combination of changing the tumor's location and depth simultaneously, disregarding the individual effects of each to isolate the causal factors involved in the response of the PZT. For this reason, our study aims to clarify any misconceptions developed regarding the effects of changing the depth and location of the tumor on its ability to be detected. We hypothesized that changing the location and depth of the tumor would result in significant changes in the resulting impedance-frequency profile. To test this idea, we performed an in-depth analysis regarding different locations and depths of the tumor in the gel relative to the PZT to investigate the sensitivity, accuracy, and consistency of the sensor reading.

METHODS

This study was conducted using an agarose gel solution to simulate human tissue, a small metamorphic rock to simulate the tumor, the supplementary required PZT plates, and electronic-detection devices. Studies have shown that there exists a significant disparity between the elasticity, the ease at which an object can be re-shaped, of the tumor with that of the surrounding gel with the former being less elastic (Hoyt et al., 2008). For this reason, a rock was used to simulate this disparity in elasticity of the tumor and its surroundings. It should be noted that the rock used for the tumor by Mohammadabadi et al. is not the same as the rock used in this extension. The agarose gel solution was created using 4 g of Bioworld Agarose Gel Powder, 40 mL of Invitrogen Tris/Borate/Ethylene-diaminetetraacetic Acid (EDTA) (TBE) Buffer, and 360 mL of distilled water from a carboy with spigot utilized to yield a 400 mL phantom gel (1% m/m). Preparation for the gel began first by dispersing the agarose powder into the 10% TBE buffer solution and simultaneously heating and mixing the solution until

completely dissolved. We then cooled the solution at room temperature, at which point the gel was poured into a 700 mL plastic container containing the tumor. The rock was 25×30×10 mm in size and was placed at depths of 5mm and 10mm utilizing a small nail and screw placed perpendicular to the container's bottom surface. Shortly before the solidification of the gel, the nail and screw were removed to prevent significant holes in the gel while still allowing the tumor to be supported by the coagulated gel. The gel was then placed in a laboratory refrigerator at ~2°C where it was left to solidify for another 12 hours to become ready for testing. The final total working surface area of the resulting gel that was scanned by the PZT was 143×97 mm².

The PZT (PSI-54AE) plate was purchased through Piezo Systems, Inc. (Woburn, Massachusetts) and was cut into 10 pieces each of size of 22×18×0.267 mm. This specific PZT contained nickel electrodes and was poled through the thickness of the material to achieve the highest response from changes on this axis. Each of the wires were 0.202 mm in diameter and 127 mm in length and had previously been stripped and tinned and were soldered to each side of the PZT using lead-free solder and liquid flux at 330°C. The PZT was then placed on the solidified gel and supported by a 45 g hollow cylindrical weight at room temperature while the wires were subsequently attached to a Hewlett Packard (HP) 4194A Impedance/Gain-Phase Analyzer where impedance measurements were conducted. Data from the impedance analyzer was extracted through an Agilent 82357B Universal Serial Bus (USB) - General Purpose Interface Bus (GPIB) Interface High-Speed USB 2.0 connection and manipulated through MATLAB R2017b.

Since the measured impedance is dependent on the frequency of the imposed alternating voltage, a wide range of frequency values were chosen to achieve a strong sweeping response. We conducted frequency sweeps on the impedance/gain-phase analyzer from 10,000 Hz to 150,000 Hz with a sample size of 380 data points leading to a frequency resolution of approximately 369.39 Hz. Simultaneously, we also conducted impedance measurements to determine the PZT's response at each frequency step. In addition to the capture of the frequency of the imposed alternating voltage and resulting impedance, we also recorded the phase angle to determine the corresponding real and imaginary parts of the impedance. We chose to strictly look at the real component of the impedance due to the capacitive nature of PZT materials (Park, Sohn, Farrar, & Inman, 2003). To calculate the real component of the impedance, denoted as resistance, for each given frequency step, we utilized the formulation for complex impedance (**Equation 1**) and resistance (**Equation 2**) where Z = impedance, R = resistance, j = imaginary unit, X = reactance, and u = phase angle. In order to simplify any variations

in impedance experienced, we used a comparison known as the damage metric (**Equation 3**) where *Re* specifies to take the real component, $Z_{i,1}$ is the impedance of the PZT when measured at default conditions, and $Z_{i,2}$ is the impedance of the structure for comparison at frequency interval *i* (Peairs, Park, & Inman, 2004). This metric provides a summary of all the information gained by the impedance-frequency response curves. More specifically, this metric determines the sum of squares over each frequency comparing the impedance with and without a tumor. We used this metric to compare the effects of changing the location of the tumor relative to the PZT sensor to the sensor's effectiveness at detecting the tumor.

Equation 1 $$Z = R + jX^{n}$$

Equation 2 $$R = |Z| \cos\theta^{\,i-1}$$

Equation 3 $$\text{Damage Metric} = \sum [Re(Z_{i,1}) - Re(Z_{i,2})]^2$$

RESULTS

To increase the reliability and consistency of the results, we conducted a total of ten trials for each case and the mean of all ten trials was determined and reported. **Figure 1 (a)** shows the effects of changing the depth of the tumor on the phase angle of measured impedance. By decreasing the depth of the tumor, an increase in the phase angle near the resonance frequency is shown while simultaneously lower at all other frequencies. It should be noted that a non-constant impedance and phase profile is seen with no tumor due to the natural response of the gel which is used here as a baseline when adding a tumor. We show that the decrease in the distance the tumor is from the PZT sensor is causing the PZT to experience less damping leading to a resonant frequency response function with increasing quality factor.

Figure 1 (b) shows the effects of changing the depth of the tumor on the real part of the impedance, or resistance. By decreasing the depth of the tumor, or decreasing the distance between the tumor and the PZT sensor, an increase in the real impedance near the resonance frequency is shown while also being simultaneously lower at all other frequencies. Similar to the conclusion reached by analyzing the phase angle at various frequencies, we believe that the decrease in the distance the tumor is from the sensor causes the PZT to experience less

Experimental Impedance and Phase Angle vs Frequency Plots
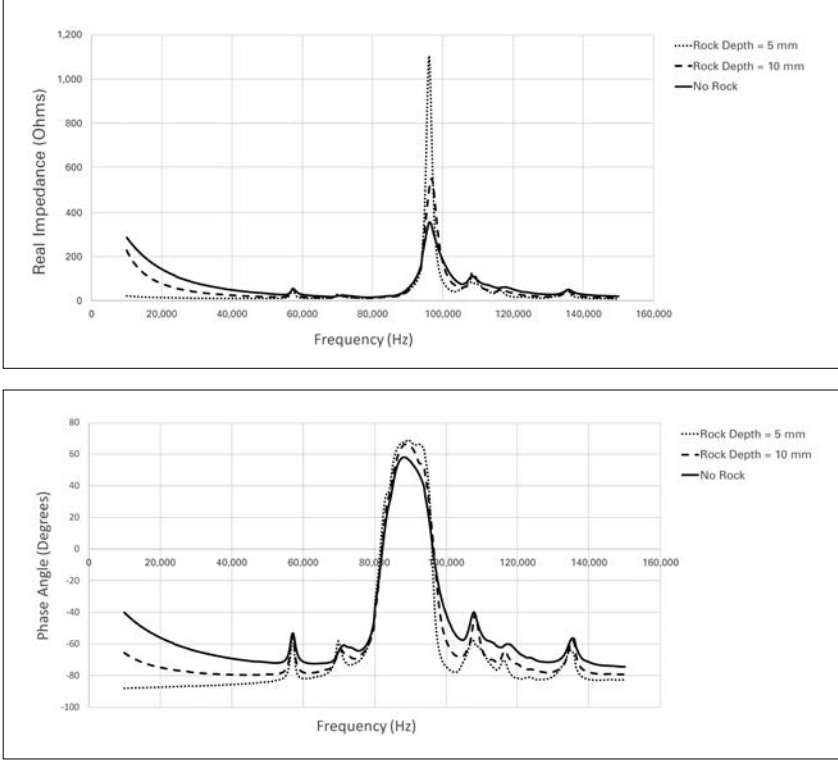
FIGURE 1 (a, top) Effect of depth of tumor on measured phase angle. (b, bottom) Effect of depth of tumor on measured real impedance.

damping leading to a higher quality factor resonant frequency response function. Furthermore, significant impedance reductions with the embedded tumor are observed at low frequencies until the first area of resonance at around 55,000 Hz.

Another explanation for the increase in the real impedance at resonant frequencies as the depth of the tumor decreases can be seen from Park, Farrar, Di Scalea, & Coccia, 2006. To determine the electrical admittance $Y(\omega)$ of a PZT transducer, we used **Equation 4** where ω is the angular frequency, w is the width of the PZT, l is the length of the PZT, t_c is the thickness of the PZT, ε_{33}^{T} is the dielectric constant of the PZT, δ is the dielectric loss tangent to the PZT, d_{31}^{2} is the piezoelectric coupling constant, Y_p^{E} is the complex Young's modulus at zero electric field, $Z_a(\omega)$ is the mechanical impedance of the PZT, $Z_s(\omega)$ is the mechanical impedance of the host structure, and k is the wave number of the PZT as given in **Equation 5** where ρ is the mass density of the PZT.

Equation 4 $Y(\omega) = j\omega(wl/t_c)(\varepsilon_{33}^{T}(1-j\delta) - d_{31}^{2}Y_p^E + (Z_a(\omega)/Z_a(\omega) + Z_s(\omega))\,d_{31}^{2}Y^E\,(\tan kl/kl))$

Equation 5 $k = \omega\,\sqrt{(\rho / \gamma^{E})}$

Mechanical impedance is a measure of how much a structure resists motion when subjected to a harmonic applied force. For example, lower mechanical impedance implies a decrease in the force required to cause a structure to move at a given velocity. According to **Equation 4**, when the embedded tumor is located closer to the PZT sensor, a greater level of force is required to move the host structure/gel at a given velocity. Therefore, since impedance is the reciprocal of admittance, as the structure's impedance (Z_s) increases the resulting admittance ($Y(\omega)$) would decrease. This is shown in **Figure 1 (b)** where the impedance of the bonding surface increases as the rock moves closer to the PZT sensor thereby causing the resulting real PZT impedance measurement to be higher. This effect was shown by Park et al. where an increase in real impedance was seen with in-creasing levels of bonding surface stiffness (Park Sohn, Farrar, & Inman, 2003).

In the second experiment, we tested the effects of changing the location of the tumor relative to the PZT sensor on its ability to be detected. In this experiment, we placed the tumor at a depth of 5 mm and impedance measurements were re-corded at each of the gridded positions separated by 25.4 mm as shown in **Figure 2**. To effectively filter and analyze the results of each trial, we utilized the damage metric defined in **Equation 3** to compare the impedance measurements from a gel with the tumor to those measured in a gel with no tumor.

The results of the second experiment in **Table 1** demonstrates that the damage metric increased when the sensor was placed directly on top of the tumor and de-creased at all surrounding locations. Levels of asymmetry can be seen in the front row of the gel sample and in the first column from the middle to front row. This is due to the unbalanced shape of the embedded tumor and, as shown in **Figure 2** and **Table 1**, the sensor locations closer to the embedded tumor result in higher damage metric values. Although the variance between the measurements around the tumor is measurably high, the calculated damaged metric above the tumor is still nearly twice that of the highest value around the tumor. This indicates that selected thresholds of the damage metric may be established to determine whether the PZT sensor is in the vicinity of an embedded tumor. These thresh-olds may then be used as metrics to estimate tumor depth, location, and size.
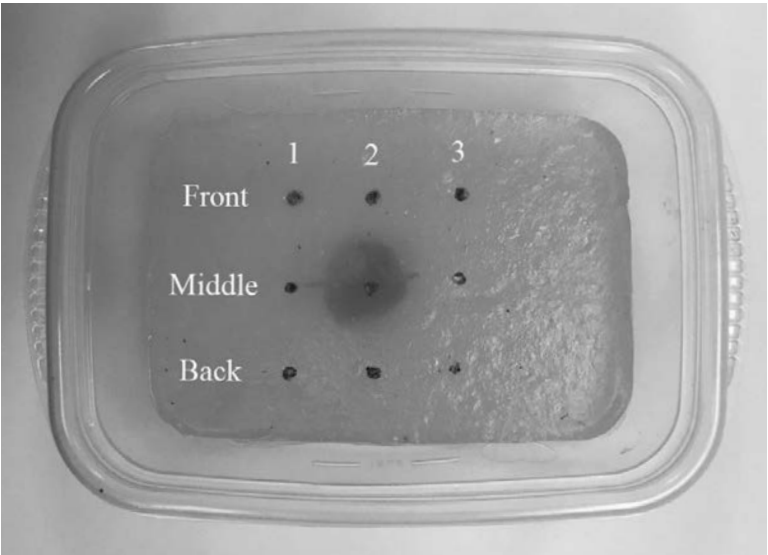
FIGURE 2 Diagram showing the experimental set-up to control sensor location. The tumor is shown in the middle and the black dots denote the placements for the sensor.

	1	2	3
Front	920,313	1,005,862	358,855
Middle	609,447	1,869,832	331,163
Back	340,909	487,172	365,687

TABLE 1 Effects of the PZT sensor location on the measured damage metric. This table summarizes the calculated damage metrics at each of the locations on the gel where higher numbers indicate further deviance from the control case without a tumor.

CONCLUSIONS

To explore the applications of piezoelectric materials, we investigated and tested the effects of changing the depth and location of the tumor relative to a PZT sensor on its ability to be detected. As previously mentioned, the rock used for this exploration differed from the rock used by Mohammadabadi et al. in their similar experiment. This resulted in divergent impedance and phase plots, however, the use of the damage metric normalized the findings allowing for an easier method of comparison. The results shown here indicate a significant ability of the PZT sensor to detect the tumor up to a depth of 10 mm. Furthermore, we confirmed the PZT sensor's ability for detecting the tumor at different locations relative to the sensor.

Some of the results achieved during this phase of testing may indicate that the PZT sensor is less effective when not directly over the tumor. In future studies, we hope to address this issue and further develop a range of effectiveness for detecting the tumor at different depths. Future studies investigating the effectiveness of a PZT sensor will include: (1) adjusting the magnitude and geometric properties of the mass placed on top of the PZT sensor to achieve varying levels of damping; (2) changing the shape and dimension of the PZT sensor for more consistent and predictable results; (3) exploring the effect of tumor density, elasticity, and mass towards its ability to be detected. We hope that this further testing will result in the improvement of a more advanced and cost-effective tumor screening device.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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MONETA AVGVSTI: SECOND AND THIRD CENTURY COIN IMAGERY AND THE IMPERIAL INFLUENCE IN ROMAN BRITAIN

—

FLORA KIRK

Flora Kirk graduated from UMBC in Spring 2018 with a degree in Ancient Studies and minor in Political Science. While a student she was a member of the Humanities Scholars Program and the UMBC Honors College, and is currently a member of Phi Beta Kappa. As well as research she enjoys creating art, both traditionally and digitally, and uses this skill to create archaeological illustrations for her work. In 2017 she was awarded an Undergraduate Research Award (URA) to travel to the UK to conduct research on Roman coin imagery and spending. This research was used for her honors thesis for ancient studies, under her mentor Dr. Melissa Kutner. Thanks to this experience, she will be in Cluj-Napoca, Transylvania in the 2018-2019 academic year as a Fulbright Scholar to Romania. She is interested if her initial findings in Britain will be echoed in the similar province of Dacia (ancient Romania) on the opposite side of the empire.

I have always admired Roman art and architecture, but it was not until my internship at the Roman Baths Museum in the UK that I began to consider coinage as a similar medium for Roman power. Tasked with creating a display for the recently-discovered Beau Street Hoard (a collection of 17,000 coins dating to the third century AD), I chose to create a display exploring the purpose behind imagery on the coins. I found that each image was significant to the imperial message, but I was interested whether it would have had an effect on the Roman people. Would they have favored certain images and factored them into their perceptions of coin value? To learn more, I applied for an Undergraduate Research Award and returned to the UK to collect data on use-wear in hoards from the second and third centuries. I was able to present my findings at Undergraduate Research and Creative Achievement Day and finish my honors thesis for the Ancient Studies B.A. under my advisor Dr. Melissa Bailey-Kutner.

ABSTRACT

In the Roman empire, money had both economic and communicative purposes. Analyzing coin composition and images reveals patterns that shed light on Roman emperors' propaganda. In particular, the coins of the second and third centuries display a juxtaposition between an era that was broadly stable – economically and politically – and one that was broadly unstable. While my undergraduate thesis covers coin image and composition, this article will focus on the latter half, studying levels of use-wear in Romano-British coin hoards buried in these centuries. This research, using data from the third century Beau Street Hoard and the second century Weston Lawrence Hoard, was conducted to identify any effect the imperial message had on spending in Roman Britain. Findings ultimately revealed that while there was little correlation between image and use-wear, there was suggestion of relation between weight and wear. This suggests that the emperor's message had little effect on the perception of coin value among users. However, wear patterns do point towards an acknowledgment of debasement in the silver content, and subsequent hoarding of more valuable coins.

FIGURE 1 RIC II Trajan 608 (112-114)

INTRODUCTION

Relics of an ancient society, Roman coins reveal the breadth of the empire's influence, ranging from the British Isles in the West to as far as China in the East.[1] Analysis of these artifacts opens a window into the economy and culture of the empire. From a numismatic perspective, they represent monetary policy, while from an archaeological viewpoint, their context reveals economic practice. Combining these approaches results in a multifaceted analysis of coin images, metal composition, and value. Britain, one of Rome's conquered territories, has yielded many coin hoards, with undoubtedly far more yet to be discovered. Analyzing coin use and composition from these finds gives a glimpse into Rome's economy and culture on the fringe of the empire.

During the height of Roman presence in Britain, forts spanned the territory, housing garrisons whose pay quickly entered the local economy through the brothels and bars of the *vici,* local towns. Throughout Roman occupation, coin circulation and issue in Britain fluctuated as the second century gave way to the turbulence of the third. With a decrease in coin value and imperial longevity, Roman emperors recognized that coin imagery could be utilized as a detailed record of their rule. I begin this paper by showing that while the second century emperors chose generic themes that could be applied to many events during their reign, third-century rulers reacted to events in real time by minting images specific to the event. Following this analysis, I then apply my findings on imagery to the physical conditions of coins, namely fluctuations in coin weight and wear over the two centuries; this was done to find if a coin's imagery had any effect on its spending. While the image study was a general survey from across the empire,[2] my study on physical characteristics was done using two coin hoards from the South-West of Britain: the second-century Lawrence Weston Hoard and the third-century Beau Street Hoard. From my findings I propose that though these images mattered to the emperor, analysis of physical characteristics reveals that images and even minimal weight fluctuations had little effect on the perception of coin value among users. However, wear patterns do point towards an acknowledgment of debasement in the silver content and subsequent hoarding of more valuable coins.

IMPERIAL IMAGES DURING THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES: A BRIEF STUDY

In a world predating the printing press, coins were one of the few options the emperor had to spread mass-produced propaganda to all of his subjects.

Therefore, images used on coins were usually chosen deliberately, acknowledging the emperor's legitimacy and civil concord. The second century, hosting a number of long and prosperous reigns, saw the emperor's rule reflected in generic imagery that could be applied to a variety of events. While the propagandistic purpose of imagery carried through into the third century, the decreases in imperial longevity[3] and increasing rapidity of coin production[4] affected the choice of images. Knowing they might not have long in power, third-century rulers had their coins reflect specific events in real-time with images that could only be applied to that single instance. Additionally, while the second-century emperors focused on proclaiming their own achievements to the public, third-century rulers made an effort to use these themes to directly appeal to specific audiences. For instance, a victorious legion would be depicted on coins after a campaign, both advertising the emperor's successful military objectives and his personal gratitude to that legion. Despite the changes in specificity throughout both centuries, certain image themes remained a constant presence on the Roman imperial coinage. Using a catalogue of coins from across the Roman Empire, this brief image study focuses on the military and civic coin issues, and how these fluctuating images echoed an empire under threat.

As Rome was a bellicose society, the military was a constant presence in almost all aspects of life, including the coinage. It was in these militaristic images that evidence of mounting pressures on third-century emperors was first to manifest. Sometimes emperors created completely novel image types; at other times, third-century emperors chose to embellish an existing generic image. The latter resulted in a pattern over the second and third centuries that makes times of crisis easy to identify. Military types (including EXERC[ITVVM], "the troops"; LEG[IONES], "the legions"; and MILITVM, "the military") provide reliable examples of these effects, as messages become increasingly specific during each wave of uncertainty. No matter the period, appeasing the military was critical to a stable rule. Antoninus Pius, who peacefully inherited the throne in the second century, minted a series depicting FIDES MILITVM, "loyalty of the military," which applied to all aspects of the Roman army and could be reused indefinitely without updating. Fifty years later, the usurper Septimius Severus continued the series but changed the legend to FIDEI LEG[IONVM], "loyalty of the legions," specifying the branch of the military[5] that had declared him emperor and brought him to power.[6] During the height of the Crisis of the Third Century, Gallienus continued Septimius Severus' trend with an addition of his own: his favorite legions were now identified by name and accompanied by an image of their own sigil.[7] In this way Gallienus was able to congratulate particular legions on their performance in specific battles,[8] meaning the coins could only be relevant for a fairly short period of time before having to be replaced.

While naming legions was most frequent during the instability of the third century, it is important to note that the practice had also been utilized by would-be military usurpers in the first and second centuries, further pointing to crises' effects on image specificity. One of the coins minted by Mark Antony during the Civil Wars features the legend LEG[IO] III, thanking the Third Legion for fighting for him against Augustus' faction. Nearly a hundred years later, in AD 68, the rebellious *legatus*, Clodius Macer, minted a series with the legend LEG[IO] III LIB[ERTAS] AVG, referring the Third Legion's objective to liberate Rome from Nero.[9] While these usurpers' situations called for immediate "real-time" coinage, they were short blips in the first century's steady time-line of political stability and generic coin imagery.

Once the military had been satisfied, the emperor's success lay in the hands of the Roman people. Subsequently, coin imagery marketed to citizens is among the first themes to be prioritized by emperors. While the second-century examples portrayed both celebrations and long-term building projects, the third century began to favor celebrations and limit their expansion of infrastructure. Throughout the numismatic time-line, depictions of simpler projects and restorations of earlier buildings began to replace declarations of new monumental architecture. With the promise of a lengthy reign, the emperors of the second century were more confident in spending money on buildings, fully expecting to see them finished during their reign. In contrast, heightened public unrest and the prospect of a limited reign pushed the third century emperors to utilize faster means to win their citizens' favor.

Trajan, who ruled during the very beginning of the second century, had a number of coins celebrating both games and public works. One image, with a river-god pouring water over the legend AQUA TRAIANA, referred to Trajan's improvement to the city water-supply, confirmed by the same legend printed on excavated water pipes from the period.[10] Actual buildings were portrayed, including his bridge across the Danube, Trajan's forum, and (most notably) an image celebrating the completion of the Circus Maximus.[11] During his fifteen years, Trajan was able to commission the complete rebuilding of the structure, replacing wood with stone. This advertisement of his achievements would have served as a reminder of his civic service to the populace, as well as placing his name in history. Later on, Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161) also minted a collection of infrastructure coins during the height of the second century; these included images of a temple to the deified Divi Augustus and Livia.[12] While this did not serve a direct civilian interest, it did show the emperor was active in Rome's religious and patriotic sector.

The number of coins types with architecture per emperor begins to drop with Septimius Severus at the end of the second century. Focusing largely on campaigns outside of Rome, he only advertised images of his Arch of Severus and an unknown bridge on his coinage. Severus' triumphal arch, instead of being a public amenity, was rather a marker of his successful martial reign. By placing the commemoration of his triumphs on his coinage he was able to enhance the propaganda the arch itself generated. That said, while there was little celebration of public works, there were multiple advertisements of public games in his coinage, notably the *Munificienta Augusti* celebrations, literally "Generosity of the Emperor," which were held upon his victorious return from campaign, accompanied by public donatives and feasting.[13] While buildings required years to be completed, public games offered instant gratification to the public, who needed to be appeased after a violent coup.

Infrastructure imagery would be increasingly surpassed by imagery of games as the third century's political stability decreased. The last coins before the Crisis celebrating a completed infrastructure project are by Severus Alexander in AD 223, showing off his renovations of the Coliseum,[14] building of baths,[15] and sponsorship of the temple to Jupiter Ultor.[16] While Septimius' municipal themes were linked to military victories, Alexander's appear to be focused on urban life and religion, the aspects of Rome more easily accessible to its citizens. After the relative stability of the Severan dynasty, infrastructure would nearly disappear from the coinage. Though the imagery of public games by Philip the Arab (twenty years later during the Crisis) did feature a small number of temples, his rule was followed by a ten year period of silence, until Gallienus issued a coin bearing a triumphal arch. While Philip the Arab (AD 244-249) and Gallienus (AD 253-268) were able to rule long enough to oversee building, it appears that most third century emperors were no longer ruling long enough to have time to build anything substantial, let alone advertise it.

Though effects of crises are reflected in coinage throughout the Roman empire, contrasts are most apparent when juxtaposing the second and third centuries. Confident in the promise of a lengthy reign, second-century rulers focused on promoting general themes of their rule and achievements in their limited mints. Emperors of the third century however, having a higher frequency of coin issue and imperial coups,[17] instead chose to commemorate particular events immediately after they occurred. This enabled the emperors to create their own novel imagery and show favor to the military and citizens.

SILVER DEBASEMENT IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

As Roman coinage has shown, the growing instability of the empire was notice-ably reflected in the growing specificity of the imagery. However, in addition to the iconography of imperial coins, the metallurgy of the coinage was also begin-ning to change rapidly. Before moving on to compare imagery with the physical characteristics of the coinage, it is important to understand the time line of silver debasement (the decrease of silver being put into coins), and how this would have also affected people's perceptions of value.

The second century was a generally prosperous era for Rome and its provinces. This century boasted seven emperors – eleven if we count the tumultuous period in AD 193 referred to as "The Year of the Five Emperors." Under Trajan's expan-sions the Roman Empire reached its greatest extent, controlling the majority of the Mediterranean region. Rich from the mines in Dacia, Hispania, and Britain, Rome's economy prospered. The common silver coin, the *denarius*, was 88% pure silver, only falling 4% over the fifty years of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius' reigns (AD 117-161).[18] Even under the silver debasements of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180) the denarius retained 80% silver content and later only dropped to 78% under Commodus' reign (AD 177-192).[19]

Silver Content of Denarii and Antoniniani by Roman Emperor
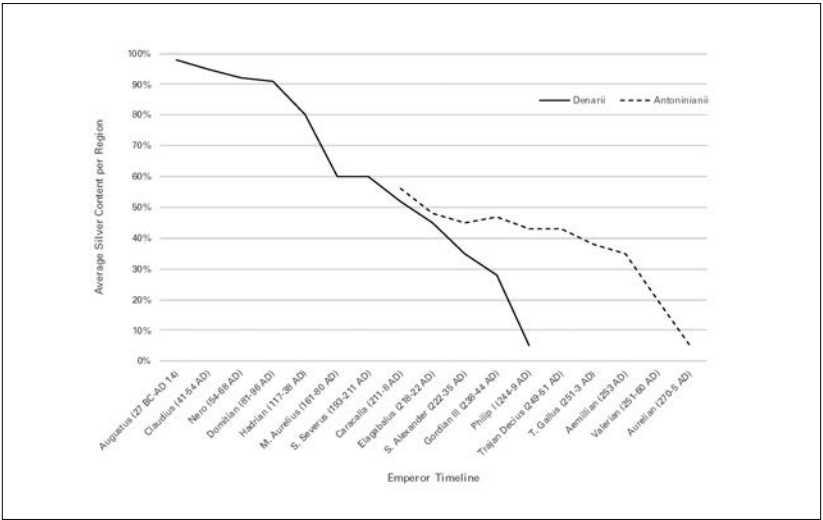
FIGURE 2 Silver content of denarii and antoniniani by Roman emperor. Some emperors omitted for graph clarity. Data for silver content from Walker, D. R. *The Metrology of the Roman Silver Coinage - Part III From Pertinax to Uranius Antoninus.* Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978.

In comparison, the third century saw a total of thirty-one emperors, only twenty-four of whom ruled for more than one year. The third century also saw significant silver debasements, particularly in the AD 250s. In AD 215, Caracalla introduced the *antoninianus* to make up for the plummeting denarius. Despite claiming to be worth two denarii, the average silver content was only worth one and a half denarii, making up only 52% of the antoninianus. The remainder of the Severan dynasty (until AD 235) flirted with issuing this new type, but it was not until Gordian III (AD 238-244) that the antoninianus became standard.[20] As silver debasements proliferated, the denarius disappeared from imperial mints halfway through the third century, leaving the antoninianus as the primary silver currency.[21] From Gordian III to Trajan Decius (AD 238-251), the antoninianus' silver content remained fairly stable at an average of 43%, until Trebonianus Gallus' debasements in AD 251 suddenly dropped the silver content to 35%.[22] Following Gallus, the silver content continued to fall rapidly, reaching 5% under Aurelian in AD 274.[23]

These debasements are important to keep in mind when analyzing coin use-wear (evidence of being handled and spent), as previous scholarship demonstrates. Though relatively uncommon, research on coin wear has been conducted by Richard Duncan-Jones,[24] Alain Davesne and Georges Le Rider,[25] and Daniel Hoyer.[26] Since all these analyses cover fairly stable periods of classical history, the authors rely on using weight irregularity from the average weight to determine amount of wear. This is a relatively successful method for Hellenistic Greece and first and second-century Rome, but to apply this method to third-century samples would be problematic, due to increasingly unreliable weight stability in this period. As I found in my sample, third-century coins within the same image series and with similar levels of use-wear varied significantly in weight, sometimes up to 2 grams apart.[27] Similarly, there were still changes in coin standards during the early Roman empire, an inconsistency which Duncan-Jones has been critiqued for not addressing in his analysis.[28] While these studies proved a useful basis to my research, I found that my work would require a novel approach.

METHODS OF DETERMINING USE-WEAR

Since using weight differences was not a viable option for my study, I had to find another way to objectively determine levels of wear despite variations in weight. I employed a five-point scale with 1 as least worn (reading the clearest as if it were new), and 5 as most worn (completely illegible with less than a quarter of the letters being identifiable). Since visually determining wear risked being too subjective, I decided that the closest objective method would be using legibility as

the dependent variable. The fine, raised lines of the legend lettering were the first to be affected by human contact and produced consistent results.

For purposes of recording coin wear within Britain, I selected two coin hoards (coins hidden and subsequently lost or forgotten) excavated from the southwest. For the second century I chose the Lawrence Weston Hoard, and for the third century, the Beau Street Hoard. Discovered just outside of Bristol, the Lawrence Weston Hoard begins with the coinage of Trajan in AD 98/99 and concludes around AD 157/8 with coins issued by Antoninus Pius.[29] Though only 51 coins, it is a typical representation of denarii. The Beau Street Hoard, which was buried in Aquae Sulis (modern day Bath) during the end of the third century in AD 274, is comprised primarily of antoniniani.[30] For this study I used a sample of 150 antoniniani, ranging from Elagabalus (AD 218/9) to Gordian III (AD 260).

Neither hoard has been studied in detail, and there is little existing scholarship elaborating on their contents. The second-century Lawrence Weston Hoard does not differ much from other contemporary silver coin hoards in size and value, and so only appears in major data lists alongside its fellows. The Beau Street Hoard, while the largest coin hoard found in Britain to date, has been discovered so recently that little analysis has been done. Additionally, the majority of the hoard dates to before AD 260, an important factor in my analysis considering the effect of silver debasement on coin decomposition. By the 270s, antoniniani's silver veneers[31] only made up 5% of the coin, enabling a much quicker decomposition than its predecessors.[32] For this analysis, however, the majority of the Beau Street Hoard sample falls within AD 218 to 260, meaning the majority of wear is due to human use rather than natural decomposition.

COIN CIRCULATION IN REGARD TO WEIGHT, WEAR, AND IMAGE

I have demonstrated that although second-century emperors did put thought into their coin imagery, third-century rulers saw the potential of quickly spreading their image and messages through coinage. While the second-century emperors issued general images that could be applicable to a variety of events during their rule, the third-century rulers had their coins reflect specific events in real-time, with images that could only be applied to that single instance. This half of the study investigates the other side of the coin, so to speak. How did the coinage users, particularly those in Britain, respond to the care emperors put into their coin faces? As a faraway province, surely the emperor would have wanted his message to leave an impression on his distant

subjects? While it is not possible to access the majority of reactions (such as visceral responses to propaganda), we can attempt to discern whether imagery affected usage (or perceptions of value) by examining the amount of wear per image series. Wear can show how often money was handled, which emperor's coins were seen the most, and which mints were valued over others. By further comparing wear data with weight fluctuations and silver content, it is possible to determine if coins were being favored by their image, weight, or indiscriminately.

Initial consultation of wear rates between hoards reveals a decrease in wear as the second century transitioned into the third century. Using my use-wear scale in **Figure 2**, the Lawrence Weston Hoard saw only 11.8% of coins in level 2, with 41.2% of coins in level 3, 45.1% in level 4, and finally 2% in level 5. For the third century, the Beau Street Hoard revealed a curve in wear, with the 1st and 5th levels of wear reaching up to 3% of coins each, and the 2nd and 4th levels being 24.5% and 23.6% respectively, leaving the 3rd level comprising 47.3% of the sample. Compared to the second century, coins of the third century appear to be handled more sporadically, and overall less frequently. The explanation for this

decrease in wear could likely rest in silver debasements and gradual distrust of the money as the weights began to noticeably fluctuate, along with more frequent issues of new coins.

Use-Wear in the Beau Street Hoard and Lawrence Weston Hoard by Proportion
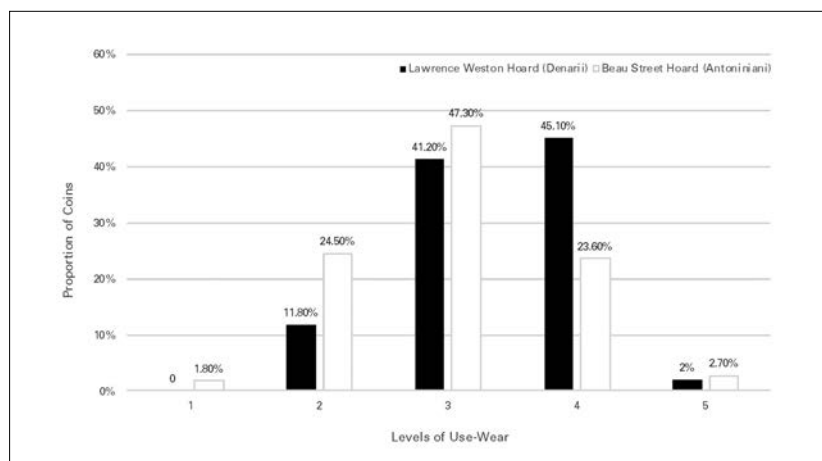
FIGURE 3 Coin use-wear in the Beau Street Hoard and Lawrence Weston Hoard by proportion.

LEVELS OF WEAR	
5	Completely unreadable (no legible letters)
4	Barely legible, severely worn (less than 50% of letters legible)
3	Legible, average wear (50-80% of letters legible)
2	Good condition, slightly worn (80-90% of letters legible)
1	New, no signs of wear (100% of letters legible)

Ultimately, my research found that there were very few correlations between image series and use-wear. In both centuries coins were for the most part spent regardless of their imagery. Even close comparisons of specific images showed no conclusive evidence of preference. Within the Lawrence Weston Hoard there were five coins (most coin images only repeated twice) depicting Trajan as *Optimus Princeps*, a title loosely translated as "Very Best of the Citizens," being crowned by the goddess Nike. Four coins displayed an average level 3 use-wear, with the fifth being a high wear-level of 4. Though these coins seemed to be handled regularly, they fall into the typical level of wear for most images in the sample (**Figure 2**). In comparison, the third-century Beau Street Hoard features six coins with imagery featuring Publica, the personification of the Roman public. Despite this specific reference aimed at the coins' users, the amount of use-wear ranges from one wear-level of 2, to three 3s and one 4. Like the Trajan coins of the Lawrence Weston Hoard, the Publica images fall into the typical range of coin wear during their century.

It appears neither of these trends relate to, or correlate with, imagery. Even comparing image series to the weights of the coins provides no consistency. Two VICTORIA AVG coins by Philip the Arab level at a 2 and a 5, despite only being 0.3g apart in weight. Similarly, a wear-level 1 and a wear-level 4 Volusian PAX AVGG coin only differ by 0.02g (2.68g and 2.7g respectively). The frequency of wear irregularities in image series with similar weights further suggests the use of images as mere aesthetics and not determinations of value.

The reason for the decrease in use-wear from the second to third centuries could in part be due to the declining silver content during the end of the third century. As the date range of the second-century Lawrence Weston Hoard ends in approximately AD 160, the coins represent the relative economic stability of Trajan through Antoninus Pius. The weight is impressively constant, with 84.3% of the sample falling within 3-3.49 grams, 11.8% weighing under, and only 3.9% weighing above (**Figure 3**). Consulting the standard silver content of

Weight Stability in the Denarii of the Lawrence Weston Hoard and the Antoniniani of the Beau Street Hoard

FIGURE 4 Weight Stability in the denarii of the Lawrence Weston Hoard and the antoniniani of the Beau Street Hoard.

this period further confirms the worth of the coinage, with a steady average ranging from 88% to 85% silver before Marcus Aurelius' debasements.[33] The entire second-century Lawrence Weston Hoard sample shows consistent levels of wear as well (**Figure 2**), further suggesting that users perceived these coins as worth their proclaimed value. In contrast, though the antoniniani of the third century were designed to be twice the worth of denarii, the percentage of silver content is significantly lower and the coins only weigh 1-1.5 grams more than the denarii. To make up for lack of silver, mint masters would add copper to match the original weight;[34] however, they seemed unable to keep a completely stable weight in their coinage.[35] Examining the sample of antoniniani from the Beau Street Hoard reveals coins of relatively equal wear ranging from 2 grams to as much as 5.4 grams (**Figure 3**).

