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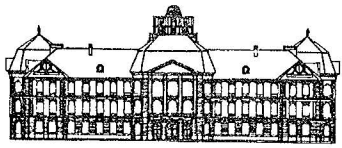

KÁROLY ESZTERHÁZY TEACHERS' TRAINING COLLEGE
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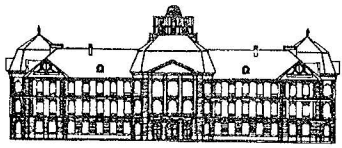

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IN MEMORIAM

LÁSZLÓ ORSZÁGH

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The Department of American Studies at Károly Eszterházy Teachers' Training College is pleased to present Volume II of the *Eger Journal of American Studies.*

The *Eger Journal of American Studies* is the first scholarly journal published in Hungary devoted solely to the publication of articles investigating and exploring various aspects of American Culture. We intend to cover all major and minor areas of interest ranging from American literature, history, and society to language, popular culture, bibliography, etc.

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CSABA CZEGLÉDI

ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF INFINITIVAL AND GERUNDIVE COMPLEMENTS IN ENGLISH

In this article I will first review briefly some of the major issues in the grammar of nonfinite complements in English that have emerged since the publication of Rosenbaum (1967), the first major work on nonfinite complementation in a generative framework to my knowledge. In the discussion that follows I will focus on some general questions of both theoretical and descriptive interest concerning the problem of how to account for the distribution of nonfinite complements in English and I will consider some concrete proposals. Finally, I will present the outlines of an alternative hypothesis on the distribution of nonfinite complements in English and provide some theoretical as well as empirical arguments in its favor.

The problem of constituent structure

There are two mutually and closely related fundamental issues, neither conclusively settled thus far, that must be resolved in a grammar of nonfinite complements in English. We must (a) determine their syntactic category and constituent structure and (b) formulate the principles in terms of which we can account for their distribution.

Two major classes of competing hypotheses have been proposed on the syntactic category and constituency of nonfinite constructions in English in generative grammar, or frameworks sympathetic to it. Chierchia (1984) argues that English infinitives and gerunds are verb phrases, while in

Chomsky (1981), and much other work inspired by GB, these structures are analyzed as embedded sentences. Koster and May (1982) address the issue directly in an influential article, where they provide a detailed comparison of the predictions the VP hypothesis and the S-bar hypothesis make, and they conclude that infinitives—and as the analysis extends readily to gerunds, they too—are sentences in English. It is interesting to note that in Maxwell's (1984) proposal, which is intermediate in a sense between the VP hypothesis and the S' hypothesis, infinitives and gerunds are treated differently. He argues that gerunds but not infinitives are sentences in English.

Parallel to the problem of constituency in syntax we have the property versus proposition dilemma in semantics. Syntactically nonfinite expressions may be VPs or S's, and semantically they may correspond either to properties or to propositions. Chierchia (1984:215—6) observes that in principle there can be, and in fact there are, four different views on this matter.

Nonfinite complements might be analyzed syntactically as VPs and semantically they might correspond to properties. This is Chierchia's (1984) own view as well as the general assumption in standard Montague Grammar, on which Chierchia's 'VP = P(roperty)' hypothesis is based. As a variant of this, nonfinite complements could be VPs which semantically correspond to open propositions. Alternatively, nonfinite constructions might be syntactically clausal, and semantically they may be associated with properties. Finally, as in Chomsky (1981), Koster and May (1982) and much other GB based work, nonfinite complements can be analyzed as S's which correspond to propositions in semantic structure.

I cannot take up these highly complex issues here, and for the purposes of this paper I will simply assume that nonfinite complements are sentences and that semantically they are associated with propositions.

The problem of distribution

The second fundamental issue is how to account for the distribution of infinitives and gerunds in English. It is familiar that the occurrence of untensed complements is restricted in various ways. The crux of the problem here is whether the distribution of nonfinite complement clauses is deter-

mined by idiosyncratic (syntactic or semantic) properties of predicates, in which case it is unpredictable, or whether it can be accounted for in terms of some general principles. If the null hypothesis is rejected and it is assumed that the account for the occurrence of infinitival and gerundive complements can be reduced to some general principles, the next problem that arises is whether those principles can be formulated in syntactic, semantic, or perhaps pragmatic terms, or a combination thereof.

It seems that no syntactic theory has been able to formulate the principles that would account for the distribution of nonfinite complements that was both observationally and explanatorily adequate. Standard syntactic machinery does not appear to be appropriate for the explication of the factors that govern the distribution of infinitives and gerunds in English. One is forced to conclude that the distribution of nonfinite complements, or complement selection in general, cannot be accounted for in purely syntactic terms.

As Grimshaw (1979:318) concludes in an analysis of interrogative and exclamatory complements, "It is clear that complement selection is not predictable on the basis of syntactic characteristics of predicates. For example, there is no syntactic reason why *wonder* and *inquire* should not allow *that*-complements, or why *believe* should not allow interrogative complements. Whatever the degree of predictability that may exist, it is to be found in the semantic, and not the syntactic, domain."

She does in fact successfully demonstrate that the distribution of embedded exclamatives, a subclass of sentential complements, is fairly consistently predictable on semantic grounds. She shows that nonfactive predicates do not allow inherently factive complements, that exclamations are inherently factive, therefore exclamations are never embedded under nonfactive predicates. This has a very important consequence with respect to the theory: the selectional mechanism that is otherwise assumed in an idiosyncratic treatment of the distribution of exclamations with respect to factive and nonfactive predicates is no longer necessary, because "the semantic and pragmatic characteristics of exclamations and of the factive/nonfactive distinction automatically guarantee that the ill-formed combinations will not be generated" (ibid., 323).

Jackendoff (1983) derives two arguments from general theoretical assumptions and from considerations of language acquisition that show that, in addition to the system of syntactic rules, we need a set of semantic well-formedness rules to account for existing patterns of complementation in language in general and for the distribution of nonfinite complements in particular, and that in fact it may turn out that some of the observed syntactic regularities are predictable from certain semantic well-formedness rules. He points out that a theory of language with a close syntax—semantics mapping is superior to one in which this is lacking, because a theory with an impoverished semantic component cannot predict that "many apparently syntactic constraints follow from semantic constraints, so that once a language learner has learned the meaning of the construction in question, the observed syntactic distribution will follow automatically" (ibid., 13).

He argues that if we work on the reasonable assumption that language is a "relatively efficient and accurate encoding of the information it conveys" it is only natural to "look for systematicity in the relationship between syntax and semantics," which, however, "is not to say that *every* aspect of syntax should be explainable in semantic terms" (ibid., 14). For example, there is no semantic reason why *draw*, unlike many other transitive verbs such as *say, mention*, etc., should not take eventive *that*-clause complements in English, as the equivalents of these in Hungarian all do, in sentences like

(1) *John drew that Mary was wearing a hat.

Jackendoff's theory indeed predicts that the semantic structure that corresponds to (1) is well-formed, yet the sentence is ungrammatical in English (see ibid., 232).

Quite a few interesting observations have been made in the literature that suggest that in a significant number of cases the occurrence of nonfinite complements in English is predictable from certain semantic properties of matrix predicates (see, for instance, Lees 1960, Vendler 1968, Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1970, Menzel 1975, Klein 1982, Andersson 1985, and Wierzbicka 1988). They vary in explanatory value from the vacuous (such

as Wierzbicka's (1988:29) 'prediction' to the effect that infinitival clause complements on volitional matrix verbs express 'wanting') to some true generalizations. Some are more, others are less restricted in scope, and occasionally they make contradictory predictions, as we will see below, and none, it seems, achieves the desired degree of generality, which is probably the reason why each leaves some of the data unaccounted for. All this suggests that if there *are* more general principles that govern the distribution of nonfinite complements in English, we have not found them yet.

Let us now consider some of these observations and proposals in a little more detail. Consider the following examples:

(2) a. Did you think to ask Brown?
b. Did you think of asking Brown?
(3) a. I decided to go.
b. I decided on going.

The Kiparskys' explanation for the occurrence of gerundive complements on prepositional verbs in sentences like (2b) and (3b) as opposed to the choice of the infinitive in their nonprepositional counterparts in (2a) and (3a) is that "after prepositions infinitives are automatically converted to gerunds . . ." (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1970:157). Wierzbicka (1988:32), however, points out that the choice of complement in such examples is not arbitrary because "*decide ON* doesn't mean the same as *decide TO. Decide on* implies that a number of possibilities have been considered ('gone through' in a person's mind) and that the subject decided to 'stop' on one of these possibilities. *Decide to* doesn't imply any such series of possibilities." In her analysis, infinitival complements imply wanting and gerundive complements imply possibility. Thus, the explication of the meanings of (1a-b) in Wierzbicka's terms is like this:

1. a did you (at some point) think this:
'I want this: I will ask Brown'
and did you do it because of that?

1. b (when you were thinking of doing different things) did you think of (the possibility of) asking Brown? (cf. Wierzbicka 1988:30)

But compare (4) and (5),

(4) a. I remembered to ask Brown.
b. I remember asking Brown.
(5) a. I regret to ask Brown.
b. I regret asking Brown.

where a similar 'wanting' versus 'possibility' interpretation of the respective complements does not seem to be plausible.

Quirk et al.'s (1985) view on the meaning of sentences like (4) and (5) is that *-ing* complements on retrospective verbs, such as *remember* and *regret*, express anteriority and infinitival complements on this subclass of verbs express posteriority. In other words, *-ing* complements suggest that the action described in the complement sentence happened before, whereas infinitival complements express that it happened after, the point in time expressed by the tense of the matrix verb. Compare also the following examples (Quirk et al. 1985:1193):

(6) a. I regret to tell you that John stole it.
b. I regret telling you that John stole it.

Contrast in temporal deixis relative to that expressed in the matrix clause, however, hardly explains why the infinitive is preferred in (7a) and the gerund in (7b) below. Quirk et al. (1985:1191—2) suggest that the infinitive is favored in (7a) but the gerund in (7b) because the former is associated with potentiality and the latter with performance.

(7) a. He started to speak, but stopped because she objected.
b. He started speaking, and kept on for more than an hour.

(8) a. Sheila tried to bribe the jailor.
b. Sheila tried bribing the jailor.

They note about the examples in (8) that (8a) expresses an abortive attempt at an act of bribery with the infinitival clause suggesting potentiality, whereas (8b) implies the fruitless *performance* of an act (ibid., 1191). But they also observe that the meaning of the matrix verb may cancel out the performance interpretation of an *-ing* clause, as in

(9) He escaped being branded as a traitor.

where *escaped* clearly implies that the event expressed in the embedded sentence did not actually occur.

While Bolinger (1968:123—5) expresses a similar view, arguing that infinitival complements express "something projected," hypothetical or potential as opposed to gerundive clauses, which express something reified, "something actually done," it is instructive that Wood (1956) appears to believe that the reverse is the case: the gerundive complement is the abstract form, which may suggest intention, and the infinitival complement expresses reification. The verb *think*, Wood says, means 'did it occur to you?' in sentences like (2a) and that it means 'have the intention' in ones like (2b) (1956:15). And this is his comment on the contrast between infinitival and gerundive complements on the verb *like* when it is used in sentences like (10) and (11) below: "When *like* and (*do*) *not like* take the gerund they suggest enjoyment or repugnance respectively . . . But with the infinitive it suggests rather desire, preference or choice, and in the negative reluctance . . ." (ibid.). Compare

(10) a. I like to sing.
b. I like singing.
(11) I like to read in bed but I don't like having meals in bed.

In Wierzbicka's (1988) theory, contrary to Wood (1956), Bolinger (1968) and Quirk et al. (1985), the elements of thinking, wanting and future

are always present in the meaning of volitional infinitival complements. Thus, infinitival clauses imply futurity, "sequence of times," "future orientation" as opposed to gerundive complements, which imply simultaneity, "sameness of time," or "present (contemporary, simultaneous) orientation." It is these semantic contrasts, she argues, that are responsible for the grammatical differences between the (a) and (b) examples in (12—15) below.

(12) a. He tried to fry the mushrooms.
b. He tried frying the mushrooms.
(13) a. I have kept this old jacket to give to a jumble sale.
b. I keep this old jacket for working in the garden.
(14) a. You will need a spanner to tighten that nut.
b. A spanner is used for tightening nuts.
(15) a. John wants to go.
b. *John wants going.

She extends the 'future orientation versus sameness of time' semantic contrast to the analysis of causative structures. It is asserted that (16) describes two consecutive actions, whereas the *-ing* complement in (17) refers to an activity that occurred simultaneously with that expressed by the matrix verb.

(16) He got her to do the dishes.
(17) He got them talking.

The same is said to apply to aspectual verbs like *begin* in (18).

(18) a. He began to open all the cupboards.
b. He began opening all the cupboards.

While Wierzbicka (1988) emphasizes the semantic contrast in relative time reference between the infinitival and gerundive complements of aspectual verbs, Quirk et al. (1985) point to an aspectual difference between

them. In (18b) the plural noun suggests the repetition of the action, which is the reason why the *-ing* complement, they claim, is preferred to the infinitive. Compare also

(19) a. I heard them shoot at him.
b. I heard them shooting at him.

where the *-ing* clause complement in (19b) expresses the repetition of shots.

In addition to differences in aspect, relative temporal deixis, and the potentiality vs. performance dichotomy, semantic contrasts of a different kind have also been noted in the literature. Dixon (1984) (quoted in Wierzbicka 1988:85) argues that a semantic difference in implication and presupposition underlies the grammatical difference between the nonfinite complements in sentences like (20a and b).

(20) a. Mary began to hit John.
b. Mary began hitting John.

In his analysis, (20b) implies that the action described in the complement clause did actually happen, while (20a) has no such implication. Klein's (1982) findings also seem to confirm a similar hypothesis formulated in terms of strong versus weak pragmatic implicativeness (a refinement of the implicative—nonimplicative distinction introduced by Karttunen 1971). He argues that, for matrix verbs which allow either type of complement, gerundive complements are associated with stronger pragmatic implicativeness than infinitival complement clauses as regards the realization of the event described in the complement.

The hypothesis

As we have seen in this very brief review of some interesting proposals that seek to explain the distribution of nonfinite complements in English on semantic or pragmatic grounds, choice between infinitival and *-ing* clause complementation often appears to be predictable in terms of as-

pectual differences, contrasts in relative temporal deixis, presupposition and implication, or the potentiality—performance dichotomy expressed by the respective clause types. But, as I have already observed early in this paper, some of the alternative hypotheses that have been presented either make empirically discordant predictions or fall short of offering a complete account for the relevant set of facts that is formulated in syntactic and semantic or pragmatic categories and principles that achieve a degree of generality which can induce such a set of statements to be viewed as a convincing explanation which can be incorporated in a grammar that is meant to be a psychologically relevant model of the native speaker's language competence.

In what follows I will present the outlines of an alternative, and perhaps more general, hypothesis as an attempt to account for the distribution of infinitival and *-ing* clause complements in English. The hypothesis I am going to present will be supported both by arguments derived from theoretical considerations and by empirical evidence. Some of the empirical evidence to be presented will be independent (and therefore of great value) in that it comes from a totally unrelated but surprisingly relevant area of English.

Since basically any theory of meaning in natural language seeks to establish, among other things, the principles which bring into correspondence units of meaning with units of syntactic structure, it is crucial that an adequate model of the native speaker's knowledge of meaning account for the way locutions of varying complexity identify the semantic or ontological entities to which they correspond. In set theoretical terms, to identify an entity entails presupposing a set in which that entity is a member as well as distinguishing this member from any and all other members of the same set. From this it follows that the identification of an element in a set implies the contrasts that distinguish the particular element from all other members of that set. The set itself will be identified by the property or properties that are shared by all its members.

If the elements of semantic structure to which linguistic expressions correspond are viewed as set theoretical entities, i.e., elements in sets, it is clear that the understanding of implied contrasts between a particular ele-

ment of a particular set of semantic entities and all other elements of that set is vital for the understanding of the meaning of linguistic expressions. It is evident that the understanding of implied contrasts presupposes the knowledge of the particular set an element of which is being identified. Therefore the proper identification of the set is crucial. It is reasonable to conclude, then, that the understanding of implicit contrasts is an important part of understanding the meaning of sentences because implied contrasts simply *are* an important part of the meaning of sentences.

The next question that we obviously need to ask is what devices, if any, are there in language to express these aspects of meaning. In particular, is there anything in the syntactic or phonological form of sentences that can be shown to contribute systematically to this aspect of their meaning?

One well-known device in language for the expression of implied contrasts is focusing. Semantically, two types of focus are commonly recognized in current linguistic and logical theories, which I will call, following Ruzsa (1988—89:584—87), strong, or contrastive, and weak focus. If focus is understood semantically as an identificational operator, contrastive focus may be defined as exhaustive listing, and weak focus may be interpreted as identification by exclusion (cf. É. Kiss 1987 and 1992, É. Kiss and Szabolcsi 1992, Kenesei 1983 (quoted in É. Kiss 1987:40), and Ruzsa 1988—89). Since it is not my goal to explore problems of focus in detail here, I will not discuss it any further. All I wish to point out finally is that the recognition of these functions of focus lends empirical support to the hypothesis about implied contrasts being proposed. Rather than elaborate on the notion of focus, I will turn to the more immediate concern of trying to determine whether or not there is any further empirical evidence in English that implied contrasts are systematically expressed in grammar.

Quirk et al. (1985) observe a very interesting systematic contrast between the position adverbial and other adverbials in how they contribute to the meaning of sentences. They note that "sentences which superficially differ only in so far as one has a position adverbial and the other a direction, goal, or source adverbial are found on closer inspection to involve a considerable difference in the meaning of the verb concerned, triggered by the different prepositions:

(21) He is travelling in Yorkshire.
(22) He is travelling to Leeds (*or* from Halifax)." (Their original numbers are [1] and [2], respectively, cf. ibid., 480—81.)

Even more interesting from the present perspective is the observation that "sentence (21) [1] seems to give equal weight to what he is doing (travelling) and where he is doing it (in Yorkshire), whereas sentence (22) [2] seems to give weight only to the direction: 'Where is he travelling to/from?' 'Where is he going (to)?' 'Where is he coming from?' This is confirmed both by the plausibility of the paraphrases (*go, come*) and by the absence of an acceptable question:

(23) *What is he doing from Halifax? Travelling?

beside:

(24) What is he doing in Yorkshire? Travelling?" (Cf. ibid., 481.)

This means in terms of the implicit contrasts expressed that an important aspect of the meaning of (21) is the contrast implied between 'is travelling in Yorkshire', or probably more accurately 'travel in Yorkshire', on the one hand and 'doing/do something else' on the other, i.e., some or any other activity he might be engaged in. By the same token, an important aspect of the meaning of (22) is the contrast implied between 'to Leeds/from Halifax' and some or any other place he could be traveling to/from. Thus, the position adverbial seems to be special among place adverbials in that it signals a different implicit set: the goal or source adverbial in (22) appears to invoke an implied set of goals or sources, with the agent and activity expressed in the sentence being kept constant, whereas the position adverbial in (21) does not appear to signal an implicit set of possible positions but a set of activities (with or without the position being kept constant). It is significant in this respect that the activity cannot even be elicited in (22) by a question keeping the agent and the place constant (cf. the ungrammaticality of the question in (23) above), but it can in (21), with or without the place kept constant (cf. the grammatical question in (24)).

The implied contrasts expressed in (21) and (22) above can be made explicit by spelling out one or more members of the relevant sets invoked by the adverbials something like this:

(25) He is travelling in Yorkshire (as opposed to sleeping at home; lying in hospital (in Yorkshire); etc.)

(26) He is travelling to Leeds (*or* from Halifax) (as opposed to Manchester; etc.)

Quite surprisingly, one might say, the grammar of adverbials furnishes us with additional relevant evidence. Quirk et al. (1985:519) observe that if two spatial adjuncts of the same semantic class cooccur in a clause but at different levels of syntactic structure, so that one is a sentence adjunct, the other a predication adjunct, then the predication adjunct will be more prominent than the sentence adjunct, the latter expressing information which is understood as relatively given. For example, of the two position adjuncts in

(27) Many people eat in restaurants in London. (Quirk et al. 1985:519)

the sentence adjunct may be expressed with a closed-class adverb "indicating that it is relatively 'given'. . . ," and when this happens, the order of adjuncts may be reversed (ibid., 519):

(28) Many people eat here/there in restaurants.

The point here is that if both sentence and predication adjunct of the same semantic class are present in a clause, the former tends to be understood as 'given' relative to the predication adjunct, and the latter invokes a set of similar conditions with which itself is implicitly contrasted, while the rest of the components of meaning expressed in the sentence, including the contribution of the sentence adjunct, are kept constant. This implicit contrast may be spelled out like this:

(29) Many people eat in restaurants in London. vs. 'Many people eat at home in London'/etc.

This is confirmed by Quirk et al.'s (1985:519—20) observation that only the sentence adjunct can be fronted:

(30) a. In London, many people eat in restaurants.
b. *In restaurants, many people eat in London.

These facts show that certain classes of adverbials differ systematically as to what kind of implicational sets they trigger in sentences and thus they provide independent evidence from an area of English grammar totally unrelated to nonfinite sentence embedding which supports the general hypothesis that certain types of implied contrasts *are* systematically expressed in English by specific grammatical devices and that the indication of particular types of implied contrasts *is* an important aspect of both syntactic and semantic structure.

The proposed implicational generalizations illustrated above may be easily extended to nonfinite sentential complements. The specific form the general hypothesis will now take is that infinitival complement clauses and *-ing* clauses differ as to what kind of implicit contrasts they trigger. I will try to show, in particular, that infinitival complements trigger implicit contrasts between the proposition expressed in the matrix clause and its negation or opposite, keeping, remarkably, the entity denoted by the matrix subject and the event described in the complement clause constant. Thus, the contrast implied by

(31) John likes to sing.

can be spelled out like

(32) John likes to sing vs. John doesn't like/ hates to sing.

Secondly, I will attempt to demonstrate that gerundive complements on the other hand invoke an implicit contrast between the event expressed by the complement clause and any number of other events in the relevant set triggered by the complement sentence, in which the member denoted by the complement clause is thus identified, keeping the event or state expressed by the matrix verb and the entity denoted by the matrix subject constant. Thus, the contrast implied in

(33) John likes singing.

may be spelled out like this:

(34) John likes singing as opposed to jogging/drawing/etc.

It appears then that infinitival complements render the meaning of the matrix verb more prominent than that of the complement clause (as though sentences with infinitival clause complements were answers to Yes/No questions, which invariably imply the contrast with their implicit negatives, and therefore the implicit negative can always be spelled out converting the sentence into an alternative question, cf. Quirk et al. 1985:239), while *-ing* clause complements seem to serve to highlight the embedded activity or event in a way similar in effect to focusing.

Given that gerunds seem to highlight 'themselves' in contrast with potential embedded events but infinitives do not, the hypothesis predicts that gerunds can but infinitives cannot easily be made the focus of a cleft sentence. This prediction is borne out, thus confirming the hypothesis. Chierchia (1984:414) observes that gerunds can be clefted but infinitives cannot:

(35) It is writing papers that Mary likes and John hates.
(36) *It is to write papers that Mary likes and John hates.

Interestingly enough, it seems that the reverse is the case with respect to pseudo-clefting: gerunds cannot, but some infinitives can appear in the focus of a pseudo-cleft:

(37) *What Mary likes is writing papers.
(38) What Mary wants is to write papers.

I do not have an explanation for this fact but I suspect that the answer lies in some still not clearly understood differences between the semantic effects of clefting and pseudo-clefting.

Below I present a few examples highlighting (by capitalization) the elements that trigger the respective implicit contrasts as described above, suggesting that the meaning expressed by the expressions printed unchanged in the examples is kept constant in the contrasts implied.

They are arranged in three groups: Group A contains sentences with matrix verbs that take either infinitival or gerundive complements; Group B is a list of sentences whose matrix verbs allow only infinitives; and Group C contains examples with matrix verbs that take only gerundive nonfinite complements.

Group A. Examples with matrix verbs for which the choice between infinitival and gerundive complementation is available.

(2a-b) repeated here as
(39) a. Did you THINK to ask Brown?
b. Did you think OF ASKING BROWN?
(3a-b) repeated here as
(40) a. I DECIDED to go.
b. I decided ON GOING.
(8a-b) repeated here as
(41) a. Sheila TRIED to bribe the jailor.
b. Sheila tried BRIBING THE JAILOR.
(12a-b) repeated here as
(42) a. He TRIED to fry the mushrooms.
b. He tried FRYING the mushrooms.

(43) a. John BEGAN to peel the potatoes.
b. John began PEELING THE POTATOES.

(10a-b) repeated here as

(44) a. I LIKE to sing.
b. I like SINGING.

(11) repeated here as

(45) I LIKE to read in bed but I don't like HAVING MEALS in bed.

The meaning of (45) could be spelled out something like this: 'As regards reading in bed, I like it, but of the things I could do in bed, having meals is one that I don't like doing.'

Choice between infinitival and gerundive complement clauses is not available for the matrix verbs of the sentences in Groups B and C below. It appears that the ungrammaticality of the alternative patterns of complementation in these examples correlates with the fact that the interpretations formulated in terms of implicit contrasts associated with the alternative complementation types are bizarre.

Group B.