While recording levels of wear in the third-century Beau Street Hoard, I made a note of each coin that digressed from the 2.5g-4.49g average weight, as a piece that weighed differently than its fellows could have aroused suspicion and affected spending.[36] My results proved to be indicative of a public awareness of silver content (**Table 1**). In all the coins exceeding 4.49g, the heavier the weight, the less wear the coin displayed. Following Gresham's Law, coins of a higher perceived value are quickly hoarded for safety, leaving the "bad" money in circulation (thus accumulating more wear). This suggests that the Romans equated weight with

value to a certain point and chose to hoard noticeably heavy coins. The first two coins of Gordian III prove to be average in wear, but the third at a heavy 5.26g drops to a low wear level of 2. Additionally, Philip the Arab's later three heavy coins (4.66g–4.96g) also fall in the same low level of 2. Likely the answer to this lack of wear can be found in the practice of hoarding.

Year (AD)	RIC Label	Emperor	Image	Weight (g)	Wear (1-5)
218-2	120f	Elagabalus	Mars Victor	4.5	4
238-9	6	Gordian III	Virtvs Avg	4.51	3
240-1	64	Gordian III	Concordia Avg	4.55	3
241-3	84	Gordian III	Iovi Statori	5.26	2
244-7	31	Philip I	Felicitas Temp	4.96	2
244-7	36	Philip I	Laetit Fvndat	4.99	2
244-7	56	Philip I	Liberalitas Avg II	4.66	2
249-51	48	Trajan Decius	Victoria Avg	4.61	3
251-3	32	Trebonianus Gallus	Apoll Salvtari	2.49	3
253	74	Valerian	Apollo Propvg	2.29	2
260-8	313	Gallienus	Virt Gallieni Avg	2.38	4

Coupled with Gresham's Law, my research suggests that the Romans equated weight with value; examining the debasement time-line provides further context. From Gordian III to Trajan Decius, the antoninianus' silver content remained fairly stable at an average 43%, but Trebonianus Gallus' debasements in AD 251 suddenly dropped the silver content to 35%.[37] This plummet in silver could have conceivably caused the antoniniani of the previous years to be taken out of circulation and hoarded now that they were seen as valuable. Though additional weight could be from compensating alloy, there was always a chance that the heavier coin held more silver than its fellows.

Elagabalus' antoninianus (AD 218-222) supplies further evidence for this theory. Though thirty years older than the other heavier antoniniani, around 42% silver,[38] and weighing at 4.5g, the coin registers a high wear level of 4. While age could account for wear and possible weight-loss, Elagabalus' coinage had just followed Caracalla's antoniniani of 58% silver, a significant 16% higher.[39] As suggested by previous work on the Egyptian tetradrachm,[40] a sudden drop in silver would be more likely to incur public reaction than a gradual decrease. Perhaps, following the logic that bad money drives out good, the antoniniani of Caracalla had been hoarded over Elagabalus' new antoniniani. This supposition is strengthened when analyzing Elagabalus' denarii, each on average at 46% silver fineness.[41] Three denarii of Elagabalus sampled from the Beau Street Hoard reveal wear levels of 3, lower than that of his antoninianus. Though not a significant difference in wear, the decrease could suggest Elagabalus' denarii (a more familiar coin type with no sudden debasements) may have been hoarded over his more copper-heavy and less familiar antoniniani.

Examining the lighter coinage (ones weighing less than 2.5 grams) displays a contrasting trend to the heavier coins (**Table 1**). The three low-weight antoniniani were all minted after the AD 251 debasements, and subsequently have an average higher use-wear than earlier heavier pieces.[42] However, comparing these coins to their normal-weighted contemporaries shows no difference in use-wear. This suggests that at the end of the third century, weight was being increasingly disregarded as a means of determining value. This may be because at this stage of the economy, the coinage was seen as near worthless, resulting in faster circulation of the new mints. Though Valerian's coinage has a low wear level of 2 (**Table 1**), high rates of wear in Valerian and Gallienus' normal-weighted issues suggests this is an irregularity. Overall it seems the highly-worn coins of the AD 250s onwards were considered "bad money" and thus not worth hoarding.

While it appears coin users in Britain noticed and reacted to silver debasements in their coinage, they did not react to imagery in ways that affected their spend-

ing. As seen in the samples of the Lawrence Weston and Beau Street Hoards, there was little correlation between wear and images series, suggesting that for the Roman people, coin imagery served a different function. This then leads to the question, what was the point of imagery? Though it was presumably propaganda, and emperors saw coin imagery as a vehicle for power, there is no way to determine reactions to the propaganda alone. However, although there was little to no correlation with wear and image, wear patterns correlating with silver content were apparent over the centuries. This could be evident in the debasements from AD 251 to 270, as the Elagabalus antoninianus suggests. While his antoninianus could have been seen as worth little compared to his denarii and the previous antoniniani of Caracalla, its wear pattern suggests that the piece was hoarded after a few decades in circulation once the silver content increasingly began to drop. While this conclusion remains preliminary, in the future I hope to bring in additional hoards and larger sample sizes, resulting in a robust look into coin imagery and circulation in Britain.

CONCLUSION

During the height of Roman presence in Britain, coin circulation and imagery began to fluctuate as the second century gave way to the third century. Confident in a long reign, emperors of the second century chose to use broad, generic themes that did not need to be updated frequently. In comparison, third-century emperors minted coins frequently, allowing their images to be contemporary, reflecting current events and themselves.

Though these images mattered to the emperor, my analysis of physical wear reveals images had little effect on the perception of value in Roman Britain. In the hoard samples there was neither a relation between image and wear, nor between wear and weight of coins. In fact, some coin images had radically different wear patterns in their population. Therefore, while Romans probably looked at the coin images, they did not factor them into the perceived value.

Comparing wear patterns in the hoard samples to averages of silver content, however, did produce correlations. The second century denarii saw a steady rate of 84% silver content up to Marcus Aurelius, echoed in the Lawrence Weston Hoard's steady rate of medium to high use-wear. However, the third-century Beau Street Hoard revealed fluctuating use-wear patterns as the antoniniani of the third century began to lose silver rapidly. In a study of the heaviest and lightest coins in the sample, all heavier coins[43] dated to before the debasements of AD 251. Following Gresham's Law, they showed minimal amounts of wear,

suggesting they had been taken out of circulation around (or before) this time. Compared to their average-weighted contemporaries' higher levels of use-wear, it is possible that they were favored for their weight. The lighter coins, dating past the beginning of debasement, do not display such favoritism. In both the second and third centuries, it appears that when it came to determining value, most Roman Britons only paid attention to silver content and possibly the occasional related weight disparity.

ENDNOTES

1. Valerie Hansen. *The Silk Road: A New History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 50.

2. Using the Roman Imperial Coin series as well as the online database Online Coins of the Roman Empire http://numismatics.org/ocre/.

3. While the second century saw eleven emperors, the third century saw more than twenty-five.

4. Richard Duncan-Jones, *Money and Government in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 168. Refer to Table 11.2, Estimates of silver coin by reign (AD 64-235); D. R. Walker, *The Metrology of the Roman Silver Coinage – Part III From Pertinax to Uranius Antoninus* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978), 138. Walker lays out a time-line of silver debasement in the third century caused by increasingly frequent pay-outs to the military.

5. The Roman army was composed of legions (infantry) and *auxilia*, usually cavalry or light infantry.

6. "RIC IV Septimius Severus 1," accessed December 20, 2018, http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.4.ss.1_denarius.

7. Percy H. Webb, *Roman Imperial Coinage v. 5a: Valerian to the Interregnum*, ed. Harold Mattingly and Edward Allen Sydenham (London: Spink & Son Ltd, 1968), 34.

8. Harold Mattingly, Edward Allen Sydenham, and C. H. V. Sutherland, *Roman Imperial Coinage v. 4c: Gordian III–Uranius Antoninus* (238-253) (London: Spink & Son Ltd, 1949), 114. Decius would also later emulate this praise in his VIRTVS ILLVRICI coins, congratulating and commending the legions who fought at Illyricum.

9. Harold Mattingly and Edward Allen Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage v. 1: Augustus – Vitellius* (London: Spink & Son Ltd, 1968), 194.

10. "RIC II Trajan 463," Online Coins of the Roman Empire (OCRE), accessed December 4, 2018, http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.2.tr.463_sestertius. Obverse: Bust of Trajan, laureate, right; Reverse: River god reclining left on rocks under arched grotto supported by two columns; left arm resting on urn and reed in right hand.

11. "RIC II Trajan 571," Online Coins of the Roman Empire (OCRE), accessed August 22, 2018, http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.2.tr.571. Obverse: Bust of Trajan, laureate, right; Reverse: The Circus Maximus with obelisk in center; the *spina* is flanked by *metae*.

12. "RIC III Antoninus Pius 289A," Online Coins of the Roman Empire (OCRE), accessed August 22, 2018, http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.3.ant.289A. Obverse: Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate, right; Reverse: Octastyle temple, in which are seated statues of Divi Augustus and Livia.

13. "RIC IV Septimius Severus 82," Online Coins of the Roman Empire (OCRE), accessed December 4, 2018, http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.4.ss.82. Obverse: Head of Septimius Severus, laureate, right; Reverse: Elephant, cuirassed, walking right.

14. "RIC IV Severus Alexander 33," Online Coins of the Roman Empire (OCRE), accessed December 4, 2018, http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.4.sa.33_denarius. Obverse: Head

of Severus Alexander; Obverse: The Coliseum, three figures on right, one togate, and one leaning on spear.

15. "RIC IV Severus Alexander 450d," Online Coins of the Roman Empire (OCRE), accessed December 4, 2018, http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.4.sa.450d. Obverse: Head of Severus Alexander, laureate, right; Obverse: The Thermae (Baths) of Severus Alexander.

16. "RIC IV Severus Alexander 146," Online Coins of the Roman Empire (OCRE), accessed December 4, 2018, http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.4.sa.146. Obverse: Head of Severus Alexander, laureate, right; Obverse: IOVI VLTOR; Hexastyle temple.

17. Duncan-Jones, *Money and Government*, 168; Walker, *Metrology of Roman Silver Coinage Part III*, 138.

18. D. R. Walker, *The Metrology of the Roman Silver Coinage - Part II From Nerva to Commodus* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978), 50–100. See sections under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

19. Kenneth W. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy, 300 B.C. to A.D. 700* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 127. See Table 6.1 based on Walker's metrology work.

20. Earle R. Caley and Harold D. McBride, "Chemical Composition of Antoniniani of Trajan Decius, Trebonianus Gallus, and Valerian.," *The Ohio Journal of Science 56,* no. 5 (September 1956): 285. See Table 1.

21. David Sear, *Roman Coins and Their Values* (London: Spink & Son, 1988), 12.

22. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy*, 130. See Table 6.2 based on Walker's metrology work.

23. *Ibid*.

24. Duncan-Jones, *Money and Government*.

25. Alain Davesne and Georges Le Rider, *Gülnar II: Le trésor de Meydancikkale (Cilicie Trachée, 1980)* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1989).

26. Daniel Hoyer, "Calculating the Use-Wear Rates of Roman Coins Using Regression Analysis: A Case Study of Bronze Sestertii from Imperial Gaul.," *American Journal of Numismatics* 25 (2013): 259–82.

27. Two of Trebonianus' FELICITAS PVBLICA coins weigh at 2.5g and 4.5g respectively, yet show the same amount of use-wear.

28. Hoyer, "Calculating the Use-Wear Rates," 265.

29. P.J. Casey, *Roman Coinage in Britain (Shire Archaeology)* (London: Shire Publications, 2009), 53.

30. Eleanor Ghey, *The Beau Street Hoard* (London: British Museum Press, 2014), 22.

31. Walter Scheidel, "The Monetary Systems of the Han and Roman Empires (Version 2.0)," *Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics*, 2008, 30, https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1096440.

32. Caley and McBride, "Chemical Composition of Antoniniani," 286.

33. Walker, *Metrology of Roman Silver Coinage Part II*, 54. See Fig. 7 on the Denarii of Rome.

34. Caley and McBride, "Chemical Composition of Antoniniani," 289. Primarily copper was used to make up for weight, though small traces of tin and zinc are present.

35. *Ibid*. See Table 5.

36. For the purposes of my research I recorded noticeable weight differences beginning at 1.5g

37. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy*, 130. See Table 6.2 based on Walker's metrology work.

38. Caley and McBride, "Chemical Composition of Antoniniani," 285. See Table 1.

39. *Ibid*.

40. Scheidel, "The Monetary Systems," 48.

41. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy*, 127. See Table 6.1 based on Walker's metrology work.

42. Caley and McBride, "Chemical Composition of Antoniniani," 285. See Table 1.

43. Excluding the Elagabalus *antoninianus*, for reasons discussed in the section.

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JONSON, BECKETT, AND LOVE OF THE LOATHED WORD

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In the fall semester of 2016 I took an English class on Samuel Beckett. Beckett was an Irish playwright and novelist, and is widely regarded as one of the most important writers and thinkers of the 20th century. I became increasingly interested in Beckett's work throughout the semester, being especially riveted by the style of his language and by his engagement with philosophy. I decided to write a thesis which compared the work of Beckett with that of a quite different writer and thinker whom I had been reading in a different class, Ben Jonson. Born in 1572, Jonson was a dramatist, a poet, and a contemporary of Shakespeare. For Jonson, language has a transcendent potentiality, and thus the process of writing is laden with moral responsibility, a responsibility to convey a didactic message or an ethical conviction. My working objective was to discuss the ostensible nihilism of Beckett's work in contrast with the supremely humanistic and moral work of Jonson; however, I soon realized that, despite the vast temporal separation between the two writers, there are in fact similarities between them, and that these commonalities were very much worth looking into as well.

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the lingual and philosophical underpinnings of the works of Ben Jonson, an English playwright, poet, and contemporary of Shakespeare, and Samuel Beckett, a 20th century Irish novelist and playwright most prominently known for his contributions to what may broadly be termed Absurdist literature. Ben Jonson's characters possess an agency in their use of language which Beckett's characters largely lack. Their world of language is filled with exuberance, and their schemes and games give them a sense of fulfillment that is only fleetingly found in the work of Beckett. The latter's vision of language is at once pessimistic, and yet at the same time tinged with more than a hint of potentially paradigm-shifting language horizons. I argue that the connection between Jonson and Beckett lies, not in a common world view, but rather in a shared tendency to conceptualize linguistic expression as being in some sense intrinsic to the human condition. It is this particular linkage which is addressed in this essay.

RESEARCH PAPER

This essay will explore the subject of language in Ben Jonson and Samuel Beckett, partially through an examination of the dialogue in Jonson's *Volpone* and *Bartholomew Fair,* and in Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*. Rational agency, or a lack thereof, is an important component in both Jonson's and Beckett's work, and an analysis of the ludic interactions which arise amongst the characters in these three dramas will emphasize this point. Through this analysis I will argue that where Jonson is preoccupied with the excellence of language, Beckett is often obsessed with its failures, and is inclined to portray the ineradicable deficiencies of a connately corrupted language. Furthermore, I examine Beckett's novel *The Unnamable*, and contend that the world portrayed therein is a simultaneously evolved and devolved version of that found in *Godot*. I argue that this development is indicative of Beckett's preemptive engagement with some of the lingual movements which took place in the second half of the 20th century. *The Unnamable* is far bleaker and rather more hopeless in its outlook than *Godot*; however, this assertion is made ticklish by the seemingly optimistic conclusion of the novel ("I can't go on, I'll go on").

As Ben Jonson writes in *Timber, or Discoveries*, wanton manipulation of the truth denotes a desecration of language: "Without truth all the actions of mankind are craft, malice, or what you will, rather than wisdom*"* (68). For Jonson, words have a supreme power (the "authority of [the] pen," in Philip Sidney's phrase), and they are able to transmit inherent truths about the world and about

ourselves (82). When language is misused by the characters of Jonson's plays for ulterior, degenerate motives, we are meant not only to laugh at the humorous nature of their schemes, but to recoil at their desecration of language. Jonson's drama is fueled by the Horatian platitude that literature should both delight and instruct. Quite evidently, the plays *Volpone* (1606) and *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) are conceptually bolstered by this dictum, and together they provide two of the most compelling examples of Jonson's preoccupation with the linkage between language and morality.

In *Volpone*, language is used by rogues and villains as a tool with which they may achieve their malfeasant ends. Volpone, Mosca, and the rest tell their lies and fabricate their stories in order to fool the fools and cheat the cheats who in turn seek to take advantage of them. It will be fruitful to consider *Volpone* within the framework of *Discoveries,* in which Jonson writes, "Wheresoever manners and fashions are corrupted, language is" (25). In *Volpone*, morality has been "corrupted" and transmuted at the hands of villains. So too has language, so that it might bring about mischief and iniquity.

Bartholomew Fair, perhaps the most experimental of Jonson's more popular plays, is similar to *Volpone* in its employment of language. The play's tricky, villainous characters artfully use language in order to degrade and dehumanize. Language as a tool for them also excels in every way. The play chiefly portrays hypocrites of one kind or another, who take on their guises so that they may more effectively enact their deceptive ends. As Ian Donaldson notes, *Bartholomew Fair* scoffs at one of Jonson's most valued tenets, that "Speech is the only benefit man hath to express his excellency of mind above other creatures" (Donaldson, 64) (Jonson, 41). Mathew R. Martin remarks that in the play, "language only adds layers to human bestiality and aggression" (135). Furthermore, Heather Easterling argues that the play expresses a "radical doubt about language and an existential expression of human life and significance…Jonson's suggestion that language's meaningfulness extends only so far as the rules of a game seems a problematic conclusion for the author of *The Grammar*, or of *Discoveries*" (112). Easterling's assertion invites a trans-historical and cultural segue into the literary and philosophical terrain of the 20th century, and, in this particular essay, into the Absurdist world of Samuel Beckett.

Through various mouthpieces in *Waiting for Godot* and in *The Unnamable*, Beckett communicates the idea that, although language is ultimately defective and inadequate, it is also intrinsic to the human situation. Beckett's vision of language is thus somewhat paradoxical, as articulation—and by extension, the artistic practice of writing—is portrayed as fundamental, even necessary, yet at the same time self-refuting.

Waiting for Godot (1949) is largely preoccupied with the ludic intercommunication of its characters. The stage design is kept sparse, and the dramatic action scant, so that attention remains focused on the language. But the dialogue often seems stultifying, as the play's two principal characters, Vladimir and Estragon, use their words to pass the time while they wait for Godot. Part of their daily struggle is the constant inability to find any semblance of meaning or purpose behind their existence, outside of mere waiting. Their sense of *Geworfenheit* ("thrown-ness")—to borrow Heidegger's phrase—is only underlined by their failure to communicate in a lastingly meaningful way. They have been "thrown" into the microcosmic world of the play, and the sheer arbitrariness of their predicament leads to a pervasive sense of alienation.

Of all the novels in Beckett's oeuvre, *The Unnamable* (1953) is the most preoccupied with the dichotomy between the failure and the power of language. It is written in the style of a deranged and solipsistic interior monologue, and I consider it to be Beckett's most fervent piece of writing. It is in this novel where Beckett's vision of language is most dismally portrayed, and I will argue that the world of language in *Waiting for Godot* is an inchoate version of that in *The Unnamable*. Taken together, the novel and the play seem to me a culmination of Beckettian Absurdity, which itself is a kind of anachronistically nascent form of Kierkegaardian Existentialism, according to which, humankind's sense of existential dread or anxiety is closely linked with the recognition of an overwhelming and ostensibly terrifying autonomy, a feeling which Kierkegaard terms the "dizziness of freedom" (Grøn, 19). Beckett's protagonists are in a pre-anxious state, as they cannot recognize their freedom to move outside their physical frontier, and the boundary of their games. The audience or reader may apprehend the absurdity of their situation, but they themselves cannot.

In his 1931 study of Marcel Proust, Beckett said of the Frenchman's characters that "They are victims of their volition—active with a grotesque predetermined activity, within the narrow limits of an impure world" (69). This could almost be taken as an apt description of both *Godot and The Unnamable*, except that Beckett's characters are not victims of their own volition, they are instead victims of existence itself. Pedro Calderón de la Barca wrote that "*Pues el delito mayor / del hombre es haber nacido*" ("man's greatest crime is to have been born") (37-38), a notion echoed in Estragon's wry quip early on in the play:

Vladimir	Gogo.
Estragon	What?
Vladimir	Suppose we repented.
Estragon	Repented what? [...] Our being born? (13)

The "narrow limits" of the "impure world" of the play are set by Beckett, of course, but Beckett's characters always reflect fundamental facets of the human condition. In light of Estragon's words, the play can be seen as a universal satire—one which fixes its percipient gaze, not at one particular kind of person, but rather at persons in general. Didi and Gogo, and all of us, are rendered victims by Beckett, for we did not ask to be born; rather, life was thrust upon us. Vladimir and Estragon are constrained by the metanarrative of the play, which limits their freedom of thought and condemns them to a restrictive environment which they cannot escape. At one point, near the end of the play, they briefly consider fleeing their arbitrary station by the lone tree:

Estragon	[L]et's go far away from here.
Vladimir	We can't.
Estragon	Why not?
Vladimir	We have to come back tomorrow.
Estragon	What for?
Vladimir	To wait for Godot.
. . . .	
Estragon	And if we dropped him? [*Pause*] If we dropped him?
Vladimir	He'd punish us. (86-87)

It is important to note the pause that occurs between Estragon's plaintive questions, before Vladimir makes his response. This is an excruciating moment in which Vladimir, the more intellectual and conscientious of the pair, deliberates for a brief moment on the possibility of freedom. But he cannot acknowledge it, because he cannot quite conceive of it. Vladimir and Estragon are trapped, and ludic discourse and language games are the only means by which they may attempt to mitigate their suffering.

Interspersed throughout Vladimir and Estragon's stichomythia are moments of real humor, some of it conscious and intentional. For example, Estragon's sardonic "I find this really most extraordinarily interesting," and Vladimir's equally insincere remark, "How time flies when one has fun," are both indicative of the type of humor that is most pervasive in the play, a humor that is self-serving in its attempt to in some way alleviate the current predicament of the speaker. In the same vein, Estragon intentionally tries to manipulate the conversation in order to entertain himself:

Vladimir	When you seek you hear.
Estragon	You do.
Vladimir	That prevents you from finding.
Estragon	It does.
Vladimir	That prevents you from thinking.
Estragon	You think all the same.
Vladimir	No no, it's impossible.
Estragon	*That's the idea, let's contradict each other.*
Vladimir	Impossible.
Estragon	You think so?
Vladimir	We're in no danger of ever thinking any more.
Estragon	Then what are we complaining about?
Vladimir	Thinking is not the worst.
Estragon	Perhaps not. But at least there's that.
Vladimir	That what?
Estragon	*That's the idea, let's ask each other questions.*

. . . .

[They glare at each other angrily.]

Vladimir	Ceremonious ape!
Estragon	Punctilious pig!
Vladimir	Finish your phrase, I tell you!
Estragon	Finish your own!
	[Silence. They draw closer, halt.]
Vladimir	Moron!
Estragon	*That's the idea, let's abuse each other.*

(59, 70, emphasis mine)

Estragon's desperate attempts to create verbal diversions exemplify the grim reality of their situation. His enthusiastic exhortations ("let's contradict each other;" let's ask each other questions;" let's abuse each other") introduce artificiality into the conversation—an artificiality born from ennui. Walter Asmus, Beckett's assistant director for the March 1975 production in Berlin, emphasized that Es-

tragon should be "joyful" when he says "let's contradict each other" (Theatrical Notebooks, 127). This is the first of Estragon's exhortations to artificiality, and as such, it has the most feeling behind it. But even if the enjoinders become less and less enthusiastic, they still point to the fact that Estragon is able to achieve something significant with his ludic use of language.

Jonson's *Volpone* is also ludic. Indeed, we are told in the very first act of the play that what Volpone is really interested in is the deeply personal fulfillment which he finds through verbal virtuosity and manipulative language games:

> **Volpone**   Yet I glory
>
>   More in the cunning purchase of my wealth,
>
>   Than in the glad possession, since I gain
>
>   No common way. (I. i. 30-33)

Volpone and Mosca compose their deceptive ploys with exuberant joy and with full consciousness of their actions, as Jonson gives them free reign to wreak havoc with their words. They take great liberties with the truth, and it seems that these liberties will bring them rich reward. But in the end, they lose all they have gained and more.

Conversely, Vladimir and Estragon are not given free reign by Beckett. Their lingual limits are as cloistered as their physical locale, and there is a pervasive sense that language essentially fails in *Waiting for Godot*. Ruby Cohn contends that the language of Beckett's comic plays diverges significantly from that which characterizes his earlier prose: "In the domain of comic language, Beckett exhibits little of the more obvious virtuosity of the earlier English fiction; instead, there is an insidious undermining of language as means of communication or expression of intelligence" (216-17). Cohn is right to say that the earlier Beckett was far more concerned with "virtuosity" or ingenuity of language usage, and *The Unnamable* certainly contains an element of the "undermining of language" to which Cohn refers. At the same time, in *The Unnamable* language does not always fail, nor is it always bereft of meaning. In fact, Beckett links himself to a genealogy of meaning by alluding to Shakespeare at the end of the novel:

> How can I say it, that's all words, they're all I have, and not many
> of them, the words fail, the voice fails, so be it, I know that well, it
> will be the silence, full of murmurs, distant cries, the usual silence.
> . . no voice left, nothing left but the core of murmurs. . . you must

say words, as long as there are any. . . perhaps they have carried me to the threshold of my story, before the door that opens on my story. . . if it opens, it will be I, it will be the silence, where I am, I don't know, I'll never know, in the silence you don't know, you must go on, I can't go on, I'll go on. (406, 407)

The Unnamable expresses the paradoxical nature of Beckett's world, in which language is inadequate, and yet necessary ("you must say words, as long as there are"). The passage above contains an echo of the final words of Hamlet:

But I do prophesy th' election lights

On Fortinbras; he has my dying voice.

So tell him, with th' occurrents, more and less,

Which have solicited—the rest is silence. (V. iii. 92-95)

The Unnamable and Hamlet are both cognizant of impending "silence," but *The Unnamable*'s protagonist meets the prospect with resolve. The phrase "I'll go on," equivalent to "I'll continue speaking," is the literal culmination of *The Unnamable*, and in fact, the entire novel may be understood as the protagonist's attempt to come to terms with his own death, and the "usual" silence that is to follow.

Beckett has taken Wittgenstein's famous line, "The limits of my language mean the limits of my world," and applied it to the existential condition of the Unnamable (5.6). Nojoumian remarks that even the structure of the novel's words and sentences implies an inextricable linkage between language and life: "one can compare the flow of the sentences in *The Unnamable* to the flow of breathing. The self speaks (or rather, he 'is') in language" (394). At the limit where language ends, death begins: "Ah if only this voice could stop, this meaningless voice which prevents you from being nothing, just barely prevents you from being nothing and nowhere, just enough to keep alight this little yellow flame feebly darting from side to side" (364). The "meaningless voice" is all that separates the Unnamable from the void of non-being, a void which he laments having been separated from in the first place. Language here serves as a metonymy for life itself, as the philosophy of Absurdism finds its most dismal and wretched exemplar in the Unnamable. The voice serves only to keep the silence at bay, a silence which is longed for, and yet feared, for it is a place in which "you suffer, rejoice, at being bereft of speech, bereft of thought, and feel nothing, hear nothing, know nothing, say nothing, are nothing, that would be a blessed place to be" (368).

Language is again portrayed as being essentially meaningless when the Unnamable again invokes Shakespeare: "I add that I am foolish to let myself be frightened by another's thoughts, lacerating my sky with harmless fires and assailing me with *noises signifying nothing*" (344) The soliloquy of the Unnamable here gives way to the soliloquy of Macbeth, whose words contain more than a tinge of the Absurd:

> To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
>
> Creeps in this petty pace from day to day
>
> To the last syllable of recorded time,
>
> And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
>
> The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
>
> Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
>
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
>
> And then is heard no more: *it is a tale*
>
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
>
> *Signifying nothing*. (V. v. 22-31, emphasis mine)

Here, life and language are again as one. For Macbeth, the "petty pace" of life continues until "the last syllable of recorded time." Beckett has taken these words and turned them into a novel. For the Unnamable, time does not exist outside of words and syllables, outside of language, and the impending silence therefore is the void. Life terminates when there are no more words, not the other way around.

Furthermore, Beckett takes the already Absurd notion of life being "a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing," and brings it, preemptively, into the territory of the post-structural, in which there is said to be no direct relationship between the signifier and the signified. *Waiting for Godot* and *The Unnamable* were both published right around the midpoint of the century, approximately two decades before post-structuralism came into prominence, and in this sense *The Unnamable* contains a proleptic vision of the written word. But the solipsistic monologue of *The Unnamable* contains little celebration of the erosion of language's meaningfulness. It is instead a sustained lamentation on the erosion of meaning. The voice expresses the futility of words, but the words are uttered out of obligation and out of habit, rather than out of an inspired, genuine rejection of what Jean-François Lyotard has called the "grand narrative" (xxiii).

In this sense, Beckett is a precursor of post-structuralism, and yet he remains a sometimes-recalcitrant adherent of that movement.

Turning again to *Waiting for Godot*, I argue that "Godot" is an emblem for "meaning," and as such, the play portrays the Absurdist and farcical representation of an interminable wait for meaning. The two couples, jointly representative of humankind, are doomed to repeat their experiences "to-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow" without ever discovering any discernible purpose behind their conversations, their actions, and their inactions, for Godot (meaning) will never arrive.

Vladimir	Yes, in this immense confusion one thing alone is clear. We are waiting for Godot to come—
Estragon	Ah!
[...]	
Vladimir	Or for night to fall.

…………………………

Vladimir	We have to come back tomorrow.
Estragon	What for?
Vladimir	To wait for Godot.
Estragon	Ah! (Silence.) He didn't come?
Vladimir	No.
Estragon	And now it's too late.
Vladimir	Yes, now it's night. (74, 86)

Nighttime is a metaphor for death—not the death of the body, but the death of hope. Either Godot will come, or "night [will] fall" and it will be "too late," and Vladimir and Estragon will have to begin their waiting anew the following day, with most of their memories of the previous day erased. And thus the play returns to where it began, with "nothing to be done" (11, 12, 13, 22), except to await a manifestation of meaning. Of course, Godot never arrives, and the play ends in much the same way as *The Unnamable* except that, instead of a resolve to "go on," Vladimir and Estragon ostensibly determine to physically remove themselves from their location:

Vladimir	Well? Shall we go?
Estragon	Yes, let's go.
	[*They do not move.*] (88)

Waiting for Godot contains a physical element that—aside from some vague and strange descriptions of the protagonist's body (if it may indeed be called that)—is entirely lacking in *The Unnamable.* The novel's narrator is thoroughly preoccupied with his own self, his own thoughts, his own isolated reality. In the physical world of *Godot*, by contrast, language plays a quite different role, as Didi and Gogo play language games to pass the time and to assuage their loneliness and their *thrown-ness.* The titles of the two works, and the personas of their titular characters, further illustrate the stark difference between the physical topography of *Godot* and the psychical terrain of *The Unnamable.* Godot is never seen or heard—he remains unknown and intangible—and yet he has a name. Conversely, the Unnamable thinks and feels, he sees and says, but he cannot be named.

Waiting for Godot portrays the world of *The Unnamable* in nascent form. While Vladimir and Estragon cannot seem to live without near-constant dialogue, *The Unnamable* takes this need for words to the extreme with the portrayal of a world in which life and language are totally synonymous. The Unnamable believes that it is necessary for him to use language, in one way or another, as long as he goes on living: "What is more important is that I should know what is going on now, *in order to announce it, as my function requires*" (339, emphasis mine). He expresses a kind of Saussurean logocentrism here that places primacy on the ability of language to "announce" things, i.e. to express through the voice. But the peculiar malady of the Unnamable is such that he has no actual voice. His world of language is self-contained and solipsistic, and there is no verbal expression in the novel apart from the incessant interior monologue. Despite this, the Unnamable is obsessed with the voice: "I have to speak, whatever that means. Having nothing to say, no words but the words of others, I have to speak" (308). The Unnamable has no real conception of what the action of speaking really means. He has words, but he does not have spoken language. Yet he remains positively obsessed with it: "It must not be forgotten, sometimes I forget, that all is a question of voices. I say what I am told to say... The trouble is I say it wrong, having no ear, no head, no memory" (339). He does not actually "say" words, he merely thinks them. He has "no ear" for language because he has never heard it spoken. The voices do not exist outside of his own mind.

Beneath the logorrhea is the notion that language is intrinsic, and that verbal expression lies at the very foundation of humanity. If we are to take the Unnamable's descriptions of his "carnal envelope" (i.e., his body) as fact, then our narrator is a limbless being who lives in a jar, with his head protruding through an opening in the top, from which vantage point he catches flies for sustenance: "I snap them up, clack!" (324, 325, 326). Steven Connor has asserted, in a book chapter on the

subject of flies in Beckett's work, that "Flies have traditionally been thought of as the opposite of thought, as unmeaning. The meaning of flies is their meaninglessness, their meanness, their insignificance, their negligible non-mattering" (48). Surprisingly, Connor makes no mention of the flies which the Unnamable professes to live on. In his desire for self-oblivion, what could be more apposite than a diet of the most trivial of creatures, representative of "meaninglessness" and "negligible non-mattering?" This goes to show that what we are given by the Unnamable is hardly a depiction of a human being. Indeed, he names himself "Worm" (331). His process of physical disintegration has been gradual, and he alludes to a future state in which he will no longer possess corporeality: "the soul [is] notoriously immune from deterioration and dismemberment" (324). He is gradually being stripped of his physical vestments, and this is a process which we are witness to. The physical descriptions of the first half of the novel give way to a preoccupation with words and with silence. Language is all he has left, because it is at his core. It is the Unnamable's quiddity, his essence.

In a sense, this is a very Jonsonian conception of the human condition. For Jonson, the most important difference between humans and animals lies in our ability to use language in imaginative and inventive ways. Writing several centuries before Beckett, Jonson is an ideal exemplar of the "grand narrative" schema of existence. According to his world view, "Truth is man's proper good, and the only immortal thing was given to our mortality to use. . . [A] lying mouth is a stinking pit, and murders with the contagion it venteth" (68, emphasis mine).

A pervasive theme of *Volpone* is the perversion of language and truth. This is accomplished through rhetorical skill, which is most potently wielded by Mosca, the servant and right-hand man of Volpone. Incidentally, Mosca's name translates to "fly," and it is ironic that the creature most representative of "meaninglessness" and "insignificance" should be in *Volpone* the master artificer of language, the most duplicitous manufacturer of meaning. In his flattering first speech to Voltore, Mosca says that men of the latter's

> […] large profession could speak
>
> To every cause, and things mere contraries,
>
> Till they were hoarse again, yet all be law;
>
> That, with most quick agility, could turn,
>
> And return; make knots, and undo them. (I. iii. 53-57)

This description of Voltore could more accurately serve to characterize the speaker Mosca, who is the play's chief maker and undo-er of knots. Mosca feigns the role of devoted servant, yet all the while he schemes for his own benefit. To one degree or another, nearly every character in the play has at least one ulterior motive, and each of them uses language to gain the upper hand. The play serves as an indictment against greed and parasitism, and is linked to the tradition of the fable, nominally portraying its primary characters as a fox (Volpone), a fly (Mosca), and three carrion birds: a vulture (Voltore), a raven (Corbaccio), and a crow (Corvino). Jonson's dictums on speech may once more be considered here, as the play serves to condemn the base, animalistic nature of those who choose to desecrate language through falsity.

But what is the motivation behind the trickery of Volpone and Mosca? Certainly, their schemes lead to great financial gain, but it seems too simplistic to conclude that Volpone is a mere miser. As Empson has pointed out, "he offers to lavish upon Celia his whole fortune," and it is certainly dubious that a truly inveterate miser would so incautiously, even eagerly, place his entire fortune in the hands of his servant, as Volpone does near the end of the play (652). Ostensibly, Volpone's and Mosca's duplicities serve to satirize the greed of the carrion birds awaiting the fox's demise, for they are made to look foolish throughout. It is not until the end of the play, however, that Volpone himself is made to look a fool. In the trial scene, in which Volpone is mercilessly betrayed by Mosca and subsequently condemned to live out the rest of his life in prison, the immorality of Volpone's greed is finally highlighted by Jonson. Up until that point Volpone existed on a rather lofty level in comparison to the rest of the characters. Our baser instincts would have us admire him as a sort of Robin Hood persona, despite the fact that, in his case, the re-appropriation of wealth stops in mid-process. His punishment seems disproportionate, as his verbal ingenuity and powerful wit have, like Milton's Satan, combined to beguile and delight the audience (or reader) of the play. The character Volpone thus achieves a didactic double function, as a satirizer of greed (including his own), and as an exemplum of the immorality of chicanery, and duplicity in general.