(46) Mary TENDS to come/*coming late to lectures.
(47) John WANTS to go/*going to Paris.
(48) I WISH to eat/*eating alone.
(49) He VENTURED to touch /*touching the fierce dog and was bitten on the arm.
(50) She DESERVED to win/*winning because she was the best.
etc.

Group C.

(51) I enjoy SINGING/*to sing.
(52) She dreams of BECOMING/*to become AN ACTRESS.
(53) Bill imagined LEAVING/*to leave.
(54) He suggested TAKING/*to take THE CHILDREN TO THE ZOO.

(55) We are considering GOING/*to go TO CANADA.
etc.

One might perhaps conjecture that (54) could be given a reading characteristic of the infinitival pattern, which is, incidentally, probably the reading many Hungarian learners of English tend to associate with similar sentences, and therefore even advanced students complement *suggest* with an infinitival clause in hundreds of instances, as any teacher of English in Hungary can testify. If it is an error, which it probably is, it does not seem to be the kind which is only committed occasionally by the innocent learner of English as a foreign language but one that is prone to infect also the language of educated (even professional) native speakers and writers of English such as James Joyce, as the reader can verify from the quotation in (56) below.

(56) Uncle Charles smoked such black twist that at last his nephew suggested to him to enjoy his morning smoke in a little outhouse at the end of the garden. (James Joyce: *A Portrait of the Artist As a Young Man.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1916, p. 60.)

The same is also documented in Chierchia (1984:300), where, unfortunately, it is not clear whether these are his own examples (and errors), in which case what we see is another instance of overgeneralization by an exceptionally competent user of English as a second language (since Chierchia, although his English is often impressingly eloquent in style, does not probably qualify as a native speaker), or he cites authentic material.

(57) a. John suggested to Bill to decide to leave together
b. John suggested to Bill to signal to leave together (Cf. Chierchia 1984:300, his original number (24))

The following admittedly deviant but authentic anacoluthon with *suggest* complemented by an infinitival clause is attested by Mair (1990:143).

(58) Hilary Torrance suggested that a letter from the parents to be sent to County Hall putting forward the views regarding the cuts of 2 weeks and enrolment week for the 1984/85 session. (Mair's original number (168))

It is particularly interesting because, as he explains, a "lengthy and discontinuous" embedded subject "causes the writer to switch to a construction that is normal with frequently used and semantically related verbs of wishing such as *expect* or *want*" (Mair 1990:143).

I find it exciting that the theory of implicit contrasts sketched in this article offers a principled explanation even for slips like these.

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LÁSZLÓ DÁNYI

NAT TURNER: HISTORY THAT FICTION MAKES, OR FICTION THAT HISTORY MAKES?

"History is indeed an
argument without end."
(Pieter Geyl)[1]

My essay aims to analyze to what extent William Styron's *The Confessions of Nat Turner* can be a clue to history, and how fictionalized, and/or historical the Turner figure is. Examining the relationship between the Turner of history and the Turner of imaginative recreation raises the question of where the boundary between fiction and history is.

First I want to describe the age when the book was written, and to illustrate the controversy around Turner's fictional interpretation in Styron's book. Secondly, I wish to delineate the parameters of historical knowledge about Nat Turner, and, finally, to examine how he radiates over history and fiction.

My presupposition is that a writer is historically situated, and thus his work expresses the sensibility of the age. William Styron's controversial text was written in the 60s, in the age of upheavals when a radical rearrangement of priorities contributed to the establishment of the image

[1] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992) 57.

that the 60s were "youth oriented, radical, counter cultural, easy-riding, committed to New Left ideology, minority rights, black consciousness, and to drugs, rock music, psychedelic experiences, protest and dissent."[2]

This shift also brought about more varied and more subtle answers to the uneasy questions of the black experience in America's belligerent past, and in order to establish a more favorable image of black Americans, a radical revision of this group's past was necessary. I think in the process of remedying a negative heritage the need for cultural heroes, of which Nat Turner could be one, was becoming more pronounced, and more and more elements of black culture penetrated into the dominant white culture.

Southern blacks, who tried to manipulate the mass media and using civil disobedience as a tactic, won the support of the northern public and obtained legal representation through public-interest law firms and, to boost race consciousness, they created their own mythic cultural heroes. These processes led to the revival of the Nat Turner image by interpreting him as a freedom fighter. During the Second Reconstruction of the 1960s Nat Turner and his slave revolt were revalued because the "slave revolt was justified on the familiar basis of resisting legal but oppressive forces: the cruelties of slavery in Virginia (on a moral basis). Nat Turner's tough defiance in a hostile white world was the stuff of black heroism with no need for moral justification. Glorified 'social bandits' have long served significant psychological, sociological and mythological functions for those who feel frustrated, victimized and powerless,"[3] which is a type of social myth therapy.

Styron started to write *The Confessions* because he wished to express the subtlety and the complexity of this emerging black heritage and thus of the slave past, especially the latter's complexity. He accepted György Lukács's principles on writing historical novels, and viewed the disregard of

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[2] Daniel Snowman and Malcolm Bradbury, "The Sixties and Seventies," *Introduction to American Studies*, ed. Malcolm Bradbury & Howard Temperley (London & New York: Longman, 1981) 326.

[3] Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris, coeds., *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989) 1491—1492.

facts as a state of grace. He asserted that the writer should not permit his work to be governed by particular historical facts.[4]

Soon after the publication of the novel he gave a brief talk at Wilberforce University, one of the all-black universities in the North. In that talk he expressed his hope that "an increased awareness of the history of the Negro..., especially of Negro slavery, would allow people of both races to come to terms with the often inexplicable turmoil of the present."[5]

Extremist views opposing Styron's unruffled opinion sprang up in the 60s, and they still persist. Styron rejected extremity favoring black militancy and I think this might be one of the reasons why he received hostile criticism from some black critics. To some extent, to him Nat Turner was the black militant of the 60s who used civil disobedience as his weapon.

After some initial favorable criticism, in 1968 the first major attack came from ten black writers who published their critique of Styron's book in a collection of essays entitled *William Styron's Nat Turner: Ten Black Writers Respond.* The polemic book starts with a quote from Herbert Aptheker: "History's potency is mighty. The oppressed need it for identity and inspiration: oppressors for justification, rationalization, and legitimacy."[6]

Editor John Henrik Clarke's introduction attacks Styron's book for not being true to the documents, and for not describing Nat Turner's "true" character. According to the introduction, Turner's "true" character is the black rebel hero who has a wife and realizes the situation of the oppressed blacks and leads their uprising. The introduction accuses Styron of dehumanizing Turner and all the other blacks, and of presenting Turner as a stereotypical character. Subsequently all the ten black critics argue against Styron's Turner by insisting on their idea of a stereotypical "tragic-triumphant"[7] hero, but they themselves hold the misconception they rebel against.

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[4] William Styron, *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993) 440.

[5] Styron, 434.

[6] Arthur D. Casciato and James L. W. West III, eds., *Critical Essays on William Styron* (Boston: GK Hall and Co., 1982) 201—202.

[7] John Henrik Clarke, ed., *William Styron's Nat Turner: Ten Black Writers Respond* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968) 25.

They accept Thomas Gray's interpretation as being the only true account on the rebellion. Gray, a court-appointed lawyer, visited Turner in his cell before his execution and wrote a 7000-word document on the confessions of Nat Turner. But I think Thomas Gray's interpretation is his own personal interpretation, even though on its cover page it claims to be an authentic account. Gray quotes Turner's own words to make the account authentic, but on the one hand Gray thinks Turner has the impression that he does not believe him and Turner says, "I see sir, you doubt my words."[8] On the other hand, Gray's account is not free from his personal bias regarding Turner's behavior. His interpretation can be the primary one, but it is neither better nor worse, neither truer nor falser than any other interpretation that has been written so far, including one from Styron's pen.

What are the major points made against Styron in the subsequent essays? Styron is "trying to escape history"[9] and shows a "neurasthenic, Hamlet-like white intellectual in black face,"[10] Styron's Turner is always "dreaming of white thighs,"[11] "black people rebel primarily because of an unfulfilled psychological need to be white."[12] Moreover Styron entered "starkly white into a black man's skin and mind,"[13] he lost the "religious center"[14] in Turner's life, he cannot understand the "Afro-American psyche."[15]

These ten black critics were closely linked to magazines like *Freedomways, Negro Digest,* and *Ebony,* which suggests their attachment to a very important aspect of the Black Power Movement in the 1960s. This aspect is the psychological precondition for equality which "fostered a new sense of radical pride and self-confidence that helped revolutionize the black

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8 *Ibid.*, 112.

9 *Ibid.*, 4.

10 *Ibid.*, 5.

11 *Ibid.*, 12.

12 *Ibid.*, 19—20.

13 *Ibid.*, 24.

14 *Ibid.*, 28.

15 *Ibid.*, 43.

perspective, confining to the dustbin of the African—American past the belief born out of centuries of oppression that what was white was good and what was black was inferior".[16]

More recent criticism of Styron's Nat Turner has become more subtle. Robert N. Fossum regards it as being "a 'kind of religious allegory' in which 'Old Testament savagery and rage' are converted at the last into 'New Testament grace and redemption'."[17] Marc L. Ratner analyzes the violent opposition of Nat Turner to society which is inhabited with representative characters.[18] Shaun O'Connell admits that the novel should be as disturbing to white liberals as to black militants because Nat Turner did what he had to.[19] John Thomson writes the following about the validity of the novel: "all we know for certain, considering now the truths of art rather than the blessings of politics or religion, is that from time to time men will rise and slay, if not the oppressor, then whosoever lies at hand in the oppressor's likeness."[20] A few years after the publication of *Ten Black Writers Respond*, Mike Thelwell, one of the ten black writers, still insisted on the existence of a specific black consciousness into which Styron's Turner does not fit.[21] He attacks the novel for its racism and the implication of Nat Turner's homosexuality. He questions Styron's eligibility to write in the name of a black hero.

After considering some of the interpretations of Nat Turner as a fictional character, let me present some of the historical views on him. What have American historians written about Nat Turner and his slave companions? Herbert Aptheker, whom Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. defines as "a faithful Stalinist" who "was an old hand at the manipulation of history,"[22] analyzes the transformations of Nat Turner as a historical figure in his book,

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[16] Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993) 202.

[17] Robert H. Fossum, *William Styron, a Critical Essay* (Claremont, Calif.: William B. Eerdmans, 1968) 44.

[18] Marc L. Ratner, *William Styron* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972) 124.

[19] Arthur D. Casciato, 161.

[20] *Ibid.*, 172.

[21] *Ibid.*, 190.

[22] Schlesinger, 60.

Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion.[23] The entire book is a refutation of the view held by Louis Filler, who maintains that the rebellion obstructed the emancipation process in the last century. In the main part of the book Aptheker offers an overview of the stereotypical characteristic features attached to black people and Nat Turner.

In Aptheker's view Nat Turner is a human being who struggles in order to get something precious to human beings—"peace, prosperity, liberty, or, in a word, a greater amount of happiness."[24] He is convinced that Nat Turner "sought the liberation of the negro people"[25], and the "desire for liberty"[26] was his motive.

After the rebellion slaves were regarded as banditti, blood-thirsty wolves and Frankenstein monsters. A wide-spread view among whites was that God had put blacks on Earth to serve and work for the white man, and this idea of innate inferiority of blacks influenced writers and historians like Sidney Drewry, Robert R. Howison and J. C. Ballagh. However, in their works Nat Turner is labelled "very religious, truthful and honest,"[27] "well-educated"[28].

In the works of modern scholars the innate inferiority tends to disappear.[29] In the 1940s, Melville J. Herskovits criticizes the view that the tendency to revolt was a sporadic and insignificant phenomenon; however, he devotes only one sentence to the Nat Turner revolt.[30] Twenty years later Lerone Bennett, Jr. emphasizes that Nat Turner was "a preacher with vengeance on his lips, a dreamer, a fanatic, a terrorist,... a fanatic mixture of gentleness, ruthlessness and piety."[31] One of the two drawings provided as

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[23] Herbert Aptheker, *Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1966).

[24] *Ibid.*, 6.

[25] *Ibid.*, 35.

[26] *Ibid.*, 45.

[27] *Ibid.*, 35.

[28] *Ibid.*, 35.

[29] Herbert Aptheker, 6.

[30] Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1941) 98.

[31] Lerone Bennett, Jr., *Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America 1619—1964* (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., Inc., 1964) 118.

illustrations to the text shows Nat Turner planning the uprising; the other depicts him being captured. The expression of intrepidity on his face, his hand sturdily pointing at something and defiantly holding the dagger with which he is willing to fight against the white man bearing a gun introduce him as an exceptional man, intensifying his freedom-fighter image. Styron's interpretation about the same event is different, because in the book Nat politely requests Mr. Phipps "not to shoot."[32]

John Hope Franklin, the outstanding black historian whose moderate tone establishes balance in his writing, analyses the aftermath of the slave revolt in his *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans.* He argues that on the one hand the situation was exaggerated in many white communities and most states strengthened their Slave Codes, on the other hand white persons offered assistance and encouragement to blacks.[33]

Comparing the lists of interpretations I conclude the following about the ramifications of my question:

Firstly, on the one hand in Styron's novel history makes fiction in a way that Nat Turner is a historical figure, and for the author he is the starting point from where the Turner figure charged with Styron's imagination radiates into fictional space. The 1960s are the other factor of history which confines the historical background against which the highly fictionalized Turner is positioned.

The lack of any real historical knowledge makes it possible for Styron to take liberties with his character. Thus he employs the first person singular narration, and by using this form he manages to create the personal atmosphere and the confessional mode in the novel. He portrays Turner, who has an errand, as a bachelor with all the attendant frustrations. Turner in the novel is shown as a human being torn by his doubts and fears, and his fictional projection does not fit the fictional and ideologized hero mould. The fictional extension of the character allows me to interpret him as a human being who is not necessarily black or white, and is not only from the 19th century or the 1960s. I assume that Styron identifies broader

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[32] Styron, 80.

[33] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947) 162.

ideas and his Turner figure might be the humble 20th century man with his doubts who also struggles against the nightmarish past and is almost unable to bear the burden of the future, while trying to find consolation and seeking guidelines to the unattainable truth. Ascending from history and radiating in fiction, finally, the Turner figure is grasped by the historically conditioned reader, and this is the way it blurs the dividing line between history and fiction.

Secondly, literary critics and historians attacked Styron by claiming knowledge of the truth and the clue to history. Their views are justified if I accept the traditional definition of clue. But Styron's novel cannot be a clue to history because it does not reveal much about THE truth and it does not offer THE ultimate answer. It reveals truths and untruths to the individual reader and indicates answers. But it is even more important that it raises questions, and by doing so, fiction becomes embedded in the history in it.

His aforementioned brief talk at Wilberforce University substantiates the major implication of the novel that Styron simply tries to guide the reader in the chaotic 60s, but he also confesses that the turmoil is inexplicable. Is it inexplicable bacause the book indicates the mind of a 1950, white consensus conservative trying to make sense of a time and world that was leaving him behind? I am convinced that in Styron's view the reader cannot reach the core or the only one single meaning of the chaos, and Styron tries not to ultimately understand but simply to better understand the forces that shape the common destiny of blacks and whites. Ironically, this common destiny can even be manifested in hatred which is pretended unless you experience an intimate relationship with the other person. In other words the white man can be the object of the black man's hatred if they know each other.[34]

Thirdly, the vitriolic and visceral responses to the novel and to history seem to accept the view that episteme is superior to doxa, so a writer's description is only an opinion, whereas a scholastic view is the knowledge. A writer can express his opinion, doxa, but it is history alone which can provide knowledge, episteme, and by doing so it is the sole holder of truth.

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[34] Styron, 258.

The essence of this superiority lies in the speculation that episteme is rationalized and proven. Thus the historians and the literary critics try to validate their opinion by immersing it into historical knowledge. This view cannot be sustained in relation to the Turner figure because the list of opinions is the best example of how fiction can be created out of history, and thought to be history. The historians mentioned here strive to cling to facts like the Gray document, but they ignore the fact that it is personal. They emphasize egalitarian views, but, paradoxically enough, according to the novel Gray firmly believes in the "basic weakness and inferiority, the moral deficiency of the Negro character."[35] Or do they agree with Gray but only from the other perspective?

Fourthly, I assume that the common element both in fiction and in history is that both the debate over the book and the transformation of Nat Turner in history in the 1960s designate the beginning of an important phase in the emancipation process of black people, which in the 1980s and 1990s peaks in the harmful side effects of political correctness[36] and multiculturalism, which try to monopolize the legacy of the 1960s, and in doing so have become the apotheosis of segregation. My supposition is that Styron's work might concur with Diana Ravich's opinion in the assertion that "the United States has a common culture that is multicultural."[37]

In line with historians, the critics attack Styron's description of Turner's sexuality, and by rejecting the possibility for a white man to understand the black psyche they resort to counter-racism by automatically excluding whites from the blacks' world. The question arising here is whether it is possible to fight against racial discrimination by emphasizing egalitarian views and simultaneously proclaiming racial pride, segregating groups. The voices of black militancy were growing louder in the 1960s when integration of blacks became a widely accepted national objective, and black Americans had every reason to redress the historical balance. It is small wonder that Styron's dispassionate interpretation proved to be

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[35] *Ibid.*, 84.

[36] See—Robert Hughes, *Culture of Complaint: The Fraying of America* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1993).

[37] Schlesinger, 135.

iconoclastic because by the time the book was published Nat Turner as a freedom-fighter cultural hero had established his reputation, and manifested itself to be the adequate hero to justify the uniqueness of the strivings of black people.

To sum up, my essay illustrates how fictionalized and malleable Nat Turner as a cultural hero is. Periodically some cultural heroes, various aspects of their lives and their personal qualities are magnified and put in the limelight, while others are thrust into the background, or completely ignored. The common feature between history and fiction is that they are both elastic and can be transformed, recast and abused conforming to the climate of opinion of the given age. The only real fact we know about him is that he was the leader of the Southampton insurrection. Not much is known about his motives and his characteristic features, and this lack of knowledge has initiated umpteen interpretations by historians and literary critics, which justifies the opinion that the clear-cut dividing line between history and fiction cannot be revealed, and history is not devoid of fiction and manipulation.

From the historian's point of view, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. confirms the same idea. "Historians must always strive toward the unattainable ideal of objectivity. But as we respond to contemporary urgencies, we sometimes exploit the past for nonhistorical purposes, taking from the past, or projecting upon it, what suits our own society or ideology. History thus manipulated becomes an instrument less of disinterested intellectual inquiry than of social cohesion and political purpose."[38] From the literary scholar's point of view, Zsolt Virágos concludes that literature can "effectively support or undercut, consolidate or counterpoint" the "ideologized product of social consciousness."[39] In *The Art of the Novel* Milan Kundera, Czech writer, reveals his views on the interrelationship between history and the fictional hero by affirming that not only should historical conditions establish the existential situation around the fictional hero, but history itself should be conceived and analyzed as an existential situation. We share our history,

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[38] *Ibid.*, 47.

[39] Zsolt K. Virágos, "Myth, Ideology and the American Writer," *Hungarian Studies in English* XXI (1990): 42.

which is our common experience, and our deeds only make sense in relation to it.[40] Mihály Vajda, Hungarian philosopher, assumes that history can be interpreted in lots of ways, and different interpretations might be valid, but there is not one single interpretation which should be valid.[41]

Styron himself did not consider his book as a historical novel, and he attached the revealing phrase "meditation on history" to the title, which implies his own rejection of omniscience. Styron's Turner does not want to be a part of history. Instead he says that he was "propelled ... into history."[42] Perhaps James Baldwin's words vindicate an element of the truth of Styron's fictional interpretation related to history: "He has begun the *common* history—ours."[43]

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[40] Milan Kundera, *A regény művészete* (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1992) 54—56.

[41] Mihály Vajda, *A posztmodern Heidegger* (T—Twins Kiadó, Lukács Archivum, Századvég Kiadó, 1993) 189.

[42] Styron, 81.

[43] Styron, back cover.

JUDIT KÁDÁR

THE FIGURE OF 'EVERYCLOWN' IN JACK RICHARDSON'S GALLOWS HUMOUR

I suspect that this transition from one form to another might take place by means of an intermediate stage in which they were deprived of all form but were not altogether deprived of existence.

—St. Augustine—

Besides Edward Albee, Arthur Kopit, Jack Gelber and Sam Shepard, Jack Richardson was said to be one of the most promising playwrights of the 1960s, and he proved so. His second Off-Broadway play, *Gallows Humour* (1961) is an outstanding experiment to merge the various influences of the European predecessors with a peculiarly American voice and subject in a uniquely personal way. In the following paper I intend to point out some distinctive features of the dramatic technique, personality and the characteristics of the Rebellious Absurd Play through the example of a modern Parable Play. This newly emerging genre has similarities with both the Absurd Drama and Black Humor fiction of the same period, the final result is a powerful cohesion of all.

1. 'Everyclown's' Perspective of a Changing World

1.1. Introduction

Jack Richardson is usually interpreted as a prominent representative of the process of the Americanization of the European dramatic heritage and the creation of a distinctively American mood in drama. As for the subject, form and technique of his play, he takes elements from outstanding European predecessors, such as skepticism concerning human relations, especially sexual ones, and the tragic treatment of the hopelessness of communication in the Strindbergian Theater; Dürrenmatt's parodical social parables and dark grotesque and burlesque elements; G. B. Shaw's deep social concern and Stanislavsky's "room-sized destiny" technique (see Szilassy 32); Jean Genet's preoccupation with escapism in visions of the senseless existence; Jean Anouilh's pessimistic existentialism and witty, humorous dialogues as well as the alienation and estrangement theme and the interest in the opposites in Samuel Beckett's plays. However, in Beckett's truly Absurd Theater the apocalyptic atmosphere, the shock-catharsis technique, the empty spaces show features of the so-called 'intermedia category' (Szilassy 56). Applying Zoltán Szilassy's classification of the plays of the 1960s, I feel that Richardson's *Gallows Humour* is closer to the category of the Rebellious Theater than to the Intermedia, since it carries the elements of pseudorevolutions, suffocating interior setting and claustrophobia; as for the plot and characters the play contains everyday family and office relations with the death of tragedy at the end of the two parts as a catharsis; and finally, the transparent "rites of passage do not occur before the audience—they are monologized upon" (Szilassy 56).

Trying to situate Richardson's *Gallows Humour* in the mainstream of American Drama we have to go back to Eugene O'Neill and see that this heritage marks two major tendencies: one is the psychological trend followed by Tennessee Williams, the other is the analytical social criticism and determinism marked especially by Arthur Miller and his followers. The two trends gain a new power together in the dramas of Albee and other Off-Broadway playwrights. I would rather call the latter's works absurdist for they carry Absurd elements such as the setting, the ending, the *Rite de Passage* motifs (here: death and the dilemma of divorce—detailed below),

and for the major concern of late 20th century American Drama: the loss of the American Dream and the universal problems of alienation and estrangement. According to Szilassy, this kind of drama offers two alternatives: violence and/or conformism (25). These concerns and their presentation in Richardson's play are to be examined later on in this paper.

Some postmodernist features can also be observed, that make the voice of *Gallows Humour* so peculiar. The playwright wrote a Prologue to explain his ideas about the role of the theater and the genre of tragicomedy. He returns to the tradition of the Middle Ages, the golden days when the theater—just like society and the individual—had a clearly definable role, as his 'Everyclown' figure claims: "I was a popular hero" *(Gallows Humour* 70*)*. Everyone knew in the theater who were behind the masks and what values they stood for. Nevertheless, in the chaos of our age, everything has changed. One cannot make a difference between the hangman and the hanged, the absurdity and uncertainty of our existence become the uncertainty of the mechanical characters as well as their creators and the whole creative process. His awareness of this uncertainty factor in writing results in the connection of the artist-artifact-audience similar to the metafiction of the 1960s. The term 'metaplay' probably could fit this drama. Richardson's interest in the parable of the fate of the theater versus the fate of the hangman and the hanged would reflect something like that.

1.2. Conformism, Alienation and the Claustrophobic Theater—Attempts to Transform the Misfit

... And the moment
would catch up with him at the moment of death,
all the copies of the universe he'd invented
not fantastical enough, and he'd die the way
he lived, expectedly.
(Di Cicco: The Patsy of the Many Worlds Theory)

Alienation is a keyword of contemporary life with its universal appeal, while conformism—also in a causal relationship with the former one—is another keyword frequently used to describe and explain trends in present-day American society and literature. Critics, for example C. W. T. Bigsby, John Gassner, George Lukács and Péter Egri have emphasized the significance of alienation and conformism with different stresses on either the psychological or the social consequences presented in various artifacts. Again, the two major trends in American Drama stand for this double-determinedness of the conflict between the polarities of reality and illusions, man's essence and existence. The lack of free will, the seclusion in an empty and indifferent world, the frustration, loneliness, vegetation and growing callous in everyday automatisms is a major theme since Beckett and it has different dramatical presentations as far as conflict, characterization, composition and style is concerned.

As Szilassy has pointed out, Richardson's play is built upon the conflict between the opposites of life and death, individuality and conformism, illusion and reality, order and disorder (38). This duality is presented in the two parts and the two small correlative set of characters in *Gallows Humour*. (The question of how they represent these oppositional ideas will be discussed later on.)