Setting aside for a moment Jonson's moral messages, Volpone and Mosca seem to be motivated, at least in part, simply by the desire to pass the time in a meaningful way. Volpone enjoys the acts of trickery more than he enjoys the accumulation of gold, as does Mosca. The climax of their schemes comes when Lady Would-Be, Voltore, Corbaccio, and Corvino all assemble at Volpone's house, each of them under the illusion that the great valetudinarian of Venice is finally dead, and that they will now be named the sole beneficiaries of his fortune. Unbeknownst to them, Mosca has just been named heir, and immediately before they arrive to

stake their claims, Volpone exhorts his servant: "Mosca, / Play the artificer now, torture them rarely" (V. ii. 110-11). Their scheming is not born out of desperation, as are the language games of Vladimir and Estragon, but out of the sheer delight they get from creating their world of lies, which in this scene comes crashing down to deflate the hopes of the heirs presumptive. As Volpone watches from the wings while Mosca "play[s] the artificer," he cannot help but express his delight: "Rare! [...] O, my fine devil! […] Rare Mosca! How his villainy becomes him! […] Excellent Varlet!" (V. iii. 15, 46, 61, 77). After they have all been sent home by Mosca, Volpone is overcome with admiration for his servant's performance:

> My witty mischief,
>
> Let me embrace thee. O that I could now
>
> Transform thee to a Venus! —Mosca, go,
>
> Straight take my habit of clarissimo,
>
> And walk the streets; be seen, torment them more.
>
> We must pursue, as well as plot. (V. iii. 102-07)

It is not the accumulation of wealth that most pleases Volpone and Mosca, it is the pleasure of the game. While Jonson would have us believe they are morally corrupt by nature, and that their manipulation of language and truth is reprehensible, the success of their trickery at the same time exemplifies the sheer potency of their artifice.

In the world of *Godot*, the artifice of Vladimir and Estragon contains no such potentiality. Each time they try to play their games they are interrupted by the reminder that they are already involved in another game, one which they mustn't get too sidetracked from. This fact remains always on the periphery of Vladimir's mind, continually disrupting his and Estragon's attempts to do anything else. For example, near the end of the first act, after the temporary diversion of Pozzo's and Lucky's strange company, Didi and Gogo have this exchange:

Vladimir	That passed the time.
Estragon	It would have passed in any case.
Vladimir	Yes, but not so rapidly.
	[*Pause.*]
Estragon	What do we do now?

Vladimir	I don't know.
Estragon	Let's go.
Vladimir	We can't:
Estragon	Why not?
Vladimir	We're waiting for Godot.
Estragon	[*Despairingly.*] Ah! (46-47)

Vladimir and Estragon continually find that their verbal jaunts cannot serve as much more than mere diversions, which are always in retrospect unsatisfactory. Jonson writes in *Discoveries* that "In all speech, words and sense are as the body and the soul. The sense is as the life and soul of language, without which all words are dead" (41). In *Godot* the "sense" of language seems to be dying. It is able to accomplish very little as its "life and soul" ebbs away. In *The Unnamable* sense becomes further removed from the picture, as the narrator longs for the ultimate silence of oblivion. The monologue is seldom nonsensical, strictly speaking, but it is capable of very little. It keeps the narrator alive, while serving no other purpose. Here language has life, but no soul.

The carnivalesque world of Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* allows for an indictment against immorality and language misuse that is analogous to that found in *Volpone*. Jonson's tone in this play is rather softer, however. Instead of the severe punitive measures that come at the end of *Volpone*, in this play the many transgressions of the characters are resolved at the end through a recognition of human weakness, which is in the Christian tradition innate, and therefore common to all: "Remember you are but Adam, flesh and blood! You have your frailty, forget your other name of Overdo, and invite us all to supper" (V. vi. 89-91). It may be tempting to conclude that Jonson tones his excoriations down because of an increase in geniality towards humanity, but Jonson's moral convictions seem hardly to be diminished. In typical humanist fashion, he metes out judgment in accordance with the scale of the crime. The characters in *Bartholomew Fair* are much less pernicious and reprehensible than those in *Volpone*, and it is only logical that they should resolve their differences at the end, amicably. *Volpone* presents and indicts the extremes of vice, and *Bartholomew Fair* contains no renunciation of the judgments made at the end of that play. The characters in *Bartholomew Fair* perform their acts of deception to bring about mischief of a different kind—the mischief of the carnival. Language "imitates the public riot," Jonson says, for "the excess of feasts and apparel are the notes of a sick state, and the wantonness of language, a sick mind" (*Discoveries*, 25). The sick minds of this play's characters are not beyond the point of rehabilitation, as are the minds of Mosca and Volpone; however, language is still desecrated in *Bartholomew Fair*.

Shifting back to Beckett, a notion of Jonson's which both *The Unnamable* and *Godot* interrogate is that a certain kind of education, that is, one centered upon the acquisition of the art of speaking and writing well, can lead to personal betterment and to the appeasement of *Geworfenheit*. But the Unnamable casts off his learning, preferring instead to wallow in dejected isolation. The Unnamable expresses at times a thoroughly dismal condemnation of knowledge and truth: "They gave me courses on love, on intelligence… They also taught me to count, and even to reason. Some of this rubbish has come in handy on occasions, I don't deny it. . . I use it still, to scratch my arse with" (292). The traditional didactic instilment of empathy, intelligence, and reason is all termed "rubbish" by the Unnamable, and deemed unfit for anything much except as an aid in ablution. He takes this pessimistic notion still further: "I never understood a word of it in any case, not a word of *the stories it spews*, like gobbets in a vomit. . . Nothing will remain of *all the lies they have glutted me with*. And I'll be myself at last, as a starveling belches his odorless wind, before the bliss of coma" (318, emphasis mine). These "stories" and these "lies" refer to the "grand narrative" (to borrow Lyotard's phrase), according to which the world is interpreted according to a particular hermeneutics of meaning which serves to underpin and legitimize a system of knowledge. Although Lyotard's discussion of grand narratives takes place within the purview of modernism as it relates to postmodernism, the concept may also serve to characterize the seismic impact of post-structuralism. As Claire Colebrook points out, post-structuralism's recognition of a purported "impossibility of organizing life into a system of closed structures was not a failure or loss but a cause for celebration and liberation" (2). Importantly, for Beckett (in *Waiting for Godot* and *The Unnamable*, at least) the disruption of the grand narrative schema is not met with celebration. Rather, it is portrayed with a tinge of wistful nostalgia in *Waiting for Godot* which then devolves into disgust in *The Unnamable*.

In *Godot*, Estragon's pessimistic attitude towards his education, and towards knowledge in general, is born out of an extraordinary degree of forgetfulness. Next to Vladimir, who is able and willing to ask philosophical questions, and to articulate his understanding of things, Estragon could easily feel insecure and reticent to express his opinion; but instead, he drily revels in his own lack of intellectual curiosity and perspicacity. Early on in the play, Vladimir tries to engage him with a question relating to the veracity of Scripture:

> **Vladimir**   And yet . . . [*Pause.*] . . . how is it—this is not boring
> you I hope—how is it that of the four Evangelists
> only one speaks of a thief being saved. The four of

them were there—or thereabouts—and only one
speaks of a thief being saved. [*Pause.*] Come on,
Gogo, return the ball, can't you, once in a way?

Estragon   (*with exaggerated enthusiasm*) I find this really most
extraordinarily interesting.

Vladimir   One out of four. Of the other three, two don't men
tion any thieves at all and the third says that both of
them abused him. (14)

Estragon will go on to display his stunning powers of ignorance and incompre-
hension, and this eschewal of the intellect is comparable to that of *The Unnam-
able's* narrator; indeed, thinking again of *Godot* as being a more inchoate version
of the world of that novel, Estragon may indeed be seen as the Unnamable's
ancestor. But *The Unnamable* presents the failure of language at its most dismal
extreme, as the narrator longs to return to the interior of Plato's cave so that he
may live as a troglodyte, as a Worm.

Ben Jonson, by contrast, wants to escape the perpetual ignorance and oblivion
of Plato's cave; or rather, he wants his plays to aid his audience in the process of
doing so. This seems to be his chief preoccupation in *Volpone* and *Bartholomew
Fair*. In *Discoveries*, Jonson devotes a significant portion to the importance of
a liberal education., and in his drama, Jonson tends to try to accomplish his
didactic goals through a portrayal of the enormous potential of language to
both upraise and to destroy. He says this of the relationship between language
and personal character: "No glass renders a man's form or likeness so true as his
speech. Nay, it is likened to a man, and as we consider feature and composition
in a man, so words in language, in the greatness, aptness, sound, structure, and
harmony of it" (45-46). Without language, we are little more than animals, for
Jonson, and a person's true character finds its expression through their employ-
ment of words.

The linkage between Beckett and Jonson lies not in a common *weltanschauung*,
or world view; of course, the vast time gap between them ensures this fact. It
would be too facile to set up a strict binary opposition between the two authors
by concluding jejunely and neatly that, because Jonson's old world is made up of
transcendent truth and inherent meaning, whereas Beckett portrays a modern
world in which there is no transcendence, no meaning, and little point in trying
to find any, there can be no common ground between the two. Rather, I claim that
there is a connection between Jonson and Beckett, and it lies in their shared ten-
dency to conceptualize linguistic expression as being fundamental and intrinsic

to the human condition. They make this fundamental point in drastically different ways. Jonson believed that language mirrors personality, and he believed that truth is the ultimate end of speech. *Volpone* and *Bartholomew Fair* illustrate the chaos which descends when this end is wantonly avoided. Beckett's *Godot* and *The Unnamable*, on the other hand, portray a world in which language has been corrupted, not by liars and deceivers, but by its own nature. Words have always been corrupt, because they have always been little more than tools with which we may achieve our various goals and construct our epistemological frameworks. In *Godot*, Vladimir and Estragon cannot seem to live without near-constant dialogue. They pass the time by playing language games, but these fail to give them any semblance of lasting satisfaction and contentment. Furthermore, the inner voicings of the Unnamable describe a world in which language is all there really is. The life of the protagonist seems to be inextricably linked to his ability to keep on talking to himself in his own mind. But his words accomplish nothing, they serve no purpose, save perhaps to keep his degenerated heart beating. His is a truly gruesome existence as a being who has no limbs, and who lives in a jar, from where he catches flies in his mouth. Taken together, *Waiting for Godot* and *The Unnamable* probe at the aporia of finding meaning in a world built upon corrupted words which are themselves largely meaningless. But the closing phrases of *The Unnamable* ("I must go on, I can't go on, I'll go on") culminate in a final rally, in which the narrator vacillates one last time before resolving to persist in the fulfilment of his function, to sustain his speech; and perhaps to set aside his longing for the ultimate closure of oblivion, choosing instead to recommence his quest for some semblance of a purpose.

Ben Jonson was a dramaturgic moralist. *Volpone* and *Bartholomew Fair* both convey a salient didactic message. The characters of these plays employ an agency in their use of language which Beckett's characters largely lack. Their world of language is filled with exuberance, and their schemes and games give them a sense of fulfillment that is only fleetingly found in *Godot*, and is not to be found at all in *The Unnamable*. Yet, ultimately, Volpone and Mosca abuse language through their deceitfulness, and they are punished for doing so. But what about Beckett? Do *Godot* and *The Unnamable* offer a comparable moral call to arms? The protagonists of *Waiting for Godot* and *The Unnamable* are trapped in a world of words, because the limits of language are indeed the limits of their world. But I conclude that the Unnamable's, and indeed Vladimir and Estragon's, intransigent resolution to "go on," in the face of angst-ridden misery and moral uncertainty, is Beckett's final moral message.

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BODIES OF DEVOTION: BUDDHIST STATUARY IN THE AMERICAN ART MUSEUM AND JAPANESE TEMPLE

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I initially became interested in studying Buddhist statuary in Fall 2015 during an internship at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore City. My primary duties involved working with the catalog, but towards the end of the internship I was given the opportunity to design and receive feedback on a sample exhibition of Buddhist statuary. This experience helped me realize the potential of this topic and I decided to pursue more intensive research about the display of Buddhist statuary while studying in Japan during 2016-17. I approached Dr. Preminda Jacob, who I knew from Asian Studies courses, and she helped me structure a research schedule and a reading list. Throughout the year, I visited various Japanese sites and periodically updated Dr. Jacob.

ABSTRACT

Statues of the Buddha are seldom created for museums. They are instead intend-ed to be displayed in temples, where they might be distanced from viewers by partitions or obscured in darkness — a stark contrast to well-illuminated muse-um spaces. Nonetheless, the temple is also an intimate space in which rituals such as wafting incense over one's head connect practitioners to their religion. This research focuses on the nuances of Japanese Buddhism and how Japanese Bud-dhism can be conveyed to Western museum visitors, who might be unfamiliar with Asian religion. First, this study investigates major themes in Japanese Bud-dhism through primary research conducted at Buddhist sites. Then, it explores how these contexts relate to the role and obligations of a museum in displaying Buddhist statuary through secondary research in museum studies and personal experience during an internship at the Walters Art Museum. This research con-cludes that museums can employ digital installations to convey the original cul-tural context of Buddhist statues while simultaneously embracing the differences between the museum and temple space.

RESEARCH PAPER

Visitors entering the Japanese section of the Museum of Fine Arts (MFA) in Boston are invited to glide up a central wooden staircase that splits and curves back into two staircases that hug the walls. At each turn, an onion dome, emerging from the handrail, evokes traditional Japanese temple architecture, building an expectation about the contents of the collection. Upon entering the exhibition space, however, a surprising contemporary artwork by sculptor Kondo Takahiro captures the viewer's attention. Titled *Reduction, Self Portrait* (2014), the work depicts the artist posed in a manner reminiscent of traditional Bud-dhist statuary — an impression enhanced by a dark slab, engraved with Chinese characters, that hangs directly above the stairs behind the sculpture. Though the style of the work is steeped in tradition, the mixed-media material, a chaotic web of dark silver wrapped around glistening white porcelain, is thoroughly modern.

The MFA presents what might seem an unsettling combination of cultures, styles, and periods in this display of Japanese art. Why did the prelude to the MFA collection of historic Japanese art begin with a slew of seemingly unharmo-nious themes: Chinese and Japanese; modern and ancient? A study of religious history and practice in Japan reveals that Buddhism is the product of interna-tional contacts between Japan and mainland Asia; Buddhism is a deeply syncretic

world religion. As a former state institution in Japan, Buddhism has been both embraced and derided in Japanese history. In contemporary Japan, most Japanese people regularly practice some Buddhist customs, but do not consider themselves Buddhist.[1] While the areas surrounding some historic temples have modernized, the surroundings of other temple complexes have been deliberately preserved. In short, Japanese Buddhism is the contradictory amalgamation of diverse cultural, artistic, religious, and political forces. It is inevitable that a museum exhibit conveying over 1,500 years of history presents contradictory themes and diverse influences.

In this paper, I argue that the syncretic nature of historic and modern Japanese practice requires the reevaluation of display methods used in American art museums, particularly because these objects come from religious backgrounds with which western museum visitors are unfamiliar. The differences between the museum and temple can create exciting new discoveries, but they can also misconstrue sensitive religious themes and distort Japanese culture. Drawing from observations, photographic documentation, and interviews collected first-hand in Japan and the United States, this paper explores the characteristics of Japanese Buddhist spaces and examines different display methods used to exhibit Buddhist statuary in the American art museum. This research explains how museums struggle to effectively convey the Japanese temple context and concludes that the incorporation of interactive digital elements can enhance exhibitions of Buddhist statuary.

METHODOLOGY

This paper extensively uses research conducted in Japan between September 2016 and May 2017. During this period, I traveled to and documented first-hand the display of statues of the Buddha in seven Buddhist temples: Sōfukuji and Kōfukuji in Nagasaki; Ōsu Kannon, Nittaiji and the Shinnyo-en temple in Nagoya; and Tainai Meguri and Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto. Prior to visiting each temple, I researched the available historical, religious, and anthropological scholarship about the space. During my visits to the temples, I took photographs when appropriate and promptly recorded my impressions and findings after each visit. Furthermore, I enrolled in an academic Japanese writing class in which I received Japanese interview training. Using this background, I worked with my professor to conduct interviews with devotees and priests at a local temple and produced a 20-page essay written in academic Japanese. My research on lesser known temples, such as the Shinnyo-en temple in Nagoya, primarily draws on these interviews.

Research for this paper additionally uses my experience as a curatorial intern in Fall 2015 at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, Maryland. I also visited the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in Washington DC and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in Summer 2016 to prepare for my travels. As part of my preparation, I conducted interviews with curators of Japanese art at the Walters and at the Freer and Sackler Galleries. I further refined this research in Summer 2018 with an Ishibashi Foundation Fellowship in Arts and Japanese Culture, which I used to study the display of Japanese art through coursework at the University of East Anglia as well as visits to the British Museum, Cambridge University, and the Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures. I also had the opportunity to discuss my research with the curator of Japanese art from the British Museum.

THE INTERNATIONAL SPACES OF BUDDHISM IN JAPAN

As a foreign religion that came to Japan from India via China and Korea, Buddhism has helped to strengthen Japanese bonds to foreign states since its official introduction in the mid-sixth century. Though Buddhism was initially an obscure cult in Japan, it rapidly grew in popularity. The Japanese government dispatched its first official Buddhist mission to Sui China by the turn of the seventh century.[2] With Buddhism came a flood of Chinese learning. The streets in the cities of Nara and Kyoto, historic capitals of Japan, were modeled on Chinese cities. The katakana syllabary, one of the Japanese writing systems, was developed by Buddhist monks and used for the transcription of Chinese texts.[3] Japanese monks frequently went on pilgrimages from which they brought back both Buddhist teachings and secular learning from abroad.[4] Though Japan also produced important indigenous contributions, the international origins and influences on Japanese Buddhism are pronounced within Japanese culture. These origins can be difficult to articulate within an art museum context, where objects are often organized along national lines that did not exist when the objects were created.

The Sōfukuji and Kōfukuji temples in Nagasaki physically reflect the international influences of Buddhism in a dramatic way; they are built with architecture imported from China.[5] Famously, the roof of the inner temple gate at Sofukiji projects out, revealing an intricate and vibrantly painted interlocking pattern of wood that was imported by the Chinese immigrants who lived in Nagasaki when the temple was built in 1629. The cursive characters hanging from the gate are surrounded by rich greens, oranges, and blues, while the calligraphy in the center is smoothly painted in gold against a black background

— characteristics directly from southern Chinese architecture during the Ming dynasty. Chinese motifs at Sōfukuji permeate the complex beyond the gate. Deep red placards fringed in gold hang in the buildings which house the Bodhisattvas. The supports throughout the temples are crafted into fantastic mythical Chinese creatures that are illuminated in gold, green, white, and blue. Floral protrusions throughout the structure, embellished in gold, gleam from under the shadow of the roofs. The centrally placed statute of the Buddha in the temple's Great Buddha Hall is flanked by statues of deities, sculpted in a realistic Chinese style popular during the Ming dynasty.

FIGURE 1 The Buddha at Sōfukuji in Nagasaki is surrounded by Chinese writing and embroidery.

Kōfukuji displays an even wider array of cultural intersections. The external windows of the complex are created in the "broken ice" style widely popular in Ming dynasty China, but undocumented in Japan outside of Kōfukuji. The lanterns inside of the temple are not paper; instead they are made of a thick, weathered glass, a Western innovation that was imported via China. The central Buddha figure is carved in a typically serene Chinese style, but this is offset by two Japanese baroque guardian deities that accompany the Buddha figure. The guardian figures have a taut, bulging musculature and violently flowing garments that frantically twist around their contorted forms.

Sofukiji and Kōfukuji evoke a variety of comparisons. Where the Chinese-influenced display of Buddhist statues in each temple is strictly ordered, Japanese designs are happily asymmetrical. Where Chinese architecture is colorfully and heavily ornamented, Japanese architecture is restrained. These temple structures are not typical of the Japanese architecture that one might find in Kyoto or Nara. However, they are now spaces that are maintained by the Japanese government;

the Great Buddha hall and the inner gate at Sōfukuji are Japanese national trea-
sures.[6] At Kōfukuji, the coexistence of Japanese and Chinese sculpture and the use
of Western materials demonstrates that Chinese buildings and statuary were freely
mixed with works produced locally in Japan. Chinese styles in temple architecture
and statuary were assimilated into Japan, comingled with works of Japanese ori-
gin, and eventually secured a place in Japanese cultural history.

Chinese styles also profoundly influenced the process and canon (conven-
tions) used to create statues domestically within Japan. The Chinese influ-
ence on Japanese statues can clearly be seen in the principle statue of the Ōsu
Kannon temple in Nagoya: the Bodhisattva *Kannon* (Chinese: *Guanyin*, San-
skrit: *Avalokiteshvara*). Textually, Kannon is referred to in masculine terms, a
norm reflected by early Chinese statues, which have facial hair and masculine
bodies.[7] However, the androgynous facial conventions used to depict Chinese
heroes and the gradual blending of local female Chinese deities with Kannon
transformed the Bodhisattva into an androgynous, and eventually feminine
deity. This feminine character is clearly visible in the soft, rounded face and
graceful sloping body of the wooden Kannon statue at Ōsu, which starkly
contrasts with the dramatic and intense guardian figures.

Buddhism has also fostered inter-cultural Asian networks in recent history. Nit-
taiji in Nagoya, for example, was the product of exchange between Thailand and
Japan.[8] The temple, which can be literally translated to "Japan-Thai Temple," was

FIGURE 2 The main gate of Sōfukuji was imported by Chinese immigrants living in Nagasaki.
The interlocking wooden supports strongly evince southern Ming dynasty architecture.

originally created to house a relic of the Buddha gifted by the King of Thailand. Buddhist practitioners in Japan responded in 1904 by creating a non-denominational temple to house the gift.

Nittaiji is, in many senses, a "typically" Japanese temple. The entrance gate is tall and wooden. The sloping roof is painted a slick black and the alternated support beams are dark brown on the sides and painted white on the ends. Underneath the roof stands four columns painted in the same matte brown as the support beams. In between the arches, a white section of wall with brown and white embellishments dip down from beneath the roof. Before visitors ascend the steps to enter the temple, they must walk past a large black pot of sand, filled with burning incense sticks. Visitors to the temple waft the smoke over parts of their bodies that have an ailment or that they want to improve—students, for example, might waft the smoke over their heads in hopes of performing better on a test.

Upon entering the main temple complex, I was immediately struck by the plaque above the main altar, which was jet black with golden Thai script. Below the plaque was a tiered golden altar that tapered as it reached towards the ceiling. In the center sat a golden statue of the Buddha. The figure's golden crowned head, stiff shoulders, slim tapered waist, and narrow, elongated fingers identified the statue as Southeast Asian rather than Japanese. The statue was flanked by golden bells, which, though sometimes found in Japanese style temples, are strongly associated with Thai Buddhist temples. To the far left of the complex, I observed Japanese calligraphy written in *kanji*, Chinese characters, and a Japanese flower arrangement.

While Sofukiji and Kōfukuji are examples of Chinese style buildings that house Japanese statues, Nittaiji is a Japanese style building that houses Thai artifacts. Thus, Japanese Buddhism integrates and is integrated; the Japanese temple is a space in which objects produced in temporally and geographically disparate locations come into dialogue. Considering this diversity, the inclusion of a Chinese plaque at the MFA makes more sense. As I did this research, I began to better understand the intentions of the MFA curators.

JAPANESE IDENTITY AND TEMPLE SPACES

Tōdaiji, or The Great Eastern Temple, is one of the earliest examples of large-scale Buddhist architecture in Japan.[9] Its original construction in 734 CE represented a massive undertaking: the statue of the Buddha (called the *Daibutsu*) that sits in the center of the main Buddhist hall remains the largest bronze statue of the Buddha in the world to date.[10] As with most Japanese temples, Tōdaiji has

been badly affected by fire and decay throughout its history and has twice been rebuilt in its entirety. Even in its smaller, rebuilt state, which was constructed in 1709, it was the largest wooden building in the world until 1998.[11] One can only imagine the impression this temple had on someone from the ancient world. Today, many people are desensitized to tall buildings by towering urban skylines. However, in Japan during late antiquity, Tōdaiji was likely the largest building any visitor had seen in their lifetime. Surrounding Tōdaiji stood Nara, a city built on an orderly Chinese urban design created with state-of-the-art urban planning. Tōdaiji thus stood as an awe-inspiring manifestation of Buddhist teachings and the prestige of the Japanese government.

Today, Tōdaiji remains an important space. It is a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) world heritage site and functions as the home of the Kegon sect of Buddhism. It is also a frequent site for elementary and middle school field trips (much like the field trips that American students take to Washington DC). As a national symbol, it is no longer a space exclusively dedicated to the practice of Buddhism—both domestic and international visitors come to the temple to learn about it as part of Japanese history in a broader sense. In the back of the temple, behind the *Daibutsu,* stands a model of the historic temple and its precincts along with explanatory texts written in Japanese, almost as if the museum has entered the temple space. Didactic elements are not constrained to Tōdaiji. The other four UNESCO heritage sites in Nara—Kōfukuji (not related to Kōfukuji in Nagasaki), Yakushiji, Gangoji, and Toshodaiji— all incorporate some type of similar display or provide informational texts to visitors.

These secular connections create challenges for museum curators. Buddhist spaces have a history as religious spaces and retain a strong religious significance today. Yet, temples and the spaces around them have adopted secular meanings as well, a phenomenon that is not entirely new because Buddhism has been historically accompanied by secular teachings.[12] An examination of Buddhist temples reveals a wealth of hybridity.

MODERNITY AND THE BUDDHIST TEMPLE

The intersection between modernity and Buddhism is clearly visible in the Ōsu Kannon and Shinnyo-en temples in Nagoya.[13] The former stands in the heart of downtown Nagoya, a symbol of traditional Japanese culture in close juxtaposition with an increasingly secular and Westernized modernity. The latter has practitioners who are bringing Buddhist teachings into modern life through novel approaches to ritual practices, temple architecture, and statuary display. An

examination of these spaces helps contextualize Buddhism as a living religion that happily comingles with modernity.

Ōsu Kannon is remarkable because of its surroundings. One minute away from the temple sits an illuminated shopping arcade crowded with curry restaurants, bubble tea stores, and clothing vendors ranging from chic to kitschy. The temple is known internationally as a site of pilgrimage—but, the pilgrims are not Buddhist monks; they are fans of Japanese animation and video games. Each July, the temple and its surrounding stores are the backdrop for the World Cosplay Summit. Cosplayers donning neon wigs, short skirts, and outlandish Styrofoam weapons line up against the dark wooden balustrade of the temple: This seemingly incongruous pairing is why natives to Nagoya quip that Ōsu is Nagoya's Akihabara, a famous section of Tokyo known for its connections to anime and video game fans. Thus, modernity happily embraces that Japanese temple.

The temple is also happy to embrace modernity. The surprisingly inconspicuous Shinnyo-en Temple in Nagoya reveals a modern approach to temple architecture. First time visitors might mistake the tall, white building rising up next to a parking garage as just another office building in downtown Sakae. Indeed the entrance to the temple is a glass door framed in stainless steel, and the temple floors have a tidy green carpet, as opposed to traditional hardwood. The second story has a small store to sell devotional items and scriptures, which sit on sleek metal frames on a white-tiled floor. The ambiance is not particularly stylish or urban, but it is decidedly modern.

When I visited the temple, I first walked to a reception desk, where I received a pin identifying me as a non-practitioner. I subsequently proceeded to an auxiliary prayer hall where a television was broadcasting a ceremony celebrating the birth of the sect's founding priest taking place in Osaka.[14] The decor included two statue-busts of Buddhist priests rendered in a naturalistic, Western style. After the ceremony concluded, I entered the main prayer room. This room was also equipped with televisions that allowed devotees to pray with others around the world. The rest of the room had the same neat carpeting and bare walls found in the rest of the building. At the front of the room there was an enclave with several statues. The largest statue depicted the Buddha reclining: a design modeled on a famous statue created by the priest who founded Shinnyo-en, Itō Shinjo. Next to the sculpture were busts of Itō and his wife as adults. The outermost statues were Itō and his wife as children. While having icons of priests is not an uncommon Buddhist practice, prior to visiting this temple I had yet to come across a statue formation that used humans so centrally in a temple space. One month later, I traveled to Tokyo and interviewed a Shinnyo-en priestess, who

explained that followers of Shinnyo-en bow towards statues of Itō and visit his grave site because they would do this for their own family members. Those within Shinnyo-en are deliberately embracing Japanese cultural practices—such as the custom of visiting the graves of one's ancestors—to create intimacy between Itō and Shinnyo-en practitioners. However, they are also embracing Western style buildings and devices such as televisions to bring Buddhist practice into modernity.

The conscious and deliberate use of cultural practices to communicate a religious message, such as treating a priest as one's own ancestor, underscores how some Buddhist practitioners understand Buddhism as a fundamental truth that is communicated through culture. While there is an interplay between culture and religion, culture is separate from the philosophical foundation of Buddhism. Contemporary religious practice retains certain traditional practices and items, such as the central sculpture of the temple. Practitioners also employ modern architecture and technology, such as televisions, as tools for communicating religion. Thus, Buddhist statues created in traditional styles remain an integral part of extremely modern religious practice. Curators must decide the degree to which they want to capture the dynamic nature of religious practice in their exhibitions.

FIGURE 3 Before entering a temple, Buddhists stop at incense pots such as this one at Tōdaiji in Nara. Practitioners believe that the smoke they waft over their bodies purifies them and has healing properties.

SENSORY SPACES

Buddhist temples ubiquitously incorporate multi-sensory elements. Prior to entering a Buddhist temple, there is often a large pot of incense sticks. Devotees waft the smoke over parts of their bodies they want to heal. Many Japanese sects of Buddhism employ aural practices, such as the repetition of mantras.[15] In most temples that are still used for prayer, people are expected to remove their shoes and sit in *seiza*, a traditional Japanese form of sitting in which one folds one's legs underneath one's body. By sitting in a respectful posture and moving about the temple space shoeless, one marks the transition between the temple's exterior and interior, the mundane and divine. Thus, the performance of motion, hearing, speaking, and smell converge to form a multifaceted, immersive environment.

The sensory nature of the Japanese temple is evident at Kiyomizu-dera, a temple in Kyoto named after the "clear stream" that flows by it. Visitors take water from the stream and put it in their mouths, combining movement, touch, sound (the flow of the river), and taste. These facets of religious practice do not intuitively complement the traditional, sterile museum space, in which visitors are expected to stand and gaze at objects from a distance, and most certainly refrain from touching any of the items on display.

In Tainai Meguri, a small temple space in front of the much larger and better-known Kiyomizu-dera, visitors remove their shoes and venture into a pitch-dark room, only guided by a hard, knobbed balustrade that is frigid to the touch.[16] Visitors walk in this environment of visual deprivation until they arrive upon a rock engraved with an image of the Japanese Bodhisattva Daizuigu, illuminated in a faint light. Those who desire to make a wish place their hand upon the cold rock and spin it. Then, a short walk into the darkness will lead one to a set of stairs that brings them out of the building. The blinding light of day is meant to symbolize the devotee's rebirth into the world after having completed the ritual. Through sensory deprivation, Tainai Meguri demonstrates an acute interest in the sensory and experiential qualities of the temple.

The Japanese temple is not constrained to its visual components. Sound, touch, smell, and movement comprise important parts of the temple space that distinguish it from the mundane and the secular. This poses a challenge for curators of Buddhist objects. Due to safety concerns about allergies and asthma, recreating the smell or tastes experienced at a temple is problematic. Though aural components of practice can be recreated through recordings, museum visitors often lack the cultural context and linguistic skills to understand them. These barriers, though daunting, are not insurmountable. The following two sections

reflect upon the role of the museum and advance recommendations about how the difficulties raised by the display of Buddhist statues can be addressed.

FIGURE 4 At Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto, visitors line up to drink water from the clear stream flowing by the temple.

THE ART MUSEUM IN AMERICA

Before moving into this paper's final suggestions for overcoming the limits of a museum space, it is important to briefly consider the nature of the Western art museum. Museums hold material evidence of human and natural history on our planet, which are gathered by collectors (some of whom are curators). The collections of objects then move into a holding museum, where they are organized and interpreted by museum staff.[17] While the act of collecting items has a long-established history worldwide, museums as an institution today were born in the mid-fifteenth century in Renaissance cities and Italian courts. Museums can be both open to the public and private. The former variety is generally accompanied by the altruistic goal of advancing the public good somehow, though definitions of what constitutes the public good have changed over time. The art museum in America is heavily indebted to the Victorian English tradition, in which museums were treated as a method of mass education and social control to "civilize" the booming population of the urban poor brought in by the Industrial Revolution.[18] This tradition emphasized the top-down imposition of values through didactic exhibition, which is meant to educate.[19] The twentieth century has, however, provoked the reevaluation of the museum, both in its methods

of object acquisition, which have historically relied upon plundering poorer countries, and in their purpose.[20] Today, museum curators and visitors alike are increasingly challenging the concept of the museum as a static arena in which experts pass down knowledge.

In an era of virtual realities and quickly transmitted digital images, museums are reacting to an increasing demand for authenticity by creating more experiential exhibitions.[21] Museums now frequently recreate the contexts in which objects were originally found— they bring the "there" here.[22] By recreating part of a space, museums are destabilizing traditional Western notions of place. Now place, like objects, can be fluid, unstable, and mobile. This approach to place is not all together alien from that in Japanese temples such as Kofukiji and Sofukiji in Nagasaki, which are recreations of Chinese Buddhist spaces. In reaching for modernity, curators are mirroring historic Japan.

There are, however, significant distinctions between the temple and museum. Though museums and temples are both self-contained spaces offering a break from the cities that surround them, they have very different approaches to the objects in their collections.[23] For one, museums are expected to organize objects to forge cultural, historical, and anthropological understandings. They are secular spaces, whereas the collections of Japanese temples are assembled according to religious guidelines. The museum is also meant to create dialogue in a more explicit manner than the Japanese temple. Museums today function as the "convener and shaper of multiple identities"; they are spaces in which collective memory is formed, revised, and challenged.[24] Their objects are "trigger-points" that facilitate reflection on the viewer's personal memory and experience.[25] These objects are incredibly dynamic: they are constantly reassembled as new loans come, acquisitions are made, and different parts of the permanent collection are rotated. The museum is thus a space that explicitly, and sometimes provocatively, engenders challenging conversations between viewers and the objects that are meant to prompt reevaluation and novel associations.

There are also fundamental differences between the visitors to the temple and the museum. Admittedly, both groups of visitors are concerned with authenticity and want a regenerative experience. However, as the museum becomes more experiential, the distinction between the religious worshipers and "art worshipers" becomes blurred.[26] Nonetheless, for many American visitors, the attraction of Buddhist statuary lies in the foreign origin of temple objects, whereas Japanese practitioners see temples as part of an intimate religious practice, or at the very least a collective history. Americans, however, are less likely to see themselves or their history as part of a Buddhist statue from Japan. Engendering a meaningful

connection between visitors and the statues is thus one of the principle challenges curators face when designing exhibitions of Japanese Buddhist statuary.

Another critical difference between temples and museums is that museums often must fit more information into less space. Temples like Kiyomizudera and Tō-daiji are grand, towering structures that house relatively few statues. The museum, however, is a compressed amalgamation of numerous objects that have converged for a specific exhibition or set of exhibits. This is not altogether different from the temple space, which may include statues and devotional items that are temporally and geographically disparate. Yet, syncretism is certainly intensified in the museum.

The art museum may have significant differences from a Japanese temple, but these differences are not necessarily detrimental. If museums embrace their position as dynamic facilitators of dialogue, they can provoke novel associations between Buddhism and the visitor's personal religious practice or combine multiple objects to provide a broader understanding of Buddhism than a single temple visit could cultivate. Moreover, these spaces are accessible to Americans in a way that Japanese temples are not. The remaining challenge, then, is to ensure that the original context of statues and the vibrancy that surrounds a living religion is not lost in the differences between the temple and museum.

BRIDGING THE AMERICAN MUSEUM AND JAPANESE TEMPLE

The purpose of the museum, then, is not necessarily to recreate the temple. Through the novel arrangement of objects, museums have a unique opportunity to encourage creative thought and discovery. Yet, isolating temple objects from their original context can take away their vibrancy and misrepresent the culture that produced them. The challenge for curators is to balance these two and create an exhibition that provides room for novel associations without depriving objects of their rich cultural background. This task, though difficult, can be aided through the use of digital applications, which can allow visitors to see a statue's original context while also allowing the use of innovative display strategies for individual statues. Before discussing the nature of such applications, the differences between the Japanese temple and American art museum should be examined.

There are many respects in which elements of temple practice are lost in the museum. Sensory aspects, such as physical touch, are particularly difficult to capture. While touching statues themselves is not usually a part of Japanese Buddhism,

there are certain physical sensations associated with worship. Traditional Japanese temples are built with straw *tatami* mats. Visitors remove their shoes before stepping on the delicate *tatami*, so that, while moving to the center of a temple hall they feel the bending of cold mats underneath their feet while they walk to their place in the hall. Sometimes, temple-goers must keep their shoes removed when moving between halls, in which case they also might feel the hard wood beneath their feet. For me, the sensation was particularly conspicuous during the winter, when thick, freezing wooden boards quickly pierce through one's socks. *Seiza*, a traditional Japanese sitting position, and the removal of footwear are common in various Japanese settings. Indeed, it is customary to avoid bringing shoes into one's house. However, unless someone practices traditional Japanese arts or drama, it is rare that they would regularly sit in *seiza* or use rooms with *tatami*. Thus, these practices, which are rarely used in modern Japan outside of the temple, distinguish the temple as a traditional and holy space separate from the mundane and the modern. Smell, taste, and hearing are all similarly complex points of Japanese Buddhist practice that are quickly lost in a museum.