Conformism and its impact on the American national character is often presented in literature through its effects on the individual; according to Walter Kerr it is popular to attack it and even the artist's attempt to criticize this social phenomenon shows a degree of intelligence on the writer's side. However, he also expresses his doubts about the alternatives —if there are any at all— offered by the writers of the 1960s (see Kerr 50). It is difficult to agree with Kerr's statements about the pointless ironizing in this literary trend. One could take the example of Peter in Albee's *Zoo Story*, where he is pushed out of his neat little world organized by the principles of conformism. In the case of *Gallows Humour*, for instance, we will see that the different techniques of humor can show a skeptical authorial opinion but in an indirect way: we are told how *not* to live.

The character of the MISFIT is powerfully presented with all his relationships, reasons and causes in a psychologically and socially well-

described way. The attempt he makes to ESCAPE 'the neat world', the enclosure in a philosophical sense with no choice, chance or free will of the individual, remains unsuccessful; the possibilities are actually reduced to a final one which is always destructive for the individual in its effect. O'Neill's expressionistic plays *(e.g. The Hairy Ape)* did not do away but re-interpreted the original theatrical idea of Stanislavsky: the 'room-sized destiny for small pimple' topic appear in American Theater. The images of CAGE and PRISON also come up in Richardson's choice of setting in the two parts: the cell in the first and the "early morning confusion of a suburban kitchen-dining room" (GH 97) proves for us Richardson's artistic consciousness here again, since the first one is a universal symbol for the lack of freedom and possibilities, while the suburban kitchen with all of its described details, such as the peppermill ('grinder of life'), symbolize the American way of life, the dull uniformity of the lives of millions who accepted the Dream as their civil religion, their leading principle of life. The DOOR of the kitchen, the WALL of the prison are BOUNDARIES, limiting forces. They are also symbolized, and as such, they are perfectly utilized in a technical sense by the author. Those who guard and defend the existing ORDER (i.e. latent order covering chaos in the outside world) do not let the MISFIT cross the limitations, for they have the support of institutions and ideologies. That is why Walter and Philip, two faces of the same figure (usually played by the same actor) are unable to break out.

The ORDER-DISORDER relation is manifold in the play. Walter insists on keeping the order of his cell by all means, since the order of objects around him provides the only possibility of security. Walter complains about the loss of order in the outside world, loss of predictability based on the laws of life and a rise of a new order, a negative one where predictability means the loss of chance for individual action. The fear of lost order is symbolized also in Walter's agonies about losing his number patch—something that brings the memories of the protagonist's struggle in the opposite direction in Orwell's *1984* into my mind. Later on, Lucy forces Walter to realize that his effort is pointless, because the order of the outside world represented by the institutions of law, the prison and the whole procedure of the last hours before being hung—all control their actions. In

the second part the order, the false values and the effect of conformism are presented in the institution of MARRIAGE. Here Richardson follows the Strindbergian tradition similarly to Albee's method in his *American Dream* (1961.), *The Sandbox* (1961.) or in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Wolf?* (1962.). The romantic traditions have become clichés; for many people marriage means common social status, a shared place of living, money and conventions only. In these dramas the relationship between the—in most cases childless—spouses is based on male inferiority and surrender to the conformist values represented by the female partner. There is hypocrisy and aggression on one side and infantilism and opportunism on the other (or both). Albee's expression: MOMISM is a proper one to describe the situation. Similar gender-orientedness can be found in the symbolic objects and utterances of the play, for instance: "Lucy: You're too happy curled up in your little womb [i.e. the cell—K.J.] to want a company" (GH 90).

1.3. Characters and Masks

> Walter [rigid with eyes closed]: People are forgetting who, what or where they've been. All getting into new skins, expressions, and troubles. But wanting to laugh through it all. (GH 82)

In *Gallows Humour* a carefully planned set of characters has been created. I feel the figures (Walter-Philip, the Warden and Lucy-Martha) are not 'real' characters but rather faces, aspects and masks for the embodiment of the dual nature of man (i.e. Everyman). As a matter of fact, they are usually played by the same actors and actresses. From the beginning the male-female opposition is transparent and it is also emphasized with the reoccurring 'war of sexes' motif through the two parts.

Talking to Lucy, the prostitute in the prison setting, Walter reveals his own uncertainties concerning his life, existence and the world around him. Sticking to the order first he is shown to be conscious and determined. The role of the female is first "to take a man's mind off your gallows, when he's got less than two hours to go" (GH 74), then to undermine his conviction, to

lead him astray according to the ancient model; and finally, as Lucy concludes: "I'm going to bring that world back to you. After all, it is the only one there is" (GH 94). She has had experience in this process, so knows that sooner or later Walter will give in/up and enjoy the last joy before dying. He is also forced to quit the order of his minimalized universe: his cell.

In the second part the whole process is similar though the female character seems to be even more self-conscious and arrogant. Seeing Martha one cannot help comparing her here to Albee's famous Martha in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Wolf?* and his other Momist characters. They always 'follow the suit', represent all the retarding forces (conventions, clichés in speech and action), the senselessness of the everydays in present society, the so-called welfare state, where the whole system tends to kill the distinctiveness of the individual for the sake of labels like the Dream, Democracy, Happiness of the Majority, Order and Comforts of Life.

Walter, in contrast to Philip, was able to revolt in his own way by killing his wife—an ability absolutely missing from the male figure of the second part. Philip's revolt "against the rest of you" (GH 107) remains on the level of words. That is why he is ridiculous in his actions of step-by-step retreat. I think the quality of humor is different in the two parts, since there is a difference in three important stances: the level of consciousness, the tragic aspect of actions and the reader's involvement in the plot. In the first case a tragic story is narrated, then the kernel-story is finished, whereas in the second case the ground gradually slips from under Philip's legs and we cannot see a clear positive or negative ending to the dialogue between him and Martha. The tragedy lies in the neverending clichés that once—unconsciously—accepted he has to follow for good and all. Here the stress is on the narrow-mindedness of will, choice and action in a philosophical as well as dramaturgical sense. Not only the claustrophobic setting drives Walter and Philip to frustration, uncertainty and incapacity for action, but also the bondages of relations with the other characters. The Warden is present in both parts of the play: a real 'jelly man' behind the symbolic mask of the institutionalized process of depletion and dehumanization. He is the one who cherishes typical middle-class dreams like working to save for the

college education of the kids; he is the one whose wife "never stops riding streetcars" (GH 104)—what a nice resemblance to Williams' Streetcar!—; who thinks Philip can be bribed with not getting his pension, because pension is something very important in life(...) and also the Warden is the subject of Martha's adultery, which in the context of the play becomes the parody of love and courtship. Since they are "cut from the same timber" (GH 102), i.e. represent the same values or the lack of them, perhaps they could have a meaningful relationship, but they are unable to find a date to date—a grotesque element again—, to meet at the supermarket, a central symbol of commercial society and its values.

The other duality in man's nature presented in the play is the hangman-hanged, warden-prisoner and wife-prostitute oppositions. As Richardson directly informs us in the Preface and indirectly shows in the whole plot and text of the drama, the major uncertainty factor in our age is the question of who is the hangman, the hanged and the victim; in what sense and who is responsible for the individual and common fate.

The mask-technique helps the playwright to express himself in the complexity of the postmodern age with the clearness of the old Morality Plays. However, here the Deadly Sins and Vickens are not personified but included in the essence of the characters. The figure of Death, who summons Everyman ('Everyclown'), introduces two *rites de passage*: a journey to death and a lack of decision whether to divorce or not. There are direct and indirect references to the mask-nature of the play. The *Oxford Dictionary* describes the notion of mask as a part of covering to hide the face (i.e. reality, for instance in Lucy's case); a replica (denoting the copy-faces of people and also can mean the actors' masks in theater); a disguise not to show one's intentions and true character or a death mask... It also means a protection from poisonous things (here: Philip would protect his individuality from the rest of the people).

The first direct appearance of mask allusions is Lucy herself. All the artificial and transformed parts of her body together with the accessories she is wearing are essential; without them her figure would fall apart. Perhaps there is nobody behind the mask at all?! Mihály Hoppál calls the attention to the relevance of female masks in his book on symbols (152—3).

As he claims, female masks often stand for illusion, falsehood, cunning and deception. An even more interesting mask is Philip's black hood, the Black Hood of the hangman in the Middle Ages, but here the mask-motif is not so simple and serves a different function, too.

> Warden: But think of what it would do to your
> reputation! Instead of being a finely edged instrument
> in a clinical, detached operation, you become a villain,
> a strangler—a black knight. (GH 98)

Philip would keep that hood on for it would enable him to keep eye-contact with the victim of his action, i.e. the hanged. There would be at least some sort of human contact and feeling involved in the act of killing; even if it is fear, it is "healthy fear" (GH 110) instead of endless hypocrisy. Here the real mask is transferred into something metaphysical in the sense that those people 'wear' it who will kill the misfits by pushing a button without their personal presence and keep their hands sterile from responsibility the way Pilate did when washing his hands. As opposed to the latter, Philip's preference of 'healthy fear' found an echo in recent and contemporary literature; one of its most powerful ways of presentation is the various branches of humor examined in the following.

2. Generic Questions and Comic Qualities in *Gallows Humour*

2.1. Between Absurd and Black Comedy

According to the title of the play it is about tragic and comic elements in life. Similarly to Dante's *Divina Commedia* we cannot really talk about comedy or humor in their clear terms, we cannot find the entertaining function fulfilled with easy laughter either. Tragic elements mix with comedy and seem to overwhelm the effect of the play. Still it would be an oversimplification to categorize *Gallows Humour* as a tragicomedy—with or without the hyphen that Richardson mentions in his *Preface*. Comic qualities such as satire, Black Humor, Black Comedy, clownery, the grotesque, paradox, sarcasm and tragicomedy are blended in this play with difference in their presentation, appearance and emphasis.

That *Gallows Humour*—as Richardson claims—follows the tradition of tragicomedy seems to be proved by the features of mordant wit, vaudeville and macabre elements, too. On the other hand, I reckon that comic elements do not overwhelm the general tone of the play, so one could assume it contains tragicomic elements rather than being a tragicomedy as such. As I mentioned, humor has a different function here in the Bergsonian sense with the liberating elevation and cathartic power of laughter. As Matthew Winston says: "The violent combination of opposing extremes unsettles us so that we do not become confused; this in turn disturbs our certainty of moral and social values and challenges our sense of a secure norm" (273). The clownery calls for a direct universal moral appeal; its sources are similar to satire, however—like in the Black Humor of Postmodernism—we cannot feel superior to the characters of the play since we are in the same grasp of our present existence. The whole effect-mechanism is thoroughly explained in Winston's essay on *Humor Noir*, so here I would rather examine its definite presence in *Gallows Humour*.

As far as the distinction of grotesque and absurd Black Humor presented in the play is concerned, the first seems to be overwhelming. Perhaps it is characteristic to the distinction observed by Szilassy between the two groups of the 1960s' dramas; namely the Rebellious versus the Intermedia dramas (56—7). The second group works more with absurd elements, while the first one utilizes the power of different veins of humor instead.

Bearing the definition of Black Comedy in mind, one can find *Gallows Humour* to be very close to the influence of Kafka's philosophy, existentialism, the 'irremediable exile' atmosphere of Camus, life originally presented as a 'tragic farce' by Ionesco and Beckett's tragicomic characters; but its application to Richardson's drama is questionable, since I doubt that he would agree with the impossibility of action. If not Black Comedy, then what is the genre-definition we could relate to this play?

Szilassy's suggestion is that it is a Parable Play (37). It can be supported with the Sea-voyage allegory the Warden invokes as an apologia on conformism and outlaws. The parable also exists on the level of the plot since the 'stages' of the two parts are short, simple and have a moral point,

like original parables did. One can find some more indications to this direction in the play, for example Walter's story of the Gogarty Case.

I found a parallel between this story and Chekhov's famous grotesque short story entitled *The Death of the Chinovnik* (1883). Everything went fine with Walter, the lawyer, defender of law and truth until the point when, at a trial, the person he defends with due right started to hiccup. This natural action turns out to be nonsensical, the whole courtroom fills with uncontrollable laughter and it changes the minds of the jury for worse. The ironical undercutting serves as a safety valve releasing the tension, and also shows the absurd nature of things in a time when law has turned into a 'fooling game' because of the "over-the-shoulder" (GH 84) attitude of society. One can associate the whole 'Gogarty phenomenon' with the changes in the world around us. Direct indications prove its truth, for example the change in Walter's personality and fate (he becomes a number patch and nearly looses his identity). It was law, the organizing and justifying power in society, that he represented. Originally it was "untouched by human beings" (GH 84), but "it is the nature of law that has been abused" (GH 84) in our age when the absurdity can happen that even airconditioning in the courtroom can change the verdict on people's lives. The legal case at this point turns into a social paranoia, a parable of the existing status quo.

The comparison with Chekhov's work lies in the correspondence of the plots. Cherviakov's sneezing seals his destiny—the unretainable biological action stresses the role of accidentality just in the same way it happens in *Gallows Humour*. The grotesque is present in both works of art as a dramatical element (hiccups and sneezing) and also as a quality of life where pain finally gains over the laughter of the outsider.

Like the grotesque, paradox is also a trait of humor which is based on the duality of elements in life emphasized throughout the play. The dialogue of Martha and Philip is especially rich in paradoxical features, since Philip's illusory speech and the down-to-earth opportunist actions are its sources, just taking an example:

Philip [retrieving the bowl]: And, Martha, there might be mirages. Can you imagine, scenes floating about purely for your own amusement. Do you know, I think I've wanted to see a mirage for the last ten years.

Martha: You're getting water on your trousers, Philip. [She opens a cupboard and takes out an apron.] Here, put this on.

Philip [getting into the apron]: I used to force a mirage on myself. ...

Martha [handing Philip the last dish]: All you want, then, is to see mirages?

Philip: I want my pores to open and let out of me all the bubbling perspiration that's been stopped up by the civil service code. Think of it, Martha! Me, in the middle of a jungle, where everything's raw and fresh, where only the hungry and alive do the executing, where...

Martha: I think some grounds are still in the coffee-pot.

Philip [giving the pot another rinse]: And then, Martha, once I've filled my lungs with that wild air—well, then I'll be ready to—to...

Martha: to what, Philip?

Philip [modestly, with some embarrassment]: Oh, grow a beard perhaps.

Martha: All this trouble just to avoid shaving? (GH 111—2)

Paradoxical language sometimes turns into a mortal sarcasm on Martha's side expressing deep scorn, for instance:

Philip:[...] I'm giving up knowing where and what I'll be a week, a day, or even an hour ahead. I'm going to be...

Martha [again sharp and bitter]: A man-eating jungle plant - I know. Well, you'll have to wait until after my sister's dinner to start blooming. And by that time, there'll be other things popping up to detain you.

(GH 114—5)

or:

Martha: Then don't make jokes about doing me in. You're not on your gallows now; no twenty-five forms have been filled out in triplicate

authorizing you to slap my neck. [Shouting] You're my husband! And that makes you the most harmless person in the world as far as I'm concerned! (GH 117)

These utterances lead us through the violent debates of marriage in the Strindbergian sense to the question of chance for a meaningful male-female relationship at the end of the twentieth century. Since Richardson's treatment of the topic is identical with Albee's and of many representatives of postmodern literature, one can observe the common characteristics through the spouses' 'Walpurgisnacht' game in the second part of the play. The first and most conspicious similarity is Martha's: her name, personality, behavior and utterances to Martha in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Wolf?*. Both Philip and George have to confess that they had underestimated their wives as far as aggression and surprising actions are concerned. Both Marthas reject the honesty of their husbands. Although Albee's Martha shares a secret with George, which provides the driving force of their marriage, in Richardson's play this Martha is unable and unwilling to have any idea common with Philip except for the word 'and' as a tie between them (i.e. "man *and* wife" [GH 115]). As Martha says: "I've grown used to lies, Philip. They make up a comfortable husband I know" (GH 114). Since marriage has became the finest institution of conformism in practice, wives as such with their 'breakfast faces', with their preference of clubs, communities and joint bank accounts became guards of the properly set system and values. Or is it just the simple urge of survival in women and an aptness to accomodate to the existing circumstances that transform them into 'Momist Dragons'?

Richardson calls the attention to the efforts and experimenting with the possibilities of the revolt of male characters. The process of retreat in Walter's and Philip's case is interesting and nicely presented with its psychological implications. The dynamism of their conscious efforts in the direction of revolt along with their unconscious taming down and surrender gives the rhythm of the whole play. As far as I feel, this dynamism is the main achievement here.

Emotions are expressed in a similarly dynamic language. A significant example for this is the rise and fall technique of the Martha-Philip dialogue, where the latter's ideas fly away in the air, while Martha kills these ideas with the 'law of gravity' drawing Philip back to earth like: "Put the cup *face down*, Philip" (GH 111—italics mine J.K.).

While Philip gradually loses his force, Martha grows into a Big Nurse-like character, who commands the husband, treats him as a child and makes little allowances. She is the one who has future—at least all the circumstances and her conviction point in this direction. Mentioning Ken Kesey's Big Nurse figure (in *One Who Flies over the Cuckoo's Nest*), one can also find a correlation of the hospital there and the prison here in the first part of Richardson's play. Both serve the function of creating cooperative members of the community out of the misfits with or without much sense. The description of the Warden given to Lucy about Walter seems to prove this and some lines later his idea of turning maniacs back to useful men (GH 75). Without noticing we get deeper and deeper into the examination of Black Humor elements in the play. The male-female relations together with the man-society relation detailed above are frequent topics of other literary pieces containing Black Humor elements, too. For the sake of mentioning some more let the followings stand here:

The 'lost number patch-lost identity and order' relation; the "machinery inside me" (i.e. Lucy GH 81) motif; the mordant wit of situations like spending two happy hours before being hung, or the "Please stop breathing" (GH 118) way of killing someone; the claim that the Press and Media should be satisfied on the account of personal lies and losses; the insect comparison (GH 76) and the cliché-like empty mechanical actions that tend to the direction of false order and entropy. The Black Humor elements mentioned above are to indicate the presence and successful exploitation of postmodernist features in the play.

Richardson's drama is a colorful, witty piece of literature that utilizes the achievements of the theatrical traditions of tragicomedy but through unfiltrating (post)modern literary methods that are efficient both in fiction and drama, he broadens the notion of the Rebellious Drama of the 1960s in a peculiar way with his *Gallows Humour*.

2.2. Conclusion

The mechanism of Richardson's drama-technique, his peculiar clownery is much the same as Winston describes Breton's *humor noir*: "...He attempts to bring his audience into the same position he occupies by threatening and horrifying it and then undercutting its fear by some witty or comic turn" (270). However, in Richardson's play we are not released in this sense; the ending is a happy one only for Martha. Through the example of Everyclown (the Pierrot-like sad clown in all of us) our attention is called to the individual's effort and opportunity, the responsibility of missing the chance to change for better. Though skeptical in its final conclusion of the play, the authorial intention and the effect is revolting for humanistic reasons. We are tossed into the need of seeing clearer and making a choice as a playwright claims at the end of the Prologue:

> *That one-time basic distinction between the quick and the dead has became far too abstract today for one with my earthbound mind, and this fundamental confusion was, I fear, showing up in my performances. For even on the stage, in a play darkened by the shadow of gallows, I, so perfectly at home in such a setting, now find it difficult, with my ancient eyes, to tell the hangman from the hanged. I hope, for my future and peace of mind, that you, the author's contemporaries, do not.*
> (GH 71)

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MÁRIA KURDI

"YOU JUST HAVE TO LOVE THIS WORLD." ARTHUR MILLER'S *THE LAST YANKEE*

In 1983, when he was 77, Samuel Beckett wrote a playlet under the provokingly mysterious title *What Where*. Concise and precise as it is in its sharply edged wording, it pulls the strands of the majority of the writer's earlier work together and presents them in a way that suggests added implications, "creating a new illusion of their own."[1] Introduced by V's sentence, "We are the last five.", the playlet centers around games, circularity, repetitiveness, humans' torturing one another, as well as the threat of senselessness. Almost ten years after the inception of *What Where*, also at the age of 77, another giant of the contemporary stage, Arthur Miller produced *The Last Yankee*, a short play of merely two scenes. Dissimilar though the two late dramatic works are, Miller's is also full of resonances from the writer's other works and even serves as a kind of summary of what has preceded it, while opening up a comparatively new vista at the same time.

A connection with the former works becomes established by the very title of Miller's play, as it so emphatically promises to be concerned with America and its people. In more particular terms, it is, again, the deceptive and even destorting nature of the American Dream that seems to haunt the

[1] Enoch Brater, *Beyond Minimalism: Beckett's Late Style in the Theater* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) 157.

writer, and calls *The Man Who Had All the Luck, All My Sons, Death of a Salesman, The Price* and *The American Clock* to the reader's mind. "Yankee" connects with New Englanders as well, for whom Miller, the son of Jewish immigrants, discovered a special liking in himself when researching Puritan culture before he turned to write *The Crucible*:

> I had all but committed myself to writing the play, but only at this moment did I realize that I felt strangely at home with these New Englanders, moved in the darkest part of my mind by some instinct that they were putative ur-Hebrews, with the same fierce idealism, devotion to God, tendency to legalistic reductiveness, the same longings for the pure and intellectually elegant argument.[2]

The above diverging references can offer joint points of departure for an analysis: *The Last Yankee* adresses both disappointment and belief in American life and its prospects. It is set in a state mental hospital, where 44 year-old Patricia, mother of seven and her older fellow-inmate, childless Karen, receive treatment for depression. (This obviously recalls the hospital setting of *The Ride Down Mount Morgan,* the play completed last before *Yankee* in 1991, and echoes one of its heroines, Theo's temporary psychic collapse in a stronger form.) They are visited by their husbands: carpenter Leroy "dressed in subdued Ivy League jacket"[3], a descendant of Alexander Hamilton, one of the constitution-making Founding Fathers, and the financially successful John Frick, who wears a business suit. As the review of Miller's play in the *Independent* contends, "In structure, his play is beautifully worked out: the two couples are diametrically opposed and it proceeds rather like a square dance—first the men do a turn, then the women, then one couple, then all four together."[4] Conversation takes up the whole, there is virtually no action except Karen's highly moving tap-dance

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[2] Arthur Miller, *Timebends, A Life* (New York: Grove Press, 1987) 42.

[3] Arthur Miller, *The Last Yankee* (London: Methuen, 1993), 1. All further references are to this edition, respective page numbers will be put in the text in parenthesis.

[4] Sarah Hemming's review of *The Last Yankee* in the *Independent*, reprinted in: *Theatre Record* 23 April — 6 May 1993, 488.

performance at the climax[5], preceding the resolution which contains Patricia's departure for home in the company of her husband. Why can one inmate leave trustfully while the other is frightened into what looks much like relapse, and how does all this relate to contemporary American life, its games, worries and values? Hardly any more questions can be raised about the play in general, its essence being realized in the verbal details, ironies nuances and gestures. As Leonard Moss reads Miller's long introduction to the *Collected Plays*, the writer claims to have been involved "with three stylistic modes prevalent in modern drama, which may be labeled the realistic, the expressionistic, and the rhetorical."[6] It is the last of the three that seems most justifiably applicable in reference to the play under scrutiny.

The Last Yankee displays affinity with the former plays of Miller also in its use of autobiographical elements. Female depression and depression in general, for instance, have long been part of the writer's world of experiences. His second wife, Marilyn Monroe was notoriously unbalanced and unable to sever herself from her past, "a troubled woman whose desperation was deepening no matter where she turned for a way out."[7] She died of an overdose of sleeping pills, as the writer "was coming to the end of the writing of *After the Fall*."[8] When asked about his mother in an interview, Miller said: "She was very warm, very nice, musical. She was a good storyteller. And subject to fits of depression." On being further interrogated as to what caused her depression, he went on to depict briefly the wider context, that is the failure of American aspirations: "What bothers everybody in this country? Frustration. You are surrounded with what you think is opportunity. But you can't grab on to it."[9] Patricia's dissatisfaction

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[5] Cf. Gina Thomas, "Wenn Frauen zu viel leiden. Amerika in der Psychiatrie: Arthur Millers "The Last Yankee" im Londoner Young Vic," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16 Fevr. 1993, S. 29.

[6] Leonard Moss, *Arthur Miller* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980) 95.

[7] *Timebends*, 466.

[8] *Ibid.*, 531.

[9] Leonard Moss, *"The Absence of the Tension: A Conversation with Arthur Miller,"* Leonard Moss, *op. cit.*, 118.

with her husband's lack of material success carries some resonance of the contempt Miller's mother felt for his father's financial collapse during the Depression. His mother's two brothers both died young, which fact is echoed in Patricia's brothers' respective suicides before they would have reached middle age. The differences between the outlook of Patricia's family and that of her husband, Leroy, recall Miller's own experiences in connection with his first wife's, Mary's piously Catholic family. The most important of all the autobiographical references, however, is Leroy's being a carpenter, a craft Miller himself cultivated and probably considered an art. In *Timebends* he describes how he built a little shack,

> where I could block out the world and bring into focus what was still stuck in the corners of my eyes. ... A pair of carpenters could have put up this ten-by-twelve-foot cabin in two days at most, but for reasons I still do not understand it had to be my own hands that gave it form, on this ground, with a floor that I had made, upon which to sit to begin the risky expedition into myself.[10]

It was in that self-built shack that *Death of a Salesman* started to take shape. Leroy Hamilton, the last Yankee of our present play can be regarded as a kind of self-portrait, presenting the craftsman part of the artist that wishes to live and create independently of the world's hustling ways.

Scene One contains the encounter between the two husbands while waiting for their wives to join them. Occupied in "idly leafing through an old magazine" (1), Leroy's behaviour becomes immediately contrasted with that of Frick, who looks at his watch as soon as he has entered and taken a seat. A man of business, he is always short of time, even when on a visit to his hospitalized wife. The ensuing conversation focuses on the two women and the nature of their illness. Soon it turns out that not only the two husbands' material background is widely different, with the Hamiltons sometimes not being able to pay the bills they get and the Fricks having more than the average, but also their approach to their wives' depression. Frick keeps on

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[10] Arthur Miller, *Timebends*, 183.

considering external factors: the illness must be due to the presence of too many Negroes, crime, the lack of brothers and sisters to talk to, etc. His no-nonsense attitude makes him take Karen's problem even as a kind of insult to his own business-based well-being. It is an "awful sensation" (4) for him not to have around the partner who had been such a good listener before her decline into depression began. "Whatever deal I was in, couldn't wait till I got home to talk about it. Real estate, stock market, always interested." (5) In contradiction, Leroy's probings into the implications of Patricia's depression betray an interest in seeing it in terms of their relationship and his own responsibility. Unlike the superficial, routine approach of Frick, his instinctively hits upon something vitally important from the point of view of the disease: "They're usually sick a long time before you realize it you know. I just never realized."(3)

The wives's disorders, however, do not form the sole theme of their conversation. As the above quotation hints, the women's problems are fundamentally rooted in the marital relationships, therefore the men's side becomes equally important in the play. When it comes to light that Leroy is just a carpenter and not, for instance, a contractor, Frick responds in a disturbingly mixed fashion. On the one hand he displays a genuinely human admiration for the art-like craft of the other, who has recently renovated a Presbyterian Church and in addition built a first-class altar to be its pride. On the other hand, Frick's instinctively praising attitude is soon replaced by his assessment of Leroy's achievement from the point of view of social positions and expectations, according to which the younger man fails to have made a career, in spite of descending from one of the Founding Fathers.

The mention of Alexander Hamilton brings to mind the American constitution and the myth of happiness attainable through material success, declared everybody's right. Here, however, neither of the two men is happy. Frick appears hardly more than a clockwork automaton whose latent psychic problem manifests itself in compulsive talking and the over-abundant use of clichés in lack of original thoughts. Leroy claims to be driven crazy by the other's and, by extension, the society's ambiguity about his job:

> Well what's it going to be, equality or what kind of country?—I mean am I supposed to be ashamed I'm a carpenter? ... I mean everybody's talking 'labor, labor,' how much labor's getting; well if it's so great to be labor how come nobody wants to be it? ... Do you ever hear people brag about a bricklayer? I don't know what you are but I'm only a dumb swamp Yankee, but ... (10)

Their clash reveals total disagreement and a hopeless lack of understanding, expressed by the younger's outburst and the older's shaking "his head with a certain condescension" (11) as well as by the fact that both resume what they were doing before their verbal encounter. Taken as a whole, this protracted exposition to the play enacts the depression-generating core problem of the American society: the failure of interpersonal communication and relationships because people view one another not as humans first of all, but as players in an artifically set game. Leroy rightly assumes that depression has nothing to do with bills or the number of children or relatives. As a general malaise, it has infected not only the wives but their men as well, although in a less spectacular way. Frick has become insensitive and hypocritical while Leroy "is threatened by lethargy and stubbornness."[11] The exposition anticipates Patricia's later summary: "You've got a right to be depressed. There's more people in hospitals because of depression than any other disease." (17) This also answers why the play, in spite of the fact that the number one sufferers in it are women, should not be analyzed in a simplifying way, blaming patriarchal society for the purposelessness and mental illness of its female members. Most people just can't find themselves, as Miller himself said in a BBC interview conducted by Christopher Bigsby shortly after the London premiére of *The Last Yankee* in early 1993.

Confronting a tentatively recovering Patricia and a Karen of conspicuously incoherent conversation, Miller wades deeper into the problem. The younger woman is dissatisfied with her husband's refusal to make

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[11] Helen McNeil, "Pictures from an institution," *The Times Literary Supplement*, 5 February 1993.

money and, in Karen's words, his "refusing to amount to anything and then spending money on banjo lessons." (17) Karen, in turn, has become repelled by her husband's cruel and expensive pastime activities, hunting and fishing, while there is also a slight hint that he neglects her. As Graham Hassell concludes, "that soul-destroying chimera the American Dream" is to blame for the two women's illness: "The pursuit of happiness via wealth has failed to gratify Karen; not pursuing wealth has disillusioned Patricia."[12]

Rather strangely, contradicting the fact that they are the hospitalized patients, the women characters appear to be less hopeless here than the husbands were at the end of Scene One. Tying up with her husband's reference to the crucial importance of their relationship in viewing her illness, Patricia has started on the way to recovery because of her budding awareness that "I-must-not-blame-Leroy-any more." (16) Karen turns out to have a suppressed talent for different forms of exercise, table tennis and tap-dancing. Reminding one of Willy Loman in *Death of a Salesman*, she wishes she could raise vegetables like her family did in earlier times. Most promising of all, however, is the two women's mutual contentment to have a partner to talk to in the other. Their forming relationship is a kind of eye-opener to both. Speaking to Karen about her husband's falling short of her brothers' handsomeness, Patricia is brought to face the fact that they were suicides because of "Disappointment. We were all brought up expecting to be wonderful, and ... just wasn't." (21) (An unmistakable echo of *Death of a Salesman*, again, is quite clear here.) At the same time, Karen is reminded of her talents and advised not to be ashamed of being an inmate in a place like that. Later her husband quotes her in reference to Patricia's influence: "She says you made her realize all the things she could be doing instead of mooning around all day ... " (34) In the complex movements of the quartet, this second turn establishes a step forward compared to the deadlock of the first one. Miller's developing his play in scenes between two people seems to be in harmony with what Brecht claims in his *Organum*: "... the smallest

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[12] Graham Hassell, review of *The Last Yankee* in *What's On*, 12 May 1993, reprinted in: *Theatre Record*, 489.

social unit is not the single person but two people. In life too we develop one another."[13]

The ensuing encounter between Patricia and Leroy struggles through various phases of a painfully sincere review and reassessment of their relationship. The beginning sounds still in the manner of earlier misunderstandings: the "faintly patronizing tone" (21) of Patricia's address to her husband parallels Frick's condescending treatment of Leroy. Ups and downs alternate; on the way toward each other there are sharp emotional turns which indicate that their rise to (re)make a duet of healthy and trusting humans requires changes of attitude on both sides. Following complaints to the effect that even their eldest daughter has learned to look down at him, Leroy reports about having for once asked a realistic price for his quality work to meet Patricia's wish against the convictions of his own "thick skull." (23) This positive step opens up the possibility to fathom the depth of their not only strongly related but also commonly rooted problems. It is, first and foremost, the lack of trust in others, themselves and each other that they start identifying together. Patricia discovers an intricate connection between her husband's unease, untrustfulness and poverty: "You are depressed, Leroy! Because you're scared of people, you really don't trust anyone, and that's incidentally why you never made any money." (25—26) Leroy, in turn, emphasizes that she should have far more self-trust: "I'm sure of it, Pat, if you could only find two ounces of trust I know we could still have a life." (27) As far as belief in the other is concerned, Leroy attempts to convince the woman of his loyalty with the following touchingly sincere confession: "When you are positive about life there's just nobody like you. Nobody. Not in life, not in the movies, not on TV." (30) Slowly but surely, the Hamiltons manage to realize what the American poet Marianne Moore identifies as "contagion of trust can make trust."[14]

The heavy burden of the past appears to be equally important for them to sort out. The story of Patricia'a Swedish immigrant family, begun in the foregoing part of the scene, earns a fuller discussion here. With strong

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[13] John Wallett, ed., *Brecht on Theatre* (London: Methuen Ltd., 1987) 197.

[14] Marianne Moore, *In Distrust of Merits*, in: Robert Diyanni (ed.), *Modern American Poets* (New York: Random House, 1987) 363.

words and in deep emotional shock, Leroy draws attention to another aspect of his sense of failure: "I'll never win if I have to compete against your brothers!" (26) In spite of having married a Yankee, Patricia has retained a subconscious resentment against his kind, because of old hostilities: "We were treated like animals, some Yankee doctors wouldn't come out to a Swedish home to deliver a baby ..." (28) It is at this point of the play that the reference of the title receives an explanation as Leroy, in answer to the above, expresses his hope to be the last Yankee "so people can start living today instead of a hundred years ago." (28) This attempt to rid themselves of the chains of the past is interestingly parallelled in Brian Friel's *Translations*, a contemporary Irish play at the end of which schoolmaster Hugh says, "To remember everything is a form of madness."[15]

Finally, leading up to what can be considered the intellectual message of the play, Patricia and Leroy unravel the meaning of the word "spiritual." For the woman it refers to what is inside. For her husband, it carries a more general, life-sustaining sense: "To me spiritual is whatever makes me forget myself and feel happy to be alive. Like even a well-sharpened saw, or a perfect compound joint." (32) Overlooking Leroy's earlier quoted wish to embody the last Yankee, Helen McNeil's brief analysis of the play stresses that opposed to the "hard-bargaining New Englander ... Miller is proposing another essential Yankee, coming forward from the line of Puritanism which saw even the most ordinary objects and acts in the material world as gifts from God." Developing her argument further, she contends that Leroy, as that other kind of Yankee, proves an inheritor of Jonathan Edward's spiritualism.[16] At the emotional peak of their encounter, while Patricia's eyes "are filling with tears", his philosophy runs with relieving power: "I'll say it again, because it's the only thing that's kept me from going crazy— you just have to love this world." (32) Hereby, completing his refusal to continue to carry the paralyzing load of the past, Leroy, the builder rises to the status of a latter-day Transcendentalist. Though in a different context,

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[15] Brian Friel, *Translations*, in: *Selected Plays of Brian Friel* (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1986) 445.

[16] Helen McNeil, *op. cit.*

the intense love of life characteristically appears in *The Ride Down Mount Morgan,* where Emerson is quoted as well.

Immediately following the highly gratifying progress of the Hamiltons in the renewal of their understanding and support for each other, the last section of Scene Two and the play itself begins, offering further progress and then a mixed ending. The whole quartet is on stage. The older people seem to be having a smooth time, Frick even displays signs of unselfish caring, since he has remembered to bring Karen's tap-dancing outfit to the hospital at her request, despite his convicton that "it's kinda silly at her age," (33) and all his businessmanlike stiffness. The ageing and timid Karen's pathetic tap-dancing is a climactic point of the whole work in that it involves a test for all the four characters. The Hamiltons turn out to have gone as far as being strong enough to offer emotional support for Karen:

> PATRICIA. Isn't she wonderful?
> LEROY. Hey, she is great.
>
> KAREN *dances a bit more boldly now* ... (36)

Her unrestrainedly continuing performance, however, proves to be too much for the convention-bound Frick whose outburst, in the form of an astonishingly furious shout, brings back a look of fear to Karen's face and brings the dance to an abrupt end. The shout proves revealing as well, since it shows how impatient, incomprehending and selfish he is under the facade of the role of the caring husband, which he tries to play as expected. On the other hand, the secret of their marital failure behind Karen's psychic failure, that is the lack of real human equality and consideration for the other, lays itself bare quite poignantly:

> KAREN (*apologetically to* PATRICIA). He *was* looking at me ... (*To* Frick.) She didn't mean you *weren't* looking, she meant ...
> FRICK *(rigidly repressing his anger and embarrassment).* I've got to run along now.
> KAREN. I'm sorry, John, but she ...

FRICK *(rigidly).* Nothing to be sorry about, dear. Very nice to have met you folks.

He starts to exit. KAREN *moves to intercept him.*

KAREN. Oh, John, I hope you're not going to ... (be angry.) (36)

When Frick has left, Karen does a few more steps then stops and walks out as well. Seemingly, their retreat is a sign of absolute defeat. For the other couple, however, the scene has brought the experience of reassurance and the realization that they have overcome some obstacle already. According to Leroy this feels like a miracle, and Patricia is prepared to go home with him in the hope that "Between the banjo and that car I've certainly got a whole lot to look forward to." (38)

Apart from its optimism, Miller's resolution to the play defies the description of sentimentalism, as the Hamiltons' success remains brittle: Patricia is shown still struggling against her self-doubt before leaving the hospital of her own accord. The presence of a motionless depressive in her bed throughout the scene is also a strong image in its constant reference to illness not having disappeared. On the other hand, the Fricks seem to be farther from each other than ever. They are "diametrically opposed" to the Hamiltons, as quoted above, but also complementary to them. There are faint signs that their case may take a more hopeful turn; after all, Frick promises to come again on Friday and in the meantime their decision to have a more sincere talk will probably mature. Remembering Patricia's question, "Who knows what's normal, Mr. Frick?" (35), the man might even reconsider his comfortable answers. As their behaviour and the response it ellicited has helped the other couple continue to remain and even proceed on the positive track, the Fricks may profit from the Hamiltons' example. While depression in the play is a metaphor for the illness of a whole society, its individuals' ability to influence each other is given strong emphasis. Nothing can be changed according to Miller, save people's attitudes. In that field, however, there are infinite resources. One more reason for having a quartet in the play and not merely a couple is to demonstrate that the

humanizing of life as a weapon against depression depends on interpersonal influences within the body of the larger society and not only in marriage. In a way this is a political message: "Miller's plays are always political, in the wide and profound sense that Ibsen's and Shakespeare's are."[17] Nothing is really solved, however, because there is no solution for life either, as Miller himself summarizes in connection with *The Price*.[18]

The Last Yankee is remarkable for its subtlety of language, masterfully handled dialogues and polished nuances of non-verbal behaviour. No remark remains unwoven into the whole, Miller unpicks all the strands "with painful honesty."[19] Leroy's playing the banjo and Karen's tap-dancing have a special function. They are both artistic activities, serving as metaphors to articulate the wish for individual freedom and self-expression. This is underlined by their appearance with two so markedly different persons as Karen and Leroy, reminding one that the desire is independent of age, status and gender. The common function is brought home in structural terms as well: introducing the climactic last scene Leroy appears ready to play his banjo for an attentive Patricia when Karen comes in with her costume that she soon uses for her tap-dance. Characteristically of the contemporary theatre, although undeniably based on traditions, various forms of dance are employed by other playwrights as well in reference to the expression of a wide range of human desires. Let it suffice to mention Brian Friel's *Dancing at Lughnasa* (1990) and Tom Stoppard's *Arcadia* (1993). Showing the ever possible presence of these needs and desires under any circumstances in *The Last Yankee* testifies to Miller's unfailing belief in life and its rights. What he claimed in one of his theatre essays earlier, holds firmly with regard to *The Last Yankee* as well: "I am simply asking for a theatre in which an adult who wants to live can find plays that will heighten his awareness of what living in our time involves."[20] In the

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[17] John Peter, *America the Grave*, in: Programme Note to Arthur Miller's *The Last Yankee*, produced in the Duke of York's Theatre, London, 1993.

[18] Quoted by Leonard Moss, *op. cit.*, 121.

[19] Sarah Hemming, *Ibid.*

[20] Robert A. Martin, ed., *The Theatre Essays of Arthur Miller* (New York: The Viking Press, 1978) 227.

latter part of Miller's oeuvre *Clara*, one of the two so far neglected pieces in *Danger: Memory!* (1987) anticipates *The Last Yankee* with its ending on a note of affirmation after a thorough self-search, in spite of its tragic content. On the verge of tears, the deserted Lyman in the closing lines of *The Ride Down Mount Morgan* exclaims: "What a miracle everything is! Absolutely everything!"[21]

With an extended and successful run in two London theatres, first the Young Vic then the Duke of York's behind it, *The Last Yankee* has proved to be a genuinely apt piece for the stage. The director and actors deserve praise in bringing out the value of the play with great sensitivity and taste. The ward was placed on a raised platform, as if it were "in limbo ... surrounded by a sea of blue."[22] The setting joined the real and the surreal together; in the pastel-coloured, dreamlike atmosphere inner movements were felt to be taking place, while the quite familiar-sounding everyday problems of middle-aged Americans spoke aloud. The cast was perfect, resulting in an extremely suggestive, life-like acting and well-balanced employment of gestures.

What Where happened to become Beckett's final work written for the stage. It leaves the audience with the words: "Make sense who may. I switch off."[23] Beckett did, in fact, but his work, infinitely rich in meanings, remains with us. "In its plea to live in the now, acknowledging yet breaking free of a damaging past," Miller's play "is a short but potent coda to a lifetime of social concern.", as was written in The Times.[24] One thing remains certain; supported also by its outstanding theatrical success, *The Last Yankee* is the best work Miller has written for the last decade. It will continue to attract all who wish to make sense of their lives.

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21 Arthur Miller, *The Ride Down Mount Morgan* (London: Methuen Drama, 1992) 88.

22 Jane Edwards's review of *The Last Yankee* from *Time Out*, reprinted in: *Theatre Record*, 489.

23 Samuel Beckett, *What Where*, in: *The Collected Shorter Plays of Samuel Beckett* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1984) 316.

24 Jeremy Kingston's review of *The Last Yankee* from *The Times*, reprinted in: *Theatre Record*, 489.

TAMÁS MAGYARICS

THE /RE/CREATION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND THE SUCCESSOR STATES IN CENTRAL EUROPE AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

World War I and its consequences created an almost completely new situation in Central Europe and in the positions of the U.S.. In the place of the multinational Austro-Hungarian Monarchy there emerged a number of small states which were, without exception, in a poor economic situation. Moreover, during and immediately after the war, substantial war and relief debts were contracted by all the Central European countries with the exception of Hungary which, however, became burdened with reparation payments.

With the exception of industrial Bohemia, Central European countries could be characterized as agrarian economies. In this situation they faced a dilemma: they could concentrate either on raising a backward agriculture to modern standards or on building an industry "from scratch." The American agriculture was in a constant crisis thoughout the 1920s because of overproduction and U.S. would not welcome the appearance of cheap Central European agricultural products at the world market. On the other hand, the superiority of the American manufactured goods was unquestionable and was not endangered by the Central European competition.

In reality, much of the American hopes did not materialize. The characteristic feature of the postwar European economy was the deterioration of foreign trade. With reference to the countries in Central Europe,

they did not engage in cooperation in commercial policies but chose economic isolation by adopting high tariffs.[1] As compared to the pre-World War I years, the most striking phenomenon in the 1920s was the increase of the amount of English and American capital invested in Central Europe. In addition to foreign capital, the countries in the area were dependent on agricultural product (Austria and Chechoslovakia), on industrial raw materials (Hungary and Poland); while in the south Yugoslavia and Rumania were dependent on foreign capital to a large extent. In general, in the Central European countries "foreign capital had a 50 % or 70 % share in financing the economy during the postwar years."[2]

These countries formed a link in the chain of international financial relations. Their place in the investment and credit system arose out of the redistribution of territory, spheres of interest, and economic forces after the war. The shift of interest towards them was also connected with the loss of the Russian market after 1917. Moreover, both the Wilson and the Harding administrations believed that German investments seized by the Allies in Europe as well as the preferential trading agreements they had imposed upon the weaker nations were among the means of repayment for their wartime expenses. The region was taken into account in the American thinking only as an economic entity, France was left alone here to settle the political questions, while the U. S. and Great Britain resorted mainly to the indirect means of influencing the proceedings in Central Europe.

The reason why the U.S. was not able to carry out her political goals in the area stemmed from the discrepancy between her direct interest in establishment of stable economic conditions in Central Europe and the inadequate means the country was willing to use. The subsequent American administrations in this period do not seem to have had any coherent plan for

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[1] As Iván T. Berend and György Ránki have pointed out, the postwar tariffs put into effect in the 1920s in Central Europe differed from the prewar ones in "two main respects: a great increase in the number of items taxed ... and much higher duties." Berend and Ránki, *East Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1977) 90.

[2] This question is discussed in details by Berend, Iván T. and Ránki, György, *Economic Development in East-Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York and London: Columbia UP, 1974) 149.

the policies to be pursued in the area. The following short case-studies are supposed to show the lack of comprehensive plans and the Americans' almost exclusive reliance on economic means to achieve their—rather limited—goals in Central Europe.

AUSTRIA

Despite the expressed indifference by the State Department toward Austria,[3] the U.S. could not ignore the events taking place in the greatly diminished country. Though the successor states were politically independent from Austria, the country remained the key to the area in numerous fields. A number of banks, firms, companies, etc. had their headquarters in Vienna and foreign capital—mostly German—also tended to prefer indirect contacts with the different parts of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. After the First World War, the American capital followed this pattern partly because it took hold of positions owned formerly by German capital.

The formal post-war American—Austrian relations were established by a treaty signed on August 24, 1921. Articles I. and II made Austria acknowledge "all the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages" specified in the Joint Resolution of the Congress of the U.S. on July 2, 1921, including "all the rights and advantages stipulated for the benefit of the U.S. in the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye" in spite of the fact that the U.S. had not ratified that Treaty.[4] In addition to it, the U.S. included in the treaty with Austria that the country would not "be bound by any action taken by the League of Nations or by the Council or by the Assembly thereof, unless the U.S. shall expressly give its assent to such action."[5]

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[3] (Secretary of State) Colby in a dispatch on November 26, 1920: "... Neither Austria nor the European powers should count on assistance from this Government in solving Austria's difficulties...", *Papers Relating to the Foreign Affairs of the U.S.* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935) Vol. 1, 293, 863/48/173: Telegram.

[4] Treaty of August 24, 1921, Article 1. *Papers*, 1921, Vol 1, 276.

[5] *Ibid.*, Article II.

Nevertheless, the Americans had to move in unison with the European powers and had to abandon the "they hired the money, didn't they?"— approach to the finnacial troubles of Europe when Austria went bankrupt. It was, among other nations, the U.S. that took the initiative in suspending the claims against Austria,[6] which resulted in the protocols of Geneva in October 1922. It placed the finances of Austria under the control of the League of Nations; Austria was freed from any reparation payments until 1942.[7]

Next year the Americans took a step further. Secretary of State Hughes indicated to the American Minister in Austria on July 19, 1923 that the U.S. was "prepared to negotiate with the Austrian Government a general treaty of amity, commerce and consular rights,"[8] which offer was promptly accepted by the Austrians.[9] The proposed treaty, unlike that of August 24, 1921, embodied "no attempt whatever to attain ... undue advantages over a friendly state..." according to Hughes[10] and the most-favored-nation clause, or, as it should more aptly be named the "equally-favored (or not)-clause", was incorporated in the Draft Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Consular Rights between the U.S. and Austria.[11] Later, as a result of negotiations taken place between June 25 and July 4 in 1925 between the two countries, an Informal Agreement for Continuation of Reciprocal Most-Favored-Nation Treatment in Customs Matters was reached.[12]

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[6] See *Papers*, 1922, Vol. 1, 613—621.

[7] "... be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the U.S.A. in Congress assembled That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to extend, for a period not to exceed twenty-five years, the time for payment of the principal and interest of the debt incurred by Austria ...", April 6, 1922 (S.J. Res. 160), Pub. Res. No. 46, *Statutes of the United States of America* (Second Session of the 67th Congress), 1921—1922, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922, Public Laws, 491—2.

[8] Hughes to Washburn on July 19, 1923. *Papers*, 1923, Vol. 1, 398, 711.632/7a: Telegram.

[9] Washburn indicated on July 23 that the Austrian "Foreign Office is prepared immediately to negotiate ...", *Papers*, 1923, Vol. 1, 398, 711.632/8: Telegram.

[10] 711.632/8a, No. 579, Washington, August 3, 1923. *Papers*, 1923, Vol. 1. 399.

[11] Article VII. See the Draft Treaty in *Papers*, 1923, Vol. 1, 400—413.

[12] *Papers*, 1925, Vol. 1, 516—17.

As regards diplomacy, 1922 saw two other agreements between Austria and the U.S. One of them revived the Extradition Convention of July 3, 1856,[13] while the other—in the form of a Presidential Proclamation — acknowledged copyright benefits to Austria for works published therein since August 1, 1914 and not in the U.S.[14] Lastly, an agreement was concluded between the U.S. and Austria—and Hungary—for the establishment of a claims commission, signed on November 26, 1924.[15]

The U.S. diplomatic service in Vienna consisted of four persons: A. H. Washburn in the capacity of Minister Plenipotentiary was supported by First and Second Secretaries, and by Lt. Col. Harry N. Coates, the Military Attaché.[16] As for the economic relations between the two countries, they were unofficial in most cases but the State Department cleared all private enterprises so that they would fit into the general pattern and goals of the American foreign policy. The American capital was new in the field and it preferred to take actions in cooperation with other foreign capitals, most preferably with the British one. Thus, in the course of 1922 and 1923 J. Schroeder and Co. of London acquired an interest in Boden-Credit-Anstalt, later—when the bank issued a million new shares—the British company increased its share by purchasing half on them in conjunction with J. P. Morgan and Co. of New York. American banks and investors held stocks in Lower Austria Discount Co. of Vienna, "controlling fully or in part through stock ownership 64 important industries and banks", including Skoda Works of Pilsen and Alpines Montan Co.[17] Americans also owned "external

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[13] *Papers*, 1922, Vol. 1, 621—22.

[14] Max 25, 1922.

[15] *Papers*, 1924, Vol. 1, 142—54.