Traditional methods of exhibition have difficulty answering the challenges posed by the multi-sensory temple space. Wall texts might do an excellent job communicating the complex international nature of Buddhism or how an individual raised in a Japanese cultural environment might respond to a Buddhist object differently than someone without such a background. Yet, there are also distinct limitations to this approach. The temple space is meant to evoke an emotional response. Buddhist religious practice is not just limited to the reading of scriptures; it is intimately connected to movement, speech, sound, touch, and smell. Yet, without any explanation, museum visitors will likely be unable to understand the objects they are seeing in an informed manner.

The creation of digital applications holds great potential for addressing some of these gaps. Museums that partially recreate parts of temple architecture within their room designs can create digital applications that display adjacent comparisons of a statue in a temple and a statue in a museum. Such a program could incorporate dialogue boxes that open when certain parts of the app are selected and compare museum architecture with the temple details it seeks to evoke, thus prompting visitors to further consider the differences between the temple and museum spaces. Other programs could be developed that allow visitors to guide themselves through a virtual tour of a temple accompanied by brief explanatory texts. Such applications would prompt visitors to consider the differences between the temple and museum and the original context of Buddhist statues without trying to physically recreate the temple in the museum, thus encouraging reflection on the nature of the museum space and the original context of Buddhist statues.

Applications can be pre-installed onto tablets that are incorporated into an exhibition. Moreover, if the tablets are by an area where visitors can sit, they might provide a welcome break from standing. Museums with more limited budgets can create applications accessible from their web pages and visitors can access them on their own devices. Applications that are accessible outside of the museum can also act as a way for visitors to interact with the museum once they have left. The use of personal devices has the added benefit of not using space that could otherwise be used to display objects.

Another approach is the incorporation of auditory elements within the temple space. Sound is relatively easy to collect and transport: Once the sounds of a temple are recorded, they can be sent digitally. Moreover, unlike physical objects, the ownership of a sound is not mutually exclusive — a chant can be recorded but still be enjoyed by practitioners. But if a statue is brought to a museum, it can no longer be displayed in the temple. There are, admittedly, significant limitations such as the language barrier between Japanese and English. However, just as visitors might not understand the visual cues in a Buddhist statue but still benefit from seeing it, audio can be a point of departure for deeper inquiry and a meaningful aesthetic experience.

Museums do not recreate the Japanese temple, in part because it is impossible, but also because the museum is meant to inspire novel associations. However, important meaning can be lost if Japanese statues are displayed without adequate context. Digital applications can help curators strike this difficult balance. Applications can be designed for mobile devices or as installations, both of which can prompt important reflection on the nature of Japanese statuary and museum exhibition, thus leading to a richer, multi-faceted museum experience.

CONCLUSION

Curators working with Japanese Buddhist statues have a difficult task. They need to convey the intricacies of a Buddhist space despite the significant limitations of the museum. Japanese Buddhism is dynamic and hybrid — it is international and local, modern and ancient, thoroughly religious yet tied to the secular, and thoroughly multi-sensory. No approach to exhibition can perfectly capture these intricacies, but if museums use objects to create dialogue with visitors and embrace new technologies, they can promote further engagement and learning with Japanese Buddhist statuary. By promoting contemplation about how the temple compares to the museum, visitors can form novel associations engendered by the museum space while also gaining valuable insight into the nature of museums and contemporary Japanese Buddhist practice.

ENDNOTES

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21. Veronica Della Dora, "Taking Sacred Space out of Place: From Mount Sinai to Mount Getty Through Travelling Icons," *Mobilities* vol. 4 no. 2, 2009: 228.

22. Bella Dicks, *Culture on Display: The Production of Contemporary Visitability* (London: University Press, 2003), 2.

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INFRARED EMISSION SPECTROSCOPY VIA LASER INDUCED BREAKDOWN TECHNIQUES

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Angela Ossana is a Chemical Engineering major at UMBC. In Spring 2017 and 2018, she received an Undergraduate Research Award for infrared emission spectroscopy research with the Department of Chemistry and Biochemistry. She is expected to graduate Spring 2019, with plans to enter into industry research and development. Her areas of interest include nuclear power, pharmaceuticals, and food processing. She acknowledges Dr. Bradley Arnold for his encouragement and guidance on this work, and the Division of Undergraduate Academic Affairs for providing funding.

I became interested in spectroscopy research after my first semester at UMBC in Fall 2016. The possibility of on-campus research was introduced to me by Dr. Bradley Arnold after frequenting his office for extra help during that semester. I began my research during winter break, and was encouraged by Dr. Arnold to apply to be a Undergraduate Research Award Scholar. The first year of my research focused on the detection of infrared emission from laser excited samples. Currently, there are limited analytical techniques for this type of spectroscopy, and I am now working to fabricate an infrared emission spectrometer.

ABSTRACT

Spectroscopy is a field of study that observes the interactions of light, or electromagnetic radiation, with a system and identifies properties of materials based on these interactions. Laser-induced breakdown spectroscopy (LIBS) has been used extensively in the UV-visible region of the electromagnetic spectrum, but not in the infrared region. Infrared emission spectroscopy (IRES) combines the advantages of material dependent structural information of traditional infrared spectroscopy with the "zero-background" nature of UV-fluorescence detection. This study shows that these infrared emissions are observable when used in tandem with LIBS excitation techniques. With improvements in spectroscopic equipment for identification, IRES techniques could be used to identify contaminations in food or drugs or explosive material residues in public spaces with improvements in spectroscopic equipment for identification.

INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND

The interaction of light with a system can be measured using spectroscopic techniques. The region, or wavelength, of the electromagnetic spectrum studied provides different types of information about the materials of interest. Sample excitation includes the interactions of matter with a light source, which could include laser excitation. Laser impulses promote electronic transitions of molecules from a heavily populated ground state ($v = 0$) to an excited vibrational state ($v \geq 1$) (Mink). Relaxation from these promoted states releases energy through multiple pathways, including fluorescence and the dissipation of heat energy. The latter
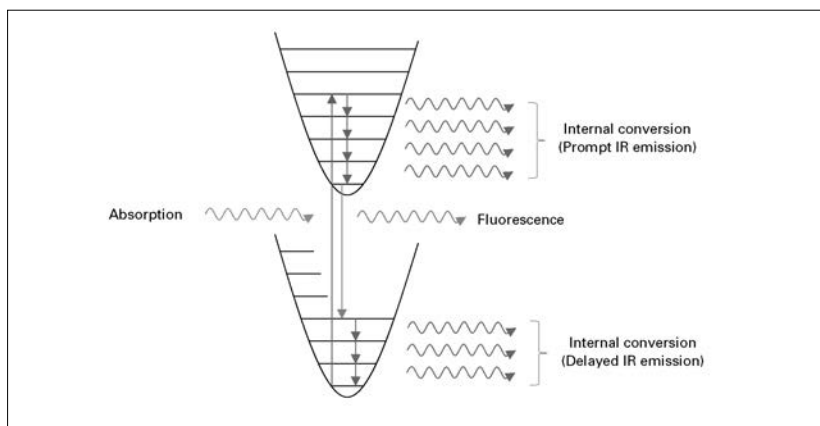
FIGURE 1 Jablonski diagram of UV-visible absorption, fluorescence emission and infrared emissions (Arnold).

can be observed as emissions in the mid-infrared to far-infrared range of the electromagnetic spectrum (Arnold). In this study, the infrared (IR) region of interest is defined as wavelengths between 2 - 25 μm. **Figure 1** shows the promotion of an electron from the ground state to an excited state and the subsequent relaxation through fluorescence or internal conversion.
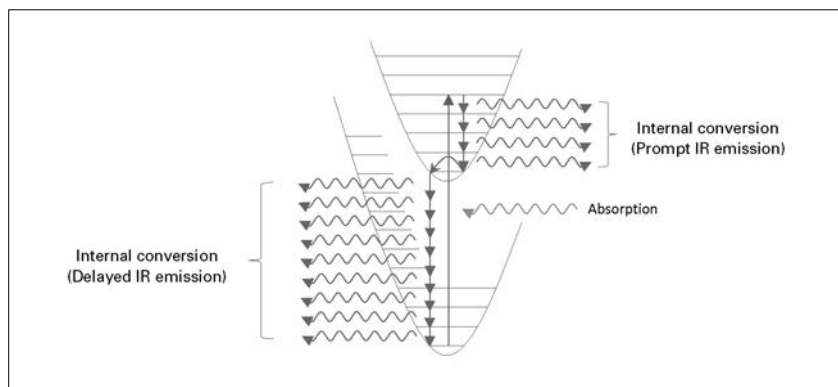
FIGURE 2 Internal conversion from the excited state to ground state (Arnold).

These emissions have physical significance to the molecule, and can be used for sample comparison and identification (Nicolodelli et al.; Portnov et al.). UV-visible spectroscopy identifies electronic transitions, while infrared observes vibrational transitions. Infrared spectroscopy produces distinct structural data of excited states; much more structural information than do fluorescence spectra (Arnold). These excitation states change with time and these changes can be monitored on the nanosecond timescale. **Figure 2** shows the internal conversion of excited state populations back to the lowest vibrational ground state.
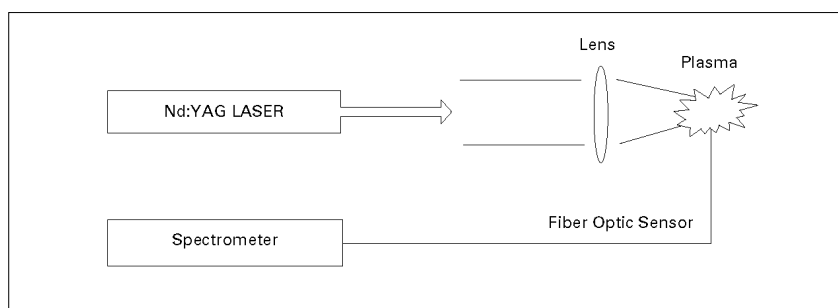
FIGURE 3 Typical laser induced breakdown spectroscopy (LIBS) system. A pulse of the Neodymium: Yttrium-Aluminum Garnetlaser is focused by a lens to a plasma. A spectrometer records the plasma interactions with the system via a fiber optic sensor.

The delayed IR emissions are similar to observations in IR absorption spectra. The immediate emissions are those of the excited vibrational states (Arnold). A method of excitation is laser induced breakdown spectroscopy, or LIBS. In LIBS a focused laser beam produces a hot plasma with a lifetime of ~100 ns (Yang et al.). This plasma can interact with solid, liquid, or gaseous samples to excite atoms and molecules (**Figure 3**).

The continuum of the laser pulse shows kinetic interactions between initial excited states which decay over time. The decaying initial excited states are quenched through multiple pathways that can include the excitation of other ground states not promoted by the laser pulse (Arnold et al.). This explains the time delay of infrared emissions relative to the UV-visible emissions and specifies an interest region several nanoseconds post-pulse. It can be expected that infrared excitations decay within the same time scales as with UV-visible emissions. This intensity data has been collected as a function of time to make this comparison with UV-visible excitations.
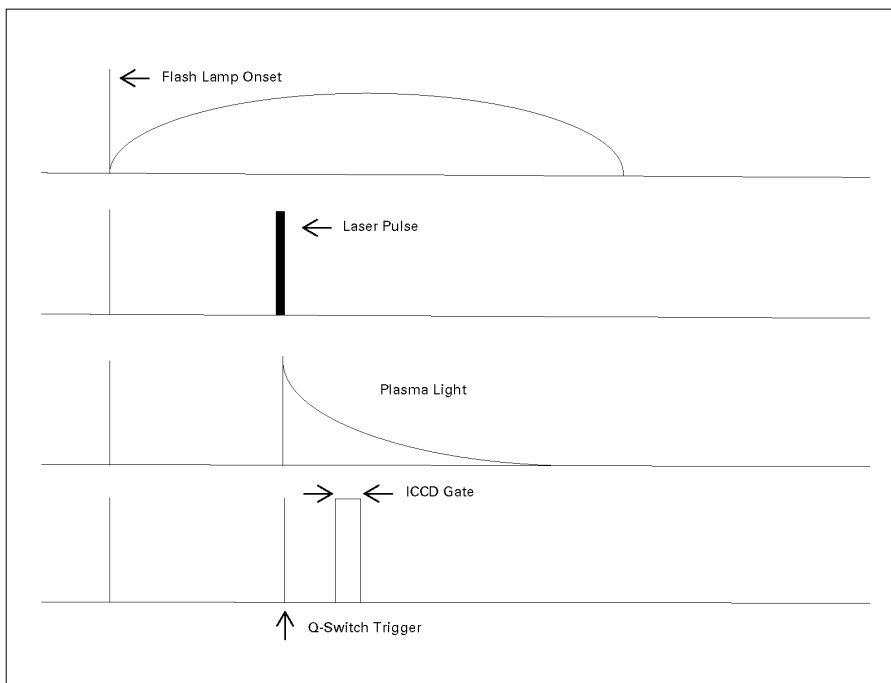

FIGURE 4 Timing of the laser pulse, plasma light, and Q-switch trigger relative to the flash lamp onset. The ICCD gate width is approximately 10 nanoseconds.

METHODS

For spectra recorded in the UV-visible region, an *Acton SpectraPro 2300i* spectrograph equipped with a *Princeton Instruments* gated intensified charge-coupled device (ICCD) was controlled using *Winspec/32 v2.6* software. The relative time relationships between flash-lamp, onset of the laser pulse, plasma emission, ICCD gate pulse, and the recording of data can be seen in **Figure 4**.

A gate width of ten to twenty nanoseconds was sufficient for data collection in the UV visible region. The timescale of 100 to 600 nanoseconds included the onset of the laser pulse to the end of the continuum following the pulse. Spectra were taken across specified wavelength regions of interest, in which excited states for materials such as oxygen and nitrogen are known to be present. Increased resolution spectra were taken for UV-visible regions of interest; the 200 to 960 nm region contains data for ionized nitrogen and oxygen, oxygen and nitrogen cations, and cyanide and cyanide cation groups (Hanson).
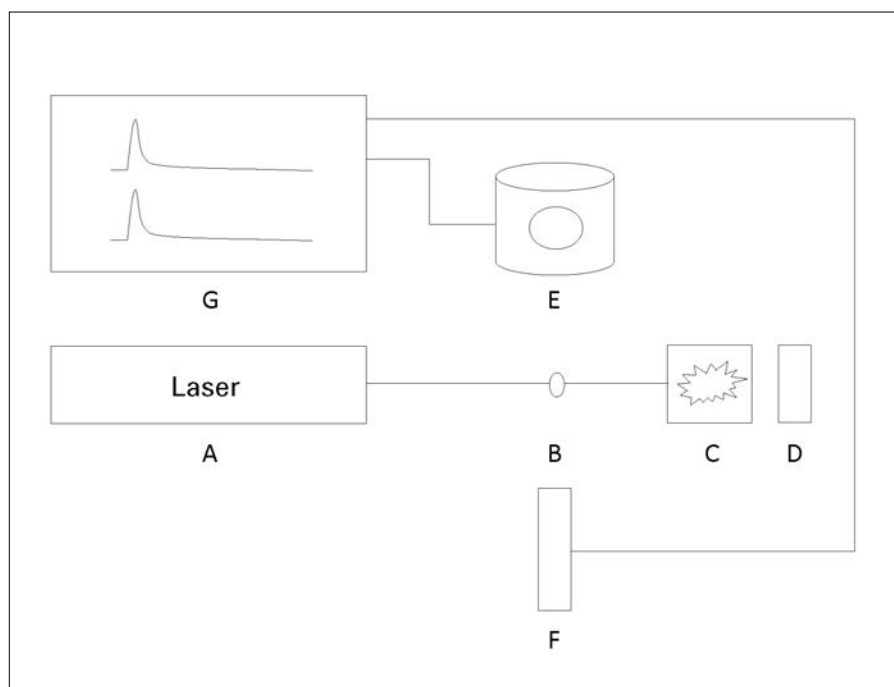
FIGURE 5 A 1064 nm laser pulse from a Nd:YAG laser is focused using a fast lens (B) into a plasma (C), controlled with a beam stop (D). Plasma emissions are recorded in with a fiber optic cable (F) and MCT infrared detector (E) for time-resolved comparison (G).

The favored observation times from the onset of the laser pulse were determined using spectrographs operating in the UV-visible region for later comparison with the infrared spectra of the same delay times. The delay from trigger to laser pulse was evaluated using an oscilloscope with a light diode sensor and spectra in air were taken at regular time intervals from the onset of the laser pulse. The delay was 336 nanoseconds for the Neodymium: Yttrium-Aluminum Garnet (Nd:YAG) laser using a q-switch connector with a 10 Hz repetition rate. We focused the laser incident beam into a plasma using a plano-convex lens with a fast focus. The focus of the lens was positioned such that the plasma occurred in the center of the sample cube, aligned with the infrared or UV-visible sensor. The laser power was 5 mJ/pulse, with samples of air and nitroaromatic compounds under pure nitrogen flow.

A semiconductor-based, liquid-N_2-cooled photoconductive detector was used for infrared observations. A Mercury Cadmium Telluride (MCT) detector is preferred for sensitivity in the fingerprint region (Arnold). Gate timing like the
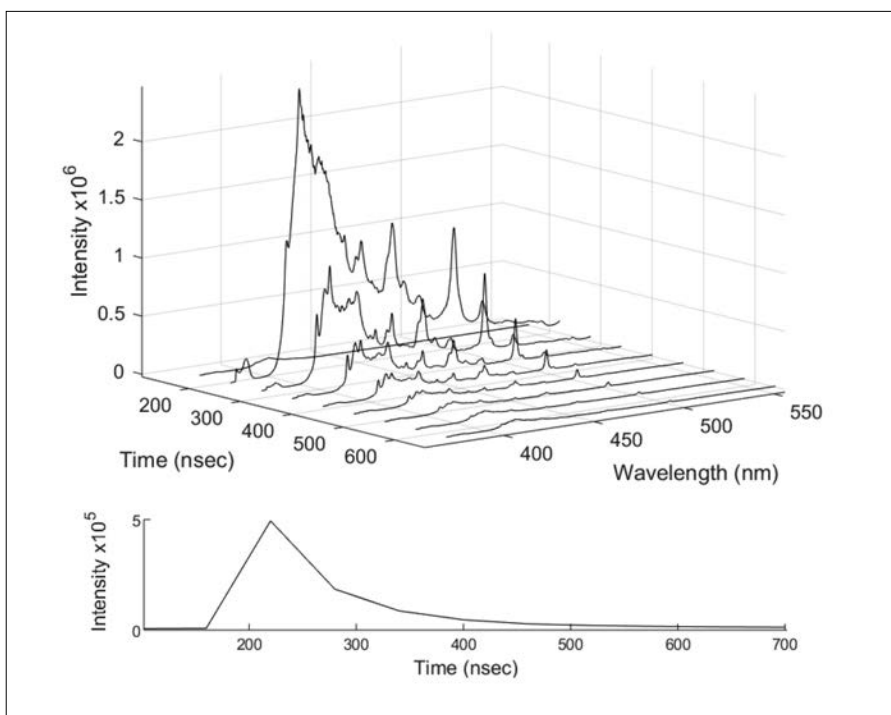
FIGURE 6 (Top) UV-visible spectrum of air recorded 100 to 640 ns from the onset of a 1064 nm pulse from a Nd:YAG laser. (Bottom) Lifetime decay trace of the peak at 411 nm.

methods used in the UV-visible region were unable to be implemented using this detector. Infrared emission observations were compared to UV-visible spectra using the time-resolved analog voltage output of a *Judson Technologies* MCT detector. The MCT detector was placed adjacent to the laser plasma and the voltage output was recorded by a *Tektronix* oscilloscope (**Figure 5**).
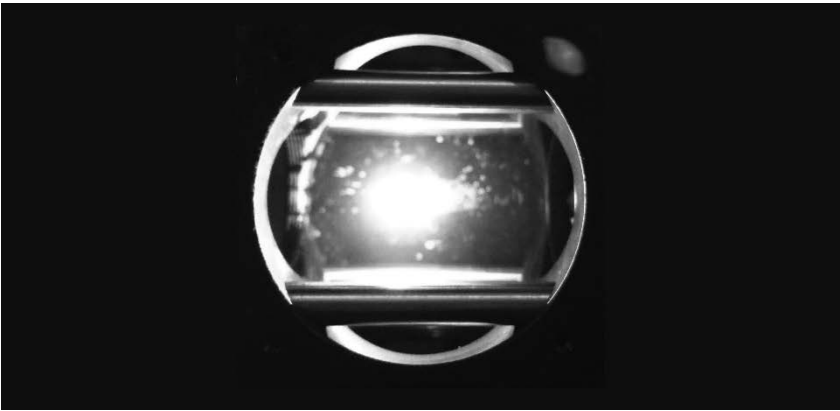
FIGURE 7 Visible image of plasma emission in air, recorded using a simple cell phone camera.
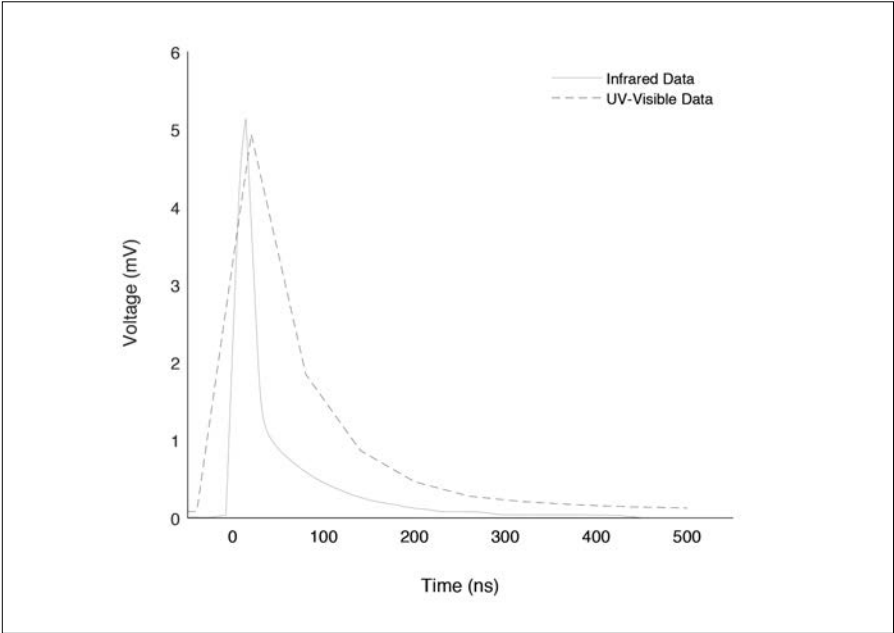
FIGURE 8 Overlaid decay traces of air in the infrared and UV-visible regions.

RESULTS

Relative lifetimes of excited states were determined using UV-visible spectra taken at regular time intervals from the onset of the laser pulse (**Figure 6**).

At approximately 220 nanoseconds, the observed populations (intensities) of excited states are at maximum values. Air molecules interact with the laser photons to promote the air molecules to excited states. These promoted states then decrease in population over time as they collide with other molecules in the system and lose energy. Growth and decay regions of interest for excited states in air were determined to be 100 to 600 nanoseconds from the onset of the laser pulse. **Figure 7** is a visible image of the infrared plasma in air, recorded using a simple cell phone camera.

The process used to take UV-visible spectra was repeated using the infrared detector. We used an oscilloscope to provide corresponding voltage output of the infrared detector as a function of time. Time-resolved voltage output of the MCT detector of plasma emission in air can be seen in **Figure 8**.

Timescales of **Figure 8** were shifted to show overlap and are representative of delay times from the onset of the laser. As expected, emissions in both the infrared and UV-visible regions have similar lifetimes. The decay trace of the infrared emission in **Figure 8** is an average of over 50 pulses. Confirmation of infrared emissions are from this graphical comparison of time-scale information with the UV-visible and infrared regions (**Figure 8**).

CONCLUSIONS

The lifetimes of infrared emissions were confirmed to have lifetimes greater than a millisecond, similar in length to observed UV-visible region emissions. This observation confirms that infrared emissions are observable and can be quantified with the fabrication of an infrared spectrometer. These infrared emissions can be observed without a background measurement, in ambient lighting. The development of a complete spectrographic system for use in this wavelength region could be used for identification of materials such as explosives in public spaces. Spectra of this nature can be recorded and analyzed with zero-contact measurements, in a near instantaneous manner.

FUTURE RESEARCH

This project will continue with the development of a spectrograph for the infrared region. The shell of a UV-visible spectrograph will be used with infrared gratings and existing computer software. This spectrograph would provide discrete wavelength information for infrared emissions.

When complete, this spectrometer will provide spectra on materials of interest excited by LIBS techniques or other spectroscopic methods. The efforts of Portnov et al. have explored the possibility of identifying specific compounds via LIBS techniques, but improved excitation wavelength data is necessary for distinguishing compounds. The structural information in the spectra is particular to a molecule, and can be used for zero-background, near-instantaneous identification of a material.

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CONSERVATIVE INTEREST IN FACISM

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ADAM NG

I came across my area of research after previously studying interwar British ideology and being presented the topic of Conservatives introduced to British fascism by my faculty mentor, Dr. Daniel Ritschel. At the same time, the recent rise in right-wing nationalism and renewed discussions of fascism in contemporary debate furthered my interest in the subject, inspiring me to find ways to apply my research to the modern era. The project provided me with more insight into the ideology of fascism and the aspects that its followers find particularly appealing, and revealed to me that followers of fascism can be attracted to this jingoistic mode of thinking for vastly different reasons. Having utilized both private papers as well as comments in newspapers and personal publications, my research gave me the opportunity to not only learn more about inter-war British fascism, but also to gain a better understanding of what it is like to engage in academic historical research.

ABSTRACT

As Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists (BUF) gained influence over the course of the early to mid-1930s, a number of Conservatives began to express their interest in the movement with the hope that it could solve the economic decline which had plagued the country since the end of the First World War. However, by mid-1934, many of the Conservative politicians and intellectuals once fascinated with fascism began to distance themselves from the ideology and the British fascist movement. Some historians view this interest in fascism as a result of the uncertainty to the period and questions over the state of the Conservative Party and its ability to lead Britain through such turbulent times. This paper works to add to this discussion by shedding light on the ideological appeal of fascism to Conservatives. In researching their personal papers and comments made in newspaper articles, I attempt to reveal the complex nature of their understanding of fascism and that in many cases, Conservatives interested in fascism became drawn to the movement due to ideological overlap between their ideas and the BUF.

INTRODUCTION

With growing concerns over the interwar depression and the decline of Great Britain as the dominant world power in the 1930s, many in the Conservative Party began to question the state of their nation and the Conservative political party itself. They anxiously observed the interwar depression and rise of the socialist Labour party, and questioned their own party's ability to deal with these threats. In particular, a growing number of Conservative dissidents expressed frustration with what they viewed as their leaders' failure to offer a strong and effective alternative to socialism, especially after the establishment of the coalition National Government in 1931. This rift among Conservatives made conditions ripe for Sir Oswald Mosley, the head of the most prominent fascist political organization in Britain, the British Union of Fascists (BUF), to attempt to appeal to these discontented Conservatives and entice them into his own party. His efforts succeeded to a degree, as he received support from a number of Conservative politicians, including Sir Thomas Cecil Russell Moore and Commander Carlyon Bellairs, to influential conservative figures such as the press baron Viscount Rothermere, who famously utilized his newspaper, the *Daily Mail*, to promote Mosley's BUF in 1934. However, by the mid-1930s, a majority of these Conservatives who had at one point expressed interest with fascism began to distance themselves from the movement, leaving Mosley without significant conservative support after 1934. This essay will examine the reasons why dissident Conserva-

tives were initially attracted to British fascism, and what elements about Mosley's ideology and movement ultimately made them shy away.

In today's political climate, fascism has again reared its ugly head, and understanding its appeal in the past helps to develop a fuller understanding of this authoritarian ideology. Although historians have long discussed the Conservatives who toyed with fascism, explanations of this fascination remain undeveloped and oversimplified. In one of the more recent studies, Martin Pugh highlights the large number of Conservatives drawn to fascism, but traces its support among Conservatives mainly to the failures of their party and the coalition government it had joined. He suggests that the reason for their "recklessness" stemmed from their "low morale around 1934, their anger over the government's weakness in the face of nationalist pressure in India, and its susceptibility to pacifist opinion."[1] While this explanation provides some insight as to why Conservatives searched for a right-wing alternative in national politics, it does not explore why these individuals considered fascism to be the ideology that held the answers to their problems. The implication is that support for fascism was mostly a symptom of internal discontent, not a serious conversion to another ideology.

Similarly, while Philip Williamson's critique contradicts Pugh on the proportion of Conservatives drawn to the BUF, he nevertheless agrees that those who did explore fascism sought mainly to utilize the movement "as ammunition in an argument within the Conservative Party – for changes in party policy and for removal of non-Conservative leaders of the National Government."[2] Prompted by fears of a possible "communist revolution," some Conservatives came to believe that "fascism could be the lesser evil – but nonetheless still an evil."[3] Ultimately, Williamson asserts, these Conservatives did not want fascism, but instead a stronger Conservative bulwark against radical left-wing forces. In their search for a more determined government, he concludes, "they meant a Conservative government under different Conservative leadership, not any alliance with the BUF."[4]

In short, though they disagree on the significance of the numbers, both Pugh and Williamson regard Conservative enthusiasm for fascism as mostly a product of internal party quarrels rather than any serious embrace of the extremist ideology. Yet the evidence shows clearly that a significant number of Conservatives of the era openly praised central elements of fascism, from the way it organized industry to its nationalistic and imperialistic strategy.[5] Their endorsement of the ideology does not suggest that they viewed it as a "lesser evil," but rather, an alternative program that would advance aims that appeared impossible under the established Conservative Party. Both Pugh and Williamson ignore the ideological factors that undoubtedly drew Conservatives to fascist ideology.

This paper will delve more deeply into the nature of and reasons for Conservative interests with British fascism in the 1930s, focusing specifically on the elements of the ideology that prompted Conservative support, as well as the aspects of fascism they disagreed with. In so doing, this study will explore the ways in which various aspects of Mosley's fascism appealed to Conservatives, including his plans for an "insulated" economic Empire, "Corporatist" industrial organization, his authoritarian constitutional reforms, and his appeal to extreme nationalism and virulent anti-Semitism. Analysis of the elements that drew Conservatives to British fascism will also allow us to identify aspects of Mosley's proposals that went against established Conservative doctrine of the period. Understanding how dissident conservatives maneuvered around these differences will make it easier to more precisely measure Conservative interest in fascism.

This essay will examine three Conservative figures from different backgrounds in order to represent three different Conservative paths to fascism and the BUF. These three individuals each expressed admiration for different aspects of the ideology and Mosley's movement as well as different strands of conservatism: Carlyon Bellairs represents a Conservative dissatisfied with the party's leadership and Parliamentary democracy; Viscount Rothermere was a Conservative who feared the rise of socialism and had a history of trying to start or latching onto different right wing movements; and Hugh Sellon was a conservative intellectual who believed in the importance of private property and more traditional strands of conservatism. Analyzing different types of Conservatives with various ideological leanings will help us understand the complex nature of their interest in fascism above and beyond their discontent with the established Conservative Party.

COMMANDER CARLYON BELLAIRS: A TRUE CONSERVATIVE FASCIST

A highly unconventional, even eccentric, figure, Commander Carlyon Bellairs provides one of the few examples of a Conservative drawn directly into membership of the BUF, and he continued to support Mosley well into the Second World War. Born in 1871, Bellairs served nearly two decades as an officer in the Navy until his retirement in 1902, and then quickly found his way into politics as a Liberal Member of Parliament (MP) for Kings' Lynn in 1906.[6] He soon moved over to the Conservative Party in 1909 because he "wanted a stronger navy, protection for British Empire and industries, to strike a blow at our enemy Germany, and to broaden the basis of taxation."[7] Bellairs remained a Conservative until his decision to retire from Parliament in October 1931.[8] Shortly thereafter, he became one of only two former Conservative MPs to formally join the BUF.[9]

While he made the decision to retire in 1931, Bellairs's dissatisfaction with the Conservative Party and the state of British politics may be detected long before then. His response to the General Strike of 1926, a nation-wide British workers' strike in sympathy with coalminers threatened with deep wage cuts, revealed his discontent. Like many Conservatives, Bellairs viewed the strike as a "wicked" Socialist plot to overthrow the constitution. However, unlike other Conservatives, he placed the blame for the General Strike squarely on the party in power at the time: the Conservatives. Bellairs found that the "stupidity of the party in power facilitated [the General Strike] in the first instance," reflecting a disdain towards the Conservative leaders' negligence that allowed a crisis of such magnitude to unfold.[10]

Bellairs's dissatisfaction with the Conservative Party continued to grow after the general strike, mainly due to deteriorating economic conditions. When faced with the fear of the Labour Party taking control in 1929, Bellairs advised the Conservative Party to adopt tariffs that would "stop the flood of foreign imports competing with our own industries." However, "[i]nstead of accepting this proposal, the party, led by Mr. Duff Cooper, plumped for an immediate election" and relegated the unpopular issue of tariffs to "an outside committee instead of being controlled by those who are supposed to govern." This led to Bellairs's disappointment not only with the Conservative Party, but with democracy generally, as "the whole procedure confirmed 21 years of parliamentary experience that courage in leadership under Democracy had vanished, that the existing system was played out."[11] In this way, Bellairs's disillusionment with the Conservative Party transformed into animosity against democracy and party politics generally. He found that voters lacked faith in the candidates they voted for, typically casting their support for one party only because of the "demerits" of the other.[12] Among politicians, the demands of party loyalty inhibited efficiency in politics and contributed to a "weakness of the party leaders [that] is characteristic of all parliamentary parties under Democracy."[13] While Bellairs applied this complaint mainly to the Conservative Party, he felt this problem of inefficiency was a symptom of the entire British government and democracy.

It is not possible to accurately recover the precise evolution of Bellairs's conversion to and interpretation of fascism, due primarily to the fact that he did not date the majority of his private notes in which he discussed his views of the ideology in the 1930s and '40s. Nevertheless, his notes contain a series of themes that occur throughout, thus providing insight into what elements inspired his conversion to British fascism. Bellairs's critique indicates not only a sense of discontent with Conservative politics, but also a desire to overhaul the entire British political system on the radical lines promoted by Mosley. For example, Bellairs fully endorsed Mosley's dramatic proposal to replace the traditional principle of geographical representation for Parliament with a corporatist system of "functional" represen-

tation based on industrial sectors or "corporations." According to Mosley, politicians would come to represent the interests of their own industries and bring their expertise into Parliament "mak[ing] practical criticism and suggestions arising from their administrative experience and not from the smoking-room of the House of Commons."[14] Mosley also suggested that this new corporatist system would allow the government to assume more effective control over the economy in an effort to boost production and wages.[15] All of this greatly appealed to Bellairs, who detested the amateurism of the House of Commons, which he believed contained "670 M.P.s trying to do the work that could better be done by three hundred." Bellairs believed that the BUF would "be the only party that will cut [the House of Commons] down to the good working figure it is built to accommodate [*sic*]," thereby helping to solve the problem of Parliamentary inefficiency. In his view, fascism would replace the cowardly and unwieldy governments generated by party politics with a strong "managerial system," based on what he called "planning for the future and management by experts."[16]

Yet many of Bellairs's other ideological beliefs that attracted him to the BUF drew on identifiable streams of contemporary Conservative doctrine. This was most notable in the case of his views on foreign policy. As with many dissident Conservatives of the day, Bellairs endorsed Mosley's isolationist foreign policy. In 1935, for example, Bellairs harshly criticized League of Nations sanctions against Italy, which the National Government had joined after the Italian occupation of Abyssinia. Like other Conservative dissidents, he objected to Britain's obligations under the collective security mechanism of the League, promoting instead the notion that Italy could serve as a key British ally in Europe and a useful counter to Hitler's ambitions in Central Europe. Bellairs therefore supported Mosley's critique of sanctions on Italy, and praised him for fighting "valiantly against driving Italy into the arms of Hitler." He himself endorsed the Italian occupation of Abyssinia, remembering the support Britain had received from Italy in the South African and First World War. In one of his private notes, Bellairs even presented this as one of the primary reasons for his entry into the BUF, explaining that "Mosley's British Union was the only body opposing sanctions [against Italy] and so I gave it my support and even emerged from my retirement to point out our folly." For Bellairs, the BUF stance reflected their "patriotic aspirations."[17]

Another aspect of Conservative patriotism that led Bellairs to embrace the BUF came from the movement's outspoken support for Britain's navy and military forces. This may be traced to his background as a naval commander, but it also fell in line with the position of right-wing and "die-hard" conservatives of the era, especially those who expressed their dissatisfaction with the Conservative Party's postwar efforts to reduce spending on national defense. Bellairs vehemently called for the strengthening of the British military, particularly her Navy and Air

Force, and he found Mosley "sound on the defence question." Again, this served as yet another example, in Bellairs's view, of Mosley putting the needs of the nation ahead of his own. Bellairs believed that the BUF "urged safety in a supreme navy and Air Force," something he thought the Conservative Party leaders had failed to do. As Bellairs put it, "Mosley advocated war preparation" while the "British Government advocated appeasement." He considered this aspect of utmost importance, even believing in the need to strengthen the military at the expense of democracy. Bellairs acknowledged Mosley's desire for dictatorship, finding it "curious that I found myself supporting Mosley in 1934-5 for any form of dictators [*sic*] is abhorrent to me." However, Bellairs also believed that "[w]hat was of immediate concern was that Mosley was adamant on the need for Britain building up the strongest navy and Air Force in the world." This explains why Bellairs had no qualms about the radical changes proposed by Mosley. Mosley's promotion of stronger national defense forces represented for Bellairs the most relevant political issue of the era, superseding even that of democracy.[18]

The intersection of foreign policy, national security, and patriotism played a critical role in Bellairs's views of race and the Jewish community, which practically mirrored Mosley's anti-Semitic stance. Attempting to justify his anti-Semitism, Mosley claimed that Jewish people "have organised as an international movement, setting their racial interests above the national interests" and that "80 per cent of the convictions for physical attacks on Fascists were pronounced on Jews."[19] Bellairs echoed such perverse beliefs in his personal notes. He referred repeatedly to the anti-Semitic notion of the "International Jew," and insisted that the saving of "men's souls" required "love of their country," implying that a Jewish sense of identity inhibited them from being true patriots. Furthermore, Bellairs blamed the Jewish community for bringing hatred onto themselves with "that genius for martyrdom, that has characterized the wandering race, who first commenced hostilities." These anti-Semitic sentiments helped Bellairs find ways to emphasize the patriotism of the BUF, while justifying its accusations against Jewish people. Bellairs believed that the BUF had faced "severe provocation from the communistic Jew boys," but continued to show "good humour" and "respect for law and order." By upholding Mosley's brand of anti-Semitism, Bellairs revealed his own racist beliefs and his commitment to the fascist cause.[20]

Bellairs did disagree with Mosley on one aspect of his platform, namely Mosley's sympathetic view of Germany and his call for a return of former German colonies. Bellairs claimed that Mosley's attitude to Germany led him to "detach" himself from the fascist movement late in the 1930s. However, his own comments show that the issue of Germany served only as minor distraction in his support for the BUF. In one of his notes, he referred to Mosley's support for Germany as "curiously inconsistent with his defence ideas," but nev-

ertheless continued to praise Mosley's advocacy for a stronger British military. Furthermore, Bellairs never confronted Mosley on the issue. When he learned that "other chief men" in the BUF also opposed the return of German colonies, Bellairs decided to forego pressing the issue himself. Bellairs explained that he opted not to "defend Mosley" when, at the onset of the war in 1939, the fascist leader held mass meetings to "advocate peace." However, Bellairs excused this as only an outdated way of thinking, stating that "we cannot do these things" in "these days of total war," suggesting that Mosley's opposition to the war had not greatly affected his perception of the BUF leader. On the contrary, Bellairs's strong criticism of the government's internment of Mosley throughout the war further suggests that Bellairs's did not entirely "detach" himself from the BUF. In reality, Mosley's German sympathies appear to have been merely a minor irritant for Bellairs, but one which allowed him later to claim that he had distanced himself from Mosley and British fascism.[21]

For Bellairs, Mosley and the BUF offered a political platform that attempted to right the problems of the British political system while simultaneously upholding patriotic vigor. He supported Mosley's radical constitutional reforms, praised Mosley's desire to put British needs first, and maintained similar racist views. In essence, Bellairs supported Mosley because the BUF platform converted him to Mosley's brand of fascism. As such, Bellairs's fascist beliefs provide the perfect example of an overlap between conservative and fascist ideals. While Bellairs later claimed to have disagreed with Mosley on the issue of the German colonies and Mosley's sympathetic view towards Germany before the war, this did not sway his opinion of the fascist movement. He believed that the BUF represented an imperialistic and patriotic movement that put the needs of Britain ahead of all else. To Bellairs, the fascist promise of national spirit and renewal was well worth the cost of sacrificing outdated democratic principles.

VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE: A PROMOTER OF THE "PARTY OF THE RIGHT"

The name Harold Sidney Harmsworth, Viscount Rothermere, is practically synonymous with the idea of conservative support for British fascism in the 1930s. Lord Rothermere, along with his brother Alfred Harmsworth, Viscount Northcliffe, founded the *Daily Mail* in 1896, establishing it as an influential source of conservative journalism. Throughout the interwar period, Rothermere used the newspaper to push forward his own right-wing ideas, famously supporting authoritarian regimes in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. While Rothermere had expressed support for conservative ideology, he was not averse to distancing himself from the Conservative Party in an effort to uphold other

forms of right wing politics. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, he expressed support for Lord Beaverbrook's "Empire Free Trade" party in his newspapers, which even resulted in a split in the Conservative vote in East Islington. Eventually, Rothermere took an interest in fascism at home, specifically the brand of fascism presented by Mosley and the BUF. Using the *Daily Mail*, Rothermere launched a campaign designed to rally conservative interest in the movement and provide a platform for Mosley's fascist ideas.[22]

While Rothermere may have decided to make 1934 the year he would endorse the BUF and Mosley, his admiration for Mosley's politics actually dates back to December 1930. An article in the *Daily Mail* at the time spoke highly of Mosley's proposals regarding tariffs, finding that his "tariff proposals may have well come from the Conservative organisation," marking one of the first instances of Conservative praise regarding Mosley's platform.[23] The notion that Mosley stood on the side of the Conservatives when it came to economic issues continued to persist in the *Daily Mail* in the early 1930s. In April 1931, the paper noted that "[b]etween the fiscal policy of the Conservative and the Mosleyite it is difficult to distinguish." Yet it is evident that Rothermere's attitude to Mosley was generous to the point of misrepresentation. For instance, one of the principal aspects of Mosley's program that apparently attracted Rothermere were his ideas on trade protection.[24] However, Mosley's protectionist proposals were not in fact Conservative, nor did he intend for them to appear that way. In fact, Mosley made a deliberate effort to distance his policies from that of the Conservatives. In an article published by the *Daily Mail* in 1931, he pointedly noted "[t]he difference between our policy and the Conservative policy should here be emphasized," explaining that "Conservatives will impose a tax and leave the rest to Providence," whereas his own policy would "only give industry protection on condition that the consumer, the worker, and the affected industry were also protected."[25] Mosley advocated for protection as part of strict state control over industry, something which differed dramatically from the Conservative alternative of simple tariffs. Nevertheless, despite this clear divergence of opinion, the *Daily Mail* continued to portray Mosley in a positive light.

As the 1930s progressed, Rothermere's presentation of the BUF leader included persistent denial of Mosley's desire to establish any form of dictatorship. Yet in the initial stages of Mosley's revolt against conventional politics, the *Daily Mail* had clearly acknowledged Mosley's demand for a dictatorship in Britain. On December 5, 1930, shortly after Mosley first presented his dissident ideas, the *Daily Mail* reported that Mosley supported "the setting-up of a National Cabinet or Dictatorship of five members."[26] A few months later, the *Daily Mail* connected Mosley's proposals with that of fascist dictatorship. The newspaper

found that Mosley had decided to make "a bold bid for the dictatorship of England" and that, along with "a group of young reformers," he planned to bring about "the establishment of a restricted form of dictatorship, with enormous powers largely superseding Parliament," meant to apply a strategy of "Social Fascism based upon tariffs, with sweeping financial changes."[27] Evidently, during the initial stages of Mosley's fascist movement, Rothermere understood that Mosley wished to establish an authoritarian regime.

Yet, as time went on and Rothermere began to support Mosley and his movement, he began to deny the authoritarian implications of Mosley's fascism. The first occasion that Rothermere's *Daily Mail* attempted to rebrand Mosley's authoritarian proposals came in 1932. The effort was led by one of its leading journalists, G. Ward Price. While Price admitted that Mosley wanted a dictatorship of sorts, he presented it in a sympathetic light, explaining that "[i]ndividual dictatorship is not part of [Mosley's] political plan, but dictatorial powers of action will be invested in the governmental machine."[28] In January 1934, Price presented Mosley's proposals as "dictatorship in the modern sense of the word, which meant government armed by the people at an election with power to overcome problems which the nation was determined to overcome" as opposed to "dictatorship in the old sense of the word, which meant government against the will of the people."[29] His language was pulled directly from Mosley's own rhetoric.[30] Evidently, this attempt at marketing did not prove particularly effective, and by May of that year the *Daily Mail* worked to disassociate Mosley completely from the notion of dictatorship in an article entitled "This Dictatorship Nonsense." The article explained that Mosley proposed "sound, common-sense Conservative doctrine," and the idea that he sought "to establish in Britain a dictatorship on some foreign model" was "simply nonsensical."[31] This change in language reveals the extent to which Rothermere wished to market the BUF as a serious political alternative, and even a proponent of Conservatism, even if it meant denying his earlier acknowledgment of Mosley's authoritarianism.

Understanding Rothermere's desire to promote the BUF helps explain his shift from expressions of sympathy to a full-scale campaign on behalf of the movement in January 1934. Martin Pugh argues that "Rothermere had intended to use Mosley as another weapon against Baldwin" in his struggle to influence the Conservative Party, but Rothermere's comments suggest that he wished for this movement to be a viable right-wing alternative to the Conservative Party.[32] He portrayed the BUF as distinct from the Conservative Party, but also right-wing and conservative in attitude, and an attractive new home for dissident Conservatives. But he also insisted that the BUF was "the only political force in Britain" working to generate a "spirit of national discipline and organization." Rother-

mere went on to explain that "Britain's survival as a Great Power will depend on the existence of a well-organised Party of the Right" and encouraged youthful British men and women to "seek out the nearest branch of the Blackshirts and make themselves acquainted with their aims and plans."[33] These comments indicate that Rothermere sought to build up the BUF as an independent movement that could rival the Conservatives, not merely use them as a weapon within the Conservative Party. At the same time, Rothermere's deliberate avoidance of the term "fascist" in his references to the BUF as a "Party of the Right" and the "Blackshirts," indicates an attempt to make the movement more marketable in Britain. While he understood the movement's fascist aims, he tried to avoid using the term, and confessed later that he "never thought that a movement calling itself 'Fascist' could ever be successful" in Britain.[34] Rothermere wished to present the BUF in a way that would attract Conservative supporters and make it an independent force in British politics.

Nevertheless, behind Rothermere's promotion of the BUF lay his admiration for Mussolini and Hitler, and his belief that Mosley would revitalize the British spirit in the same way that the two dictators had inspired their own nations. He acknowledged Mosley's close ideological relationship to other fascist regimes, and presented fascist ideology in a positive and patriotic light, explaining that the BUF "wants to bring our national administration" up to date, utilizing a similar process of "modernisation" seen in Italy and Germany. He asserted that fascism "stands in every country for the Party of Youth" and that it "represents the effort of the younger generation to put new life into out-of-date political systems." Rothermere's admiration for fascism in other countries also inspired his support for Mosley as he claimed that the BUF would utilize "the same directness of purpose and energy of method as Mussolini and Hitler have displayed," which would in turn inspire the younger generation of Britons, who "would like to see their own country develop that spirit of patriotic pride and service which has transformed Germany and Italy."[35] The *Daily Mail* promoted Mosley's leadership, and Ward Price likened Mosley to the great fascist and authoritarian speakers of the era: "I have heard Mussolini, Hitler, and Goebbels, the three great Fascist orators of the Continent address vast meetings," but "[n]one of them, to my mind, equaled Sir Oswald Mosley," who "thrilled his huge audience in a way that men are rarely moved in their whole lives by public speech."[36] Although Rothermere wished to keep some distance between Mosley and fascism, he still presented him as belonging to the new breed of fascist dictators arising on the continent.

However, despite the support Rothermere provided for Mosley and the willingness with which he served his cause throughout the first half of 1934, Rothermere ultimately decided to end his campaign supporting Mosley in the *Daily*

Mail in July of that year. Historians' explanations of his decision remain largely unpersuasive. Pugh asserts that "Mosley's insistence on pursuing an electoral strategy" and fears of a split in the conservative vote between the Conservative Party and the BUF at the next election served as the primary motivation for Rothermere's choice to end his pro-BUF campaign in the *Daily Mail*.[37] However, if this were the case, it does not explain why Rothermere decided to support Mosley in the first place, as the *Daily Mail* had reported the possibility of the BUF entering electoral politics as a potential threat to the Conservatives as early as January 1934 – the same month that Rothermere began his campaign for the "Blackshirts." The *Daily Mail* reported then that "Blackshirt candidates will probably contest at the next election the ten Liverpool divisions at present held by Conservatives," indicating clearly that Mosley wished to challenge the Conservative Party, which would have obviously run the risk of a split in the conservative vote.[38] Clearly, Mosley's longstanding desire to pursue an "electoral strategy" could not have served as the primary reason behind Rothermere's decision to end his support for the BUF in July 1934.

The answer appears to lie in the subtext of the exchange of letters between Mosley and Rothermere published in the *Daily Mail* in July 1934. It is worth noting that Mosley commenced the exchange of letters, which indicates that Mosley in fact initiated the break with Rothermere. In his letter, Mosley addressed four aspects of his platform which Rothermere had asked him to "abandon or modify," which included the "Corporate State," "Parliament and Dictatorship," his attitude to the Jewish community, and the use of the term "Fascism."[39] Throughout 1934, Mosley had made an effort to meet the demands of Rothermere and make the BUF more indigenous and respectable. For instance, he toned down his anti-Semitic rhetoric, and worked to redefine his authoritarian ideas as a "True Democracy" that would ban party politics, but deliver the jobs and economic prosperity that the people desired.[40] However, this did not mean Rothermere opposed all forms of anti-Semitism altogether. For instance, while he expressed some opposition to these horrid beliefs in Britain, he had no problem with their existence in Germany, noting that "Jews do not dominate certain professions in Britain as they did in Germany." Rather, Rothermere wanted to ensure Mosley's anti-Semitism did not appear "antagonistic" in the public eye.[41] Furthermore, when discussing his desire to implement the Corporate State in Britain, he placed less emphasis on the differences between the BUF and conservative ideals than he had done in previous years, and spoke instead about it in ways designed to appeal to Conservatives. He accordingly downplayed his prior emphasis on centralized economic planning, and reassured his audiences that "Fascism preserves that private enterprise which is the mainspring of industry."[42]

However, by July 1934, the situation had changed. Violence at a mass BUF rally held at Olympia hall in London in June led many Conservatives to question the nature of Mosley's movement, and the state-sanctioned brutality of the Night of the Long Knives in Germany three weeks later provided them with further evidence of the ruthlessness of fascist regimes. These developments brought to a head Rothermere's efforts to tame the more radical elements of Mosley's platform. Taking into account the context in which the letters between the two men were written, and the fact that Mosley was responding to Rothermere's desire to see the BUF "abandon or modify" some of its principles, suggests that Rothermere had given Mosley a final ultimatum to ease back on the more radical elements of his platform. Mosley's response was to double down on his fascism, as he insisted that "[w]hen we disagree, we Fascists, at least, will diverge with feelings of respect and friendship for a great British patriot," respecting Rothermere's motivation but choosing to ignore his demands.[43] In turn, Rothermere did not discontinue his support because of Mosley's new "electoral strategy," but instead because Mosley refused to operate under the guidelines Rothermere considered necessary to make the BUF marketable.

Rothermere admired Mosley's youthful vigor and ambition. He saw in Mosley a British version of Mussolini and Hitler, a right-wing individual with powers to inspire in the British public a sense of national pride, and the ability to create a "Party of the Right" which would serve as an alternative to the Conservative Party. In this way, Rothermere sympathized with Mosley's vision, but he also sought to conceal the true nature of his protégé's ideology, choosing to interpret it in ways that matched his own needs. However, as the issue of fascist extremism and violence grew into a more controversial problem, Rothermere's denial no longer served as a sufficient tactic to help bring Mosley to power. He needed Mosley to better match his image in the *Daily Mail* as a political leader proposing "sound, common-sense Conservative doctrine." When Mosley refused to compromise to meet Rothermere's vision, the press baron had no option but to pull away from the movement.

HUGH SELLON: AN ADMIRER OF CORPORATISM

Hugh Gilbert Sellon provides an interesting and overlooked example of a loyal conservative intellectual who spent several years fascinated by fascism and its possible application in Britain. Educated at St. Andrew's University in Scotland, Sellon went on to serve as an interpreter at the League of Nations in Geneva, immersing himself in continental European politics, a subject he remained interested in throughout the interwar period.[44] Upon returning from Geneva, Sellon became a lecturer at his alma mater and at the Conservative Party's own

recently formed educational institution, the Bonar Law College at Ashridge. While at Bonar Law College, he was elected president of the conservative Scottish Ashridge Association, which worked to bring "together all Scottish men and women who had profited from their common experiences at Ashridge" and "assist in the great work that the college was doing for the cause of Unionism and sound political education."[45] Sellon's lectures at meetings and other functions at Bonar Law College and St. Andrew's University often discussed the importance and meaning of conservatism in contemporary British politics. At the same time, he took an interest in the rise of fascism and explored the significance of this new phenomenon for Britain. These topics served as themes in the two major books that he published in 1932 and 1934, in which he remained loyal to conservatism, but also looked for inspiration in fascism.

To better understand Sellon's relationship with the ideology of fascism, his beliefs regarding conservatism must first be explained. Sellon believed in the social importance of private property and considered it integral to practically all elements of the Conservative and Unionist platform. At a lecture for the Scottish Ashridge Association given in Edinburgh, Sellon emphasized the traditional conservative notion of the significance of private property as key to the development of an individual's "personality." In this view, the acquisition and cultivation of private property was vital to the growth of individuals' distinct identity or "personality," which was "the one supreme and creative thing in life."[46] At the same time, Sellon argued that the only way to realize the full social benefits of private property involved extending the ability to own property to all individuals rich, middle class, and poor alike. This meant allowing for "the reconstruction of industry from top to bottom" and "prevent[ing] too much production slipping into the hands of the few."[47] Sellon's ideological beliefs mirrored those of many of his conservative contemporaries, who also emphasized the importance of private property.

Another key element of Sellon's conservatism lay in his emphasis on the importance of historical continuity and national tradition. Like many conservatives of the day, Sellon upheld the Burkean prescription that the best form of government for a nation was one that fit its organic traditions and the national character of its people. He considered this the principle that made the Conservative Party successful, explaining that "the fundamental reason for our success" was to be found in its success in "combining progress and change with stability and the proper respect for old institutions."[48] Essentially, Sellon considered reform an important part of the conservative platform, but it had to remain in line with the "old institutions" of the past. Indeed, Sellon remarked that a nation must never "accept change so violent as to break the continuity of its historical development."[49] National tradition and history, much like private property, proved critical components in Sellon's interpretation of conservative ideology.

Reviewing Sellon's perspective on private property and national tradition, it initially appears odd that he would seriously consider, much less admire fascism. However, breaking down Sellon's interpretation of these conservative principles along with his notions of fascism, dictatorship, and democracy helps to illuminate this issue. For instance, Sellon worked to portray aspects of fascism in line with core conservative beliefs. While he viewed fascism in Italy and Germany as authoritarian, he considered fascism in places such as France and Britain as "democratic and liberal," providing "sound forms of national unity."[50] Sellon did not expand on these points, leaving some confusion as to what he considered "democratic and liberal" in British and French fascist movements. However, as these comments indicate, Sellon did not necessarily consider fascism in Britain an ideology that contradicted essential conservative principles.

This same sympathetic perception of fascism also existed in Sellon's interpretation of Mosley and the BUF fascist movement. Although critical of more marginal fascist organizations, including the eccentric British Fascists and the Imperial Fascist League, Sellon gave Mosley the benefit of the doubt. Sellon noted that there was some question as to whether or not Mosley wished to implement his fascism through methods "suitable to Britain," but he nevertheless believed that the BUF had a "thought-out political philosophy."[51] Even when the BUF referred to political methods that went against Sellon's views of organic change based on tradition, he rushed to defend Mosley. For example, when commenting on remarks made in the BUF's official newspaper, the *Blackshirt*, which, in Sellon's view marked an instance of "expressing virtual approval of the outrages committed in the course of the National-Socialist revolution" in Germany, Sellon also made sure to note that "[t]he *Blackshirt* must, of course, not be regarded as representative of the better and more serious aspects of the British Union of Fascists."[52] In this case, Sellon dismissed the significance of the leading BUF publication in order to make the movement seem more in line with Sellon's conservative views and thereby "more serious." His views on anti-Semitism also mirrored those of conservatives like Lord Rothermere as well as the BUF, referring to this Jewish hatred as "unchristian and immoral," but nevertheless excusing these perverse beliefs in Germany as "many of the least desirable aspects of social life [in Germany] had been encouraged and financed by Jews."[53]

A critical component of Sellon's understanding of fascism came from his admiration of the Corporate State, or as Sellon called it, the "Italian Corporative experiment." Sellon considered the Corporate State an attempt to "heal the dispute between individualism and Socialism," which preserved "private property, private enterprise, and private initiative, while co-ordinating all productive forces and unifying their efforts for the benefit of the community."[54] Indeed, this view

of the Corporate State led Sellon to consider Mosley's fascism a viable alternative in Britain. He noted that "Sir Oswald Mosley's desire to introduce principles of 'Corporatism' into Britain is one with which any sympathetic observer of the Italian Corporative experiment – of whom the author of this book is one – must sympathise."[55] To Sellon, Mosley's Corporate State seemed to fit the conservative desire to help restore prosperity while retaining private ownership of property and the capitalist system. Sellon emphasized that "the corporative organization of industry and agriculture" differed from Socialism, since with "the Corporate State control aimed at preserving private property and initiative" in a system "in which every industry would be self-regulated."[56]

The obvious problem with Sellon's description of Mosley's Corporate State and the fascist Corporate State generally is that he badly misinterpreted the role of "private enterprise" in the corporatist system. Mosley may have promised protection of private property by means of "self-regulation" in industry, but his scheme nevertheless rested on strict governmental control of the economy. Thus while he proposed to give British industries "self-regulation," Mosley also demanded that they would have to maintain "efficiency in their industry, low prices to the consumers and good wages to the workers." Should industries fail to meet any of these targets, they would be taken over by the fascist state.[57]

Sellon evidently misinterpreted Mosley's vision of the Corporate State, but the question remains as to why he made this mistake. Part of the answer may be that Sellon took seriously Mosley's temporary moderation of his fascist rhetoric early in 1934. Although Mosley initially emphasized the economic authoritarianism of his Corporate State, once he and Lord Rothermere launched their propaganda campaign in 1934, Mosley made an effort to tone down his past talk of state control of the economy, and insisted that "Fascism preserves…private enterprise."[58] Given Sellon's track record of thinking positively about the BUF despite contrary evidence provided by members of the movement themselves, he may have chosen to rely on Mosley's moderate words in 1934.

Another explanation may lie in Sellon's view of the Corporate State and fascist politics as two different entities. Sellon noted that the "economic aspect" of "Corporatism" could "certainly be fitted into the framework of a democratic State," emphasizing a desire to separate corporatism from fascist authoritarianism.[59] Sellon admired corporatism's ability to organize industry and bring about increased productivity, but knew that talking about this subject meant referring to fascism since the "Italian Corporative Experiment" served as the most recent and discernable example of the Corporate State in practice. However, Sellon only wanted to introduce corporatism into Britain. As a result, Sellon made it a

point to emphasize that the "economic reorganisation" of the Corporate State, which "while connected with, and, in the case of Italy, made possible by the Fascist political movement, is different and apart from Fascism."[60] Sellon admired the Corporate State, and had his own vision of it as one which promoted private enterprise along with efficient organization of industry, but also wished to separate it from the other more brutal aspects of fascism. As such, Sellon's interpretation of the Corporate State differed from that of the fascists, but he still believed Britain could learn from it, explaining that there existed "much in the Italian Corporative experiment that might, suitably adapted to British conditions, be applied to our own needs."[61]

Sellon's interest in fascism stemmed from his admiration of the Corporate State. However, he also wished to make this remedy distinct from the ideology that promoted it. This meant praising aspects of fascism and even in some instances being disingenuous with regards to his interpretation of the authoritarian movement. He considered Mosley's proposed Corporate State as perhaps a viable model for Britain, but did not wish to commit to either fascism or the BUF. However, Sellon found it difficult to completely separate the corporatism from the fascist ideology which had popularized it in the interwar period, making his communication of his thoughts regarding the Corporate State muddled and confusing. After 1934, despite having written two lengthy books advocating corporatism for Britain, Sellon stopped discussing the Corporate State or any other fascist elements in Britain. The Olympia rally in Britain and the Night of the Long Knives in Germany made fascism go out of fashion among most Conservatives except for the most extreme right-wingers and true converts to the movement. Yet Sellon's flirtation with corporatism provides invaluable depth to the topic of Conservative interest in fascism. It highlights the varying degrees with which Conservatives would support the ideology, and that in some cases, they wished to reach a compromise between fascist organization and British institutions. At the same time, it also reveals that some Conservatives did not necessarily engage with fascism due to dissatisfaction over the state of the party, as Sellon remained loyal throughout the duration of his admiration.

CONCLUSION

While dissatisfaction towards the Conservative Party may have driven some disgruntled Conservatives towards the BUF, their reasons for turning to fascism went beyond this purely tactical motive. It is clear that Conservatives who expressed an interest in fascism admired aspects of Mosley's platform and vision for the future of Britain. Their admiration for the BUF platform differed based on their diagnosis of the problems plaguing Britain, but they nevertheless believed

that elements of Mosley's proposals offered policies which would allow Britain to prosper once more. Bellairs agreed vehemently with practically every aspect of Mosley's fascism, only diverging on small and relatively insignificant elements of the movement. By contrast, Lord Rothermere considered the BUF a viable right-wing alternative to the Conservative Party, and believed the nation desperately needed its leadership and youthful vigor. The economic organization of fascism piqued Hugh Sellon's interest, who engaged with the ideology despite showing little, if any, concern over the state of the Conservative Party. In actuality, then, the argument that Conservatives supported fascism due to "low morale around 1934" as asserted by Pugh is not only an oversimplification, but in some instances altogether inaccurate.[62]

Mosley's efforts to attract Conservatives also worked to very different degrees. For the most part, he failed to bring about any substantial Conservative conversion to fascism. His insistence on associating his movement with the name of a continental ideology made it difficult to attract Conservatives, especially as he refused to "abandon or modify" his policies in an effort to win over public support. The association of fascism with brutal repression in Germany and the violence that accompanied Mosley's own rallies finally scared off all but the most determined converts. This meant that, with the exception of eccentric figures like Bellairs, most Conservatives refused to jump ship to the BUF. Mosley's decision to remain true to his fascist principles and strategy thus hampered his ability to expand his impact on British politics.

The numerous reasons and explanations behind conservative interest in the BUF and fascism make it difficult to pinpoint any one particular reason for their interest in the ideology. However, comparing the Conservatives who abandoned the movement to those who stayed helps convey the importance the political and economic crises of the interwar years played in attracting them to Mosley's side. It suggests that British fascism resonated the most with those who believed that the British political system had failed, and that democracy as a whole had long outgrown its uses. Some Conservatives, like Sellon, were not ready to completely abandon this system of government, and they rather unconvincingly sought to portray the corporatist aspects of British fascism as compatible with otherwise democratic politics. Others, like Rothermere, came to regard Mosley's anti-democratic position as tactically counter-productive because it alienated Conservative support. Only the few fringe Conservatives like Bellairs, who had criticized party politics long before they became interested in fascism, were prepared to join the BUF. Conservatives who engaged with fascism may have been, in some cases, disgruntled, but their own ideological views and diagnosis of the state of British society ultimately played the most prominent role in their fascination with the BUF and Mosley's movement.

ENDNOTES

1. Martin Pugh, *'Hurrah for the Black-shirts!': Fascists and Fascism in Britain Between the Wars* (London: Random House UK, 2006), 148.

2. Philip Williamson, "The Conservative Party, Fascism and Anti-Fascism 1918-1939," in *Varieties of Anti-Fascism: Britain in the Inter-War Period*, ed. Nigel Copsey and Andrzej Olechnowicz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 76-77.

3. *Ibid.*, 78.

4. *Ibid.*, 91.

5. Conservative T.C.R. Moore serves as one such example, as he praised the BUF and Mosley for advocating principles which he himself believed: "There was little, if any, of the policy which could not be accepted by the most loyal follower of our present Conservative leaders." T.C.R. Moore, "The Blackshirts Have What the Conservatives Need," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Apr. 25, 1934.

6. ChristieLovat, Vijayata Patel & Danielle J. Donnelly, "Commander Carlyon Wilfroy Bellairs (R.N.)," McGill University, Accessed June 6, 2018, https://www.mcgill.ca/bits/files/bits/commander_cw_bellairs.pdf

7. Carlyon Bellairs Papers, McGill UniversitySpecial Collections. The Bellairs's papers I reviewed were mostly undated, handwritten notes that had not yet been classified into folders. Hereafter, referred to as the Bellairs Papers.

8. Lovat, Patel & Donnelly, "Commander Carlyon Wilfroy Bellairs (R.N.)," McGill University, Accessed June 6, 2018, https://www.mcgill.ca/bits/files/bits/commander_cw_bellairs.pdf

9. The other was W.E.D. Allen, an Ulster Unionist, who joined Mosley even before the BUF was launched.

10. Bellairs Papers.

11. Carlyon Bellairs, "We Cannot Trust Parliament Any Longer," *Blackshirt* (London, England), Jan. 11, 1935.

12. Bellairs Papers.

13. Bellairs, "We Cannot Trust Parliament Any Longer," *Blackshirt* (London, England), Jan. 11, 1935.

14. Oswald Mosley, "What We Stand For," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Jan. 29, 1934.

15. "Sir Oswald Mosley's Bold Plans," *Daily Mail* (London, England), June 8, 1934.

16. Bellairs Papers.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. "Lord Rothermere and Sir Oswald Mosley," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Jul. 19, 1934.

20. Bellairs Papers.

21. *Ibid.*

22. D. George Boyce, "Harmsworth, Harold Sidney, first Viscount Rothermere (1868-1940)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 6 January 2011. Accessed August 12, 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-bc.researchport.umd.edu/view/10.1093ef:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-33718

23. "Revolution in Socialist Party," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Dec. 8, 1930.

24. "Mosley Party's Challenge," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Apr. 29, 1931.

25. "Tariff Call by Sir O. Mosley: An Immediate Stimulus," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Aug. 29, 1931.

26. "Liberals and Socialists," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Dec. 5, 1930.

27. "Mosley Breaks Away, Proposing Dictatorship," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Feb. 23, 1931.

28. G. Ward Price, "Sir Oswald Mosley –Visionary or Future Leader," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Sept. 30, 1932.

29. G. Ward Price, "Stirring Rally of the Blackshirts," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Jan. 22, 1934.

30. Oswald Mosley, "Steel Creed of an Iron Age," *Fascist Week* (London, England), Nov. 17, 1933.

31. Viscount Rothermere, "This Dictatorship Nonsense," *Daily Mail* (London, England), May 2, 1934.

32. Pugh, *'Hurrah for the Blackshirts!'*, 168-69.

33. Viscount Rothermere, "Hurrah for the Blackshirts!" *Daily Mail* (London, England), Jan. 15, 1934.

34. "Lord Rothermere and Sir Oswald Mosley," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Jul. 19, 1934.

35. Rothermere, "Hurrah for the Blackshirts!" *Daily Mail* (London, England), Jan. 15, 1934.

36. G. Ward Price, "Scenes of Great Enthusiasm," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Apr. 23, 1934.

37. Pugh, *'Hurrah for the Blackshirts!'*, 168-69.

38. "Blackshirts at Next Election," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Jan. 27, 1934.

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40. Mosley, "Steel Creed of an Iron Age," *Fascist Week* (London, England), Nov. 17, 1933 and "Guiding a New Civilisation," *Fascist Week* (London, England), Dec. 8, 1933.

41. Viscount Rothermere, "Give the Blackshirts a Helping Hand," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Jan. 22, 1934.

42. "Sir O. Mosley Silences Hecklers," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Mar. 29, 1934.

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50. *Ibid.*, 66.

51. *Ibid.*, 69-70.

52. *Ibid.*, 71.

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57. Oswald Mosley, "Protect the Home Market at Once," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Aug. 31, 1931; Mosley Oswald, *The Greater Britain* (1934 ed), 34-48, 98-116.

58. "Sir O. Mosley Silences Hecklers," *Daily Mail* (London, England), Mar. 29, 1934.

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BALTIMORE'S FIRST RESTAURANTS, 1839-1856: GENDER AND CONSUMER CULTURE IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA

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BRANDON LEGATE

Brandon LeGate graduated from UMBC in December 2018 with a degree in History. His earnest interest in the study of the past began only after attending his first college-level history course. He is the first in his family to attend college and is the product of a single-parent home and various ever-changing low-income communities throughout the American Southeast. Prior to his studies, Brandon worked for a decade in the restaurant and hospitality industries. He credits UMBC's innovative approach to undergraduate education, especially its programs at the Universities at Shady Grove, for providing the opportunity for non-traditional students like him to succeed. During his time at UMBC, Brandon maintained a 4.0 GPA in his department classes, served as a director of the History Student Association, and began the publication of *Mild Awareness*, a student journal for the history department at the Shady Grove campus. Currently, he is pursuing a research career in Rockville, MD where he lives with his spouse and their son.

My research formed unconventionally. Rather than beginning with a question to explore, I started with a historical source that fascinated me. It was the digitized collection of the *Baltimore Sun* produced by ProQuest and made available to UMBC students through the Albin O. Kuhn Library. Databases of historical newspapers from ProQuest and other companies are revolutionizing the way periodicals are used in historical research. The databases allow for the newspapers to be scanned for keywords and for quick analysis of all the articles returned containing those words. More than a century of articles, advertisements, and classifieds concerning nearly any subject can be instantly compiled and tracked across the decades using these sources. It is a massive and exciting development that transforms decaying newspapers into sources of historical meta data. Developing a set of keywords, starting simply with "restaurant", I explored the antebellum culinary industry through the database's collection of the *Sun*. I hoped to identify the first restaurant in Baltimore. Instead, thanks to these incredible new historical research tools, I was able to locate, analyze, and essentially recreate the antebellum city's high-end dining-out scene on a set of Excel spreadsheets. Allowing the data I collected from more than 1,000 articles featuring my keywords to identify what story was most compelling, I eventually came to focus on the evolution of gender-segregated dining at Baltimore's first restaurants.

ABSTRACT

In the 1840s, the concept of dining out for amusement became, for the first time, a prominent part of the culture of the city of Baltimore. The most problematic characteristic of restaurants, for mid-nineteenth-century Baltimore, was that they intended their customers to include both men and women from the middle and upper classes. Women of privilege proved to be generally uninterested in patronizing the businesses, which they associated with already existing and hyper-masculine eateries that were dangerous for them to enter. The consumer choices that Baltimore's women made about where to dine out during the 1840s and early 1850s helped produce gender-segregated restaurants (with one parlor for single men, and one for couples and ladies) as the dominant form of diningroom design in the following decades. The early restaurants of Baltimore, despite their unique position in the antebellum South's largest city, have received less attention from historians than those of New Yorkor Boston. This paper (essentially an exploration of sixty *Baltimore Sun* advertisements from 1839-1856) addresses that issue from a critically understudied perspective: failure.

INTRODUCTION

> **"TURTLE SOUP! TURTLE SOUP!! THOMAS J. SUTTON, at his Restaurant has just received ANOTHER MAMMOTH TURTLE, which will be served up in the choicest manner…Epicures will call TO-DAY, at 11 o'clock, and on the following days."**[1]

The antebellum, or pre-Civil War, United States was an agrarian society characterized by limited and highly structured public interactions. The era was also a time of notable urbanization in the nation's port cities which threatened those existing public social structures. Dense cities made interactions between people, especially strangers and individuals of disparate backgrounds, more common and harder to control. Increased urbanization also nurtured a middle-class driven birth of a consumer culture that spread access to luxury and caused socio-economic divisions to appear less obvious. Set in that environment and spanning seventeen years of the late antebellum period, the story of how restaurant-style dining was adopted and adapted by the city of Baltimore – as told through the businesses' own nineteenth-century advertisements – provides an early example of the complex way social rules formed in modern America's consumer culture.

Restaurants were a revolutionary invention when they first arrived in the U.S. from Paris in the 1830s, and the concept's eventual success in the American con-

sumer market was not at all certain. Restaurants invited customers to put their tastes for luxury and idleness on full public display and were popularly thought of as testing the boundaries of traditional decorum. Truly authentic Parisian-style restaurants tempted patronage from white women of status who were financially provided for by well-off fathers and husbands, commonly considered the only virtuous and respectable women in nineteenth-century urban American society. Initially, restaurants struggled to successfully attract these middle and upper-income female patrons because women of status feared that dining at one would degrade their protected social standing and leave them vulnerable to deplorable treatment from men. Ultimately, authentic Parisian-style dining only became a common part of Baltimore's culture after it was molded by the individual decisions of local consumers and entrepreneurs into an acceptable activity for the virtuous women of the antebellum South's largest city.

When the first restaurants opened in the United States in the 1830s, the favored form of dining service in most of the country's early eateries was *table d'hôte*. Historian of revolutionary France, Rebecca L. Spang, describes the service as "a meal set at one large table, always at the same specified time, and at which the eaters had little opportunity to order or request particular dishes." [2] *Table d'hôte* was an efficient way to feed guests at hotels and attendees of events, but it was not the service style that defined businesses known as restaurants. Paul Freedman, author of *Ten Restaurants that Changed America,* adds that the Parisian invention is "distinguished from inns and taverns by virtue of the choice of dishes afforded, privacy, provision of a relatively gracious atmosphere and service, and flexible hours…rather than a set dinner for all comers at a single, specific time."[3] Because of the common use of the *table d'hôte* service style, the present-day unremarkable customs of restaurant dining, like ordering from a menu, having a private table for every party, dining with people of the opposite sex, having food made upon request during all business hours, and even being charged based on what and how much you ate were rarely a part of dining out in America before the restaurant arrived.