[16] The First Secretary was H.F. Arthur Schoenfeld, the Second Secretary was Warden McK. Wilson. *Register of the Department of State* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1924) 36.

[17] Robert W. Dunn, *American Foreign Investments* (New York: B.W. Huebsch and the Viking Press, 1926) 140.

securities of the Mercurbank"[18], Tyrol Hydro-Electric Co. and Lower Austrian Hydro-Electric Co.[19] Among the American companies the most active in the field were General Electric, having leverage on utilities, Standard Oil, American Radiator Co. and film companies, such as Fox, were present in Austria, too. The most important Austrian bank, Credit-Anstalt, was not devoid of American influence either: New York International Acceptance Bank, together with Anglo-International Bank were Credit-Anstalt's major stockholders.[20] U.S. Automotive Equipment Co., engaged in marketing automotive parts and accessories through out Europe, had also its headquarters in Vienna. However, in sum, the American capital played only a minor role in the economic life of Austria. The most important partners of Austria remained Great Britain, France, and Germany.[21] The Republican administrations did not do more than was necessary to establish more or less normal relations with Austria, no matter how important a role this country could have played as a key to Central Europe.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Though the Czechs expressed their gratitude to the U.S. for the relief activity directed by Herbert Hoover in the post-war years[22], they hastened to make it clear that what they wanted was an independent Czecho-

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[18] Hallgarten and Co. and E.F. Hutton and Co. of New York had a share in the bank's stocks of about ten per cent in 1923. Teichova, Alice and Cottrell, P.L. eds., *International Business and Central Europe, 1918—1939* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983) 338.

[19] Dunn, *op. cit.*, 140.

[20] See Teichova and Cottrell, *op. cit.*, 91.

[21] *Ibid.*, 140.

[22] "The memory of the generous activity of the U.S.A. will always be preserved in the history of the young Czechoslovakian State with gratitude for the help given to the Republic, under the guidance of Mr. Hoover, by supplying it on credit with grain, flour, and fats to the value of 51 million dollars." Alois Rasin, *Financial Policy of Czechoslovakia during the First Years of Its History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923) 64.

slovakia—both politically and economically.[23] The circumstances were quite favorable for them to carry out their ideas. The country was in many respects the best-equipped one of all the Central European nations. She inherited a large part of the industry of the Monarchy, "including 90 % of the linen industry, 85 % of the silk, hemp, jute and glass industries, and 80 % of the cotton industry."[24] From 1924 on, a recovery set in which proved to be more stable than that in most of the countries in the area. Among its causes we may detect the fact that this recovery was not so closely connected with foreign loans as in, for instance, Austria. However, the total Czech indebtedness to the U.S. was $ 91,879,671.03 in the early 1920s, i.e. Czechoslovakia ranked seventh in the list of the European countries as regards indebtedness to the U.S.[25] This huge amount of debt made it necessary for the Czechs to appoint a commission to negotiate a general refunding of the indebtedness of Czechoslovakia to the U.S.[26], and, in consequence of the quite rigid American interpretation of the separation of economic and politicals goals in the case of the Central European countries, objection was raised by the State Department to private loans to Czechoslovakia pending settlement of Czech debts to the U.S. in 1925.[27] The problem was created by the same reasons that would ultimately contribute to the depression at the end of the decade. In 1920 the Czech imports from the U.S. totaled 4,111 million Czech crowns, while the exports were as low as 544 million. By 1921 the gap between the two sides had even

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[23] Benes said that "the Czechs had fought not for political freedom—for this they had enjoyed to a certain extent even before the war—but for their economic independence ...", quoted in Frederick Hertz, *The Economic Problem of the Danubian States* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1947) 65.

[24] C. A. Macartney and A. W. Palmer, *Independent Eastern Europe* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1960) 156—7.

[25] The data are taken from Samuel Flagg Bemis, *The United States as a World Power. A Diplomatic History, 1900—1950* (New York: Henry Hold and Co., 1950) 236.

[26] *Papers*, 1923, Vol. 1, 876—80.

[27] *Papers*, 1925, Vol. 2, 39—45.

grown wider: the corresponding figures that year were 4,547 and 711.[28] As regards private enterprise, the pattern was more or less the same as in the other countries. One form of introducing American capital was to acquire a certain amount of shares of different banks. Thus International Acceptance Bank of New York purchased stocks in Bohemian Discount Bank and Society of Credit in 1920 and Kleinwort and Sons followed suit in 1923.[29]

As in Poland, Rumania, and Hungary, Standard Oil of New Jersey was especially active in Czechoslovakia from among the American oil companies. Here they cooperated with Vacuum Oil Company.[30] Moreover, International Standard Company had also two affiliated companies in the country. On balance, however, the American economic presence was not very significant, nor was her political one. The American diplomatic corps in Prague was organized along the line seen in Vienna.

Washington proposed to negotiate a general treaty of "amity, commerce, and consular rights" with the Chechoslovakian Government in 1923, as well as with the other countries of the area, so this move should not be treated as a special favor to Czechoslovakia.[31] Besides it, there was an exchange of notes between the two countries in connection with the most-favored-treatment in customs matters (October 29, 1923)[32], which was prolonged next year.[33] An extradition treaty signed on July 2, 1925 completed the, rather meager, diplomatic record of the U.S. and Czechoslovakia during the first half of the 1920s.[34]

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[28] The data are taken from Josef Gruber, ed. *Czechoslovakia* (New York: The Macmillan Comp., 1924) 121—2.

[29] Teichova and Cottrell, *op. cit.*, 339.

[30] The Czechoslovakian State owned 51 % of the shares and Standard Oil 49 % in exploiting the oil in Slovakia. Rasin, *op. cit.*, 106.

[31] *Papers*, 1923, Vol. 1, 866.

[32] *Papers*, 1924, Vol. 1, 615—17.

[33] *Papers*, 1925, Vol. 2, 32—38.

[34] *Papers*, 1925, Vol. 2, 38—42.

HUNGARY

Hungary was the country in Central Europe, besides Austria, that was technically speaking at war with the U.S. until 1921. As a matter of fact, the two countries were sometimes still treated as one by U.S. officials, which fact may be attributed to ignorance, or indifference, or negligence, or a combination of the three.[35] Hungary was not quite satisfied with the draft of a treaty between the U.S. and Hungary putting an end to the hostilities officially. The Hungarian govenment did not go as far as the Bulgarians, who refused to sign a treaty securing all the advantages of the Versailles Treaty system for the Americans without their accepting any obligations stipulated by it. As the American commissioner in Budapest—Ulysses Grant-Smith—reported to Hughes on July 27, 1921, Count Miklós Bánffy proposed to draft a resolution accepting full stipulation of peace resolution and acknowledging all privileges, rights, and interests of the U.S. and its nationals "with the circumstantial dispositions concerning those rights et cetera as stipulated in the Treaty of France". The Commissioner advised the Secretary of State to decline any kind of reservation. Hughes himself strongly opposed it and in his answer to the telegram received the previous day, he authorized Grant-Smith to warn the Hungarians that "the continuance of negotiations would be prejudiced" in case of any further Hungarian insistance on reservation.[36] The Hungarian government quickly fell in line with the American demand and the National Assembly unanimously passed the resolution stating that the "Hungarian National Assembly herewith accepts in full and without reservation the contents of the peace resolution of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives dated July 1st, 1921, and approved by the President of the U.S., July 1nd, 1921, as far as

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[35] The Commissioner at Budapest notified the Under Secretary of State on April 16, 1921 that "... In the press telegrams relative to the possibility of a state of peace being declared by the U.S. with the countries of Central Europe, Hungary has not, thus far, been specifically mentioned—only Germany and Austria. I presume of course that Austria is used generically to include Hungary ...", *Papers*, 1921, Vol. 2, 249, 711.64119/42.

[36] 711.64119/2: Telegram. *Papers*, 1921, Vol. 2, 252.

they refer to Hungary."[37] The treaty, establishing friendly relations between the two countries was signed on August 29, 1921,[38] but entered into force only on December 17, 1921, after being ratified by President Harding and the Hungarian government.

The course of diplomatic relations between Hungary and the U.S. afterwards followed the pattern of those between the U.S. and the other Central European nations with some minor misunderstandings like the one in 1922 when the Hungarians were willing to accept the letter accrediting Grant-Smith as Chargé d'Affaires only provisionally because it referred to the "Republic of Hungary" instead to the "Kingdom of Hungary".[39] Thus, in due course, the Extradition Convention of July 3, 1856 and the Copyright Convention of January 30, 1912 were revived in 1922.[40] The next minor clash happened in 1924—this time about the reparation payments and the relief bonds. The Hungarian Minister at Washington, Count László Széchényi asked the American government to suspend the priority provisions of the relief bonds during the period of amortization of the reconstruction loan to be given to Hungary, viz. twenty years.[41] Hughes notified the Hungarian Chargé at Washington D.C., Pelényi, that "this Government ... would not waive in favor of the proposed (international) reconstruction loan the priority enjoyed by the relief bonds which it holds, unless satisfied that its relief bond would at all times be entitled to priority over reparation payments in accordance with the original agreement under which relief advances were made to Hungary ..."[42] However, the U.S. ultimately gave its consent that the priority of the relief bonds be subordinated to the new international loan. On May 23, 1924 the House of Representatives approved and authorized the settlement of the indebtedness

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[37] August 12, 1921. 711.64119: Telegram, *ibid.*, 253.

[38] *Ibid.*, 249—262.

[39] See the 123 sm 61/185: Telegram, *ibid.*, 261.

[40] *Papers*, 1922, Vol. 2, 577—78.

[41] 864.51/222, Széchényi' Aide mémoire to Hughes on January 2, 1924. *Papers*, 1924, Vol. 2, 325.

[42] February 16, 1924. 864.51/222, *ibid.*, 326.

of Hungary to the U.S. be funded into bonds in the value of $1,939,000. Within the period between 1921 and 1925 there was one more treaty to be signed on June 24, 1925, that of Friendship, Commerce and Consular Rights.[43]

Actually, American private banks also took part in financing the reconstruction loan given to Hungary in July 1924. Baring Bros. and Co., Rotschild and Sons, J.H.[44] Schroeder and Co. issued bonds in the nominal value of £ 7,902,700, while Speyer and Co. of New York offered bonds for £ 2,276,801. As the total amounted to £14,386,583, it was obvious that the major fiscal agents were the Americans.[45] The interest taken in Hungary's economic life by the Ameridan banks did not stop here. In April 1925 J.H. Schroeder and Co. of London formed a syndicate to purchase a large block of shares of the Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pest. The U.S. and Foreign Securities Corporation and J.H. Schroeder Banking Corp. also participated in the deal.[46]

As usual, the oil industry of Hungary also attracted the American firms. Standard Oil of New Jersey and Wortlington Pump and Machinery Co. had subsidiaries and branches in the country. In general, chiefly in the new branches of industry did American companies have direct and/or indirect interests. Thus, the bulk of the newly issued stocks of one of the most important factories of the Hungarian electro-technical industry, Ganz Works was bought by General Electrics; and the telephone factory section of Hungarian Egyesült Izzólámpa és Villamossági Rt. was made independent and developed with American capital under the name of Standard Villamossági Rt.[47] As for Ganz Works, it even penetrated into the American market with galvanometers devised by Ottó Bláthy. Another great beneficiary of the American capital was Rimamurány Ironworks. It alone re-

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[43] (H.R. 8905), (Public, No. 128), *Statutes*, 1924, Public Laws, 136.

[44] *Papers*, 1925, Vol. 2, 341—357.

[45] The figures are taken from V. N. Bandera, *Foreign Capital as an Instrument of National Economic Policy* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff 1964) 27.

[46] Cf. Dunn, *op. cit.*, 152.

[47] Berend and Ránki, *Economic Development*, 234—5.

ceived three million dollars by several American firms with Liessman and Co. being the most important contributor.[48]
In accordance with the general tendency of American firms to prefer new industries, it is worth mentioning that Eastman Kodak Co. played an active role in the Hungarian film industry through its European subsidiary.[49] Nevertheless, the problem was that "among the European countries only the Balkan states displayed a higher perecentage of the population engaged in agriculture (80 %) than did Hungary (55.7 % in 1920)".[50] The distribution of the foreign capital was everything but useful and logical. Of the sums received "50 % went into federal and communal investments, made without reference to productivity in a technical sense, and 40 % went to agriculture, where a large proportion was absorbed simply in the division of property rights."[51]

RUMANIA

Rumania was the country in East-Central Europe, with which the U.S. had most of the problems even within the limited scope of their relations in the 1920s. The sources of troubles stemmed from the fact that the relationships between the two countries were almost exclusively based on one aspect of economic life, and it was oil producing. In 1929, the ten top-ranking oil producing countries in the world were the U.S., Venezuela, the U.S.S.R., Mexico, Iran, the Dutch East Indies, Rumania, Columbia, Peru, and Argentina. The U.S. oil-producers were present in each of these countries with the exceptions of the Soviet Union and Iran. It is obvious from the list, the only country in Europe, besides the Soviet Union, was

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[48] Cf. *ibid.*, 225 and Dunn, *op. cit.*, 151—2.

[49] Frank A. Southard, Jr., *American Industry in Europe* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Comp., 1931) 145.

[50] Iván T. Berend and György Ránki, *Hungary. A Century of Economic Development* (New York: David and Charles: Newton Abbott, Barnes and Noble Books, 1974) 150.

[51] Howard S. Ellis, *Exchange Control in Central Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1941) 74.

Rumania, which possessed a significant quantity of the "black gold". The U.S. oil companies, especially Standard Oil of New Jersey, were not able to make large profits in Europe, with the possible exception of Rumania. It is therefore understandable why Standard Oil tried to preserve its positions here tooth and nail. In addition to the direct profit interests of the company, the U.S. was also greatly interested in Rumanian oil because of strategic considerations. It became clear that this kind of energy was going to be crucial in a number of areas, including the military and the navy; so the question was turned into one of national security by the Republican administrations. However, the Americans had to deal with one of the most nationalistic governments of the region. Rumanian nationalism did not restrict itself to the political side but incorporated the economic one, as well. As F. Hertz put it: "They (the three Bratianu brothers and the Liberal Party) aimed at the complete exclusion of foreign capital so necessary for Rumania and proclaimed the slogan: 'By ourselves alone!'"[52] Nevertheless, the slogan should not be taken at face value, either. The Rumanian government raised a loan in the value of $ 175 million in 1922. The subscribers were mostly Anglo-American financial sources. One of its effects was that "the depreciation of the leu was slightly slowed down."[53] Later, Rumania again tried to get loans—in the fall of 1922—but this time the American government, strictly applying the words of the State Department press release of March 1922, rejected supporting the request because the Rumanian war debts were still unsettled. "Rumania adjusted its war debt three years later, and subsequently obtained the desired loan", wrote J.W. Angell.[54] However, hostile feelings were cherished on both sides as the subsequent crisis with Standard Oil proved it beyond dispute.

In Rumania the only American company operating was Standard Oil of New Jersey. In 1905 it organized the Romana-Americana, which, by 1928, had assets of more than 18 million dollars. Jersey Standard's refineries here,

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[52] Hertz, *op. cit.*, 89.

[53] Berend and Ránki, *Economic Development*, 89.

[54] James W. Angell, *Financial Foreign Policy of the United States* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1965) 101.

and in Peru, Columbia, and the Dutch East Indies handled host-country crude-oil for foreign sale. Despite the relatively good record of these years, the period between 1921 and 1925 were lean years for the company in Rumania. Due to a decline in the share of domestic crude oil produced by Standard's subsidiary, Romana-Americana, from about 22 % in 1921 to 7 % in 1926, the company's profits dropped to a large extent. Standard Oil accounted for the loss for "discriminatory restrictions on foreign owned companies in Rumania."[55] The whole affair shed light on the American government's obsession to promote economic interests abroad. The American Minister at Bucharest, Peter A. Jay, after receiving information about a proposed new Rumanian Mining Law, raised several objections as regards it in his letter sent to Duca, the Rumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs.[56] The first and foremost American grievance was that the new law would have required foreign petroleum companies operating in Rumania to convert, within a period of five years, all their capital stock into nominative shares, 60 % of which should be owned and controlled by Rumanian citizens. Secondly, the new law would have required that the rights to oil producing properties already acquired by foreign companies should be submitted to the appropriate authorities for registration and validation. Nor was Standard Oil delaying with protestation and asking for protection from the State Department. They indicated that "the security of the investment of this Company in the Romana-Americana is threatened with confiscation"[57] and repeated the arguments Jay had put forward two months before. Nevertheless, the Rumanians did not seem to bother themselves very much about the acute American concern and they attempted to prevent a concerted American pressure on their legislators and cabinetmembers by rushing the mining bill through during the spring session instead of

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[55] Harold F. Williamson, et. al. *The American Petroleum Industry* (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1963) 520.

[56] The full diplomatic correspondence regarding protests by the U.S. against the unsatisfactory attitude of the Rumanian Government toward American petroleum and other interests is to be found in *Papers*, 1924, Vol. 2, 597—647.

[57] March 29, 1924.

discussing it during the fall session.[58] Actually, it was not only the Americans who were affected by the impending bill, but the British, the French, the Belgians, and the Dutch, too. Each of these countries formally protested at the Rumanian authorities at the beginning of June 1924—in vain. Jay once again tried to influence Duca maintaining in his letter dated June 6, 1924 that though they were not desirous of "intervening in matters of Rumanian domestic legislation", it was necessary for him to point out "in a friendly spirit certain articles of the proposed law which seem to furnish grounds for just concern."[59] The Rumanians remained adamant and emphasized once again that the proposed bill was not threatening the security of the foreign investments and the companies affected by the law would be compensated in due course. Parliament passed the mining bill at the end of June and only the King's signature was needed for it to come into force.

Now, it turned out that it was not only about Standard Oil. "This law ... is only the latest of a series of measures which the Rumanian government has taken during the past two years tending to give the impression that Rumania is not willing to treat American interests as those interests might naturally expect to be treated by Rumanian authorities...", lamented Hughes in his telegram sent to Jay on July 3, 1924.[60] The allusion to the "failure" of the Rumanians is that they had not given consideration to the claims of Baldwin Locomotive, International Harvester, and other companies. In fact, the American resentment—together with that of the British, French, Belgians, and the Dutch—manifested itself in more "effective" ways than in mere letters of protest. Three days after the Hughes-telegram, Jay reported from Bucharest with some relief that "the increasing weakness of its credits abroad, as indicated by the recent fall of exchange, seems to have impressed the Rumanian Government, and the Minister of Commerce has tried to allay the fears of the foreign oil interests by informing them that the Rumanian authorities will not be unreasonable in enforcing the mining laws

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[58] *Papers*, 1924, Vol. 2, 604. 871.6363/163: Telegram on May 21, 1924 .

[59] See Jay's 871.6363/163: Telegram to Hughes, *ibid.*, 605.

[60] *Ibid.*, 608.

and has sought to comfort them in other ways ..."[61] To be on the safe side, the Americans put some more pressure on the Rumanian government. Possibly by way of leaking to the opposition press, there appeared articles about Jay's reported recall to Washington. The opposition press jumped at the occasion: it demanded the dismissal of the Bratianu-government and the termination of the policy pursued by it, including the nationalization campaign.[62] Despite all these efforts, the King signed the bill on July 3 and the Minister of Industry and Commerce once again told the oil companies to rely on the "goodwill" of the Rumanian government and not to pay too much attention to the letter of the law.[63] What the Americans did not want to perceive was that the Rumanian government had got into a sort of trap: on the one hand, there was the international pressure to force them to leave the foreign interests intact, while on the other, had they backed out of their nationalization program, their own public would have been angered. In order to calm down the Americans—and to divert attention from the oil issue—the Rumanians signed the "long-delayed extradition treaty as an evidence of good will" at the end of July[64], and also agreed with Baldwin Locomotive Corporation and postponed the proposed lawsuit against it.[65] After all, the relations between the two states remained strained; the bulk of the diplomatic corespondence was about mutual grievances and protests.[66]

Finally, we may consider the American Service stationed at Bucharest. While in other countries of the region there were at least four or five members at the legations, here—besides P.A. Jay—there was only Lawrence Dennis, in the rank of a Third Secretary and Lt. Col. Robert C. Foy as the Military Attaché in 1924 signalling the fact that Rumania—even among the relatively neglected East European countries—was not thought

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[61] *Ibid.*, 613—4. 871.6363/176: Telegram.

[62] Cf. Jay's 871.6363/181: Telegram to Hughes on July 13, 1924, *ibid.*, 616.

[63] Jay to Hughes on July 17, 1924. *ibid.*, 617. 871.6363/186: Telegram.

[64] On the diplomatic correspondence on the Treaty see *ibid.*, 664—74.

[65] Jay to Hughes on July 25, 1924. *ibid.*, 619. 871.6363/196: Telegram.

[66] For instance, see the Protests by the U.S. Against Rumanian Legislation Restraining American Creditors from Collecting Debts Owed in American Currency, *ibid.*, 648—663.

to be a very important one by the leaders of the American foreign affairs in the 1920s.[67]

YUGOSLAVIA

While the U.S. did not have any special problems with the diplomatic recognition of the successor states in general, it did have some in the case of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

The Kingdom was established in 1918. At first, the dominating ethnic group was that of the Serbs, later the state was reorganized on a strictly federal basis. However, there were some minority groups that took Woodrow Wilson's words about national self-determination too seriously and some that interpreted them too loosely. The Montenegrians belonged, for instance, to the former group causing some—but not too much—irritation to the State Department. The documents of the Termination of Official Relations Between the U.S. and the Kingdom of Montenegro take only a meagre space among the published documents on the American-Yugoslavian relations in 1921.[68]

In a circular letter sent to the American Diplomatic and Consular Officers—the two services had not been integrated yet—the then Secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby informed the staffs that "... in view of the present status of Montenegro, this Government no longer considers it necessary to accord recognition to her diplomatic and consular officers ..."[69] It took quite a long time for the Royal Government of Montenegro—staying in Rome at that time—to protest at the State Department. The reason for the delay must have been American negligence to inform them in time. T. S. Plamenatz, the Montenegrian Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs pointed out that "no fact, either juridical or international" existed "on the strength of which the Government of the U.S. could break off diplomatic

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[67] *Register*, 41.

[68] *Papers*, 1921, Vol. 2, 945—49.

[69] Washington, February 8, 1921. *Papers*, 1921, Vol.2, 947. 702.7311/36b, Serial No. 16.

realtions with the Kingdom of Montenegro."[70] Hughes answered on July 15, 1921—to the Italian Chargé, Sabetta. The core of his arguments was that the U.S. had had "no diplomatic or consular officers stationed in Montenegro" during the war and the American government did not deem it necessary to assign anybody there.[71]

The settling of this question favorable to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes did not mean that the relations between the U.S. and the Kingdom lacked any disturbances. The major problems came from the loan-question. The Yugoslav loans raised until the end of 1924 were not too high—they approached only two billion dinars.[72] In 1922, they obtained a larger amount from American banks.[73] The American Minister in the Kingdom promptly notified the State Department of the imminent deal between the Yugoslav Government and Blair and Co. of New York.[74] According to the original plan, the Yugoslavs were to have received $ 100.000.000 at eight per cent. In the course of the negotiations, however, the amount was reduced considerably, to less than one-third of the amount proposed first. Hughes, in his telegram sent to the Chargé at Belgrade, Boal, asked him to find out "whether any part of the $ 30.000.000 ... referred to by Legation ... will be used to pay off debts of Yugoslavia to foreign gevernments or to their nationals ..."[75] The answer must have been disappointing because two weeks later, on May 15, 1922, Hughes informed the Chargé that "... the banking firms mentioned in the Department's telegram No. 13. (Blair and Co., Bertron, Griscom and Co., and Hallgarten and Co.) have been informed that in the absence of an understanding between the World War Foreign Debt Commission and the Government of

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[70] *Ibid.*, 947, 702.7311/37.

[71] *Ibid.*, 949, 124/73/a.

[72] Berend and Ránki, *Economic Development*, 184.

[73] See the documents under the heading of Acquiescence by the Department of State in a Loan by American Bankers to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. *Papers*, 1922, Vol. 2, 1002—1020.

[74] *Ibid.*, 1002. 8604.51/147: Telegram.

[75] *Ibid.*, 1002, 860 h.51/153: Telegram.

the Serbs ... with respect to the refunding and settlement of that Government's indebtedness to the U.S., the Department is not able to view with favor the proposed financing."[76]

The banks affected in the deal acquiesced to the State Department's wish and it was the Yugoslavs who had to modify their earlier standpoint.

Hardly more than a week later, on May 23, the Chargé was already able to inform the State Department that "the Minister of Finance has stated in writing today that the Yugoslav Minister at Washington has been sent instruction to make proposals to the World War Foreign Debt Commission for the refunding and settlement of Yugoslavia's indebtedness to the U.S.; the Minister adds that the Government considers the settlement of this question of the greatest importance."[77] However much did the Yugoslav Government go out of its way to meet all the American demands, at last "only a 15 million loan was realized..."[78]

Nevertheless, the problem of funding the debt was not solved. Next year Hughes informed the Minister in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, H. Percival Dodge, to "impress upon appropriate officials of the Yugoslav Government the particular importance to Yugoslavia of refunding its obligation to the U.S. because such a step might favorably effect the credit of Yugoslavia in the U.S. and the market for its securities."[79] As the Yugoslav government did not do much in the desired direction from the Americans' point of view, the State Department kept vetoing its recurrent requests for loans at various American banks[80] and when the Yugoslavs were successful at raising loans, they were able to obtain only small amounts.[81]

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[76] *Ibid.*, 1005, 860 h. 51/174a: Telegram.

[77] *Ibid.*, 1008, 860 h. 51/181: Telegram.

[78] Berend and Ránki, *Economic Development*, 226.

[79] *Papers*, 1925, Vol. 1, 180. 860 h. 51/262: Telegram.

[80] For instance, see Objections by the Department of State to Further Loans by American bankers to Yugoslavia Pending Settlement of Yugoslav Debts to the U.S. Government. *ibid.*, Vol. 2, 738—46.

[81] 860 h. 51/539, Blair and Comp. Inc. to the Secretary of State on March 18, 1925: "Dear Sirs: We have about concluded arrangements to purchase $ 3.000.000 six months 6 %

Though foreign capital could have been able to find favorable conditions for investment in Yugoslavia because of the natural resources, cheap labor, outlets for industrialization, "at least 77 % of the total population was engaged in agriculture, the proportion rising to as high as 90 % in the backward areas of Macedonia and Montenegro."[82] The Americans did not grasp every opportunity here. They invested mostly in raw materials: in metal-mining and Vacuum Oil, together with Standard Oil of New Jersey, was also on the spot. The two American companies, in alliance with Shell, agreed to cooperate as to prices, marketing and quotas: in a word, they formed an efficient combination to eliminate domestic and foreign competition. Besides the oil companies, the Aluminium Co. of America was also active in Yugoslavia; it owned 95 % of the stocks of an important mining property in the country, Jadranski Bauxit Dionico Dustro.[83]

Finally, the U.S. diplomatic personnel at Belgrade was mirroring the modest American interest in the Kingdom;[84] the relations between the countries can best be described as lukewarm: no great issues and hardly any activity characterized them in the 1920s.

Treasury Gold Notes of the Government of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, to be dated as of March 31, 1925 ... Will you kindly advise us at your early convenience if the State Department has any objection to our offering the above-mentioned Note issue ...", *ibid.*, 738.

[82] Macartney and Plamer, *op. cit.*, 170.

[83] See Dunn, *op. cit.*, 159.

[84] H. Percival Dodge was Minister Plenipotentiary, Gordon Paddock was the First Secretary, W. Roswell Banker was in the rank of Third Secretary, while the Military Attaché was Maj. Martin C. Shallenberger. *Register*, 41.

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JUDIT MOLNÁR

SEARCH FOR IDENTITY IN THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE WRITING OF ALLOPHONE QUEBECERS

Ethnic writing has by now become into the focus of scholarly interest in Canada yet the literature produced in English by Allophones, i.e. authors of neither British nor French origin in Québec has still remained largely unknown. The society of Québec has changed tremendously during the past three decades which resulted in producing a culturally diversified population. In like manner, the literature of Québec has gained new dimensions, too. I have singled out two intercultural writers, who are Québecers by choice in order to compare the literary expression of their being marginalized in the culturally plural society of Québec. Their ethnic backgrounds are different; Raymond Filip comes from Germany of Lithuanian parentage, Mary Melfi is of Italian origin. What connects these writers is the fact that they write in one of the official languages of Canada, however, not in the official language of Québec and that they both belong to ethnic minorities, which installs cultural distinctiveness into their works. My specific interest lies in contrasting the literary representation of their individualized responses to the ethnocultural composition of the society surrounding them. Raymond Filip's *After the Fireworks* (1989) and Mary Melfi's *Infertility Rites* (1991) have elements in common but distinctive features as well.

Language has always been a most sensitive issue in Québec, in accordance with which both writers put a great emphasis on langauge varience. The problem is even more delicate in their individual cases because they have both chosen to operate in the language that has threatened the distinctiveness of the "belle province". The polyphonic character of their settings is treated more directly by Raymond Filip since for him language is of paramount importance in a language-divided place. The narrator in 'Allophone' says: "In this politician-ridden province, language was no longer a treasure, or an issue, just a game, a friendly fight with neutral corners growing crowded" (7). But this is meant ironically for the cacophony of voices is in the the centre of his stories. Mary Melfi's representation of language awareness is linked to social demands imposed upon members of society according to the different generations they happen to belong. Thus mother tongue maintenance and/or loss for the protagonist in *Infertility Rites* is connected to the intricate and inimical relationship between her and her mother. As has been noted by Fulvia Caccia: "Language of Eden, language of Return in the manner of Hebrew for the Jews, Italian has provoked contradictory feelings of hate, love and indifference" (1985: 159). Raymond Filip's description of interethnic communication is comprehensive and very vivid indeed, while Mary Melfi's treatment of the linguistic map is largely metalinguistic, though not inclusively, concentrating basically on Italian and English with occasional references to other voices, too. The linguistic behaviour of the French, the English, and "the others", their social interactions are in the centre of the first two stories 'Allophone' and 'Rat Racist' by Raymond Filip. In the remaining stories his scope somewhat narrows down to the communicative procedures between the English and the Québécois. The visual representation of the complex discourse involving the mixture of different languages and even that of different registers has become an artistic strategy for Raymond Filip. His method is certainly supported by the following belief:

> The use of untranslated words as interface signs seems a successful way to foreground cultural distinctions, so it would

> appear even more profitable to attempt to generate an 'interculture' by the fusion of the linguistic structures of two [or more] languages. (Ashcroft et. al. 1989: 66)

The systematic use of italics, the presence and the absence of translation equivalences, the phonetic immitation of "immigrant" speech all add to the colourful portrait of Québec's polyglossia, which is even further enriched by the author's playful handling of language(s) not excluding successful and highly original puns even across languages. The following passage is an illustration of how he switches back and forth among linguistic codes:

> *"Comment?"* Puzzled the pressure group of two. *"Y 'fou lui. Regardes pas*.
>
> My French not so fluid! But *Jesus Maria!* If I be good in French, I teach you good!"
>
> "Vincas!" Ona reprimanded him. *"Ka tu cia kvailioji? Neerzink ju! Ainum nuomo!"* — Why are you fooling around? Don't bait them. Let's go home!
>
> "I very sorree for you, sir," One of the community women dared to answer back. "Is not my fault."
>
> "Commoonist make you see like dis!" Vincas poked out their eyes in jest. *"You comprenez?"*
>
> *"Nous ne sommes pas communistes."*
>
> "Commonist! Somevere-my-love-socialist! Same phony baloney!" (28)

The uninitiated reader may wonder about the readibility of such passages, but I wholly agree with Dasenbrock, who says that "to make it [a text] unintelligible is not to make it unmeaningful: the use of opaque foreign words can be part of a deliberate artistic strategy" (1987: 15).

The writer's cross-cultural imagination originates in their regional consciousness in their own respective way. Raymond Filip's documentary realism illuminates the social reality of Québec in the near past, while Mary Melfi's fictional world is more personal, though with a strong sense of the

social milieu, which, however, does not focus strictly on Québec but on Canada and on North America in general for that matter. Thus the cultural groundings of the texts are not the same; the political climate of Québec is more in the centre of interest in Raymond Filip's stories, at the same time the political overtones cannot be missed in Mary Melfi's novel either. The diverse ethnocultural environment produces an acute political awareness in Raymond Filip's stories viewing Allophones thrown into the middle— and this way being bound together to some extent— of the never-ending battle of the two founding nations—, which is most acutely experienced in the province of Québec. Thus the conflict between the French and the English serves as the basis and/or the substructure for other interethnic group struggles involving national, racial, religious, and linguistic differences.

The changed political ambiance of Québec after the Quiet Revolution of the sixties is perceived unambigously by Raymond Filip. The growing population of both English-speaking and French-speaking Allophones together with the recent minority status of those of British descent are dealt with in his stories. The former is elaborated on in the first half of the volume, and the latter in the second half. The stories abound in timely references. The allusions to politics are of two types: on the one hand, they are of either national or international importance, on the other hand they evoke either directly the immediacy of the events or are more obliquely scattered in "neutral" conversations with obvious connotations, though. An example for the first kind is present in 'Allophone' when being an exile in Québec is favourably compared to being an exile in one of the ex-labour camps of the ex-Sovietunion.

> To longing for some hallowed place of peace to call home. To hold two handfuls of earth and say here. Not to feel six thousand miles an *exile*. Not to yearn for any other residence. But to honk your horn, have a neighbor wave hello, and be accepted as one of them. Perhaps good luck was on its way in this province shaped like a beaten heart. (18—19) (emphasis added)

In the following I will briefly illustrate the other types of hints Raymond Filip uses in establishing a strong political sense in his fiction. The traces left behind by the FLQ gain special importance since they appear side by side with the swastikas ('Chantal' 82). The significance of the concrete historical moment is obvious in 'The Best Ice of Québec':

> Now it was *the spring of 1977. The first separatist government in the history of Québec had been elected that fall.* And there was talk of greater Depression on English and French tongues. (103—104) (emphasis added)

Raymond Filip's adroit handling of language(s) is noticeable when he slips in phrases with concrete political meanings for no apparent reason into everyday conversations and this way produces a special kind of new language blend. The description of the problems of a couple's splitting in 'Chantal' resembles the possibile solutions that have long been discussed for resolving a similar situation between Canada and Québec: separation or sovereignty association.

> After the couple split, Chantal was left on the lawn, literally. No quality home to call home, no quality friend to call friend, Alain suggested his parents' duplex for accomodation. But that wasn't *separation*, that wasn't *sovereignty association!* ('Chantal' 92) (emphasis added)

The often heard Québecois slogan from the sixties *maîtres chez nous* ("masters in our home") is also given a funny and ironic twist when it is used by a Québécoise woman enjoying an evening together with an Anglophone man in a dilapidated building for homeless people in Montréal ('Chantal' 94). PQ (Parti Québécois) stands for "Pack Quick" in 'The Best of Quebec' (111) alluding to the massive exodus of the Anglophones from Québec after the party came into power.

Tensions of different kinds in the society of Québec together with cultural alienation is present in the stories, however, attempts to ease cross-

cultural existence are made by the various protagonists. To achieve this goal the primary means is to try and master each other's language at least to some extent as it is illustrated in each story without exception. The number of characters consciously trying to learn French even at old age is striking. It also testifies that a new attitude has been taking shape towards integration, but not assimilation into the society of Québec. The difference between the two is well-defined by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism:

> ... *integration* 'does not imply the loss of an individual's identity and original characteristics of his original language and culture'. *Assimilation*, on the other hand, is 'almost total absorption into another linguistic and cultural group.' (Saint-Jacques 1985: 595)

The reader is left with the feeling that the solution to the problems, the source of which can be identified in the internal politics of Québec, is to be found in intercultural mediation at different social levels.

Political consciousness is present in Mary Melfi's novel, too, written about unmistakeably from the prespective of a protagonist, Nina, who belongs to the second generation of Italian—Canadian immigrants. Mary Melfi's immediate references to Québec are less direct and overwhelming than those of Raymond Filip's. Nina's standpoint is reflected in one of her paintings that foregrounds Italians with the two founding nations in the background at the historical moment when the fate of the British and the French was decided in North America.

> In one of her life-size paintings, for example, male giants are playing *bocce* with dolls dressed in traditional Italian attire. In the background—the battle of the Plains of Abraham. (175)

Mary Melfi's protagonist can foresee a future for Canada when it would be swallowed up by the USA with Québec preserving its distinctiveness(84). Nina often thinks in terms of a North American context

attaching the same value systems to Canada and the USA. She finds even art produced in the two countries indistinguishable. She tells her husband:

> You want to find reasons why the Group of Seven is Canadian rather than American. But you won't be able to find any. The Group of Seven could have been American. We could be American. In fact we are... with or without free trade. (38)

She considers both countries to be the living forms of shallowness, superficiality and dullness. She can find only just a few attributes to living in Canada: "Unlike the people south of the border I do not have to be wealthy in order to be healthy" (84). Being critical both of her Italian heritage and of what the new world offers, she lives in full awareness of different merits and charges. Yet the country she is preoccupied with is unique: "I do not care about the country's problems. It is not my country. My country is my body and a revolution against it has taken place" (17). It is certainly true since the novel chronicles the movement from several painful abortions to childbirth in the end. The agonizing series of attempts materialize within the bounds of an unhappy marriage between a *wasp* and a *wop*. The latter is a discriminating way of naming Italian immigrants who are presumed to reside in Canada "without official papers." Nina is obsessed with the idea of creation both in trying to become a mother and a successful artist. Daniel, her husband, with a totally different cultural background, that of a wasp, is puzzled by Nina's desires. He can only understand her ambitions of realizing herself as a painter but her basic needs shared by many women, not only by "Italian mothers", remain cryptic for him for quite a while. It is interesting to note what Antonio D'Alfonso says about Italian—Canadian artists: "Few writers have actually written about being Italians. It is no surprise that the first Italian artists of Quebec were painters; practicing the *voiceless* art" (1985: 226). Nina also practises the art of painting, however she also produces a piece of writing; her own confessions. The importance of art is touched upon by Raymond Filip, too. Teaching Canadian literature is considered to be "revolutionary" in 'Winter of Content'(66), and Chantal, in the story named after her, enjoys *Les Grands Ballets Canadien* playing at

Place des Arts in Montréal (91).

Despite the fact that Nina has a contraversial rapport with her Italian heritage, which is only partially integrated into her own self, the fundamental reason for the turmoil lived in her marriage can be found in the spouses' diverse ethnic origin. Paul-André Linteau's claim certainly holds true for Nina as well: "But their choice of English as the language of instruction for their children by no means meant that Italian Montrealers became assimilated into the British community" (1992: 191). Nina fails to establish a harmonious relationship at any level including her own body and mind, her immediate Italian relatives, her husband, the artistic community, the workplace. The multiethnic environment depicted in the novel serves as a context of crucial importance for the proceedings of Nina's self-discovery and self-definition through creation, which is the most pervasive element in her development.

The mode of Mary Melfi's representation is surreal, while that of Raymond Filip is realistic with a lexicon that is often determined by metaphor and to a lesser extent irony. Her protagonist is also a surreal artist, whose work is not appreciated by Canadians because instead of "entertaining" (123), her canvases are mirrors of her inner landscape. Her paintings, many of which are described in great many details or are commented on by herself and other characters as well, share a sense of fragmentation. This is the world of darkness, sewer land, guilt, blood, fear, an infertility maze: "I am neither Canadian nor Italian, but a citizen of the underworld, trapped in its maze, where it is always badly lit" (48). Things relate to one another in an absurd, displeasing manner in the same fashion as they do in her constant nightmares. Disconnected parts of the human body and the colour of red, the colour of blood dominate the recurring images of the novel. The generative force in the narration is provided by the continous threat of possible abortions the narrator struggles with. The fact that her mother does not miss a single occasion to remind her of her various failures, as if they were due to her personal weaknesses, only increases her deep sense of utter hopelessness. Susan Iannucci's observation about second generation Italians qualifies true for Nina as well:

> They are fully aware of what their parents gave up for them, but at times their own sense of loss, of belonging to neither the Old World nor to the New, is so strong that they are not the least bit grateful for what was done on their behalf without their consent. (1992: 209)

Nina feels that her body is also constantly being violated. Brute violance is present in some of Raymond Filip's pieces as well, but there it is experienced both by men and women and among the oppressed groups of the society.

Past, present and future are interwoven in a refined way through pointing out the relevant differences of the immigrant experience according to generations. To exist consciously in the continuum of time is a particular challenge for immigrants as it is proved by Nina's confused state of mind when on returning to the past for survival strategies she remembers ironically enough the "Italian motto: Never look back" (72). The difficulty of handing down experiences by one generation to another is elaborated on in 'Allophone' by Raymond Filip, too. Tamara J. Palmer has a valid point in this regard:

> ... this Fiction of Ethnicity is not only a reflection of profound dislocation and ambivalence, but also a vehicle for bridging the gap between past, prsent and future—a gap that is at the centre of the unavoidable stress involved in immigration and eventual adaptation. (1990: 93)

While fictionalizing the complex nature of the immigrant experience both Raymond Filip and Mary Melfi reach beyond the limiting forces of marginality, however. Each work has a final optimistic ring to it suggesting the promotion of ethnic tolerance. After serious confrontations with God and the rules dictated by the Catholic church, Nina says "thank you" (181) and makes peace with her God:

> Certain of it now (even though one philosopher argues certain=uncertain). Certain I will offer after this regenerating bundle of humanity to the God of both Christians and heathens in thanksgiving. (181)

By not giving up to want to create a new life, Nina's overall perspective of cross-cultural existence must be positive. Similarly, Raymond Filip's individual stories and the well organized composite of his fiction imply the feasibility of transcultural dialogues. The final resolution lies in each case in the central characters' becoming able to love and being grateful for being loved. Supporting the possibility of easing the tension in intra- and interethnic relationships, it is suggested that the acceptance and even more the appreciation of differences in human nature can only be realized through mutual understanding. In sum, having fully explored life offered accross ethnic boundaries, each writer has opted for transcending these boundaries in exchange for a more cosmopolitan way of existence. Their fiction proves the truth of what Daniel Taylor says:

> In the midst of this malaise, the literature of the oppressed offers a realistic, nonsectarian moral vision. At the centre of this moral vision is a stubborn belief in the categories of good and evil. This belief, far from naive, is simple faith to reality. It does not pretend that good and evil comes neatly packaged, but it knows, often from personal experience, the foolishness of pretending that the two are only arbitrary cultural constructs. (1987: 4—5)

The works of Filip and Melfi support Linda Hutcheon when she claims that: "Its [Canada's] history is one of defining itself agains centres" (1988: 4). In their case sub-group differences have helped to develop an ethnic self-esteem in the midst of the society of Québec by trying to balance the discourse of displacement and the various cultures, thus their "minority status" has been endowed with a new quality. Breaking through the clos-knit cultural communities, they also advocate an attempt to "fit in" through

recognizing diversity, the source of which can be found in different cultural, linguistic and even literary heritages.

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DONALD E. MORSE

THE JOYFUL CELEBRATION OF LIFE KURT VONNEGUT'S AFFIRMATIVE VISION IN GALÁPAGOS AND BLUEBEARD

Only *Galápagos* (1982) and *Bluebeard* (1987) among Kurt Vonnegut's novels may be said to celebrate life and escape the "air of defeat" which pervades all the others.[1] Both works investigate important issues: *Galápagos* warns against the ultimate effects of humanity's proclivity for destroying the planet and all life on it, while *Bluebeard* examines the human temptation to trivialize talent and creativity contrasted with the enduring substance and value of art. Both have naive narrators, and while their subjects appear widely separated, the values they espouse are closely related. In *Galápagos* latter day human beings slowly evolve over eons into less destructive and far more lovable, furry, polymorphosely perverse, aquatic creatures, thus ensuring their own survival in the far future, along with that of other beings

[1] In all his other novels the heroes experience significant loss, defeat, or death beginning with Paul Proteus in *Player Piano* (1952), who finds himself used then abandoned by the revolution he helped instigate as well as the corporation he served so loyally and so long, and continuing through Eugene Debs Hartke incarcerated hero of *Hocus Pocus* (1990), who leaves a horrendous trail of wounded, dead, and/or emotionally maimed. See Morse "Two Studies" and *Kurt Vonnegut* (74—88) for a discussion of the pervasive "air of defeat" in Vonnegut's novels. Some of the material for this essay appeared earlier in *Kurt Vonnegut* in a different form and within a different context.

and of the very planet itself,[2] while in *Bluebeard* a lone artist in the near future confronting the murderous destructiveness of modern war compassionately transforms its blasted landscape into an image of human hope.

In *Galápagos* Vonnegut returns for the first time since the phenomenally successful *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969) to fantasy's "nonidentical twin, science fiction" (Kroeber 1)—but with significant differences between this 1980s extrapolated comic look at the dubious future of mankind and the earlier novels. Gone is the earlier freneticism of *The Sirens* of *Titan* (1959), the cataclysmic destruction of *Cat's Cradle* (1963), and the predictability of *Player Piano* (1952). Missing also is the Tralfamadorean or God's eye view of all time found in *Slaughterhouse-Five* and in its place is a sweeping view back to the near future from one million years ahead. Using science fiction and setting the novel a million years in the future, becomes in itself, for Vonnegut "a way of saying God doesn't care what becomes of us, and neither does Nature, so we'd better care. We're all there is to care" ("Serenity," 31).[3] This sense of the urgent need to take responsible action *now* leads Leonard Mustazza to argue that:

> Ultimately, . . . [*Galápagos*] is not concerned with either the past or the future but the present, is not predictive but cautionary, is not about science or religion but about the way we treat one another here and now. (64)

In science fiction, as Ursula Le Guin maintains, the future is always a metaphor (154).[4] Vonnegut uses the metaphor of the far future to describe

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[2] The evolution Vonnegut pictures is a slow, steady, truly Darwinian one that takes place over a million years because of a change in the environment. For an extensive discussion of Darwin's work and *Galápagos* see: Mustazza 55—65, especially 55, 58—59, and 62—64.

[3] James Gunn among numerous other critics draws a clear distinction between fantasy and science fiction: "Science fiction presents a strangeness the reader did not imagine could exist in his world; fantasy tells the reader that the world is strange beyond his belief" ("The Horror," 137).

[4] "All fiction is metaphor. Science fiction is a metaphor. . . . The future, in fiction, is a metaphor" (Le Guin, n. p. ; 154).

the present, in which humans appear anything but "lovable," while at the same time intimating that through the right use of thinking and feeling humankind and planet earth could prevent ecocide. As contemporary science fiction Vonnegut maintains his novel "had to be responsible in terms of the theory of evolution, the theory of natural selection... [since good science fiction will] make people think intelligently about science and what it can or cannot do. That's what we must do now" ("Serenity," 30—1).

This didactic aim, in part, leads Vonnegut to reject the kind of themes and values found in much of the more traditional science fiction. According to the literary historian, James Gunn, most if not all science fiction is rooted in the belief that through thinking human beings can indeed save the planet and the species; that through technology a way will be found out of the current ecological dilemma; that progress is not only possible, but probable through science; and that finally:

> The farther into space one travels the less significant become the passions and agonies of man, and the only matter of importance in the long morning of man's struggle to survive is his survival so that his sons could be seeded among the stars. (In Bretnor, 199)

Vonnegut says a resounding "No!" to any such unearthly faith in populating future worlds. Beginning with *Player Piano* (1952) and *The Sirens* of *Titan* (1959) and continuing through *Galápagos*—and into the non-science fiction novel, *Bluebeard*—he continually satirizes such absence of values and neglect of the heart necessitated by shifting the fictional focus away from individual responsibility to colonizing unknown worlds. Years ago when asked whether he felt there was such a thing as progress—General Electric, for whom he worked for a number of years used to boast, "Progress Is Our Most Important Product"—or if he thought things were getting better, Vonnegut replied: "I don't have the feeling [that we are going somewhere]." This theme of the lost or never found sense of direction is present in all of Vonnegut's work including his future fiction which helps

account for the distopia in *Galápagos*, *Slapstick* (1976), *Slaughterhouse-Five*, *The Sirens of Titan*, and *Player Piano*.

As a novelist, Vonnegut has become increasingly worried about humans destroying the natural world and of the widespread ignorance of nature which encourages such destruction. When faced with a choice between, say, comfort and machine entertainment or some discomfort and an encounter with nature, most characters in his fiction like most of the earth's inhabitants will choose comfort and the machine (see in addition to *Galápagos*, for example, *Player Piano*, "Deer in the Works" in *Welcome to the Monkey House* [1968], or *Breakfast of Champions* [1973]). *Galápagos* itself cautions against this disastrous choice, but unlike many novels which contain a similar warning, including *Slapstick* Vonnegut's weakest novel, *Galápagos* does not postulate an idealized picture of a reversion to some pre-industrial state where most of the good things from the contemporary world remain, but society becomes feudal in outlook, organization, and technology.[5] Instead, as Mustazza observes:

> the movement in the narrative [of *Galápagos*] is bidirectional, progressive in that it applies a Darwinian solution to the problem of moral error, retrogressive insofar as the state of innocence that is ultimately achieved is allusively linked to primal mythic innocence. (55)

"This was," as the narrator says, "a very innocent planet, except for those great big brains" (*Galápagos*, 9 and compare 270).

The disaster which precipitates the change in evolution in *Galápagos* appears benign unlike in *Deadeye Dick* (1982) where a neutron bomb wipes out Midland City producing not a murmur from an uncaring, callous, indifferent world, or in *Cat's Cradle* where human greed and stupidity precipitates death by freezing of all life on the planet, or in *Slaughterhouse-Five* where the universe ends because a Tralfamadorean test pilot accidentally wipes it out (80). In *Galápagos* the human population on most

[5] For a negative view of such values see Jackson, especially 141—56; and Hunter, especially 28—38 and 127—9.

of the planet simply fails to reproduce, hence dies out, except for a small saving remnant on the new ark of the Galápagos Islands.

To tell this tale of humanity's evolving "a million years in the future," Vonnegut invents an ideal omniscient, invisible narrator Leon Trout (son of the nefarious Kilgore Trout) who reads minds, discerns motivation, predicts events accurately over the millennia of his tale. He describes his role as writer as: "Nature's experiment with voyeurism, as my father was Nature's experiment with ill-founded self-confidence" (82). Moreover, Leon writes purely for his art's sake, since he has not "the slightest hint that there might actually be a reader somewhere. There isn't one. There can't be one" (257).