The service style of Parisian restaurants created a more genteel space than taverns or eating houses due mostly to the invention of the private table. The concept allowed customers to temporarily lord over a small section of public space and create an invisible but tangible barrier between themselves and their fellow diners. For Parisians, the private table made restaurants more hospitable to women of status than traditional eateries. Freedman explains that a defining characteristic of the restaurants in Paris was their openness to female customers.[4] Spang adds that American visitors to Paris in the 1830s were stunned by the sight of dining establishments filled with women partaking in meals, drinks, and conversations. Eating at a restaurant is the performance of an intimate act in full public view,

and it was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that this had become popularly accepted for women to do in Paris. Some unapproving American tourists complained that the restaurants showed the lack of domesticity in the French woman and a lack of morals in French society. Other American visitors were thrilled to experience being a customer. For Spang, the presence of women is the primary distinction between the restaurant and its various predecessors – such as the eating house or the tavern.[5] The concept differed from other eateries in several ways, but the gender-mixed dining experience was certainly a sensational and broadly known characteristic of true Parisian-style restaurants during the antebellum period.

Typical establishments of amusement in America in the 1830s treated dining as an afterthought; a necessary item to keep rowdy male customers inside their doors for extended periods of drinking and gaming. In Baltimore, many eateries commonly offered only oysters. Issues of the *Baltimore Sun* from the late 1830s, and throughout the remainder of the antebellum period, contain numerous ads for oyster taverns, oyster saloons, and oyster houses. The advertisements were so common that the newspaper developed an image of an oyster shell to place next to each one – similar to the paper's use of a fleeing figure next to each notice of an escaped enslaved person.[6]

As the 1830s ended, taverns and saloons operating in the crowded and competitive Washington D.C. market began to differentiate themselves by advertising their food as increasingly more refined. In so doing, they appeared to make the earliest uses of the word restaurant by businesses in the Baltimore area. In a *Sun* ad from 1842, an oyster tavern in D.C., called the Republican House, was described as a restaurant in an obvious attempt to portray a high level of refinement. The business lacked the necessary requirements needed to be an authentic Parisian-style restaurant (for example, it only offered oysters instead of a full menu) but the word restaurant was most associated by Americans at the time with an expectation of fine food and drink, and what the ad wanted to convey was that – along with the best spirits – guests could expect to have the freshest oysters, sourced from the highest-quality beds, and prepared in the tastiest manner.[7] It may seem like an obvious marketing strategy, but it is important to remember that the antebellum period was a time when luxury and European style were often held in contempt, and a type of rural populism dominated national politics, creating one of the many challenges facing the young restaurant industry in America.

In 1839, two years prior to the first use of the word restaurant in a *Baltimore Sun* ad, an eating house in Washington, D.C. advertised a variety of seasonal foods available and a separate parlor where families could be served away from rowdy

drinkers.[8] Though closer in concept to a restaurant than oyster taverns were, the eating houses of the antebellum Baltimore region did not provide the components essential to defining the Parisian service style. Instead, they retained the old service style of *table d'hôte* rather than cook-to-order menus at private tables, which, along with a heavy focus on alcohol consumption, created an atmosphere typically considered unsuitable for the patronage of women of status.

"Dallimore's Bowling Saloons – The subscriber begs leave to inform the gentlemen of Baltimore, that he has at great expense, fitted up a superb establishment under the above name, for their amusement and accommodation."[9]

In the early 1840s, the use of the term restaurant to advertise eating houses and upscale taverns in both D.C. and Baltimore became more common in the *Sun*, but the adoption of the actual innovations that defined a true restaurant did not immediately appear with them. Furthermore, many eateries in Baltimore – like Copp's Saloon at Washington Hall and the Alhambra on Charles Street – focused on improving their amusements as much as their food service, and advertised some of the earliest indoor bowling lanes in America.[10] The quality of a meal from a tavern or saloon was – according to the advertisements – gradually improving, but generally, food remained a compliment to entertainment consumption in the city rather than the central piece of a consumer experience.

While bowling saloons took the path of adding more activities and games for a rowdy male audience, other eateries went in a different direction. A growing number of entrepreneurs opened businesses that catered to seekers of a refined dining atmosphere where groups of drunk and competitive men could be avoided. As parts of dining halls at hotels, the concept of the *ladies' ordinary* arrived in Baltimore during the antebellum period. These separated dining facilities were specifically advertised as for the use of couples, or groups of women, and in 1840, the elegant five story Eutaw House advertised the opening of a ladies' ordinary to the general public. The well-known Barnum's Hotel also had one in the early 1840s, and the Fountain Hotel still presented the concept as new and exciting when it notified the *Sun*'s readership of the opening of its own in 1846.[11] In the ladies' ordinaries, white women of status could dine together but in the old *table d'hôte* style with inflexible dining hours and without menus.

When accompanied by men, women were welcome at eateries that advertised as *for gentlemen*, but they generally refrained from entering them for fear of undermining their reputation and public identity. Doing so could potentially lose the women societal protections offered by the paternalistic and violent antebellum

culture. Since at least the 1830s in America, ladies' ordinaries worked to resolve the conflict between social pressures placed on women in public and the practical need of female travelers to eat, but they failed to provide the expanded consumer choice that was associated with restaurants.[12] Throughout the 1840s, ladies' ordinaries were outpaced in popularity by other eateries that also advertised to women but experimented with different types of service in pursuit of a popular and female-friendly dining atmosphere.

Separately, the for-gentlemen eateries continued to refine their food and service to satisfy Baltimore's growing interest in the consumption of leisure and privilege and became increasingly restaurant-like. In an 1845 ad, Moses Copp's Bowling Saloon offered oysters and coffee served upon the customer's request and from a menu of various cooking styles. For a price-to-price comparison of antebellum amusement options, the oysters at Copp's could be ordered in one of four varieties for 18¾¢, while admission to a traveling orangutan exhibit that passed through the city that same year cost 25¢. By 1849, Copp had opened a second business named after himself in Washington, D.C. which included rooms for board, baths, a pistol gallery, and of course, a bowling saloon. The notice also described an attached restaurant where "gentlemen can be served, at all reasonable hours, with all meals, and all the delicacies of the season served up at the shortest notice."[13] Though this for-gentlemen eatery was not focused on attracting virtuous women of status, it did offer the restaurant characteristics of flexible dining hours, fine foods, and a menu of items available upon request.

Throughout the rest of the antebellum period, establishments striving to be like Copp's came to dominate the nascent amusement dining industry in Baltimore, and they began to describe themselves as restaurants more often. But these for-gentlemen eateries were missing in middle and upper-class female customers an important part of what had defined the concept of the restaurant in Paris, and they still often maintained a mix of *table d'hôte* and restaurant-service characteristics throughout the 1850s. Baltimore's culinary businesses had a much easier time recreating the high level of cuisine that defined restaurants than they did at providing an authentic female-friendly atmosphere and service.

As shown in the classified ads section of the late-1840s *Baltimore Sun*, fine dining as amusement was significantly more popular in the city than when the decade began. During lunch service at the Exchange Hotel in 1847, a choice of terrapin, beef steak, or oysters was available at the shortest notice. During that same year, diners at Eagle Hall could choose from even more options, including venison and three types of fowl.[14] In 1849, Joseph Mitchell advertised that his restaurant at Forest Hall would satisfy the most critical of "epicureans" (nineteenth-century

foodies), and Mrs. Russell's House of Entertainment on Madison Street offered wild "game of all kinds; Oyster in all their varieties." Also in 1849, Maurice Gideon finished an expansion on his eatery on South Street and ran an ad, with both the obligatory oyster shell and an accompanying image of a turkey. In it, the owner claimed that he would not be outdone regarding the quality of his food or cooking methods.[15] Despite the significant number of similar eateries styling themselves as restaurants in late 1840s Baltimore, their main dining halls often lacked important parts of restaurant-style service and were often advertised as for gentlemen.

Though it was significant that women – and men who wanted to accompany women – had few dining-out options to choose from, most of the experiences of choice that defined restaurants were in fact available at various for-gentlemen eateries in late-1840s Baltimore. Culinary businesses in the city offered menus, flexible service hours, food cooked upon request, refined atmospheres for the paying public, and occasionally all of the above. Just a decade before, such characteristics of service were virtually unknown. The older taverns, hotel ordinaries, oyster saloons, and eating houses were not suddenly replaced by restaurants but they were influenced by them. At the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, amusement dining and the invention of the restaurant were adopted and adapted parts of antebellum Baltimore's culture.

"FOR SALE – One of the best OYSTER ESTABLISHMENTS in this city… would suit a person who understands French cooking, or one who would employ a first rate French cook"[16]

The establishments of amusement dining in Baltimore were part of a new wave of consumer culture brought on by the growth of urban environments and the middle class. The grand rooms and opulent decorum of restaurants in the 1800s mimicked the dining halls of the truly affluent, and the era's chefs commonly claimed to have been formerly in the service of elite homes. In this way, early restaurants provided the nineteenth-century middle class with the opportunity to spend an evening in a style previously unheard of outside of the grand estates of the wealthiest families. Whether authentic to the Parisian style or not, mid-nineteenth-century eateries were socially revolutionary in the way they spread privilege and consumerism to the middle class.

The first known eatery to operate in the style of a true Parisian restaurant in the United States was Delmonico's of New York. The city was a major center of urban expansion in the antebellum U.S. and Delmonico's, started by two immigrant brothers, operated in the Parisian style by at least 1837.[17] Ameri-

ca's first true restaurant left a storied legacy despite significant challenges, and Delmonico's had an out-sized influence on the history of American restaurants. By 1846, it had expanded to a second location and its brand remained wide-ly regarded as the greatest restaurant in the United States until the end of the century, thriving through financial panics, multiple location changes, and fires.[18] Delmonico's ninety years of success was fantastical and spawned many imitators, in and outside of New York, despite the many obstacles that antebellum society presented restaurants.

Though it began the century with a much smaller population, Baltimore man-aged to match the rate of New York's antebellum growth and was the third-larg-est U.S. city during the 1840s. Baltimore's first true restaurant – aptly named the Parisian Restaurant – opened in 1847. The distinguished historian of southern foods, David S. Shields, explains that the Parisian Restaurant introduced the city of Baltimore to authentic Parisian-style dining and provided an alternative to eateries focused on offering prime cuts of meat alongside games of amuse-ment.[19] Baltimore's first true restaurant was located on the northeast corner of Lombard Street and Gay Street in the basement of the four story tall Com-mercial Building. It was part of a loose row of eateries, public-dining hotels, and entertainment houses stretching east to west along Baltimore Street between Howard and Market, and was directly across from the Exchange Building, a monumental structure that housed the offices of some of the most economically important businesses in Baltimore.[20] Because the kitchens of antebellum eateries were built around open-hearth fireplaces, fine culinary establishments were com-monly placed in basements, which also held the building's fireboxes. To enter the Parisian Restaurant, customers descended below the Commercial Building by way of stone spiral stairs. The main space was replete with ornately construct-ed columns rising to high ceilings where they bent and intersected to form a honeycomb structure of masonry domes.[21] The attractive architecture, and the location in the heart of Baltimore's business district, positioned the Parisian well for attracting the city's middle and upper classes.

The Parisian Restaurant's opening was announced in a detailed advertisement in the January 6, 1847 edition of the *Sun* that reads like a letter to the people of the city and was signed by the owner, Benjamin Hooke Jr. The service the letter prepares the reader to expect provides a virtual checklist for the necessary com-ponents of restaurant-style service, including the ability of diners to order at their convenience from a menu of the finest regional dishes prepared by a French cook. Much of the announcement was devoted to explaining that at the Parisian Restaurant "as in Europe, Ladies, accompanied by gentlemen, will occasionally honor such a place with their presence…where, it is hoped, they will be able to

enjoy the luxuries…from which they have been heretofore excluded." Particular attention is paid in the ad to explaining the concept of a menu: "A bill of fare will exhibit daily a list of the various dishes and delicacies to be prepared, and the prices of each."[22] In a later notice, the *Sun* exclaims that "The place is fitted up in magnificent style, and all the delicacies of the season, in the way of oysters, game, &c., may be obtained by parties of ladies and gentlemen…the proprietor is determined that order and decorum shall at all times reign at the 'Parisian Restaurant.'"[23] Their deliberate and thorough explanations make the ads excellent examples of how rare the characteristics of restaurant-style dining were in 1847. Also, by describing the presence of female diners as a European custom and from the assurances that decorum would be kept across all business hours, they show the extent to which other public eateries in the city were popularly perceived to be inhospitable and improper places for women.

According to their advertisements, the businesses that first adopted parts of restaurant-style service in the city, prior to the arrival of the Parisian, expected their clientele to be men. Women-friendly eateries were slow to adopt the service style and often maintained a highly controlled, alcohol-free environment. To become an authentic Parisian-style restaurant hospitable to women of status in antebellum Baltimore, Hooke thought a certain amount of societal ritual was needed to frame the establishment as not destructive to a woman's virtue. Two days after the Parisian's first notice in the *Sun*, an article appeared in the paper's evening-balls section announcing the previous night's spectacular celebration of the grand opening of the Parisian Restaurant.[24] Hooke's ball provided for an unusual piece of publicity, and it was a direct appeal to the virtuous women of Baltimore to perceive this eatery as itself having status and as being socially different from its predecessors.

On May 19, just four months after the Parisian's opening, the *Sun* ran an announcement of a trustee's sale of the restaurant's fixtures, goods, and remaining lease.[25] It was liquidated by its creditors, and as a business, the first eatery in Baltimore to operate in a style recognizable as a true Parisian restaurant was a total failure. It was not the only such establishment to open in antebellum Baltimore, but the advertisements in the *Sun* show that the popularity of the restaurant concept lagged behind other types of eateries in the city. The Commercial Saloon, the business that immediately took over the Parisian's former location, continued to operate in the Parisian style, but it too lasted less than a year.[26] Grand balls and innovative service did not provide the Parisian with enough social distinction to make the restaurant popularly acceptable for antebellum Baltimore's women of status.

Another true restaurant in the city, an establishment called the French Restaurant on North Charles Street had a high level of culinary operation with Parisian-style service during the 1850s – withstanding continued competition from the many popular fine-food saloons and amusement houses of Baltimore. The dishes perfected at the French Restaurant, and at other fine eateries in the city, would eventually become the "benchmark of both American and southern fine dining" in the later part of the century when restaurant-style dining became nationally popular.[27] The famed Delmonico's of New York was itself most renowned, not for any French standards or Hudson Valley foodstuffs, but for dishes commonly served at fine meals throughout the Chesapeake Bay region and in Baltimore's first restaurants, such as Terrapin à la Maryland and canvasback duck with wild celery.[28] Despite its lasting role in the culinary legacy of America, the French Restaurant's advertisements in the *Sun* appear lonely. One in 1856 informed Baltimoreans that the business "still continues to serve up dinners and suppers (in the French style)."[29] It reads as though the advertiser perceived that Parisian restaurants would never be fully socially accepted in Baltimore and his would remain a niche business.

> **"WELCH'S COMMERCIAL RESTAURANT – This establishment having recently undergone a thorough repair, is now fitted up in the best modern style…gentlemen who visit this establishment cannot fail to be satisfied."[30]**

When the concept of the restaurant was introduced to Baltimore in the 1840s, two business partners and brothers, Nicholas and William Hutchins, already ran an established eatery, the Front Street Hotel, as more than just a service for travelers. An advertisement in the *Baltimore Sun* shows that, in an effort to attract local Baltimoreans in search of amusement and consumption, bowling lanes had been installed at the hotel's saloon as early as 1843. At the incredible price – for the antebellum era – of 50¢ per hour, the lanes were obviously meant to attract well-off individuals.[31] Other ads and notices in the paper show that the Hutchins brothers were successful in numerous and varied business ventures.

By 1848, the Hutchins brothers had added the first restaurant in Baltimore, the former Parisian Restaurant at the Commercial Building, to their lineup of investments. The failed restaurant's four months of operation were witnessed by the brothers from their Front Street Hotel, which was located just a five-minute walk north along Gay Street.[32] Despite its previous failure, the two men continued to operate the newly acquired restaurant in authentic Parisian style. Renovations were made, prices were reduced, and advertisements were run using the new name Commercial Saloon. The brothers, experienced hoteliers, also struggled to

make a success of the business. Within less than a year, their re-branded version of the Parisian closed, and the brothers left the restaurant business entirely.[33] Following the experiment, the Hutchins – who appear most prominently in the paper as horse traders – looked to farmland and agriculture for their future investments. Nicolas ran for city council in 1854, and after his brother's death, sold the Front Street Hotel in 1860.[34] There is no evidence provided by the *Sun* that either brother attempted to operate any more eateries.

The next owners of the former Parisian Restaurant were Mr. and Mrs. Alonzo Welch. The Welches were in their early 20s when they took over operations in late 1848, but they were already experienced operators of entertainment houses.[35] They made changes to the dining service and pursued a very different business model than the previous owners. In doing so, they abandoned the location's short tradition of encouraging the participation of high-status female diners. Under the management of Alonzo Welch and his wife, what remained of the first true restaurant in Baltimore was turned into the type of establishment that helped to give the businesses a bad reputation and public identity. Theirs was also by far the most successful and long-lasting of the Parisian Restaurant's three incarnations.

Almost immediately upon taking over, the Welches began to redesign the business's service for women at what was initially renamed the Commercial Restaurant. Lunch service was converted from Parisian style to a businessmen-friendly luncheon style which abandoned options of choice in favor of faster speed. The food offered for evening service appeared to remain as high quality as ever but the atmosphere was certainly adjusted thanks to new additions by the Welches.[36] Importantly, an 1850 advertisement no longer described service for women and their male escorts as occurring in a single parlor, but instead, in a grouping of fully private rooms.[37] In the antebellum period, private rooms at houses of amusement often doubled as meeting places for married men and their mistresses or married men and prostitutes. "New York had a dozen or so 'private supper rooms' in the 1840s, and…only couples were served, that is a man or men could not reserve one of these rooms merely for the sake of ordinary privacy. The meal and drink charge might be as much as double the price stated on the regular restaurant bill of fare."[38] It is not possible to be completely sure of what went into the decision to add private rooms to the Welches' restaurant, but it is certainly possible that they were intended for the same purposes as the private supper rooms of New York.

Whatever they were intended for, the knowledge amongst the citizens of Baltimore of what often went on in eateries with private rooms would have affected the perception of the Welches' Commercial Restaurant (re-rebranded the Parisian Restaurant once again in 1851). It also colors, with an immoral tone, the

Grand Moonlight Excursion for gentlemen and ladies the restaurateur couple repeatedly organized on a yacht in Baltimore's Inner Harbor.[39] These romantic cruises – complete with catering from the Parisian and a live band – could have been an attempt at cultivating a relationship between the restaurant and Baltimore's elite couples, or it could have been an innovative way for the Welches to serve a loyal group of adulterous customers. The pages of the *Sun* do not explicitly provide the information needed to know for sure, but they do suggest that the more nefarious possibility was closest to reality. Those clues also show some of the reasons why middle and upper-class women thought it best to avoid Baltimore's first restaurants.

According to court proceedings reported in the *Sun*, the restaurant the Welches ran was a dangerous place for the women of Baltimore. Patronizing the restaurant could undermine the reputation and public identity of a woman to such a degree that she could lose virtually all value to the community. In 1852, Mrs. Elizabeth Black, a woman who occasionally did seamstress work for Mrs. Welch, was raped outside the Parisian by a drunk customer. The defense attorney in the case presented no claim that his client did not violate the woman. Instead, he claimed that Black – as shown in part by her patronage of the restaurant – was a drunkard and a prostitute and that she likely consented to the act.[40]

As a witness at the trial, Mrs. Welch identified the accused as the drunk man at her bar that day. She also said that Black had been busy sewing garments for her all week. Mrs. Welch did concede, to the benefit of the defense, that Black had previously dined at the Parisian with groups of women of whose identity she did not know. Mrs. Welch also only knew Elizabeth Black as Clara, a pseudonym her dinner companions called her as well. The report of the trial's proceedings concluded with the judge's decision to dismiss evidence of Black's history of drunkenness but to allow the court to consider her reputation and public identity of having previously prostituted herself. Furthermore, the judge conceded that there was legal standing for the defense's argument that women perceived as prostitutes did not have access to the protection of rape laws.[41] Under the operation of the Welch's, the public identity of the Parisian had become an establishment of poor moral reputation. If a woman in Baltimore patronized the restaurant, they risked becoming seen publicly as a fallen woman and thus, losing their status as a valuable and protectable part of society.

"FOR SALE – A COLORED BOY, for a term of years. He is suitable for a waiter or second cook in a hotel or restaurant; as he has served two years at it."[42]

Not being able to sustainably attract female diners was problematic for Baltimore's first Parisian-style restaurants because their pool of potential customers was so limited already. During the antebellum period, the American society was highly stratified. Divisions of race, class, and gender dominated public life, which created an environment that was challenging for businesses selling public consumption. The invention of restaurants provided a democratization of privilege, but the inequality of antebellum society limited the scope of that democratization. Women were socially discouraged from patronizing the country's first restaurants, black Americans, men and women, were customarily barred from dining at them, and income inequality prevented working-class white men from being customers as well.

Like the other major port cities of antebellum America, a significant number of Baltimore's residents were very poor. Seth Rockman, the author of *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore*, claims that potentially one-third of all Baltimoreans were unskilled laborers during the antebellum era.[43] The wages such workers received were better than could be found in rural areas, but not enough to lift individuals out of poverty. Their lack of a disposable income effectively eliminated the working class as potential customers for its first restaurants.

Diners could expect to pay at least 12½¢ for the cheapest item on a menu in Baltimore's earliest restaurants, and 18¾¢ for a simple plate of oysters was considered attractive enough during the 1840s to advertise it in the *Sun*.[44] Either price point was too much to pay for many antebellum Baltimoreans; want ads for full-time jobs with wages amounting to 15¢ per day can be found amongst issues from the same years.[45] That was also the best income expected for the city's army of seamstresses, and most manual laborers went long stretches without any income at all – especially during the coldest winters when the harbor froze. Furthermore, workers did not have the privilege of being paid in stable currencies, and often saw their real pay wildly fluctuate as a result.[46] And, of course, many of Baltimore's black wage earners had to forfeit some or all their pay to their respective enslavers.

For the city's working poor, restaurants were prohibitively expensive, but they still participated in the trend of amusement dining by developing their own businesses to eat out at. Illegal taverns – typically operated by women directly out of their homes – were the eateries of Baltimore's working-class neighborhoods. Laborers also relied on budget street food options, like oysters and pepper-pot soup (a warm stew of tripe and Caribbean-style seasoning), which had become common in the city by the 1820s.[47] While unable to dine at them, plenty of work-

ing-class Baltimoreans were familiar with the city's first restaurants as their place of employment. Notably, many of the city's first restaurant cooks were women who worked alongside men in the walled-off kitchens of the antebellum era.[48] Their employment in the kitchens of businesses that were thought of as unsuitable for women of status shows the extent to which abiding by the cultural restrictions placed on women in the antebellum era was a socio-economic privilege.

A further drain on the potential customer base of restaurants that marketed mixed-gender dining, and a direct response to the cultural issues presented by women's public consumption, was the proliferation of takeout and delivery options in Baltimore in the late 1840s and early 1850s. Eateries of all types offered family-sized portions of prepared oysters to take home during this time. Delivery of fine restaurant meals was also available by the midpoint of the century. "Families served at their own house as usual" was the description of the service provided at one upscale establishment.[49] It conjures up the amusing image of two impeccably dressed waiters carrying together a large tray of plates, topped with protective silver lids, through the muddy and foul streets of antebellum Baltimore.

> **"ICE-CREAM and CONFECTIONERY in all its varieties; and oysters, when in season. To the ladies, we would say, our Saloon has been fitted up without regard to cost, and especially for their accommodation, and for those accompanying them."[50]**

Along with the takeout and delivery options available at common for-gentlemen eateries, the continued growth of separate establishments designated as *for ladies* undercut the Parisian restaurant's potential monopoly on female diners. During the late 1840s, notices in the *Sun* for ice cream saloons began to outnumber those for ladies' ordinaries. Ice cream saloons targeted women with their ads and "offered genteel and alcohol-free settings as well as the kinds of food women were thought to prefer."[51] An 1845 advertisement for Merchant's displayed the type of food thought best for antebellum women. Along with ice cream, the light offerings at these businesses included: mineral water, Italian ice (called water ices at the time), a variety of cakes; almonds, raisins, and fruits.[52] Still, their lack of a complete ban on male customers caused some to denounce the businesses. The worries of the time focused on the idea that "courting couples could meet [at ice cream saloons], including those defying the girl's parents, or men could even entertain prostitutes."[53]

As was most common in Baltimore's antebellum eateries, black men were sought after to fill the ice cream saloons' wait staffs.[54] The practice of employing black male waiters, both free and enslaved, allowed eateries to resemble the atmosphere

of the dining halls of grand Maryland estates and hotels which were similarly staffed. Notably, where dining with an unrelated man could damage the reputation and public identity of a virtuous white woman in antebellum Baltimore, she did not have to fear a negative effect on her status from being served by a black man, even while dining alone. This contradiction existed because antebellum society was fully invested in protecting white women from threats potentially posed by black men, but when brought by white men, disrespect, mistreatment, and rape were culturally accepted as evidence of the female victim's moral failure rather than the man's. Public safety for antebellum women was unequal, selectively enforced, and easily lost.

The popularity of ice cream saloons in the city is best displayed by notices beyond the eateries' own plentiful advertisements, like an 1847 *Sun* ad for an ice-block delivery service that mentions the culinary businesses specifically in its sales pitch. And, in 1850, the paper ran an announcement about the upcoming state fair which was outfitted with a ladies' ice cream saloon for its attendees. The next year, the *Sun* published an ad for an ice cream saloon for the small but significant black middle class in the city. The "notice to the colored ladies and gentlemen of Baltimore" described the establishment as exceedingly luxurious and explained that single men were served in a separate dining room from women.[55] Importantly, the advertisement shows that middle-class black Baltimoreans participated in the adoption of amusement dining during the antebellum era, and that black women sought out status protecting public consumption experiences like their white counterparts. The broad popularity and quick success of the ice cream saloons is evidence that they were overwhelmingly not perceived to have the same negative effect on public reputation that was associated with patronizing restaurants.

As the 1850s progressed, ladies' ordinaries and ice cream saloons saw new competition for their customers arrive in the form of ladies' saloons (some with bowling lanes) and ladies' oyster houses. Both types of establishments had serious meals for offer and items vaguely referred to as refreshments, which likely included alcohol (unavailable at ice cream saloons). The brisk business these eateries were first doing in New York City was reported on in the *Sun* in 1843. As the paper stated on the subject, "another masculine privilege has gone over to the ladies."[56] A decade later, they were operating in Baltimore – often attached to for-gentlemen establishments – so that by the mid-1850s some for-ladies eateries in the city were providing a service style that was indistinguishable from a Parisian restaurant. But, as designated businesses within a woman's public sphere, for-ladies eateries did not cause the same fears about the public degradation of a woman's social status that came with restaurants. Birthed with a protected desig-

nation, for-ladies eateries proved to be the right social strategy for facilitating the complete adoption and adaption of Parisian-style dining in Baltimore.

Antebellum Baltimore's culinary businesses and their relationship with women does not present a straightforward line of progress, and it is not obvious what lessons the story surrounding the swift failure of the Parisian Restaurant leaves for lives lived today. In short, middle and upper-class women generally avoided the city's first restaurants. Even as the luxuriousness of those establishments improved during the antebellum era, they remained places perceived as dangerous to a woman's reputation, status, and safety. Women in nineteenth-century Baltimore did not have the privilege of determining their own worth and ignoring public disrespect, which is often promoted by the culture of twenty-first-century America. Having a poor public reputation in the antebellum era caused serious consequences, and women of status were compelled to be protective of their position in society. Thus, they preferred the relative safety provided by ladies' ordinaries and later ice cream saloons, where their consumer choice was significantly reduced as compared to at restaurants, but virtue and reputation went unharmed.

When the first Parisian-style restaurants arrived in the city in the late 1840s, they struggled to be perceived as different from the dangerous and masculine eateries that already existed, suffering financially as a result. Eventually, by the middle of the 1850s, for-ladies eateries provided the equivalent consumer choices of Parisian restaurants but with the social protections to reputation that came under the designation as a feminine consumer experience. Unlike restaurants, the ladies' saloons quickly flourished in Baltimore. Their acceptance helped to normalize full-service amusement dining for middle and upper-class women and popularize the social solution of gender-designated public eating spaces in nineteenth-century America. The tale of Baltimore's antebellum women and their nearly two-decade-long wait to be seated at a safe, respectable, and Parisian-style eatery, provides one example of how social rules are formed from individual decisions made for convenience under meaningful pressure and based on limited choices.

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A BEHAVIORAL APPROACH TO MEASURING EMPATHY

—

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Trevor Pitts is a Psychology major graduating in Spring 2019. Having been involved in research since his sophomore year, he has examined different topics relating to feminist psychology including gender differences in contingent self-worth and the effects of video games on attitudes towards women. Currently, he is working under Dr. Nicole Else-Quest to examine the efficacy of high school Gay-Straight Alliances on the long-term reduction of stigma against the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) community. He hopes to continue his research surrounding the LGBTQ community by pursuing a Ph.D. in social psychology after the completion of his bachelor's degree.

Kavita Kumar is a Health Administration and Policy major with a concentration in public health graduating in Spring 2019. She is currently working in the Social Determinants of Health Inequities (SoDHI) lab under the guidance of Dr. Danielle L. Beatty Moody on associations between adverse childhood experiences and cardiovascular and cerebrovascular diseases. Through her work in the SoDHI lab and this project, she hopes to gain a deeper understanding of study management and data analysis in the social sciences. In the future, she plans to use these experiences to study determinants and burden of disease among disadvantaged populations in developing countries.

A recent alumni and member of the Honors College, **Mai-Han Trinh** graduated in 2018 with a degree in Statistics. Throughout her undergraduate education, Mai-Han participated in research within the UMBC Department of Psychology, the Children's National Medical Center, and the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences. Mai-Han is currently a postbaccalaureate fellow at the National Institute of Child and Developmental Health. She plans to pursue a Ph.D. in epidemiology, with a concentration in health disparities research.

During Fall 2016, Mai-Han Trinh was enrolled in Creative Survey Design, a course co-taught by Dr. Simon Stacey, Dr. Stephen Freeland, and members of the Shriver Center. Prior to this course, the instructors had been involved in a research project that investigated how and where students develop affective skills during their time at UMBC. However, the instructors used self-assessment surveys to measure affective learning competencies and found their results to be limited by social desirability biases and survey-taker fatigue. The class was therefore designed so that students could work in interdisciplinary teams to create imaginative, engaging measurement instruments and overcome these previous study limitations. Accordingly, Mai-Han and her classmates created a scenario-based tool to measure empathy in their peers. Following the class, Mai-Han described the topics and research potential of her course to Kavita Kumar and Trevor Pitts, and together they decided to complete this project. The group collectively refined the measurement instrument and study design, winning an Undergraduate Research Award to support their work. In Spring 2018, the research team collected and analyzed data to evaluate their measure. This paper is a culmination of their work and aims to explain what they learned about empathy.

ABSTRACT

This study explored a novel approach to evaluate students' levels of empathy. Traditional approaches to measuring empathy consist of self-reported Likert-type scales that are susceptible to response bias. To reduce the influence of factors such as social desirability, the current measure used participants' responses to simulated situations designed to evoke empathetic reactions. The study's instrument is disguised as a high-stakes, computer-administered math quiz in which subjects interacted digitally with an on-line technological service representative after the program apparently crashed. For about one-third of the participants, the representative (IT-Rep) inserted a sympathetic, but irrelevant, story about problems in their life into the discussion about resolving the crash. Following the interaction with the IT-Rep, all participants were asked to provide a qualitative evaluation of the service received; these ratings assessed capacity for empathy from the extent to which participants sought to understand the IT representative's personal situation or instead rate them exclusively on the quality of technical assistance. The study sampled UMBC students, aged 18 to 25, to psychometrically evaluate this newly designed behavioral measure of empathy. The results indicate a small effect size such that empathy conditions were able to account for some of the differences in IT ratings. Future research should modify the measure to increase variation in responses.

INTRODUCTION

Empathy is a crucial trait that contributes to our ability to understand and respond to others (Gerdes & Segal, 2011). Despite its importance and wide use in psychology research, there has been a lack of consensus on the definition of empathy. Efforts to differentiate empathy from other associated concepts include distinguishing between empathy versus sympathy, cognitive versus affective empathy, and behavioral responses versus non-behavioral outcomes, to start. A review by Cuff, Brown, Taylor and Howat (2014) summarized empathy as "an emotional response that depends upon trait capacities and state influences...The resulting emotion is similar to one's perception (directly experienced or imagined) and understanding (cognitive empathy) of the stimulus emotion, with recognition that the source of the emotion is not one's own."

Past measures of empathy have commonly employed self-reported Likert-type scale questionnaires, likely resulting from their economic and logistical convenience (Gerdes, Segal, & Lietz, 2010). Although designed to measure different components of empathy, the Interpersonal Reactivity Index, Empathy Quotient,

and Toronto Empathy Questionnaire, for example, all make use of the Likert-type scale survey style (Baron-Cohen & Wheelright, 2004; Davis, 1983; Spreng, McKinnon, Mar, & Levine, 2009). Davis (1983) used four subscales to explore how often one spontaneously adopts the viewpoints of others (perspective taking), how often one feels sympathy and compassion for others (empathic concern), how often one feels distress in response to others' distress (personal distress), and how often one imagines themselves in fictional situations (fantasy scale). Alternatively, Spreng and colleagues (2009) sought to define empathy in a unidimensional way, whereas Baron-Cohen & Wheelright (2004) highlighted the impacts of cognition and affect in their definition of empathy. These scales have conceptualized empathy in different ways and, together, give a more comprehensive understanding. That said, self-reported Likert-type scales have accepted limitations.

Measures based on self-report are often subject to response bias. Considering the many personality characteristics, a researcher may wish to measure, the report of empathy in particular is strongly affected by social desirability (Lovett, 2007). Therefore, self-reported data may be more valuable when examined alongside observational measures, such as video assessment, pictorial tests, or behavioral simulations, which provoke explicit reactions to a specific person or situation (Gerdes et al., 2010; Lovett, 2007; Neumann, Chan, Boyle, Wang, & Westbury, 2015). However, few studies have investigated observational measures of empathy. One such study conducted by Völlm and colleagues (2006) used a series of comic strips, each portraying a short story. Participants were asked to put themselves in the place of the main character and describe the character's feelings. In one condition, participants were also asked to choose the ending that would "make the main character feel better." One limitation of this study lies in the fact that, though it is a performance-based measure, it may not be complex enough to reflect real-life situations (Neumann et al., 2015). In an attempt to avoid the risk of biases associated with self-report, while also immersing participants in a more realistic scenario, our research sought to evaluate a newly designed behavioral measure of empathy.

METHODS

Participants

University of Maryland, Baltimore County (UMBC) Institutional Review Board approval was obtained for this study, along with procedure-specific consent for all participants. Participants were recruited through two methods: 1) advertisement flyers posted around UMBC and 2) through the university's on-line psychology research sign-up system.

The data included 44 participants, randomly assigned to one of the following conditions: empathy-primed (*n* = 16), unresolved (*n* = 15), and resolved (*n* = 13). Although 44 participants were analyzed, 7 participants were missing information on demographic data. Of the participants with available information on demographics, the mean age was 20.32 years (*SD* = 1.77); 62% were female, and 46% were Asian American/Pacific Islander. Additional demographic information can be found in **Table 1**.

	Male (N = 14)		Female (N = 23)		Total (N = 37)	
Age: Mean (*SD*)						
	20.14	(2.00)	20.43	(1.65)	20.32	(1.77)
Race	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
AAPI	7	(50.0)	10	(43.5)	17	(45.9)
Black	2	(14.3)	6	(26.1)	8	(21.6)
Latinx	1	(7.1)	2	(8.7)	3	(8.1)
White	4	(28.6)	4	(17.4)	8	(21.6)
Multiracial	0	(0.0)	1	(4.3)	1	(2.7)

TABLE 1 Participant demographics.

Procedures

The first part of the study consisted of an on-line survey of demographic and so-cial attitude measures including empathy, personality, social dominance, religios-ity, and self-esteem. After one to two weeks, participants were given access to sign up for the second part of the study. This section required participants to come into a research lab and take a mathematics benchmark exam, part of a computer program which hid the study's true purpose of measuring empathy. Participants were told that they had 15 minutes to complete the benchmark and would receive additional raffle tickets towards a $50 gift card for every four questions answered correctly. Benchmark questions were taken from a set of practice problems for the Scholastic Assessment Test, a standardized college-preparatory assessment. Halfway through the benchmark, the page crashed, and a technical support box appeared at the bottom of the screen.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions and interacted with an information technology (IT) personnel to try to resolve the problem. The IT personnel, in reality one of the experimenters, responded to the participant using a pre-written chat script, though there was necessary variation in responses depending on participants' replies. Participants in the empathy-primed condition corresponded with an IT representative who described, irrelevantly, their troubles faced throughout the day but was ultimately unable to fix the problem (see **Appendix A**). Participants in the unresolved condition corresponded with an IT representative who limited the conversation to what was relevant to the situation but still was unable to fix the problem (see **Appendix B**). Lastly, participants in the resolved condition corresponded with an IT representative who also limited the conversation but additionally was able to fix the problem (see **Appendix C**).

After the crash was resolved, all participants completed a customer satisfaction survey and continued with the benchmark until the timer ended. The items in the customer satisfaction survey asked participants whether the problem was solved and asked them to rate, on a scale of 1-5, the IT representative's quality of service, helpfulness, friendliness, and the overall experience the participant had. When participants successfully finished the benchmark, they completed a final survey on empathy and the other measures identical to those of the initial on-line survey. Following completion of this survey, the experimenters debriefed participants on the true nature of the study and its use of deception. The experimenters also asked participants whether any part of the study had evoked suspicion.