The ephemeral nature of Trout's writing along with his total lack of an audience raises issues central to most discussions of contemporary art that Vonnegut explores more fully in *Bluebeard.* They are also cogently posed in Tom Wolfe's story in *The Painted Word* (1975) of the masterpiece created by the greatest artist in the history of the world:

> Suppose the greatest artist in the history of the world, impoverished and unknown at the time, had been sitting at a table in the old Automat at Union Square, cadging some free water and hoping to cop a leftover crust of toasted corn muffin. . . and suddenly he got the inspiration for the greatest work of art in the history of the world. Possessing not even so much as a pencil or a burnt match, he dipped his forefinger into the glass of water and began recording this greatest of all inspirations. . . on a paper napkin, with New York tap water as his paint. In a matter of seconds. . . the water had diffused through the paper and the grand design vanished, whereupon the greatest artist in the history of the world slumped to the table and died of a broken heart, and the manager came over, and he thought that here was nothing more than a dead wino

with a wet napkin. Now, the question is: Would that have been the greatest work of art in the history of the world? (103—4)[6]

Vonnegut improves on Wolfe's joke while sharpening its point by having his narrator die *before* he writes *Galápagos* and by having him write on air rather than in water! The result is an invisible novel written by an author dead for a million years.

Like all of Vonnegut's narrators Trout in *Galápagos* and Karabekian in *Bluebeard* are truly amateur writers, single-book authors with no previous writing experience which helps account for their "telegraphic. . . manner" which proves as appropriate for them to use as it was for the Tralfamadoreans in *Slaughterhouse-Five*. Vonnegut has one of his characters in *Bluebeard,* Circe Berman voice a criticism of Karabekian's style which echoes many of Vonnegut's own critics: "'How come you never use semicolons?'. . . 'How come you chop it all up into little sections instead of letting it flow and flow?'" (38). But Berman speaks from her own perspective as a best-selling author unlike Karabekian, Trout *fils*, or Trout *pere* each of whom is unconcerned about his readership, if any. Moreover, the narrative voice of each—which Vonnegut elsewhere describes a "the voice of a child" (*Palm Sunday* 58)—proves admirably suited to their stories and personalities.

In *Galápagos* Vonnegut uses both the fictional technique of an omniscient if naive narrator writing in the future for no discernible or possible audience, and the startling nature of earth's future fictional inhabitants as ways of commenting satirically on human beings' incredible penchant for self-destruction. The narrator's often incredulous tone, as he observes what humans appear to do best, accentuates what Vonnegut elsewhere calls "the unbelievability of life as it really is" (*Palm Sunday* 297) which in this novel centers on human stupidity, short-sightedness, and unthinking brutality towards one another and the planet. Leon Trout

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[6] Compare Rabo Karabekian's disappearing paintings which might as well have been painted with tapwater or Kilgore Trout's inability to find any writing implement in Breakfast of *Champions* (67).

observes from his perspective of "a million years in the future" those large-brained, terribly mobile, inquisitive creatures, whose:

> big brains. . . would tell their owners, in effect, "Here is a crazy thing we could actually do, probably, but we would never do it, of course. It's just fun to think about."
>
> And then, as though in trances, the people would really do it—have slaves fight each other to the death in the Colosseum, or burn people alive in the public square for holding opinions which were locally unpopular, or build factories whose only purpose was to kill people in industrial quantities, or to blow up whole cities, and on and on. (266).

The restrained attitude of the narrator nicely mimics that of a doctor diagnosing the illness of a patient. This pose of objectivity becomes in turn a perfect vehicle for satirizing the human mind's delight in devising engines of destruction, such as exploding rockets.

Trout's incredulity also helps emphasize the lack of human foresight which applies thinking not to the problem of survival, but to the problem of destruction. Rather than Juvenalian moral outrage, he adopts the more Horacean stance of neutral amazement:

> No single human being could claim credit for that rocket, which was going to work so perfectly. It was the collective achievement of all who had ever put their big brains to work on the problem of how to capture and compress the diffuse violence of which nature was capable, and drop it in relatively small packages on their enemies. (189—190.)[7]

Extending this contrast between human creativity and destructiveness Trout compares the rocket meeting its target with human sexual consummation: "No explosion. . . in Vietnam could compare with what

[7] Trout also captures the discontinuity between the spectators' delight in watching a rocket explode and the violent damage that results from such an explosion.

happened when that Peruvian rocket put the tip of its nose, that part of its body most richly supplied with exposed nerve endings, into that Ecuadorian radar dish." Instead of completing the sexual image, Trout breaks the narration to insert an apparently irrelevant comment about art in the far future: "No one is interested in sculpture these days. Who could handle a chisel or a welding torch with their flippers or their mouths?" This violent wrenching away from the sexual imagery used to describe the rocket about to hit its target to the objective statement of the lack of sculpture in the future breaks the narrative flow while pointing to the loss of creativity through violence and sets up the next comic effect by suspending but not abandoning the imagery of sexual consummation. Such imagery contrasts sharply with the rocket's destructive function:

> Into the lava plinth beneath it these words might be incised, expressing the sentiments of all who had had a hand in the design and manufacture and sale and purchase and launch of the rocket, and of all of whom high explosives were a branch of the entertainment industry:
>
> > . . .'Tis a consummation
> > Devoutly to be wish'd.
> > William Shakespeare (1564—1616)
> > (189—90)

Throughout *Galápagos* similar quotations from poets, dramatists and novelists, statesmen and philosophers appear juxtaposed to the picture of the downward slide of humanity into the sea caused by its failure to listen to the wisdom contained in such quotations or to find value in the creations of its artists. Humans have failed to protect those who love from the effects of war, and worst of all have insisted on following the path of destruction as exemplified in the rocket's explosive power. Vonnegut's comedy reflects human shortcomings and failures, warns humanity against approaching disaster, yet does so without either moralizing, preaching, or declaiming.

In contrast to *Cat's Cradle* which apocalyptically concludes with the world coming to an end, and which reflects Bokonon's belief that: "Maturity. . . is a bitter disappointment for which no remedy exists, unless laughter can be said to remedy anything" (134), *Galápagos* suggests that laughter and good humor may yet enable humanity to survive the "bitter disappointment" of the inevitable discovery that the world, humanity, and, yes, human beings themselves are not only imperfect, but are also an endangered species. When asked on an employment application form what his avocation was, Bokonon wrote: "Being alive"; when asked his occupation he wrote: "Being dead" (*Cat's Cradle*, 95). Where *Cat's Cradle* concentrates on human myopia which chooses the human vocation of death as all life perishes, *Galápagos* emphasizes the human "avocation," as the species mutates in order to survive. Rather than the dark apocalyptic humor of *Cat's Cradle*, *Galápagos*'s comedy is lighter and more positive. Brian Aldiss's response to *Galápagos* sums up the novel's strengths: "Sprightly, funny, suspenseful, *Candide*-like, and endearingly ingenious in its telling, . . ."[8] ". . . the book's a joy." [9]

Galápagos, despite its disaster scenario, has about it an air of optimism and joy which it shares with *Bluebeard* which also describes many defeats and short-comings but of one person rather than the whole of humanity. Rabo Karabekian's mother survived the great massacre of the Armenians by the Turks—which added the word "genocide" to the languages of the world (3)—while her son lives to witness the end of the most destructive war yet fought on European soil when another megalomaniac practiced genocide in his attempt to systematically exterminate a portion of the human race. Yet Karabekian's biography demonstrates that through self-acceptance, and the serious use of imagination and creativity, human beings can become reconciled to their weakness and fragility, while still remaining outraged at human stupidity and greed, and the many disastrous self-defeating schemes such "big brained" rational creatures concoct, let alone attempt to implement.

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[8] *The Trillion Year Spree* (329).

[9] Letter to the author 14 November 1988.

As *Galápagos* examines the misuse of human reason and invention as the principal danger to life on planet earth, so *Bluebeard* looks at the misuse of human creativity as endangering true art. Karabekian a reformed abstract expressionist painter is a more complex character in *Bluebeard* than the Rabo Karabekian honored by writer-manque the Midland Arts Festival for artistic achievement together with the writermanque Kilgore Trout (*Breakfast of Champions).* When challenged by a cocktail waitress in the earlier novel to defend his painting, *The Temptation of St. Anthony* that consisted of a vertical stripe of Day-Glo orange on a field of green as a work of art, he extravagantly replied:

> ". . . the picture your city owns shows everything about life which truly matters, with nothing left out. It is a picture of the awareness of every animal. It is the immaterial core of every animal—the 'I am' to which all messages are sent. It is all that is alive in any of us—in a mouse, in a deer, in a cocktail waitress. It is unwavering and pure, no matter what preposterous adventure may befall us." (221)

Karabekian's speculations parody much of the criticism of Abstract Expressionism which in a more extreme form appears in Tom Wolfe's spirited, if highly opinionated, book on the necessity of theory for modern art, *The Painted Word.*[10] Although *The Temptation* of *St. Anthony* has no content, Karabekian ascribes considerable significance to it:

> "A sacred picture of St. Anthony alone is one vertical, unwavering and of light. If a cockroach were near him, or a cocktail waitress, the picture would show two such bands of light. Our awareness of all that is alive and maybe sacred in any of us. Everything else about us is dead machinery." (221)

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[10] Unlike Wolfe, Vonnegut provides an example of a positive, genuine artistic achievement in Karabekian's last painting.

What is striking about Karabekian's defense—besides its articulate self-confidence—what it shares with much of contemporary theorizing about modern art, is the slight relation, if any, these assertions bear to the painting itself. (See, for example, almost any review or essay by the art critic-philosopher Arthur Danto.) Vonnegut satirically suggests that beauty no longer resides in the eye of the beholder, but artistic significance lies wholly within the head of the observer who looks at the painting and theorizes whether that observer be an artist, critic, or gallery-goer.

While this discussion of the nature and value of art is somewhat peripheral to *Breakfast of Champions*, it becomes central to *Bluebeard*. The latter novel raises the perennial issue of what is art and who is the "real" artist by contrasting Karabekian and his Abstract Expressionist painter friends with Dan Gregory, the illustrator who paints things more real than they appear to the eye, lords it over the non-representational painters, worships Benitto Mussolini and is "probably the highest paid artist in American history" (50). Examining the Abstract Expressionists' exuberant splashing of paint on canvas and comparing the astronomical prices they fetch, Vonnegut comments wryly: "Tastes change"[11]; yet Vonnegut's satiric focus is directed only in part on the whimsical nature of the art market. While society makes Gregory fabulously wealthy by purchasing everything he paints, his work fails as art because it has no emotional or spiritual content: Since Gregory's goal is merely to illustrate someone else's ideas or feelings, his work is, although technically proficient, "good painting about nothing"[12] or what Holger Cahill contemptuously calls the "merely decorative":

> art is not merely decorative, a sort of unrelated accompaniment to life. In a genuine sense it should have use; it should be interwoven with the very stuff and texture of human experience, intensifying that experience, making it more

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11 Jacket Blurb written and signed by Vonnegut, April 1, 1987 for the hardcover edition of *Bluebeard*.

12 Adolph Gottlieb and Mark Rothko declared: "There is no such thing as good painting about nothing" (545).

Moreover, Gregory's illustrations, although painted in minute and exact detail, are completely removed from "the very stuff and texture of human experience"; they prove as void of content as Rabo Karabekian's extremely well executed huge abstract canvasses. The novel asks repeatedly which works are art and therefore essential to life and which are decoration and therefore inessential. Are Dan Gregory's fantastic illustrations, Karabekian's wall-sized paintings, or Terry Kitchen's spray gun paintings? Are any of these valuable as art or does each have value only as one person's attempt to play with paint? How does each of the three measure up against the great artists of other ages? Can a line be drawn from Rembrandt to Pollock?[13] Or from Gregory to Karabekian?

Vonnegut's satire on the world of art, artists, connoisseurs, and critics provides provisional answers. "Artistic justice," for example, occurs in *Bluebeard* when Karabekian's paintings return, "thanks to unforeseen chemical reactions," after a few years to their pristine state as sized canvas: "... people who had paid fifteen- or twenty- or even thirty thousand dollars for a picture... found themselves gazing at a blank canvas, all ready for a new picture, and ringlets of colored tapes and what looked like moldy Rice Krispies on the floor" (19).[14] Perhaps Karabekian unwittingly became a Conceptualist painter, one whose work exists only as a concept (compare "The Greatest Artist in the History of the World" and Leon Trout's invisible novel) or perhaps he is only the latest example of "Now you see it, now you don't"—as stage magicians used to say during the Great Depression while the rabbit disappeared into the tall silk hat—or more likely his *success*

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[13] Although grouping some of the moderns with the Great Masters may appear either strained or pure errant nonsense, depending upon one's view of the moderns, one critic did lump them together or, rather, in his inelegant prose, "tossed [them] into one pot": "The pictures of de Kooning and Kline, it seemed to me, were suddenly tossed into one pot with Rembrandt and Giotto. All alike became painters of illusion" (Leo Steinburg quoted in Wolfe, 79).

[14] The trade name of the disappearing paint changes from *Breakfast of Champions* to *Bluebeard*, as casually as the names of characters shift between and among Vonnegut stories and novels. Vonnegut has remarked several times that such changes have no significance; see, for example: Vonnegut interview with Reilly, 7—8.

illustrates once again the truth articulated in "The Emperor's New Clothes." Whatever the choice Vonnegut's satire in *Bluebeard* works because, in addition to its implied and stated criticism, he offers readers a positive standard by which to judge both Abstract Expressionists and illustrators in Karabekian's final canvas, "Now It's the Women's Turn." This monumental painting records in exact minute detail the moment World War II ended in Europe. Although Karabekian had observed the setting of his painting "when the sun came up the day the Second World War ended in Europe" (281), the meaning, the significance of this event only revealed itself to him over time (as the meaning or non-meaning of Dresden unfolded itself over time to Vonnegut). The 5,219 figures in this enormous sixty-four by eight foot canvas, appear convincingly real not because the artist saw or knew them but because before creating their image on canvas, he invented a detailed war story for each and only after that painted "the person it had happened to" (283). His painting is at once as precise as Gregory's illustrations and in some important ways as imaginatively playful as an Abstract Expressionist canvas. The painter who's career prompted Vonnegut to create an Abstract Expressionist proficient in rendering such a scene in great detail was Jackson Pollock who, according to Vonnegut, did "more than any other human being to make his nation, and especially New York City, the unchallenged center of innovative painting in all this world" (*Fates* 41). Although Pollock spent much of his life dripping paint onto canvas, Vonnegut rightly emphasizes that he "was capable of depicting in photographic detail [any scene desired]... He had been trained in his craft by, among others, that most exacting American master of representational art... Thomas Hart Benton" (42).

In "Now It Is the Women's Turn" Karabekian returns to "life itself" which he, like most artists of his generation had ignored "utterly" for very good reasons as Vonnegut notes.

> And could any moralist have called for a more appropriate reaction by painters to World War II, to the death camps and Hiroshima and all the rest of it, than pictures without persons or artifacts, without even allusions to the blessings of Nature?

> A full moon, after all, had come to be known as a "bomber's moon." Even an orange could suggest a diseased planet, a disgraced humanity, if someone remembered, as many did, that the Commandant of Aushwitz and his wife and children, under the greasy smoke from the ovens, had had good food every day. (*Fates* 44)

But Karabekian goes far beyond this initial reaction and so with, as he puts it, this "last thing I have to give to the world," discovers and fulfills his vocation as an artist something he had been unable to do either as an Abstract Expressionist or as an illustrator. Unlike his earlier work, this last painting reflects powerfully his life-experience and feelings. It gives him peace, while eliciting a positive response from the common people who come to view it (300, 283). He thereby becomes an example of "the artist... freely functioning in relation to society, [while]... society wants what he is able to offer" (Cahill 473).[15] No longer does Karabekian have to browbeat his audience-whether a cocktail waitress in Midland City or his neighbor on Fire Island—into accepting what he has done as art. Rabo the one-eyed painter becomes king in the blind land of art.

Vonnegut thus suggests in *Bluebeard* that the true artist uses technique—whether it be putting paint on canvas or putting words on paper—to serve human beings and their human feelings.[16] In the end Karabekian serves humanity not by providing it with more interior or exterior decoration, but by depicting a "crucial [subject]... which is tragic and timeless." In so doing, he stands out in bold relief against the pale shadow of Dan Gregory, who, despite his talent and popular success,

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[15] Contrast Trout's total lack of relationship to society in *Galápagos* where the evolved seal-like humans obviously neither read nor write.

[16] Vonnegut through Karabekian aligns himself with, among others, Adolph Gottlieb and Mark Rothko who challenged the "widely accepted notion among painters that it does not matter what one paints as long as it is well painted. This is the essence of academism." They maintained as a positive alternative that: "the subject is crucial and only subject-matter is valid which is tragic and timeless... Consequently, if our work embodies these beliefs it must insult any one who is spiritually attuned to interior decoration; pictures for the home..." (545).

remained merely a "decorator" his whole professional life. Like the notorious Andy Warhol, who once "put an ad in *The Village Voice* saying he would endorse anything, anything at all, for money... and listing his telephone number" (Wolfe 86), Gregory wields a brush available for hire; he is ready and able to illustrate or reproduce anything at all for anyone at all for money. In contrast, Karabekian rather than merely illustrating someone else's idea or feeling creates something genuine revealing what James Joyce once termed "the simple intuitions which are the tests of reality" (81). His last painting includes all life after the war: the lunatics, war prisoners, concentration camp victims, ragged remnants of an exhausted army, and civilians—the dead, dying, and living. The emphasis falls on all humanity gathered together as the sun comes up after the disaster—"a fair field full of folk" as Piers the plowman said, rather than on the world worn out by war. "Now It Is the Women's Turn," and perhaps they will manage things better intimates Vonnegut at the end of this, his twelfth novel.

Like *Slaughterhouse-Five*, *Bluebeard* concludes with a vision of accepting life as it is, but with a significant difference: if left the reader with Billy Pilgrim's vision of Tralfamadorean serenity—which by definition is extra-terrestrial, hence unattainable by human beings—*Bluebeard* ends with a picture of the acceptance of human limits, whether of artists, self, friends, or parents. Nor does Karabekian become a "ghost in the rigging" such as Leon Trout in *Galápagos* who is condemned to spend a million years in the Sisyphusean task of recording on air his observations of human beings evolving back to the sea. Instead, he achieves his vocation as an artist, one who creates a rich portrait of human hope to which others respond enthusiastically. Through Karabekian Vonnegut celebrates human creativity, friendship, and community without which, as shown in *Galápagos*, those "great big brains" would be left on their own to become the ultimate threat to the survival of humanity, of all life, and of the very earth itself. At the end of *Bluebeard*—as at the end of so many other Vonnegut novels—the protagonist dies, but unlike other Vonnegut heroes, Karabekian dies happily and at peace with himself as he celebrates his life and accomplishments saying with all his heart: "Oh happy Meat. Oh, happy Soul. Oh, Happy Rabo Karabekian" (300).

Vonnegut novels—the protagonist dies, but unlike other Vonnegut heroes, Karabekian dies happily and at peace with himself as he celebrates his life and accomplishments saying with all his heart: "Oh happy Meat. Oh, happy Soul. Oh, Happy Rabo Karabekian" (300).

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ANDRÁS TARNÓC

"WHO IS AFRAID OF THE BIG BAD WOLF?" REFLECTIONS OF POLITICAL CORRECTNESS IN A DISTORTED MIRROR

I

The purpose of this essay is to analyze the effects of political correctness (henceforth: PC) by examining the politically correct versions of two old-time favorite bedtime stories; "The Three Little Pigs" (henceforth: TTLP) and "Little Red Riding Hood" (henceforth: LRRH). While the subject of this essay may seem facetious at first glance, the new versions of these tales appearing in a volume titled: *Politically Correct Bedtime Stories: Modern Tales for Our Life and Times* provide valuable insight into the latest controversy concerning "the battle to define the meaning of America" (Bush 44). James Finn Garner's rewriting of thirteen well-known children's tales to fit the taste of the all too sensitive 90's resulted in a scathing parody of PC's excesses. The book, published in 1994, demonstrated the author's skills in manipulating seemingly innocuous texts to achieve biting satire.

The publication of Garner's work was one of the indicators that the PC controversy entered mainstream American consciousness by 1994 (Bush 42). The race, gender and class-oriented mindset of PC promoted several conflict patterns transferring the traditionally homogeneous WASP image of America into a social framework of victims and villains. In this

Manichean perspective the Euro-American was singled out as the dreaded oppressor of ethnic minorities, women and the environment. Contemporary reality was polarized as a constant power struggle between whites and non-whites, men and women and the oppressor and the oppressed.

Consequently Garner, with an obvious purpose of ridiculing the PC movement, refashioned these childhood favorites to reflect the above-mentioned hostility patterns. Seven of the thirteen tales have female protagonists. The heroine in "Little Red Riding Hood" in her confrontation with the wolf and the lumberjack represents the archetypal feminist gone amok. In "Rumpelstiltskin," Esmeralda, a victim of the partiarchal system, turns out to be the champion of women's reproductive freedom. The heroine of "Rapunzel" matures from a helpless child to a determined artist rejecting the restraints of the capitalist system. The title character of "Cinderella" leads a female revolt against the male-approved image of feminine beauty. In "Snow White" the protagonist forges an alliance with the evil queen to promote women's awareness. The princess in "The Frog Prince" dons the garb of an eco-warrior determined to save the planet from greedy real estate developers. All these six stories, as prescribed by predictive PC logic, depict women in a positive role. The only exception is the title character in "Goldilocks" who, as a greedy biologist, pays for her sins by being eaten by the bears.

Two tales contain only animal characters. "The Three Little Pigs" is altered to present a clash of Western and Non-Western cultures and "Chicken Little" highlights the anomalies of the American legal system. In "The Three Co-Dependent Goats Gruff" Garner offers a scathing criticism of PC's obsession with victimhood. "The Emperor's New Clothes" makes a farce of the very weapon PC afficionados rely on, euphemism. Finally "Jack and the Beanstalk" promotes the values of environmental awareness and "The Pied Piper of Hamelin" is an acerbically prescient vision of the backlash against PC extremism.

Whereas all these tales are rewritten to parodize different aspects of PC, there are two particular stories which depict a clear confrontation between characters representing different value systems. Both in TTLP and

LRRH the main characters face the deadly threat of the wolf, who as a symbol of PC's evil incarnate, must pay for his sins with the loss of his life.

II

In the revised version of TTLP Garner left the skeleton of the original story untouched presenting the familiar confrontation between the "big bad wolf" and the three little animals. The three pigs built their homes from different materials; sticks, straws and bricks, respectively. The wolf blows down the first two houses and dies of a heart attack during his attempt to destroy the third. Garner's tale describes America as a multicultural state with the three pigs representing the three principal non-white ethnic and racial groups (Blacks, Hispanics and Asians) along with the wolf as the embodiment of "mainstream America." Post-Cold War U.S. is afflicted by the victimhood syndrome, as following the Puritan value system's emphasis on victimhood and redemption, minorities are assigned the role of the historical victim and white Euro-American males are viewed as the victimizers (Hughes 11).

The author's opening premise is an idyllic picture with three little pigs living in harmony with their surroundings, building their homes in an environmentally sensitive way. Since construction materials that are "indigenous to the area" are acquired without doing considerable harm to the land, it is assumed that the white European as the number one culprit for all ills besetting minorities is also responsible for the destruction of the environment.

This idyl reflects the Menandian definition of multi-culturalism, the coexistence of functionally autonomous subcultures under a dominant culture, as these symbols for the four dominant racial and ethnic groups of the U.S. live under one dominant culture, the forest. As a reference to the cultural separatism of ethnic groups under the label "ethnic pride," Garner in his description of the pigs' lives employs the terms "peace and self-determination." When the wolf "driven by expansionist ideas" wants to enter the pigs' houses, "mainstream culture" clashes with ethnic culture. When he

is rejected as a "cultural imperialist" the term "manifest destiny," a reference to the ideology of the Westward Movement, makes it clear that the author identifies the wolf with white Americans. Garner, through his sarcasm, betrays his condemnation of PC's rejection of the Euro-American worldview which, according to Florida A & M professors Yvonne R. Bell, Cathy L. Bouie and Joseph A. Baldwin, is based on such ideas as "survival of the fittest" and "control over nature" (Beard 23).

The wolf's assumption of the identity of the colonizer bent on building a banana plantation subsequent to blowing away the first home places the events in the framework of the core vs. periphery, indicating a constant power struggle between colonizers and nations fending off colonial status. As the pigs defiantly shout back at the wolf "go to hell you carnivorous imperialistic oppressor!" the author's reference to a favorite expression of PC zealots, "oppressor," becomes an important symbol.

In this "culture of complaint" the term indicates a hostile relationship between genders, races and ethnic groups (Hughes 9). Women are victims of male oppressors and all minorities claim protection from the number one oppressor, the white Euro-American male. Furthermore the term, "carnivorous," must not be overlooked either as a reference to the destruction of the environment.