Results

Analysis of our customer satisfaction survey data found that Cronbach's alpha, a measure that estimates internal consistency, was 0.95, indicating that participants were likely to rate similarly on the customer satisfaction items for IT service, helpfulness, friendliness, and overall experience. As a result, responses from the four items were averaged and used as an indicator of overall behavioral empathy. Testing for a difference in the mean IT service rating between the three conditions, $F(2, 41) = 1.98$, $p = .15$, partial $\eta^2 = .09$. Though a promising overall effect, this was due to participants in the resolved condition reporting higher overall satisfaction than either of the two other groups, as shown in **Figure 1** ($M_{\text{Resolved}} = 4.83$, $M_{\text{Empathy-primed}} = 4.33$, $M_{\text{Unresolved}} = 4.33$).

During debriefing, roughly 22% of the participants (10 of 44) expressed suspicions regarding the nature of the study. Due to data sparseness, a chi-square test could not be conducted, though it is noted that 60% (6 of 10) of these participants were in the empathy-primed condition. An exploratory analysis was re-conducted after omitting the 10 suspicious participants; this resulted in $F(2, 31) = 3.05$,

p = .062, and partial η^2 = .16. Not only was this a larger effect, but the pattern of mean differences was also more promising. The resolved condition still resulted in the highest mean (M_{Resolved} = 4.95), but the empathy-primed condition resulted in a higher mean ($M_{\text{Empathy-primed}}$ = 4.53) than the unresolved condition ($M_{\text{Unresolved}}$ = 4.29), as indicated by Figure 4. Though this was a nonsignificant difference (p = .38), it did correspond to a small effect size (partial η^2 = .02), suggesting promise in the methodology.
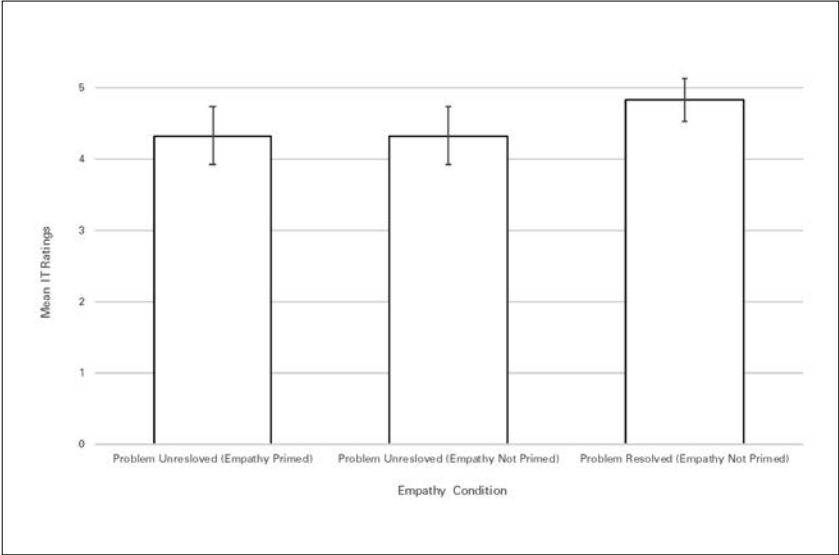

FIGURE 1 Mean ratings of IT service by condition.

DISCUSSION

In summary, after removal of participants who indicated suspicion about any aspect of the study, we observed that participants in the empathy-primed condition displayed a higher overall mean IT rating than participants in the unresolved condition. Participants in the resolved condition had the highest mean IT rating, as hypothesized. Self-disclosure theory explains that sharing intimate disclosures with others may lead to closer relationships and increased likability (Collins, Miller, 1994). Based on this theory, those in the empathy-primed condition should have rated the IT representative higher in friendliness compared to the non-empathy-primed conditions; however, this was not the case. Additionally, Bem's (1967) self-perception theory suggests that participants' self-reported empathy, although not used in this analysis, may have been influenced by the empathy-primed interaction with the IT personnel. It could be posited that par-

ticipants may have based their responses regarding empathy in the final survey on how they rated the IT personnel. Future analysis should seek to explore this relationship.

The study had some successes and limitations. Data analysis revealed that participants in the empathy-primed condition rated the IT personnel more highly, but the difference was not significant, likely due to the small sample size. Further data collection is needed to support these results. However, one of the limitations of the data was that the median of the IT service ratings for all the items was the same as the maximum score of 5. This indicated a ceiling effect such that participants across all conditions rated the IT personnel consistently highly,
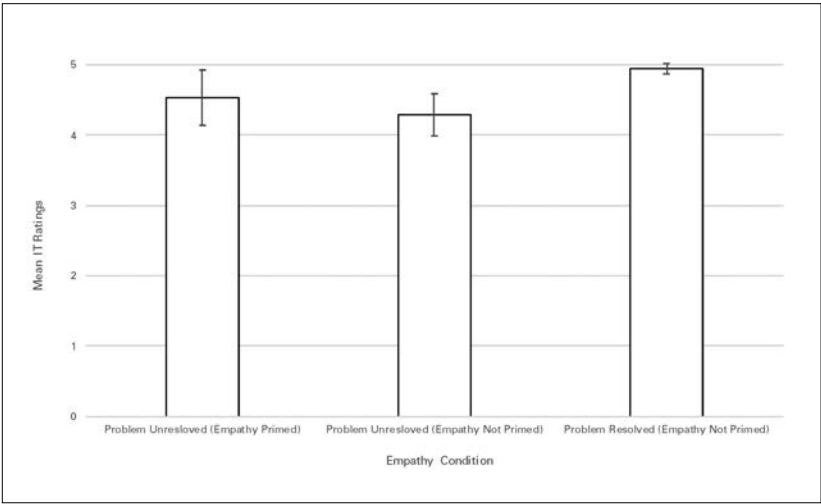
FIGURE 2 Mean ratings in IT service after removal of participants indicating suspicion.

which skewed the data. Moreover, some participants skipped questions in the IT service rating questionnaire entirely. This lack of variability in ratings and sometimes missing information can be attributed to poor wording in the IT service rating questionnaire or perhaps a lack of participant investment in the study itself. Future direction should include soliciting feedback from participants to reword questions for higher response variability, as well as making the service rating questions required in order for participants to proceed back to the mathematics benchmark.

Variation in study experimenters may have had an effect on the results, as well. Because of this study's use of deception, there was some acting involved in admin-

istering the mathematics benchmark and the following page crash. It is difficult for each individual experimenter to utilize this specific skill in the exact same way. An unexpected dilemma arose when some participants required further probing to engage with the IT chat box, such as instructions to examine the screen as a whole, which led to more improvised acting on the part of the experimenter. This, combined with the unique nature of the study and the somewhat rigid structure of the IT personnel's chat script, led some participants to question the simulation itself. The script for the empathy-primed condition, in particular, led to suspicion among participants, although the reasons for this suspicion differed (e.g., suspicion that the responses were automated). Future modifications could involve making the chat box more intuitive to use so that participants initiate dialogue with the IT personnel without probing by experimenters. With participant feedback, the chat script also needs refining to be more realistic.

Lastly, there were limitations regarding participant information. Not all participants had complete data across the on-line survey and in-person portion of the study, likely due to some participants incorrectly identifying their unique identification codes across the two time-points. Consequently, there is not full demographic information for all participants because these data were obtained in the initial on line survey, and data could not be matched across the study time-points. The current system asks participants to use the first three letters of their mother's first name and the last two digits of their primary phone number. This challenge indicates that the participant identification code system needs refinement.

Future analyses should be performed to test the validity of our empathy measure in comparison to self-reported empathy, as measured in the initial on-line survey and final survey. It will also be of interest to examine the ways in which demographic characteristics, such as race, gender, and major of study, influence participants' behavioral empathy. Further analyses will also investigate the association between empathy and personality, social dominance, religiosity, and self-esteem.

CONCLUSION

This pilot study provided interesting data upon which the proposed methodology can be refined and further explored. Although the sample size was not large enough to detect significant results, the data suggest that participants are more likely to display empathetic behavior when placed into the empathy-primed condition. Because those in the empathy-primed condition rated the IT representative more highly, this study gives promising results to support the measure as a valid test of empathy.

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APPENDIX A

Group 1 Empathy-Primed Condition (Not Resolved)

1. Hi, we are working to fix this issue. So sorry for the inconvenience. This is my second day at Helpdesk.

2. Yeah, sorry again, it's been a bit of a rough day.

3. I woke up late today because I was up late trying to put my daughter to bed, and then I had to sit in traffic for about an hour this morning. I got to work like 20 minutes late and my boss probably hates me now.

4. Yeah and then I've been getting rude customers all day, and I'm afraid they'll give me low ratings. I've been seeing so many bad ratings come in today. I'm usually not like this.

5. Sorry for the unprofessionalism. It's just been a really bad day.

6. And my daughter is out of school early today, so I have to pick her up, but I don't get off work til 5.

7. So basically, she has to wait in the daycare center until I can get her...I hope the people let her wait there even after daycare ends. I'm so worried.

8. I hope you don't think I'm an awful parent. There's just no one else at home to pick her up, and I only took this job so that I could pay for rent and food.

9. Thanks for listening to all of this. I know I'm just supposed to be fixing your survey. I'll stop going on about my day now.

10. Okay, so I was able to get the survey back up, but it will need to reset the test. Unfortunately, this means you'll need to restart the test from the last question, so you will have a different set of questions, but you will still get the full 15 minutes to answer the questions.

11. A short customer satisfaction survey should pop up now. Could you take a quick minute to let me know how I'm doing? Thank you for your patience. I'll redirect you back to the study after.

APPENDIX B

Group 2 Unresolved Condition

1. Hi, we are working to fix this issue. So sorry for the inconvenience.

2. Sorry, I'm having a little trouble figuring out what's happening, but I'm doing my best to resolve the issue. Please wait a few minutes.

3. Okay, so I was able to get the survey back up, but it will need to reset the test. Unfortunately, this means you'll need to start the test from the last question, so you have a different set of questions, but you will still get the full 15 minutes to answer the questions.

4. A short customer satisfaction survey should pop up now. Could you take a quick minute to let me know how I'm doing? Thank you for your patience. I'll redirect you back to the study after.

APPENDIX C

Group 3 (Control) Resolved Condition

1. Hi, we are working to fix this issue. So sorry for the inconvenience.

2. Sorry, I'm having a little trouble figuring out what's happening, but I'm doing my best to resolve the issue. Please wait a few minutes.

3. Okay, so I was able to get the survey back up to your last question. The timer paused once your survey crashed. It should start again after this chat box closes.

4. A short customer satisfaction survey should pop up now. Could you take a quick minute to let me know how I'm doing? Thank you for your patience. I'll redirect you back to the study after.

    NOTE The script was modified depending on the conversation with the participant.

APPENDIX D

Outline of topics for debriefing:

a. Ask participant if they have any questions or concerns.
   Give them time to process and generate.

b. Ask participant to summarize what happened and to guess what the investigators think they're going to find.

c. Ask participant if anything unusual happened during study.

d. Ask participant if they felt the computer crash was genuine.

e. Apologize for the mild deception and explain the true purpose of the study.

f. Ask participant again if they were suspicious.

g. Ask participant if they are bothered by the procedures.

h. Ask participant if they can explain why the mild deception was necessary.

i. Continue talking with participant until they are comfortable with the true nature of the study and the need for the mild deception.

BALTIMORE'S CHINATOWN: PRESERVING THE MEMORY OF A CONFLICTED COMMUNITY

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KELLY WAN

Kelly Wan graduated in Spring 2018 with a Bachelor of Arts in Global Studies and a Bachelor of Science in Financial Economics, as well as two minors in Chinese and Asian American Studies. She was a Humanities scholar and a member of the Honors College. Currently, Kelly attends Columbia University as a graduate student in American Studies at the Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race. Her academic interests focus on Asian Americans' dual identities, specifically those of second-generation Americans, and whitewashing in mass media. Kelly would like to thank her mentor, Dr. Nicole King, and Andrew Holter for reviewing her work throughout the research process.

As a freshman Humanities scholar, I took a Humanities seminar, co-taught by Dr. Nicole King of American studies and Dr. Kate Drabinski of Gender + Women's Studies, that focused on the importance of place and history in Baltimore City. In this course, each scholar was assigned to choose a location in the city and research its significance. During my search process, I discovered Baltimore's Chinatown and became enamored not only with its impact on the overall fabric of the city, but also reasons to preserve the area and its memory. My research discusses the complex history of Baltimore's Chinatown, preservation strategies used by Chinatowns in other cities around the United States, and current efforts in commemorating the neighborhood, namely the Charm City Night Market. Through this seminar and mentorship by Dr. King, I found my academic interests in Asian American studies, public humanities,

ABSTRACT

Baltimore's Chinatown presents a unique case study in the transformation of a site of segregation and isolation to a center of celebration and connection for the greater Asian American community. My research focuses on the reasons to commemorate and preserve the immigrant-built neighborhood. Using urban ethnography, interviews, and supporting textual analysis, I explore Chinatown's complex origins, prime, decline, and current plans for future revitalization, such as the night market spearheaded by The Chinatown Collective, an organization dedicated to preserving Chinatown through creative means. Although Chinatown suffered from suburban flight and assimilation into American society, the area functions as a space for Asian Americans to congregate, facilitating cultural exchange and shared background. This paper discusses how Chinatown acts as the catalyst for Asian Americans to reconnect with their heritage, foster belonging in a diverse space, and open a dialogue on both contemporary Asian American urban identity and Chinatown's importance on the overall patchwork of Baltimore.

INTRODUCTION

No longer "the ethnic group nobody ever hears about"

Velvet greens, deep reds, and bright yellows weave through the light gray artificial scallops that dot the side of a building. Two creatures, a traditional Chinese dragon and an Ethiopian lion, find themselves linked to one another as they survey their kingdom: the gate to Baltimore's Chinatown at the intersection of Park Avenue and Mulberry Street. These two different beasts are connected in the mural painted by artist Jeff Huntington (Tkacik) to represent the multi-layered cultures and tastes of past and present immigrant residents living in this specific region. Park and Mulberry house the last remaining vestiges of a community long forgotten by many Baltimoreans. With only an adjacent restaurant and convenience store, Zhongshan and Potung Oriental, respectively, Chinatown has dwindled from once lining Park Avenue with businesses to dilapidated buildings with faded Chinese characters and architectural designs. Other people have moved into several of these buildings; an Ethiopian restaurant and grocery store directly mirror its Chinese counterparts. This section of Chinatown exemplifies the multicultural layering of downtown development and Baltimore's diverse history of immigration, which is often seen in only black and white.

Unlike in many redeveloped Chinatowns in the United States, Baltimore's Chinatown lacks an iconic arch used to commemorate historic East Asian neighborhoods. Without a symbol to represent the former central hub of Baltimore's Chinese immigrant population, most city dwellers overlook the area as another abandoned part of the city, ready for gentrification. Although the vibrancy of the area has declined from its prime during the 1960s, the public should remember Baltimore's Chinatown for its stories that illustrate the struggle between assimilating into American society and maintaining cultural heritages and traditions for both Chinese immigrants and their Chinese American children. Preserving Chinatown's memory allows future Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans to have a place of belonging where they can embrace their ethnic identities, thereby transforming a site of isolation and segregation into a center of celebration and community.

To analyze Chinatown's transition from the early 1900s to present day, my methodology combines urban ethnography, interviews, and textual analysis. Exploring the physical environment of Baltimore's Chinatown allows visitors to understand how the remnants of the old neighborhood are still present, such as Chinese architecture and insignias that mark the majority of the buildings. To better trace the time-line of Chinatown, particularly its origins, I used historical *Baltimore Sun* articles and vertical files found in the Maryland Room at the Enoch Pratt Free Library. To understand Chinatown's prime, subsequent decline, and the community's wishes for potential revitalization, I conducted interviews with former and current residents, as well as with interested parties of the area, such as The Chinatown Collective and the historic preservation group, Baltimore Heritage. Scholarly journal articles (Yee 2012, Liu 2012, Wei 2012, Ling 2005, Hathaway and Ho 2003) compare Chinatowns in other cities to Baltimore's in order to answer why these neighborhoods have continued to thrive. Many of these articles focus on Chinatowns along the east coast and the San Francisco Bay area. Other journal articles demonstrate how Pan-Asian American events have influenced Baltimore's Chinatown and vice versa, particularly on Asian American identity.

While primary texts provide plenty of details in constructing the time-line of Chinatown, they do not sufficiently capture what residents and others in the area envision for Chinatown's future. These historical sources are restricted in scope from the early to middle decades of the 20th century. My methods involve using firsthand accounts from several interviewees who were or are directly involved in the neighborhood to move the intellectual conversation in a new direction of how Chinatown can be revitalized. Of my interview subjects, Stephanie Hsu from The Chinatown Collective, an organization composed of social

event planners, discussed her perspective on Chinatown's stories and plans of creating a night market to expand the small Chinese community. Hsu, who has personally surveyed Chinatown and interviewed its residents, possesses a wide knowledge of the area, but her interview presents a few limitations. She and The Chinatown Collective represent only a small portion of what residents envision for the community, leaving room for differing opinions and ideas on Chinatown's future.

This kind of conflict, where community members disagree on the fate of a shared space, has arisen among Chinatowns in other cities, such as New York City's, as described by Nick Tabor in *New York Magazine's* 2015 article "How Has Chinatown Stayed Chinatown." Tabor learned that residents of New York City's Chinatown are split between developing the area to cater towards economic ambitions instead of preserving its economic leniency and network to help new immigrants settle into the area (Tabor). In contrast with New York City's Chinatown and the divide about its future landscape, the residents of Philadelphia's Chinatown in the 1970s were adamant about maintaining its original structure during the 1970s. Published in 2012 for the historical magazine, *Pennsylvania Legacies*, Mary Yee's article, "The Save Chinatown Movement: Surviving against All Odds," demonstrates a community's effort in preventing the disappearance of a neighborhood through social and political advocacy. Their movement was successful in saving Philadelphia's Chinatown, something that Baltimore's Chinatown could have benefited from. To understand the reasons for remembering and preserving Baltimore's Chinatown, I have outlined the community's major events, beginning with history, the prime of the neighborhood, reasons for decline, and contemporary conversations on revitalization.

HISTORY

Chinese immigration to the United States began with the California Gold Rush of the 19th century, where the wealth of gold mines and the need for labor to create the transcontinental railroad attracted many. Once immediate opportunities were exhausted, numerous immigrants migrated eastward, looking for fresh beginnings. For some, the new destination was Baltimore. The first recorded Chinese resident to Baltimore, Gee Ott, arrived in 1885. He owned Empire Restaurant on 200 West Fayette Street (*Baltimore Chinatown Project*). On contemporary maps of Baltimore, the location of Ott's restaurant is exactly one block from the earliest origins of Chinatown: the 200 block of Marion Street located in the downtown area of Baltimore.

During Chinatown's infancy on Marion Street, records reveal that contentious moments occurred inside the neighborhood between two civic associations, the Freemasons and the Empire Reform Association, whose members clashed both with each other and with the legal authorities. The Freemasons were "Chinamen […] exerting themselves to their utmost in this country in an effort to overthrow the present Government of China and establish a more liberal form of government in its stead," while the Reformers worked towards "the betterment of their country and for the welfare of their fellow-countrymen who make their home in this country" ("A Peep into Chinatown"). The conflict between the two arose when the Empire Reform Association gained more members, slowly outnumbering the Freemasons. This caused alleged trickery and deceit among neighbors and friends, as stated in a historical newspaper article by a Baltimorean resident, "'for ways that are dark and tricks that are vain…the heathen Chinese is peculiar'" ("A Peep into Chinatown"). With only circumstantial evidence available to corroborate accusations, many of these petty disputes were unfounded by the authorities.

In the eyes of their white neighbors, the Chinese were foreign in behavior, particularly when residents confronted one another indirectly through devious schemes to discredit members of the opposing faction. One particular Chinese resident, Der Doo, was targeted by the Freemasons who disliked him and his position as acting secretary of the Baltimore branch of the Chinese Reform society. During one incident in 1906, some Freemasons accused Der Doo of arson. They claimed he set his own shop aflame to receive the insurance benefit, an allegation that was later dismissed in trial ("I'll Clear Marion St."). These two factions conjured up false tales about one another in hopes that members would leave town, decreasing the favoring of one faction over the other. The back and forth fighting grew to such a vulgar state that Justice Loden, the judge who presided over Der Doo's case, stated his intention to "clean up Marion street, or it will clean me up" ("I'll Clear Marion St."), referring to the dire situation of Chinatown.

In addition to the faction fight, problems involving excessive gambling, and the selling and consumption of opium incited physical altercations and public disturbances among city residents. Even before the schism between the Freemasons and Reformers occurred, Baltimore police were raiding opium houses, such as Lee Ying's "Opium Joint." Located on the corner of Park Avenue and Marion Street, this venue was embroiled in controversy when two young white women were spotted there, causing police to investigate if they participated in smoking opium ("Opium 'Joint' Raided"). This specific case raises the question of what the real issue behind the case was: the presence of drug paraphernalia or two young white women and their proximity to the Chinese and their opium.

Besides opium cases, the police also broke up gambling houses that caused too many noise complaints from 1896 to 1908. They charged those playing in the Fantan games, a Chinese version of roulette, with disturbing the peace ("Fantan Game Interrupted"). As the tensions increased and arrests became more frequent, Justice Loden issued another warning to Chinatown residents stating, "'These disturbances […] must cease. There has been too much trouble down there, and the next Chinaman sent in here charged with disorderly conduct or disturbing the peace in that vicinity I intend to charge with being habitually disorderly, and I will send some of them to the House of Correction for six months if they don't look out'" ("He Warns Chinatown"). This tone of severity may have influenced some of the Chinese residents to change their behaviors, but ultimately the expansion of businesses from Lexington and Fayette Streets displaced the smaller stores owned by the Chinese ("Chinese Clubhouse to Move"). In 1912, with the influx of outside businesses into Marion Street, Chinese immigrants were slowly relocated only a few blocks away to the current area of Park and Mulberry, the emerging downtown business district of the early 20th century.

CHINATOWN'S PRIME, (1912-1960)

Similar to its former location, the new Chinatown consisted of numerous self-owned and operated businesses, ranging from restaurants, taverns, and hotels to laundries, merchant shops, and even the problematic gambling houses. After moving to Park and Mulberry, news reports of opium usage and Fantan gaming seemingly disappeared, hinting at an internal shift from the conflict between the Freemasons and Reformers to a conflict between holding onto cultural ties and assimilating into American society. Upon their arrival to Baltimore, many Chinese immigrants were unprepared for their new lives and environment. They did not speak the English language, wore different styles of clothing, and behaved outside the expected realm of norms ("A Peep into Chinatown"). Seeking assistance for their transition to American society, new immigrants turned towards the Grace and St. Peter's Church, located three blocks away from Chinatown on Park Avenue and Monument Street in Mount Vernon. In 1921, Chinatown's residents began to frequent the church, where two sisters, Frances L. and Florence Marguerite Marshall, "taught [the Chinese] English, […] encouraged them and helped them find housing, […] visited them in their homes and were always available to counsel with material and spiritual wants" (Rehert). From the Marshall sisters' generosity and use of religious teachings, the Chinese community developed a close relationship with the church, which led many Chinese immigrants to convert to Christianity. By adopting the Christian faith, Chinatown established its own religious center within the Grace and St. Peter's Church,

organizing a Sunday School for Bible study. They also used the church as a meeting space for the Cantonese Language School, created in 1932, where future Chinatown generations learned their parents' native tongue (Chin). These two programs were the beginnings of a community network that allowed Chinese residents to strike a balance between assimilation and tradition.

To further foster a sense of togetherness and facilitate upward mobility in American society, Chinatown residents formed several organizations that involved entrepreneurial, political, and social functions. Owners of the stores that lined Park and Mulberry formed the On Leong Chinese Merchant Association of Baltimore, whose primary "purpose was to protect the Chinese business establishment, give legal advice, regulate business, register business, conduct business transactions, and provide financial help by means of a credit union" (Chin). Many Chinese shop owners had difficulty maintaining a steady stream of income and looked towards the On Leong Chinese Merchant Association of Baltimore for temporary solutions. This demonstrates the community support system built between established business owners and emerging ones.

In politics, there was Gee Kung Tong, also known as the Chinese Free Masons, a nominal variation on the Freemasons faction from Marion Street, and Kuomintang and Min Chih Tang, which combined to form The Consolidated Chinese Association. The former organization was used to garner support for overthrowing the Celestial Empire in China, when Chinatown was still on Marion Street, but it later became a charitable foundation, once Chinatown relocated to Park and Mulberry. The latter organization "concentrated [on] efforts to support the Chinese war against Japan" (Chin), specifically the second Sino-Japanese War between the Kuomintang of China and the Empire of Japan that lasted from 1937 to 1945, by collecting monetary donations before dissolving after the war ended. During this time period, the Kuomintang established the Republic of China, overthrowing the last emperor of the Qing dynasty. When the Japanese invaded China, many Chinatown residents felt a duty to help in the war effort despite living in the United States—they wanted to protect their first home. With these civic focused organizations, Chinatown held its motherland's interests in mind, even though its citizens built their lives in an entirely different country. A feeling of togetherness was deeply rooted in the shared backgrounds of the Chinese immigrants.

The Chinese Benevolent Association of Baltimore (CBA), comprised of the majority of Chinese families and community associations, was the most influential organization in Chinatown during the 1950s to 1970s. Originally founded during the Gold Rush to combat immigration laws against the Chinese, Balti-

more's CBA played a different role in helping Chinatown residents who needed assistance (Chin). This demonstrates the continued cultivation of community, as it provided a network of both businesses and individuals that people could rely on for financial and cultural aid. With the help of the CBA, Chinatown had the ability to host celebrations and community events, such as the annual Chinese New Year festival. Katherine "Kitty" Chin, a former business owner and resident of Chinatown, recalls her time participating in some of these activities:

[For] Chinese New Year, we would have a lion dance [and] a parade here, and we would get permission from the city to block off this block, so no cars would be coming through. We would [also] have our friends here. We had our Asian festival here at the 300 block of Park Avenue, [where] we had food from the different restaurants […], stands and an area with things to sell, […] [along with] a platform for performers (Chin).

Chinatown acted as a connecting link for residents. Not only did the neighborhood provide them a place to gather and exchange their shared cultures and customs, it also allowed them to build a more socially active and involved community. Chin experienced this firsthand, when friends and neighbors invited her to renovate her small cooking school into a restaurant. She comments, "[I was] cooking Chinese food from a nutritional aspect. It was very successful. […] As years went by, everyone said they would like to see us open up a restaurant, so what we did was we converted the [adjacent] food shop and my cooking school into a restaurant, and [it] was referred to as the International Gourmet Center" (Chin). These kinds of supportive bonds and relationships in Chinatown highlight the importance of community for those living and working there. From these strong attachments to the neighborhood, many residents held aspirations for what the entire area could become. Calvin Chin, Kitty Chin's husband and a member of the CBA, was ambitious enough to propose the construction of a fourteen-story Asian Culture Center to the Baltimore City government back in the 1970s (Chin). While this building could have become the new center of Chinatown, its creation did not come to fruition. Funding restrictions may have been the drawback to this project.

CHINATOWN'S DECLINE, (1960-1980)

With such a tight knit community, Chinatown should have flourished over the decades, but its light faded tremendously as assimilation into American society, otherwise known as Americanization, became crucial for Chinese immigrants' survival. As minorities, Chinese immigrants faced racial discrimination.

The earliest instance began alongside the height of the California Gold Rush with the Anti-Coolie Act of 1862, which enforced a monthly tax only on Chinese laborers. Through the years, other federal laws that barred immigration and naturalization followed, namely the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which prohibited all Chinese immigrants from entering the United States (Office of the Historian). Historian Meredith Oyen touches upon the tumultuous relationship between the United States' Sinophobia and Chinese immigrants in her book, *The Diplomacy of Migration: Transnational Lives and the Making of U.S.–Chinese Relations in the Cold War*. Oyen mentions "…the [U.S.-Chinese] relationship became increasingly uneven […], opening the door for the United States to seek and obtain extraterritoriality […] for its citizens in China even while passing an act to exclude Chinese laborers from the United States, as well as tolerating discrimination and injustices visited upon Chinese sojourners" (Oyen).

Of the many racial injustices that fell upon the Chinese in the United States, one such was the noteworthy Supreme Court case, *Lum v. Rice*, which prohibited a Chinese American student from attending an all-white school (Begley). The decision from *Lum v. Rice* segregated Chinese students into "colored" schools, originally meant for African American students. Despite this racial discrimination, Chinese American children in Baltimore were allowed to attend white schools, a decision made by the city government in 1897. At the time, Mayor Hooper found "nothing objectionable in the Chinese […] obtaining tuition at the white schools" ("Is He White or Colored"). Although Mayor Hooper's words were meant to be inclusive, his statement was well indicative of the model minority myth that continues to perpetuate stereotypes for Chinese Americans, particularly in the area of education.

While Chinese immigrants in Baltimore gained an unlikely advocate in local government, the exclusion era continued into the 20th century, as Chinese immigrants faced more than just racial segregation in classrooms—they were also wary of the residual post-World War II animosity towards Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans, along with Cold War era anxiety, especially with Maoism in China. As political history and foreign affairs became more visible through the growth of mass media, many Chinese individuals were cautious in the manner in which they presented themselves to society. They tried their best to seamlessly blend into American society and avoid attention. Yet, Chinatown was still noticed. During the Baltimore '68 riots, the two weeks of civil disturbances caused by the aftermath of Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination and Baltimore's participation in unfair housing for non-whites (Pietila), Chinatown was surprisingly left intact. Sharon Reuter, the owner of Charm City Chews, a food tour around the city, attests that "no restaurants were bothered […] I think the blacks felt like

[the Chinese] were also another minority, and they really didn't do anything to harm what was Chinatown" (Reuter).

Though Chinatown received acknowledgment from a fellow minority group that was speaking out against racial discrimination, Chinese immigrants continued to remain inconspicuous. Trading silence for anonymity, they chased the American Dream vicariously through their children. Many Chinese immigrants held lofty expectations for their children, such as learning English, attending an English-speaking school, dressing in nontraditional clothing, and practicing Christianity (Schmidt). Some parents even went to extremes, discouraging their children from learning their native tongue or culture. This kind of cultural distancing was vital for assimilation, especially if first-generation Chinese Americans wanted to be perceived as American. Thus, the next generation of Chinatown, specifically those born after the 1970s, lost part of its identity.

With the mindset of assimilating well in order to achieve the American Dream, parents focused on their children's future prosperity in the professional rather than employment in the service industry, which earlier generations of Chinese immigrants worked in. Social mobility was considered a byproduct of Americanization, so a sizable portion of Chinese immigrants' children received degrees in scholarly or professional fields and pursued occupations that paid well above minimum wage. Accustomed to their white-collar jobs and growing wealth, these Chinese Americans moved out of Baltimore and into the suburbs ("Park-Mulberry Different..."). Those who would have been the future members of Chinatown had seemingly abandoned their urban lifestyle for one of comfort and perceived security in the suburbs. By the 1980s, Baltimore, like many rust belt cities, was suffering from deindustrialization and the flight of middle-class residents that appeared around most urban areas after the World War II. As more and more people left, Chinatown descended further into obscurity.

In 1983, the busy scene of Park and Mulberry had transformed into an intersection of abandoned and neglected buildings, boarded up shops, a lonesome convenience store, and an empty restaurant (Gunther). Throughout the following decades, Chinatown existed in this state of disrepair. Nevertheless, the remnants of Chinese characters and fragmented store names on several of the buildings, such as Jimmy's Chinese Food Carry Out or New China Inn (Gunther), make it apparent that this single block once entertained a formerly vivacious community. These fading pieces of Chinatown's past are reminders to the public of what these buildings were: businesses and centers for cultural communication and connection.

CHINATOWN'S REVITALIZATION, (1980-PRESENT)

During the mid-1980s, descendants of Chinatown's residents realized how derelict the area had become and were determined to revitalize the intersection. This shift in interest occurred because of two reasons: the Asian American rights movement, partially created by the wrongful murder of fellow Chinese American, Vincent Chin, and the leniency of his attackers' sentencing (Yip); and the influx of other Asian immigrants, such as Koreans, Japanese, Vietnamese, Filipinos, and Indians, building their own neighborhoods in Baltimore. Seeing both merciful convictions for perpetrators of a hate crime and the appearance of new communities across the city, Chinese Americans in Baltimore channeled their outrage into positive local change. Instead of concentrating solely on the Asian American rights movement, they turned towards their forgotten origins and chose to rehabilitate Chinatown, an idea that the Chinese community elders who still resided in the region supported. Both parties wanted to bring back the sense of family and connection. Kitty Chin supported this decision commenting "my husband and I were very sorry to see [Chinatown] die away. […] We were always proud of our roots and always wanted to see Chinatown come back" (Chin).

Though the Chinese Benevolent Association failed in their first attempt at building the Asian Culture Center in the late 1970s, they planned to construct another one that would serve as apartments, offices, and retail spaces in the 1980s (Martin). The entire project seemed daunting and thoroughly unfeasible. Much like their initial attempts, the Chinese community did not have the appropriate funding without the financial support from the city government, an unlikely benefactor for the $20 million project (Martin). Of the residents involved in promoting this planned center, those who had experienced the steadfast sense of community held a deeper passion for the construction venture. In contrast, the younger generation, who had barely lived in the area, were only aware of the strong connection of transnational Asian American issues, not the unwavering community of Chinatown. This lack of interest from the younger generation may have affected the lack of funding, as the city government may not have seen a wide enough range of support from everyone that the commercialized center would cater to. Nevertheless, there was still motivation among the people involved in the enterprise, who argued that the construction would unite the separate Asian communities that had gradually appeared, teach younger generations about their culture and heritage, and ultimately show the rest of Chinatown's influence on downtown Baltimore (Rozhan). Although this revitalization plan halted in the discussion and funding phases, the notion of renovating Chinatown continued to spur interest among residents and visitors, who were either reminiscing of the past or looking towards the future.

Current efforts in revitalizing Chinatown take on a smaller approach, combining social, cultural, and economic activity in the form of the Charm City Night Market. Tracing back to the Tang and Song dynasties of China before gaining momentum around the 1950s, night markets are similar to street festivals. They contain numerous street vendors in one place, offering consumers food, entertainment, and merchandise to peruse (Jordan), predominately functioning as a leisure space. However, the idea for a night market in Baltimore's Chinatown serves as more than a hot spot for interested participants. Spearheaded by The Chinatown Collective, a group of event planners who share the same vision and drive in revitalizing Chinatown through creative avenues (Hsu), this night market will act as a conversation starter. By launching the Charm City Night Market in Chinatown, it acknowledges the historical roots and highlights a forgotten community, but most importantly, it encourages people to think about the context of the area. What existed here before this night market? What will happen to the small immigrant owned businesses when development occurs, and how will the city's landscape change? These are only some of the questions that The Chinatown Collective hopes people who visit the night market will ask themselves and others.

Although The Chinatown Collective's idea for a night market aids in opening a dialogue between residents and visitors of Baltimore's Chinatown, the organization has more ambitious goals. They want to galvanize generations of Chinese Americans to view Baltimore City not simply as another place to live; instead they envision a space where Chinese Americans can "invest, grow, and see [them] selves as a part of Baltimore, not as a third other" (Hsu). This idea of weaving a marginalized group into the fabric of a city echoes the layering cultures in Chinatown with the presence of Ethiopian immigrants and prompts further discussions of racial demographics in urban centers. Stephanie Hsu, a founder of The Chinatown Collective, arrived in Baltimore through the Venture for America fellowship, where she and fellow Asian Americans among her cohort conversed about Asian representation in urban areas. Hsu explains,

There [was] a big question of what it meant to be Asian American in cities where the conversation around race is predominately black and white. In Baltimore City, that's very much the case, and I think when I've spoken with any number of long term Asian American residents in Baltimore City, they feel a similar sentiment. So, I think with The Chinatown Collective, it's very much about creating a kind of landing pad or a home base where people who are looking to put down roots can anchor on to, and that's part of the idea and mission behind it. And, long term [we want] to provide actual resources to businesses and artists that are starting out in the city. But, [they are] all lofty goals that I hope we can achieve overtime.

With such a grounded target for Baltimore's Chinatown and the city overall, The Chinatown Collective is utilizing social means to facilitate cultural and economic activity for the area. The Charm City Night Market aims to stoke curiosity about Chinatown among both Asians and non-Asians through celebration and cultural exchange, a particularly significant factor to the founding organization. The Chinatown Collective does not want Chinatown or the night market to be insular, existing in a vacuum only for the Asian American community, but to be accessible to people of all races and ethnicities. "It's very much about *how* do we share who we are," Hsu says, "which is both Asian and American, with the larger Baltimore narrative."

Before plans were delayed, the Charm City Night Market was supposed to open sometime in May 2018, the month designated as Asian Pacific American Heritage Month. Strategically, The Chinatown Collective wanted to align their night market launch with this time frame as a way to simultaneously honor and inspire creativity among the Asian American community. Hsu explains that many Asian Americans have difficulty in pinpointing where they belong, especially in urban settings where the narrative typically focuses on Caucasian and African American histories. Asian Americans generally feel underrepresented and hidden. In Baltimore's Chinatown, there is an opportunity to reverse this sentiment with the night market. During the past several decades, Chinatown blossomed from community festivities that were tied to shared culture and background, and now the same situation applies. Instead of forming relationships around the context of immigration, hardship, and the American Dream, Chinese Americans are connecting with one another through their generational identities regarding dual social and cultural experiences. Hsu notes how "we've come to a place and a point where [we're] […] taking all of those different pieces and weaving them together into something that fits into the larger patchwork of Baltimore City." Chinese Americans are rediscovering and reshaping the contemporary Asian American urban identity in Baltimore.

Other than facilitating conversations about social and cultural aspects of Chinatown, the Charm City Night Market will also provide street vendors and current businesses owners direct opportunities for economic gains, something that has helped Chinatowns in other cities to thrive. Despite undergoing similar shifts in suburban flight and turnover in businesses, New York City's Chinatown has managed to transform its neighborhood into a tourist attraction. Many of the immigrant-opened businesses have been passed down through the family, upholding the original owners' intentions while allowing subsequent generations to develop their own styles (Tabor). Specifically, New York City's Chinatown revels in its restaurants, whether they are "holes in the wall" or upscale venues. Deemed

as the key to prosperity, the restaurant culture reflects fluctuation in immigration patterns and diversity of Asian residents, who agree that "food define[s] the neighborhood" (Tabor), by serving both traditional Chinese cuisines and appealing to mainstream tastes. The fine balance between modernity and tradition is the tactic to attract new consumers and keep the regulars.

Even though New York City's Chinatown has succeeded in maintaining a strong presence in an ever changing urban setting, it has also seen its fair share of problems, especially with gentrification and expanding development. Some residents agree with constructing commercial and residential centers, while others refuse to change the neighborhood structure, adamant about keeping Chinatown, "Chinatown." The future of New York City's Chinatown faces the same dilemma as Baltimore's, where community members argue for its historical importance, how "[Chinese immigrants] flocked to Chinatown [...] for a reprieve from the exclusion and racism they felt in the diaspora of [the city]" (Tabor). If development occurs, there are serious concerns about New York City's Chinatown slowly disappearing. Outside businesses will encroach into the community space, shifting the financial situation towards larger corporations and excluding or even shutting down smaller businesses, such as tourist approved eateries or shops. This kind of change in the area leaves few opportunities for new Chinese immigrants who come to Chinatown seeking economic assistance, usually in the form of minimum wage employment at a fellow immigrant owned business. Without these businesses, people leave, and without them, the neighborhood fails to be Chinatown anymore. The community aspect of cultural exchange and knowledge, of being able to understand, explain, and contextualize the history becomes absent. This sentiment mirrors the state of Baltimore's Chinatown. Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans who are seeking connection to a physical location and its associations are left to their own resources.

While New York City's Chinatown struggles with the fate of its neighborhood through differing perspectives of residents and property owners, Philadelphia's Chinatown has not experienced these kinds of internal arguing. Instead of running into conflicts amongst themselves, residents in Philadelphia's Chinatown are more than happy to maintain the current state of the community, as urban renewal and development have caused past concerns for its survival. The most significant time was the Save Chinatown movement of the 1960s, when city planners discussed building a highway that ran straight down Chinatown's center. To prevent construction and protect their community, residents banded together, using social and political advocacy as tactics to persuade city officials in placing the highway elsewhere (Yee). Despite the intergenerational conflicts and language barriers between the older immigrants and younger Chinese Amer-

icans, these two unlikeliest of allies galvanized their peers to save Chinatown, a place that mattered to both generations. The Save Chinatown movement was successful because a strong community existed, and people were willing to spend their time and efforts towards an area that gave them meaning and connection. Baltimore's Chinatown had a similar sense of community before its decline. With the Charm City Night Market, a new community can emerge and partake in preserving the space dedicated towards the Chinese and greater Asian American population of Baltimore.

Full of ambition and hope, The Chinatown Collective has larger goals in mind for Chinatown, but its main focus is to succeed with the opening of the Charm City Night Market. Inspired by other night markets produced by Asian American communities, such as the Night Market Cleveland and the 626 Night Market located in Los Angeles and Orange County, The Chinatown Collective aspires for its own night market to become as popular or large as these. However, the core difference lies in the planners' mission statement. While the Night Market Cleveland and 626 Night Market present themselves as fun, touristy events that "showcase[s] local entrepreneurs, businesses, artists, and talent" (626 Night Market), the Charm City Night Market goes far beyond the usual staples of food, entertainment, and merchandise. Its expectations are to bring Baltimoreans together and collectively imagine what the future of the city should look like—would Asian Americans feel more included, instead of existing as the "third other?" Would the city accurately and fully represent all minority groups? How would this process and progress begin? These questions are merely stepping stones to brainstorm towards the future, but the immediate issue still revolves around reasons and methods in preserving Baltimore's Chinatown for the Asian American populace.

The idea of unity and providing a space for Chinese Americans and Chinese immigrants to congregate underlines the importance of Chinatown's public history and memory. First generation Chinese Americans, or those who were born and raised in the United States by Chinese immigrant parents struggle to balance their dual identities, with one foot in two different spheres of being. In one sphere, they work hard to fulfill their parents' expectations of achieving a better life and integrating themselves seamlessly into American society. In the other, they regret not embracing their parents' culture, as the mainstream judges them for their physical appearances regardless of whether they have successfully assimilated to American society. It is the latter sphere that requires a space for Chinese Americans to fully close the gap between their dual identities. By preserving the memories of a community like Chinatown they can discover aspects of their heritage and maintain a bond between the past and the future. Now, with the development of the Charm City Night Market, Chinese Americans

are paving the way for their contemporary urban identities to become part of the Baltimore framework.

Baltimore's Chinatown has historic value and deserves to be celebrated and preserved, not just for its past significance, but for its future promise to those who are seeking solace in a community that represents their complex identities. Whether it is local government's idea of a ceremonial arch or developers' vision for a new wave of businesses to occupy the empty buildings, Chinatown and the traces imprinted on the landscape cannot be forgotten. This can lead not only to the symbolic preservation of Chinatown but also to the physical preservation of certain buildings. One such is 323 Park Avenue, which has housed numerous businesses from the On Leong Merchants Association, grocery stores, and Kitty Chin's cooking school to her renovated restaurant, International Gourmet Center, and the subsequent eateries leading up to the current Zhongshan restaurant. As many cities undergo gentrification and redevelopment, these buildings, previous tenants, and former operations are permanently wiped from the public's mind. For Chinatown, this kind of erasure extends to its public history, something that should be passed down to signify the importance of the area, as Philadelphia's Chinatown asserts from its experiences of urban renewal. By physically preserving the buildings, Baltimore's Chinatown declares "the community's right to exist and its claim to territory […] [that] '[t]his is, was, [and] will be Chinatown'" (Liu).

Besides using physical preservation as a means to remember Baltimore's Chinatown, The Chinatown Collective has incorporated social media platforms to bolster its current efforts for revitalization. Actively posting on their Facebook and Instagram accounts, The Chinatown Collective has a strong presence on both fronts to garner interest, gather followers, and grow its reach in mass media through Chinatown's histories and Asian American pride. For example, the organization recently posted a photograph of Kitty Chin, introducing her backstory and connection to Baltimore's Chinatown, particularly her past involvements in revitalizing the neighborhood. In addition to these brief introductions, The Chinatown Collective has begun to include a question or comment about Asian American heritage or culture for followers to contemplate. Underneath the overview on Kitty Chin, the post reads "ask your immigrant parents: what dreams did they have for themselves and what dreams did they have for you? Share your answers in the comments below" (The Chinatown Collective). Instead of simply sharing information on the organization, such as its mission, goals, and plans for its Charm City Night Market, The Chinatown Collective directly interacts with followers, inviting them to participate in conversations pertaining to identity, second generation American experiences, and other Asian American communities in Baltimore.

With this kind of public awareness and connection, Baltimore's Chinatown rests in the digital limelight for future discussions on place, belonging, and identity. Through social media, The Chinatown Collective has built a brand exclusive to the city's immigrant neighborhood and Asian American population, amplifying the significance of minorities in urban environments. Outside the scope of social networking, Chinatown and its narrative should belong on a more Baltimore oriented site called Exploring Baltimore Heritage, a page managed by a non-profit historic preservation organization. Its entry highlighting the existence of a Chinese immigrant community will remind city residents and tourists why Chinatown is worth commemorating.

An old *Baltimore Sun* article once pronounced the Chinese population as the seldom discussed ethnic group, a description that cannot be overlooked any longer. Chinatown's past stories, residents, and memories helped contribute to the sense of community that fostered the initial wave of belonging and identity, infusing a combination of upholding traditions and assimilation. From its origins to its present state, Chinatown has remained resilient through the detrimental effects of suburban flight and assimilation into American society, but a new era of rebuilding is underway. Baltimore's Chinatown has shifted from existing only for Chinese immigrants and their children into an area that allows all Asian Americans to add their own rich, complex vision of Baltimore beyond the black and white.

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A COMPARISON OF EUROPEAN AMERICAN, CHINESE IMMIGRANT AND KOREAN IMMIGRANT MOTHERS' ENGAGEMENT IN CONTROL

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YUWANYUN ZHU

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When I was taking PSYC 330: Child Development and Culture with Dr. Charissa Cheah, I realized that parenting has different connotations cross-culturally. Chinese and Korean immigrant mothers are often imagined as "tiger mothers" with authoritarian parenting. For Chinese and Korean immigrants, parental control is considered one way to show care and concern to foster family harmony. In contrast, parental control is perceived by European American mothers in a negative way, as "regimented" and "militaristic." These discrepancies in connotations had triggered me to develop a project to further investigate how Chinese immigrant, Korean immigrant and European American mothers express their control to dispel the stereotypes of Chinese and Korean immigrants' negative images of authoritarian parenting in society. Previous studies have tended to focus on the levels of parental control. However, no studies have examined the specific situations when parental control is expressed among Asian immigrant mothers versus European American mothers. Because parental control has different meanings across cultures, it is important to investigate not only the levels of parental control but also when parents exert control. Therefore, the present study identified the situations when mothers express control towards their preschool-aged children revealed through semi-structured interviews. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Yuwanyun Zhu, Department of Psychology, University of Maryland, Baltimore County. 1000 Hilltop Circle, Baltimore, Maryland 21250. Contact: yu6@umbc.edu.

ABSTRACT

Parental control includes behaviors intended to modify children's emotions and behaviors according to adult expectations. Examining key socialization moments when mothers engage in control across different cultural groups can illustrate culturally-unique and shared parenting priorities. Fifty European American mothers (M_{age} = 37.49 years old, SD=4.84), 50 Chinese immigrant mothers (M_{age}=37.74 years old, SD=4.38), and 33 Korean immigrant mothers (M_{age}=36.03 years old, SD =3.62) identified situations when they expressed control over their preschool-age children during semi-structured interviews. Six situation codes emerged from the interviews: Prevention of Danger, Daily Behavior, Child Difficult Behavior, Interpersonal Relations, Interpersonal Behavior, and Moral Development. Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA), follow-up ANOVAs, and t-tests revealed that European American mothers were more likely to use control than Chinese immigrant mothers during situations of Danger Prevention and Interpersonal Relationships. Chinese immigrant mothers expressed control more than European American mothers when their children displayed difficult behaviors. Both Chinese immigrant and Korean immigrant mothers emphasized control more often for moral development than European American mothers. Finally, Korean immigrant mothers reported using control more often for interpersonal behaviors than both European American and Chinese immigrant mothers. This paper discusses the findings with regard to each group's cultural priorities.

INTRODUCTION

Parental control is conceptualized as a way that parents control children's freedom by simply applying rules and restrictions without getting permissions first or explaining afterwards (Kerr & Stattin, 2000; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Parental control has been identified as a major dimension of parenting across various cultures (Rohner, 1986). Depending on how parental control is conveyed and expressed, some forms of parental control can be functional and related to positive child developmental outcomes, whereas other forms of parental control can be interfering and dysfunctional (Baumrind, 1971; Lau & Cheung, 1987). Studies have found that some aspects of parental control in Asian culture convey different meanings and have different implications compared with parental control portrayed in European American culture (Chao, 1994; 2001). In Asian cultures, parental control generally tends to have more positive connotations; it is used with the intention to establish a closer tie between parents and children by showing parental involvement (Chao, 1994). For Asian Americans, paren-

tal control is considered one way to show care and concern to foster family harmony (Lau & Cheung, 1987). Previous studies have found that for Asian American children, parental control and parents' high expectations for children's school performance could be beneficial for their later academic success and building moral standards (Chao, 1994; 1996).

In contrast, parental control is perceived by European American mothers in a negative way, as "regimented" and "militaristic" (Chao, 1994). Studies with European American families have revealed that parental control tends to be associated with negative child development outcomes (Bean, Bush, McKenry, & Wilson, 2003). For example, in European American adolescents, authoritarian parenting, characterized as high in restrictive parental control and low in warmth, has been found to be related to low academic performance (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987) and increased internalized distress (Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994). Therefore, parental control needs to be understood within specific cultural backgrounds.

When comparing parental control across cultural groups, previous studies have tended to focus on the levels of parental control. However, no studies have examined the specific situations when parental control is expressed among Asian immigrant mothers versus European American mothers. Because parental control has different meanings across cultures, it is important to investigate not only the levels of parental control but also *when* parents exert control. Moreover, early childhood is a developmental period of intense socialization with greater potential for early intervention (Yu, Cheah, Hart, & Yang, 2018). Using a qualitative approach to explore the different types of situations when parents exert control on their children could reveal parents' intentions regarding control and elucidate the various meanings of parental control in different cultures.

Asian immigrants are the largest group of new immigrants of the United States (Pew Research Center, 2017), and China and Korea are among the top five countries of origin for Asian immigrants to the U.S. as of 2014 (Migration Policy Institute, 2016). Chinese and Korean individuals are often studied together and categorized under the larger "East Asian" group because of some shared cultural values and the proximity of their geographical origins (Louie, Oh, & Lau, 2013). For example, both cultural groups emphasize collectivism, which refers to prioritization of the group over oneself (McMullen et al., 2005). Interdependence and group harmony are also strongly endorsed among Chinese and Korean immigrants, which emphasize cultivating a strong sense of respect to others and obedience to parents and elders in children (Choi et al., 2013). Despite these shared cultural values; however, there are differences between Chinese and Ko-

rean immigrants. For example, these two ethnic groups of immigrants in the United States differ in immigration history, homeland conditions, and religious backgrounds (Zhou & Kim, 2006). Moreover, it has been found that Chinese parenting tends to be more intrusive and explicit, while Korean parenting style can be more indirect and restrained with teenage children (Choi et al., 2013).

Few studies have treated Chinese and Korean immigrant parents in the U.S. as two distinct ethnic groups when making comparisons to the mainstream European American parents on parental control. In addition, although Chinese and Korean immigrant parents have been found to exert more control on their preschool-aged children regarding academic skills compared to their European American counterparts (Cheah, Leung, & Zhou, 2013; Kim & Rohner, 2002), less is known about parental control by Chinese and Korean immigrant parents in areas that are not academically-related. Therefore, parental control should be investigated separately for these two ethnic minority groups to reveal potential differences and similarities in their parenting, and in comparison, to the majority European American cultural group.

THE PRESENT STUDY

The aims of the present study were to: (1) identify the situations when mothers express control towards their preschool-aged children revealed through semi-structured interviews; and (2) compare these situations and socialization moments across European American, Chinese immigrant and Korean immigrant mothers in the U.S. We predicted that there would be differences in the situations when mothers express control over their children among European American, Chinese immigrant and Korean immigrant mothers in the U.S. Specifically, Chinese and Korean immigrant mothers were expected to emphasize interpersonal relationship such as respecting others more than European American mothers because respect is highly valued within Confucianism, which has historical and contemporary influences in both China and Korea (Choi et al., 2013). In addition, Chinese immigrant mothers were predicted to focus more on children's misbehavior compared to Korean immigrant mothers and European American mothers due to the emphases on parents' authority and child compliance in this cultural group (Chao, 1994).

METHODS

Participants

A total of 133 mothers (50 European American mothers, 50 Chinese immigrant mothers, 33 Korean immigrant mothers) with at least one preschool-age child living in the Washington D.C. metropolitan area participated in this study. All the European American mothers (M_{age} = 37.49 years old, SD = 4.84) and their children (M_{age} = 4.66 years old, SD = 1.04) were born in the United States. The Chinese immigrant mothers in our sample (M_{age} = 37.74 years old, SD = 4.38) were from Mainland China (76%), Taiwan (18%), Hong Kong (4%), and the United States (2%); they had lived in the U.S. for an average of 11.92 years (SD = 7.80). Most of the Chinese immigrant children in our sample (M_{age} = 4.55 years old, SD = .86) were first-generation, that is, born in the United States (94%). The sample of Korean immigrant mothers (M_{age} = 36.03 years old, SD = 3.62) included 90% first-generation immigrant mothers, with an average length of stay in the U.S. of 8.05 years (SD = 4.56). Seventy-two percent of the Korean immigrant children (M_{age} = 2.79 years old, SD = .86) were born in the United States. The Chinese immigrant mothers had been in the U.S. for a significantly longer time compared to the Korean immigrant mothers, $t(77)$ = 2.49, p = .015.

For European American mothers, 65% had a Masters or higher degree, whereas 75% of the Chinese immigrant mothers had a Masters or higher degree and 32% of the Korean immigrant mothers in our sample had a Masters or higher degree. Mothers in all three ethnic groups were of middle-class socioeconomic status. There was a significant difference in mothers' highest education level in our sample, $F(2, 125)$ = 10.22, $p < .001$, with Korean immigrant mothers having significantly lower education levels compared to the European American mothers, $t(78)$ = 3.10, p = .003, and the Chinese immigrant mothers, $t(77)$ = 4.12, $p < .001$.

Procedure

Families were recruited from local preschools, churches, language schools and Asian supermarkets. Data were collected during the home visit by the research assistants who were fluent in the family's preferred language (e.g., English, Mandarin or Cantonese Chinese, and Korean). First, research assistants gave mothers a brief overview of the study and obtained their written consent. Next, research assistants administered the interview and the demographic questionnaires. Interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed and coded by bilingual research assistants. The present study received financial support from the Undergraduate Research Award granted by University of Maryland, Baltimore County. Seven hundred dollars ($10 x 70 hours) of research stipend was distributed to the researcher (author) to focus on this research in the 2017 – 2018 academic year.

Five hundred dollars ($10 x 50 hours) was distributed to a Korean-speaking research assistant for her help in administering interviews with Korean-speaking participants and coding Korean interviews. Three hundred dollars was used for gas reimbursement on traveling to family recruitments and home visits for data collections.

Measures

Demographics. Mothers provided information on the date of birth and country of birth for themselves and their children, as well as their length of residence in the United States. Information regarding socioeconomic status (SES) is derived from parents' highest education level and their occupation.

Maternal expressions of control. Mothers' perceptions regarding parental control towards their children were assessed using the Interview on Parenting – Parent Report (IPPR Revised; Cheah, Zhou, Yamamoto, & Leung, 2015). The IPPR is a semi-structured interview with four open-ended questions to assess mothers' conceptualization of control towards their children. The present study only focused on the specific situations when mothers expressed control to their children. Mothers were asked, "In what situations and/or areas are you 'strict' with your child? Give specific examples and details." Mothers were asked to provide three situations with details in which they expressed control to their children. Responses were probed, when necessary. The interviews were audio recorded and the average length of the interview was 10 minutes.

Interview Coding

The Maternal Expressions of Strictness Coding Scheme was established to analyze when mothers' express control to their children. Three coding teams with European American, Chinese American and Korean American researchers were formed to develop the coding scheme. First, each team met several times to establish the codes for maternal expressions of control through content analysis. Each team had their own insights regarding the distinct ideas of parental control from each culture. After merging three cultures' data together, six general situation codes emerged. These six codes included Prevention of Danger, Daily Behavior, Difficult Child Behavior, Interpersonal Relationships, Interpersonal Behavior, and Moral/Virtue. **Table 1** displays the six codes, their definitions, and examples.

Categories of the Situation Codes and Their Definitions and Examples (Table 1)

Situation Code Category	Definition	Example
Prevention of Danger	Mothers express control to ensure their children's physical safety and avoid danger	• Cannot play with fire • Crossing street without supervision • Staying close to adults when in public
Daily Behavior	Mothers express control to establish a structured daily life of their children's and reinforce good habits	• Keeping a schedule and having set routines • Not allowed to play until he/she finished food • Having a balanced diet • Must go to bed when it is bed time • Need to use soap to wash hands • Keeping the room clean
Difficult Child Behavior	Mothers express control when their children initiate unreasonable behavior or display difficult behavior in response to adults' requests	• Child does not follow what adults told him/her to do • Child asks for something unreasonable • When the child acts spoiled and makes a scene
Interpersonal Relationship	Mothers pro-actively socialize their children to have good manners, love others and respect others	• Speaking nicely to others • Emphasizing the importance of saying "please," "thank you" and other manners • Need to help and love each other • Being respectful and friendly to others

Situation Code Category	Definition	Example
Interpersonal Behavior	Mothers express control to promote positive interpersonal behavior and inhibit negative interpersonal behavior	- Treat friends generously - Learning to share - Cannot fight or hit others - Cannot yell to friends and siblings
Moral/Virtue	Parents pro-actively educate their children to follow certain moral rules and facilitate virtue qualities	- Cannot lie to others - Must persist when he/she begins a task - Protecting and valuing properties - Showing filial piety to and parents

When coding, one code can be given multiple times when mothers gave various examples under the same situation code. For example, a mother mentioned "do not run in the street, do not talk to strangers…" in the interview. The code "Prevention of Danger" was given twice for this excerpt because "do not run in the street" and "do not talk to strangers" were two separate examples of the "Prevention of Danger" code.

Another three coding teams with native-speaking researchers who did not participate in the construction of the coding scheme coded the interview transcripts. Final reliability among the coders was .71, meaning coders reached agreement on 71% of the codes before discussing with each other. The coders then worked through discrepancies until a consensus was reached on sorting multiple situations under the same code. Each mother's total number of codable answers were counted to generate a sum score of the responses. Each mother's proportional number of responses for each situation code was then calculated by using the number of codable answers from the specific category divided by the total number of responses. For example, if a mother had 5 total codable descriptors, and 2 of them were from the situation code of Prevention of Danger, her proportion score for Prevention of Danger would be 2/5 = .40.

RESULTS

SPSS (v.22) was used to analyze mothers' responses. To test the first aim, which was to identify the situations when mothers express control towards their pre-school aged children, Mothers' responses were coded into six situation codes, and the proportion scores of each situation code were ranked from highest to lowest. To test the second aim, which was to compare these situations across European American mothers, Chinese immigrant and Korean immigrant mothers in the United States, the proportion scores of each situation code from these mothers' responses were compared using multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) and a series of analysis of variance (ANOVA) and t-tests.

Rankings of the Situation Codes across Cultures

Table 2 displays the means and standard deviations of the proportion scores of each situation code mentioned by European American mothers, Chinese immigrant mothers, and Korean immigrant mothers. The codes were ranked from the highest to lowest based on the proportion scores for each cultural group. For European American mothers, situations related to Daily Behavior had the highest proportion score ($M = .27$, $SD = .23$), followed by Interpersonal Relationship ($M = .19$, $SD = .19$), Interpersonal Behavior ($M = .18$, $SD = .18$), Prevention of Danger ($M = .16$, $SD = .19$) and Difficult Child Behavior ($M = .13$, $SD = .15$). Moral/Virtue was mentioned in the lowest proportion in European American mothers ($M = .01$, $SD = .05$).

In the Chinese immigrant mother sample, Daily Behavior ($M = .28$, $SD = .25$), Difficult Child Behavior ($M = .22$, $SD = .22$), and Interpersonal Behavior ($M = .19$, $SD = .20$) were mentioned most frequently in the interviews. These three codes were also among the top three codes that emerged from Korean immigrant mothers' interviews [Interpersonal Behavior, ($M = .30$, $SD = .25$), Difficult Child Behavior, ($M = .17$, $SD = .20$), and Daily Behavior ($M = .16$, $SD = .21$)]. For both Chinese and Korean immigrant mothers, the next two most frequently provided codes were Interpersonal Relationship (Chinese: $M = .08$, $SD = .13$; Korean: $M = .15$, $SD = .18$) and Moral/Virtue (Chinese: $M = .10$, $SD = .15$; Korean: $M = .10$, $SD = .17$). Prevention of Danger received the lowest ranking in both the Chinese ($M = .07$, $SD = .13$) and Korean immigrant mother samples ($M = .08$, $SD = .16$).

Ranking of the Situations of Parental Control (Table 2)

Rank	European American Mothers	Chinese Immigrant Mothers	Korean Immigrant Mothers
1	Daily Behavior (M = .27, SD = .23)	Daily Behavior (M = .28, SD = .25)	Interpersonal Behavior (M = .30, SD = .25)
2	Interpersonal Relationship (M = .19, SD = .19)	Difficult Child Behavior (M = .22, SD = .22)	Difficult Child Behavior (M = .17, SD = .20)
3	Interpersonal Behavior (M = .18, SD = .18)	Interpersonal Behavior (M = .19, SD = .20)	Daily Behavior (M = .16, SD = .21)
4	Prevention of Danger (M = .16, SD = .19)	Moral/Virtue (M = .10, SD = .15)	Interpersonal Relationship (M = .15, SD = .18)
5	Difficult Child Behavior (M = .13, SD = .15)	Interpersonal Relationship (M = .08, SD = .13)	Moral/Virtue (M = .10, SD =.17)
6	Moral/Virtue (M = .01 SD = .05)	Prevention of Danger (M = .07, SD = .13)	Prevention of Danger (M = .08, SD = .16)

COMPARISON ACROSS THE THREE CULTURAL GROUPS

A MANOVA was computed to test whether mothers from the three ethnic groups in the sample differed across the six situation themes. MANOVA results showed that there was a significant difference on the situation codes between European American mothers, Chinese immigrant mothers, and Korean immigrant mothers, Pillai's V = .29, p < .001. Follow-up ANOVA tests revealed significant differences across the groups in the situation codes of Prevention of Danger, $F(2, 130)$ = 4.50, p = .013, Difficult Child Behavior, $F(2, 130)$ = 2.93, p = .050, Interpersonal Relationship, $F(2, 130)$ = 4.65, p = .011, Interpersonal Behavior, $F(2, 130)$ = 3.34, p = .038, and Moral/Virtue, $F(2, 130)$ = 7.10, p = .001. A series of t-tests were then performed to further examine how mothers from these three ethnic groups differed on each situation code.

European American mothers scored significantly higher than Chinese immigrant mothers in Prevention of Danger, $t(98) = 2.82$, $p = .006$, and Interpersonal Relationship, $t(98) = 3.10$, $p = .002$. There were no significant differences between European American mothers and Korean immigrant mothers on Prevention of Danger, $t(81) = 1.93$, $p = .058$, or Interpersonal Relationship, $t(81) = .88$, $p = .384$, nor was there a significant difference between Chinese and Korean immigrant mothers in Prevention of Danger, $t(81) = -.46$, $p = .649$, or Interpersonal Relationship, $t(81) = -1.90$, $p = .061$. Chinese immigrant mothers scored significantly higher on Difficult Child Behavior, $t(98) = -2.54$, $p = .013$, and Moral/Virtue, $t(98) = -3.93$, $p < .001$, than European American mothers. Korean immigrant mothers did not statistically differ from the other two ethnic groups on the following three situation codes: Prevention of Danger: between Korean immigrant mothers and European American mothers, $t(81) = 1.93$, $p = .058$; between Korean immigrant and Chinese immigrant mothers, $t(81) = -.46$, $p = .649$; Difficult Child Behavior: between Korean immigrant and European American mothers, $t(81) = -1.13$, $p = .262$; between Korean immigrant and Chinese immigrant mothers, $t(81) = 1.06$, $p = .293$. Interpersonal Relationship: between Korean immigrant and European American mothers, $t(81) = .88$, $p = .384$; between Korean immigrant and Chinese immigrant mothers $t(81) = -1.90$, $p = .061$].

Korean immigrant mothers also scored significantly higher on Moral/Virtue than European American mothers, $t(81) = -3.32$, $p = .001$. Moreover, Korean immigrant mothers expressed significantly higher levels of using control during situations of Interpersonal Behavior in their interviews than both European American mothers, $t(81) = -2.34$, $p = .022$, and Chinese immigrant mothers, $t(81) = -2.08$, $p = .040$. For Daily Behavior, there were no statistically significant differences across the three ethnic groups, $F(2, 120) = 2.93$, $p = .057$. **Table 3** presents the group comparisons between the three ethnic groups on the proportion scores for all situation codes.

**Situation Codes with Statistically Significance across
the Three Ethnic Groups (Table 3)**

Situation Code	European American Mothers	Chinese Immigrant Mothers	Korean Immigrant Mothers
Prevention of Danger	$.1599_a$	$.0669_b$	$.0815$
Difficult Child Behavior	$.1307_b$	$.2244_a$	$.1748$
Interpersonal Relationship	$.1902_a$	$.0876_b$	$.1530$
Interpersonal Behavior	$.1833_b$	$.1917_b$	$.2955_a$
Moral/Virtue	$.0138_b$	$.1002_a$	$.0987_a$

Note Means with the subscript a is statistically significantly larger than the means with the subscript b.

DISCUSSION

The present study explored the situations when European American, Chinese immigrant, and Korean immigrant mothers exert control on their children. Ratings of parental control situations were compared among the three ethnic groups. We also compared the similarities and differences in mothers' conceptualizations of the situations in which they exerted control over their children across the three ethnic groups.

Ranking of Situations
For European American mothers, situations related to children's daily behavior and routines were mentioned most frequently, followed by situations that involved children's interpersonal relationships with others, interpersonal behaviors with others, potentially dangerous behavior and child misbehavior. European

American mothers were least likely to emphasize engaging in controlling be-
haviors during situations regarding the development of morals or virtue in their
children. Interestingly, all three groups of mothers reported using control most
frequently during situations involving children's daily behavior and routine. This
cultural similarity in ranking likely reflect socialization tasks that most mothers
experience during this developmental period (e.g., brushing teeth, eating meals,
getting ready for bed) (Maccoby, 1992).

The Chinese and Korean immigrant mothers' proportion rankings were simi-
lar for all the situations. After daily behavior, both groups of mothers discussed
difficult behavior and children's interpersonal behaviors most frequently as sit-
uations in which they reported being strict with their children. This similar
emphasis on children's noncompliance and interpersonal behavior may reflect
their cultural emphasis on the socialization of proper conduct in children, and
the importance of moral development in Confucian ideology (Choi et al., 2013;
Lau, 2010). Moreover, Chinese immigrant and Korean immigrant mothers' giv-
ing less attention to situations related to preventing the children from getting
into danger may be because mothers in these two ethnic groups closely super-
vise their children's activities (Chao, 2001; Kim, 2011), so young children are
rarely left alone to face dangerous situations.

Comparisons of Situations Across Groups

The results from comparisons across the groups indicate that European Amer-
ican mothers emphasized Prevention of Danger situations more than Chinese
immigrant and Korean immigrant mothers. This cultural difference may reflect
Western culture's emphasis on independence and individual rights (Singelis,
1994). European American mothers may want to cultivate a strong awareness of
potential danger in ones' surroundings when children are granted more autono-
my to make choices and independence to explore their environment. Chinese
and Korean mothers have the tendency to keep a close supervision on their chil-
dren's activities (Chao, 2001; Kim, 2011), and therefore instilling an alertness for
danger in one's surroundings may not seem as salient to these mothers.

The findings also show that Chinese immigrant mothers exerted control when
their child displayed difficult behavior more than European American mothers,
supporting previous research in which Chinese American mothers valued child
compliance and used more parental control to assert their authority (Huntsing-
er & Jose, 2009). Chinese immigrant mothers' emphasis on parental authority
reflects filial piety, one of the main Confucian concepts in which children are
taught to show reverence to their parents, obey the parents' demands, and respect
the parents' authority (Hsu, 1981; Kelly & Tseng, 1992).

Moreover, both Chinese and Korean cultures share traditional Confucian values that emphasize the moral development of their children (Choi et al., 2013), which was reflected in both Chinese immigrant and Korean immigrant mothers' greater emphasis on using control to socialize moral rules than European American mothers. Finally, Korean immigrant mothers used control on their children's behavior during interpersonal situations more than European American, highlighting the importance for children to maintain group harmony in Korean culture compared to European American culture (Kim, Im, Nahm, & Hong, 2012). The finding that Korean immigrant mothers used more control to make sure their children display positive interpersonal behavior in comparison to Chinese immigrant mothers were unexpected because group harmony and social relationships are highly valued in both ethnic groups (Lau, Lew, Hau, Cheung, & Berndt, 1990; Farver, Kim & Lee, 1995). Research has shown that immigrants with higher education levels are more likely to adopt the mainstream culture compared to their counterparts (Chen, 2009). Thus, the significantly higher education level of the Chinese immigrant mothers in our sample may have led these mothers to be more influenced by the mainstream American culture and, thus, adopt more of these European American perspectives on childrearing than their Korean immigrant counterparts, including putting less emphasis on young children's display of positive interpersonal behaviors. This finding also reflects subtle differences that exist between Chinese and Korean immigrant families in the United States in addition to similarities.

Limitations and Future Directions

Several limitations of this study need to be noted. First, the sample is composed of middle-class families. Research assistants recruited immigrant families at supermarkets, churches, language schools and other cultural locations. Mothers with higher educational backgrounds may be more interested in researching and helping immigrant families in promoting their children's development in the United States. Also, they may be more generous in sharing their time and experience with research assistants and contribute to research understanding. Parenting goals have been found to differ across families with varying socioeconomic (SES) backgrounds within cultures (Hoff, Laursen, & Tardif, 2002), and samples from a more diverse SES background across cultural groups may yield different results. Future studies should consider including a more diverse sample regarding families' SES background to reveal the role of SES background in parents' use of control. Moreover, the three groups were significantly different on their levels of education, which could have contributed to some of the group differences in parenting (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997). Thus, future studies should either statistically control for level of education or collect data on parents with similar education levels across the groups.

Second, the present study focused on maternal perspectives regarding control. Mothers and fathers play different roles in parenting (Huntsinger & Jose, 2009). Although this is changing, Chinese fathers remain the primary breadwinner in the family and immigrant Chinese fathers may be less involved in daily childrearing tasks. Thus, to maintain paternal authority in the traditionally patriarchal Chinese family, Chinese immigrant fathers may be more likely to exert control over their children compared to mothers, who may be more likely to be kind and caring towards their children (Chen, Sun, & Yu, 2017). Therefore, future studies should consider including fathers' perspectives on strictness towards their children because fathers' parenting beliefs and goals may differ from mothers' and uniquely affect their children (Chuang & Su, 2009).

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In general, the present study contributed to our understanding of culturally shared and unique beliefs regarding parental control among European American, Chinese immigrant and Korean immigrant mothers with preschoolers in the United States, although it is important to keep in mind that level of parental control may change depending on children's developmental need and parental goals. Parents assess beliefs of different levels of parental control for children of different ages and in various situations (Dishion & McMahon, 1998). Our results further revealed that Chinese and Korean immigrant mothers shared some cultural similarities in when they exerted control over their children as expected due to their shared cultural heritage; however, some cultural differences were also found, which emphasized the importance of examining heterogeneity within Asian immigrant groups in the United States. The present study also benefited from using a qualitative research method that explored mothers' own conceptualizations of their parenting (Cheah et al., 2013). Face-to-face interviews were similar to daily conversation so that participants might be comfortable talking and revealing more details during the interview (Opdenakker, 2006). Importantly, our results also showed similarities between all three groups, revealing shared parenting challenges and goals that middle-class parents in urban settings may share, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. Overall, the results of the current study may guide future studies in developing culturally appropriate measurement of parental control and understanding the different ideologies of control in various cultures and their effects on children's development.

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Maxi Wardcantori is a junior studying English Literature, with a minor in Medieval and Early Modern Studies. She divides her time between editing for the *UMBC Review, Bartleby Creative Arts Journal*, and *The Retriever*. After graduating, Maxi hopes to continue her love of writing, editing, and research in graduate school. She would like to thank Dr. Susan McDonough and Dr. April Householder, for their organization, support, patience, and guidance. She is incredibly grateful for the work of her co-editors, Ghina and Michelle, and the design team, for all their effort in putting together this wonderful publication. Finally, she acknowledges the support of the Division of Undergraduate Academic Affairs in making all this possible.

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Samantha Mejia graduated from UMBC in Fall of 2018 with a Bachelor of Fine Arts in Graphic Design. During her last year of Undergraduate studies, she was the Vice President of Design for the Student Events Board (seb). Shortly after graduating, she started working as a Production Designer for Sodexo. She is very grateful to her wonderful professor, Guenet Abraham, for giving her the opportunity to work on the *UMBC Review*. Also, she enjoyed collaborating with Fatomeh Oreizi, who is not only a great partner and talented designer but also a close friend. Lastly, she thanks all the editors, students and *UMBC Review* team who put so much effort into making another great edition of the *UMBC Review* collection. She hopes readers enjoy this booklet and find motivation to pursue a research journey of their own.

Fatomeh Oreizi is a UMBC alumni who graduated with Honors this past December with a Bachelor of Fine Arts in Graphic Design. She has recently become an associate graphic designer at Vectorworks after completing a two-term internship at this software company. She would like to thank both Guenet Abraham, her enthusiastic mentor, and Samantha Mejia, her friend and colleague, for their invaluable efforts in this project. Fatomeh's admiration for Professor Abraham has encouraged her to become a part of this rewarding experience and has allowed her to find a greater appreciation for design. Lastly, she would like to thank Dr. Susan McDonough, Dr. April Householder, Michelle Guldan, Maxi Wardcantori and Ghina Ammar for their amiable collaboration in perfecting this edition of the *UMBC Review*.

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