It is illuminating to observe how the pigs repel the wolf's advances. At the straw house, upon hearing the plea: "Little pigs, little pigs let me in!" the pigs shout, "Your gunboat tactics hold no fear for pigs defending their home and culture!" The pigs are obviously vulnerable to the wolf's attacks and their cry of fear over the loss of their culture could create sympathy for them. Consequently, minority cultures fending off the alleged attack of mainstream American culture can similarly hope for an outpouring of public sympathy. Furthermore the wolf (mainstream American culture) regards the pigs (minorities) with condescension, treating them as children:

"They are so childlike in their ways. It will be a shame to see them go but progress cannot be stopped," the wolf muses. Minorities have often been described as childlike in American literature, suffice it to refer to minstrel shows and Topsy's portrayal by Stowe in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Virágos 168—169).

Having blown off the house of sticks, the wolves build a vacation complex with all the obligatory politically incorrect attractions. "Native curio shops" provide a devalued and commercialized version of minority culture, "dolphin shows" remove animals from their natural habitat, and force them to perform tricks against their will. At this point Garner pokes fun again at one of his favorite targets, environmental and animal rights activists, who view human-animal relations in a framework of victims and villains. This perspective is demonstrated by the recent drive to exchange the term "zoo keeper" for "wildlife friend," or the tendency to assign zoos such new picturesque names as "animalcatraz" and "zulag" (Beard 108).

When the wolf attempts to blow away the brick house his effort results in death, "a massive heart attack brought on from eating too many fatty foods"—a demise statistically very typical of white males. The manner of the wolf's death also serves as a parody of PC's rejection of meat eating, viewed as a practice that forces the perpetrator "to commit cruelty to nonhuman beings" (Beard 97). The next event is a revolution in which mainstream American culture is displaced in favor of a minority civilization. The end result is an utopia where the pigs live in a world of "free education, universal health care and affordable housing for everyone." This world, in addition to being an antithesis to the present U.S., where due to the constraints imposed by the development of liberal capitalism these goals are almost unattainable, is also a mockery of PC's afore-mentioned image of the Euro-American worldview.

Garner's version is an exercise in bias-free writing or writing to implant social virtue. The race, gender and class-centered mindset of PC is bent on the elimination of all bias from communication and these efforts can lead to judging literature upon intended social value over artistic merit. Consequently a type of criticism emerges declaring *Uncle Tom's Cabin* a better book for its purported arousal of indignation over slavery than Melville's *Moby Dick* viewed as a commemoration of a laundry list of cruelties to animals (Hughes 113).

The tale explores the limits of PC behavior. PC aims to eliminate any kind of bias from the public sphere. It assumes that all types of bias are harmful regardless of the element of inborn prejudice or the need to

discriminate among various stimuli. After all when one decides that one meal is better than the other, one discriminates and if there was no discrimination at all one could not recognize danger either.

The original purpose of bedtime stories was socialization, or teaching the values of a given society to children. Folk tales not only entertained but familiarized children with such values as bravery, honesty, chivalry and respect for one's elders. In order to achieve a comic effect, however, Garner argues that these stories reflected the prevailing value system of the patriarchal society with their sexist, discriminatory and culturally biased messages.

The pigs as a community in the end defeat the wolves and create an un-American social system without competition or individualism. Thus the ideal behavior espoused in the tale is the questioning of the foundations of American society. The story presents a confrontation between the individual and the community, and the individual is bound to fail. Since PC foists a race, class and gender framework on American civilization, individualism is suspect. The wolf is apparently guilty of a number of sins; he is carnivorous, thus presumably hostile to the environment, he is also condescending and represents America at its imperialist worst.

The story is not only a tale of multiculturalism, but a description of colonialism as well. There are several references to the core-periphery relationship. The wolf is the land hungry U.S. and the pigs are innocent Third World nations seeking to defend themselves. "Gunboat tactics" refers to the term "gunboat diplomacy" often used by the U.S. in reference to nations it deemed to be in its sphere of national interest. The establishment of banana plantations is a clear reference to expansionism and Central America (cf. the banana republics: Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua etc.) and the pigs' letter to the United Nations is an attempt to appeal to the world's conscience. Furthermore the war of independence is organized by "porcinistas," a take on Nicaraguan freedomfighters, the Sandinistas.

Garner's tale also reflects PC history where a new set of double standards is employed (Hughes 117). The pigs, or the natives are described as Rousseau's Noble Savages whose lives are rudely interrupted by land hungry whites. TTLP functions on two levels; it is an allegory as well as a

parody of multiculturalism in which the mainstream Euro-American ideal must surrender to the demands of an idyllic rainbow nation, and a biting satire on U.S. colonial aspirations.

Garner presents the caricaturized extremities of the PC perspective through a distorted mirror following the tradition of the humor of the American West, "which relied mainly on exaggeration and a blending of just and earnest which has the effect ... of singing comic songs to a sad tune" (Cunliffe 190). Indeed, the tale abounds in comic exaggerations: the wolf dies of a heart attack, the pigs organize a revolutionary war and fight with rocket launchers and machine guns. Also one cannot forget about the author's caveat stating that no actual wolves had been hurt during the writing process. Garner is an observant student of the Mark Twain school of deadpan humor following his master's emphasis on puns, wordplays, straightfaced exaggeration and hilarious incongruity of style (Cunliffe 206). The author's use of the term "porcinistas" fashioned after the term "Sandinistas" or the reference to the wolf's "gunboat tactics" while the whole story takes place on land increase the tale's comic effect. Garner also chose to recast a children's story as a tale of a revolution, thereby commingling a bedtime tale with the contents of a history book. Suffice it to refer to the use of such terms as "manifest destiny," "internal affairs" and "socialist democracy."

While the original version was clearly intended for children, the reworked story demands an adult audience. The story teaches the value of environmental consciousness as the pigs who lived in harmony with their surroundings defeated the carnivorous wolf. It also echoes the victory of the community over the individual and the defeat of the core by the periphery. TTLP is a true reflection of the PC world where hitherto highly esteemed assumptions such as the basic values of American democracy and the capitalistic system undergo a serious challenge as the excellence of the Euro-American ideal is threatened by the onslaught of mediocrity and infantilism (Hughes 193).

My second choice is the PC version of the all time favorite "Little Red Riding Hood." Like in the previous story, the author leaves the principal elements intact until the absurd ending, in which the lumberjack about to

intervene to save the young girl from being devoured by the wolf is slain by the grandmother.

This tale provides excellent examples of language revisionism, the purported elimination of all terms reflecting any type of bias or discrimination from the English lan-guage. The first line reads: "There was a young person named Little Red Riding Hood." In order to deflect the charge of sexism, as the term "girl" carries a somewhat demeaning connotation when applied to grown women, the author opted for the value-neutral form. His choice demonstrates the futility of PC's oversensitivity because the protagonist is really a minor who, being addressed as a "girl," would not suffer any discrimination. Garner, at the same time, ridicules the position of "non-sexist language authorities" who regard the term "girl" unacceptable for any female past puberty (Beard 91).

This girl is asked by her mother to take a basket of fresh fruit and mineral water to her grandmother. The contents of the basket in the original story were a piece of cake and a bottle of wine to be substituted here by the above-mentioned items for in the health-conscious 90's pastry and alcohol are deemed health hazards.

LRRH's basket also reflects Garner's frustration over the increasing politicization of the American identity, as according to Jerry Adler: "In America ... everyone's identity is politicized—not just in terms of race, ethnicity religion and language ... but also gender, sexual behavior, age, clothing, diet and personal habits" (Adler 30).

The author employs the term "womyn" for "women" in his effort to avoid the use of the gender-specific "man" suffix. Undoubtedly, thanks to the advances of PC, the "man" suffix is the most endangered element of the English language. According to Saussure one's knowledge of this world is dependent upon the language that serves to represent it (Norris 4). Thus a language full of sexist, racist and ethnocentrist terms would contribute to the entrenchment of a sexist, racist and ethnocentrist society.

In like fashion George Orwell argued that language was a mirror of existing social conditions, and the elimination of undesirable words led to the improvement of those conditions. Following this line of reasoning, the elimination of the remnants of sexism from language would lead to a bias-

free social order. Robert Hughes, however, elaborately illustrated the linguistic futility of the anti-"man" campaign as the suffix in Old English was gender-neutral.

LRRH's selection for the task of bringing food to her grandmother is not governed by a sexist division of labor pattern but by a need to create a feeling of community. The original premise of the grandmother's health problems is discarded in order to combat prejudice against the elderly. The young girl's fear of the woods, a crucial element in the original story, is ommitted as an example of Freudian (Western) thinking. Similarly to the other tale the protagonist is confronted by a wolf, who brings the white, sexist male to mind. The description of the wolf's "slavish adherence to linear, Western style thought" is an expression of PC's rejection of Western culture.

The author uses a euphemism to describe blindness (optically challenged) in order to avoid appearing ableist or prejudiced against handicapped (less able) people. The reference to Grandma's big nose is softened in an effort to fend off the charges of lookism, the discrimination based on physical appearance.

While in the original story the lumberjack (woodchopper person) was the savior of Grandma and LRRH, here he is cruelly rebuked when about to interfere in the conflict between the wolf and the young girl. After being called a "sexist and a specieist," he is killed by Grandma who jumps out of the wolf's mouth, leaving little doubt that even the helpful intentions of white males are interpreted as manifestations of sexist behavior. The closing section with the establishment of an alternative household with the surviving characters is a manifestation of the challenge against the traditional male-dominated family pattern in which, according to *The Official Sexually Correct Dictionary and Dating Guide*, one faces the constant threat of rape and murder (Beard 53).

As in any morality tale, the characters serve as symbols. While in the previous story the wolf and the three pigs represented certain elements of American culture and components of a geopolitical equation, the PC version of LRRH describes a confrontation between the sexes. There is an ironic

twist in the story as the purported villain, the wolf, ends up on the positive side and the original hero, the lumberjack meets an ignominious end.

Both the Grimm version and Garner's "improved" portrayal of LRRH symbolize the position of American women. The first version represents the romantic paternalistic image of women confined to the home and in need of male protection. The Twentieth Amendment awarding women the right to vote, women's participation in the two world wars and the feminist movement's gains in the 1960's led to the demise of the traditional woman's image. The "cult of domesticity"—spawned in the colonial era—gave way to the cult of femininity as more and more women became assertive upon their rights as full participants in American society (Chafe 259). By challenging stereotypical division of labor arrangements, rejecting the notion of the "proper place of women" and gaining the right to decide upon matters involving her own body, such as abortion, the American woman began to threaten the foundations of a patriarchal society.

The new LRRH is a feminist who brazenly rejects the wolf's sexist remarks and the lumberjack's help. While Garner celebrates the awakening woman, ironically the cause of her mental, spiritual and political regeneration, feminism, contributed to the reappearance of the Little Red Riding Hood Syndrome. As radical feminists, like Andrea Dworkin argue that women are increasingly exposed to male aggression, the victimization of women becomes a sensitive issue. Antioch University's Sexual Offence Policy with guidelines projecting women as potential victims of aggression and the mass of sexual harrassment complaints flooding the courts inspired Sarah Crichton to declare: "We are not creating a society of Angry Young Women. These are Scared Little Girls." Thus Garner's LRRH as an Angry Young Woman is misplaced in a society where Scared Little Girls are in a majority (Crichton 42—44).

While in the first story the wolf represented mainstream American culture and the nation at its colonialist worst, in LRRH his character is more complex. The wolf makes sexist remarks and, as the text indicates, his "status is outside of society." On one hand he is a sexist male, but on the other he is "unhampered by rigid traditionalist notions of what was masculine or feminine."

He is the embodiment of what Richard Wasserstrom calls the "assimilationist ideal." According to this concept "people are not socialized so as to see or understand themselves or others as essentially or significantly who they were or what their lives would be like because they were either male or female" (788). The assimilationist society is the antidote to a sex-role-differentiated social organization where traditionally power is concentrated in the hands of males.

The characterization of the wolf echoes Joyce Trebilcot's notion of androgynism as well. Based on the distinction between sex and gender—the former a biological, the latter a psychosocial factor—Trebilcot recognizes the existence of poly and mono-androgynism. The mono-androgynist model is founded upon the notion of pure femininity and masculinity establishing a gender-based division of labor in the process. The poly-androgynist framework is technically a combination of male and female psychosocial characteristics (Trebilcot 794—803). The wolf follows the latter model as he on one hand devours the grandmother, committing aggression, thus displaying an allegedly male feature in the process. On the other hand he finds a sense of community with Grandma and LRRH and echoes the "feelgood I am O.K., You are O.K." philosophy of the early 1980's. Affirming PC's obsession with victimhood and the complaint mode, he also appears in a positive light as a victim of specieism, the notion of humans' alleged superiority over the other elements of the natural world.

While the Grandmother's character symbolizes the elderly in society, the story attempts to fight this group's stereotypical image and replaces the ailing senior citizen with an active mature person slaying the woodchopper. Consequently following PC's twisted logic, the true villain is the lumberjack. Not because he committed evil acts, but by his position and group affiliation as a victimizer of females and the environment.

Since the PC version of LRRH is a morality tale as well, certain conclusions about the story's message must be drawn. The tale teaches one basic lesson, the immorality and depravity of discrimination as only those characters survive unscathed which are not guilty of prejudicial acts or statements. It reinforces the nationwide obsession with victimhood and promotes such role models as the liberated feminist woman and the

physically and intellectually active mature female. The tale is also heavily influenced by cultural relativism, the notion of assigning equal value to all cultures, especially prevalent in LRRH's responses to the wolf's advances calling his sexist and offensive remarks elements of an "entirely valid worldview."

Garner's rewriting however is also the work of a master parodist incorporating the elements of satire. He virtually creates a written version of the straightman in order to increase the comic effect (Holman 484). However, in this straightman the mainstream American reader can recognize himself as his traditional assumptions of the sexist division of labor and his ageist concept of the elderly are struck down. The author, borrowing freely from Henry Beard and Christopher Cerf's *The Official Politically Correct Dictionary and Handbook*, also pokes fun at the over-sensitivity of the PC mindset. Garner employs exaggerations in order to enhance his satire as the end of the tale reminds the reader of Baron the Munchausen's tales.

The other familiar technique of satire, incongruity, is also present as certain elements of the tale are given a PC explanation. Consequently the wolf's devouring of the grandmother is explained by ideology, and the lumberjack has to die to redeem himself for being a "tree butcher" ((Beard 95).

III

While these two tales are obviously caricatured and exaggerated versions of the original, they present a reliable picture of the US. in the post-Cold War era. The PC bedtime stories' emphasis on the victim as a new role model affirms the common wisdom that societies upon reaching a sophisticated level of economic, social and cultural development in lieu of real enemies invent new ones.

It can be said that Garner provided a deconstructed version of the two folk tales. Following this philosophy's questioning of "previously unquestioned postulates of order," the author undermines the traditional

nature-culture, man-woman framework (Holman 125). In TTLP the cultural and ideological awareness of the pigs (culture) defeat the hunger and aggression (nature) of the wolf. In LRRH two females with the help of an animal eliminated Public Enemy No.1, the (white) male.

The characters of the two tales also lend themselves to the Four Senses of Interpretation (Holman 213), a quadri-partite method of analysis distinguishing between literal, allegorical, moral (tropological) and spiritual (anagogical) levels of meaning.

Consequently in TTLP the wolf is literally a carnivorous animal, allegorically the white male or the U. S. with colonizing aspirations, tropologically an example of ethnocentrism and colonialism, and anagogically is evil incarnate. His counterparts are literally domestic animals, allegorically minority cultures or nations victimized by cultural and geopolitical imperialism, morally the ideology of defending one's home and culture, and anagogically the incarnation of the good fighting a just war.

While LRRH is literally a young girl, allegorically she stands for the women of America. Tropologically she is the embodiment of feminism and presents the liberation of women on the anagogical level. The wolf literally is a predator, allegorically a victimizer and a victim, morally the embodiment of sexism and a victim of specieism, and spiritually he represents the evil consequences of victimization. The Grandmother literally is a matriarch, who allegorically stands for the fate of the elderly, morally teaches the well-known lesson of the evil of discrimination, and spiritually the victory of the victim over the victimizer. Finally the lumberjack is a (white) male forest worker, a sexist or specieist person, the chief victimizer, and the embodiment of prejudice and discrimination, respectively.

According to James Davison Hunter the current uproar over PC is an example of a cultural conflict, known as "political and social hostility rooted in different systems of moral understanding" (Bush 44). These two tales clearly illustrate the moral understanding of the PC worldview leaving no doubt that in this clash of alleged victim and victimizer the latter cannot hope for a fate better than a self-induced death or the ax of an indignant minority.

But, at the same time, one cannot forget that in the battle against extremism Garner's acerbic tongue-in-cheek humor is a reliable ally.

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LEHEL VADON

LÁSZLÓ ORSZÁGH
THE FOUNDER OF AMERICAN STUDIES IN HUNGARY

László Országh was a prominent literary historian and linguist producing outstanding scholarly works in the fields of British and American Studies. As a holder of dual doctorates—according to the Hungarian academic nomenclature a Ph.D. of linguistics and an Academic Doctor of Western European and American Literature—he was the last representative of a legendary scholarly generation able to span an entire area of Hungarian and international disciplines.

In order to meet these almost impossible demands, Országh consciously prepared himself. His readings and reviews written at the dawn of his scholarly career demonstrate a wide scope of interest.[1] As a sophomore

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[1] László Országh, "Ph. Aronstein: Das englische Renaissancedrama," *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* LIII (1929): 135—136. — László Országh, "F. Bruns: Die amerikanische Dichtung der Gegenwart," *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* LV (1931): 134. — László Országh, "L. L. Schücking: Die Familie im Puritanismus," *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* LIII (1929): 226—227. — László Országh, "Szinnyei Ferenc: Novella- és regényirodalmunk az abszolutizmus korának elején," [= The Hungarian Short Story and Fiction in the Early Years of Absolutism.] *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* LIII (1929): 205. — László Országh, "O. Walzel: Deutsche Dichtung von Gottsched bis zur Gegenwart," *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* LIV (1930): 63—64. — László Országh, "Zolnai Béla: Körmondat és tiráda," [= Béla Zolnai: Period and Tirade.] *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* LIII (1929): 206—207. — László Országh, "E. Rotfuchs: Der selbstbiographische Gehalt in Gustav Freytags Werken, bis 1885," *Egyetemes Philológiai*

college student, he recognized relatively early that a concentration and sole emphasis on the language, literature, and culture of Britain was insufficient and suggested the expansion of the scope of scholarly research to the culture of the United States as well. Therefore, he decided to complete his studies and begin research in the United States. Although his 1930 application startled many of his fellow class members and teachers, he was able to enroll at Rollins College in Florida during the 1930—1931 school year, thanks to a scholarship from the New York Institute of International Education. He studied American literature and literary history in a seminar under professor F. L. Pattee and gathered material in numerous public libraries and in the Library of Congress as well. The results of his research were summed up in his 1931—1932 doctoral dissertation, *The Development of American Literary Historiography.*[2] In 1935, in addition to passing his doctoral examinations, he was the first to publish in Hungary a work analysing the evolution of the theory of literature in the United States.

The Development of American Literary Historiography is the first publication of Országh's prolific and extensive career as an American Studies scholar. His efforts are all the more remarkable as he explored a topic rarely researched by American experts until then. His dissertation retraces the evolution of American literary history from its separation from

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Közlöny LIV (1930): 63. — László Országh, "R. C. Travelyan: Thamyris, or is there a future for poetry?," *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* LIV (1930): 53—55. — László Országh, "K. Schwedtke und R. Salewsky: Die bildende Kunst im neusprachlichen Unterricht," *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* LIII (1929): 221—222. — László Országh, "Bogyai Tamás: A művész a korai középkorban," [= Tamás Bogyai: The Artist in the Early Middle Ages.] *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* LVII (1933): 82. — László Országh, "Farkas Gyula: Románosmagyar—Románto—Romantikus," *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* LIV (1930): 44. — László Országh, "Angol könyvek az iskolai irodalomoktatásról," [= English Books on Teaching Literature in Schools.] *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* LVI (1932): 239—242. — László Országh, "H. M. Hain: My Visit to England," *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* LVII (1933): 81. — László Országh, "Vatter Ilona: A soproni német színészek története 1841-ig," [= Ilona Vatter: The History of German Acting in Sopron until 1841.] *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* LIV (1930): 45—46.

[2] László Országh, *Az amerikai irodalomtörténetírás fejlődése*, [= The Development of American Literary Historiography.] (Budapest: A Királyi magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem Angol Philológiai Intézetének kiadványai, 1935) 60 pp.

British roots to its development of a national perspective and its establishment of intellectual autonomy. Országh continued to devote his attention to the development of an independent American national literature when he returned to the topic of his doctoral dissertation in his thorough and analytical 1958 essay, *The Preponderance of National Perspective in American Literary Historiography and Criticism.*[3]

His lucid yet substantial studies, introductions, author portrayals and comprehensive essays reflected scholarly research and indicated his preparation for the writing of an extensive, wideranging work on the history of American literature. In his first significant study,[4] he analyzed Sinclair Lewis'— America's first Nobel laureate—criticism of middle class life at the time of the American Industrial Revolution, the unrestrained greed and other definitive values of the era, and the author's moderate irony and realistic, disillusioned description of everyday life. In the descriptive and analytical introductory chapter to *American Literature in the Twentieth Century,* Országh provides a sweeping historic and cultural panorama including an overarching view of the history of literature and the press, gives stringently logical analyses of extremely heterogeneous literary phenomena, adroitly sketches the main developmental trends of American literature, and presents the significant authors and literary achievements of the era.[5] The same volume includes Országh's artistically imaginative, profound, and empathic essay on one of his favorite authors, John Steinbeck.[6] In his Whitman treatise, he analyzes the human and artistic significance of this revolutionarily modern poet who in "free falling lines of free verse sang hitherto unheard songs of the new times to honor the

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[3] László Országh, "A nemzeti szempont uralomra jutása az amerikai irodalomtörténetírásban és kritikában," [= The Preponderance of National Perspective in American Literary Historiography and Criticism.] *Világirodalmi Figyelő* 1 (1958): 10—21.

[4] László Országh, "Sinclair Lewis," *Magyar Kultúra* 13—14 (1934): 7—12.

[5] László Országh, "Bevezetés a huszadik század amerikai irodalmába," [= An Introduction to American Literature in the Twentieth Century.] *Az amerikai irodalom a XX. században,* ed. László Kardos and Mihály Sükösd (Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó, 1962) 5—44.

[6] László Országh, "John Steinbeck," *Az amerikai irodalom a XX. században,* ed. László Kardos and Mihály Sükösd (Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó, 1962) 359—377.

heroes of American democracy: the laborer, the farmer, the negro, and the Indian; expounded the ideals and intellectual desires of the nation and wrote about physical love. In his poetry Whitman soared to become a prophet to lead his nation to the ideal of true democracy, to the promise land of liberty, equality and fraternity by demonstrating the strength and future greatness of his vast country".[7] In *The American Drama in the Twentieth Century,* Országh retraces the development of the genre and introduces the most significant playwrights.[8]

Not only did the 1967 publication of *The History of American Literature*[9]—a synthesis of Országh's scholarly efforts—fill a great void but it remains the first and only Hungarian language comprehensive survey of the three and a half century history of American literature. The author in his vivid and enjoyable style describes the main periods of American history, highlights the social and economic background of the nation's cultural and literary development, and provides an aesthetically refined introduction to the notable writers and their achievements. While in its form Országh's book is a work devoted to the popularization of science—thereby serving an informative purpose—the author's vast knowledge, scholarly preparedness, lucid, logical arrangement of data, reliable informational background, comprehensive bibliography, and the authentic portrayal of writers and social, cultural, and historic trends make it a significant scholarly achievement. Országh's work is an indispensable reference book for researchers, university teachers, college students, and the general public alike. "*The History of American Literature* stimulates readers' interest and inspires researchers not only by its subject's novelty in Hungary, but by the author's culturally and historically founded lucid and balanced descriptions

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[7] László Országh, afterword, *Leaves of Grass,* by Walt Whitman (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1964) 711—722.

[8] László Országh, "Az amerikai dráma a huszadik században," [= The American Drama in the Twentieth Century.] *Nagyvilág* 7 (1966): 1069—1076.

[9] László Országh, *Az amerikai irodalom története* [= The History of American Literature.] (Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó, 1967) 433 pp.

of the literary events and the concise logic of his treatment of the topic as well."[10]

The complementary volume to the *The History of American Literature,* titled *An Introduction to American Studies,*[11] is a "philological first-aid"[12] to college students, university teachers, and researchers interested in this increasingly popular discipline. Having outlined his objective and defined the scope of American Studies, Országh devoted separate chapters to American history, literature, elements of American civilization (including education, library science, cultural foundations, entertainment and public-opinion shaping factors, fine arts, music, philosophy, and religion), American English, and folklore. The two longest chapters of the *Introduction* deal with the literature of the United States and the question of American English. The book concentrates on bibliographic data providing comprehensively instructive and abundant yet critically selective information complemented by written text. While the bibliographies contain mostly works written in English, where needed the author includes the most important German, French, Italian, and Russian achievements along with the notable efforts of Hungarian scholars as well. "László Országh's *Introduction* is not only an important and welcome scholarly reference book but one of the landmarks in the history of American Studies in Hungary contributing to more systematic, profound, and thorough study of this discipline."[13]

The History of American Literature and *An Introduction to American Studies* are significant contributions to a program announced by Országh in 1965 in the *Hungarian Studies in English.* In his pamphlet-like study, *A*

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[10] Péter Egri, "Országh László irodalomtörténeti munkásságáról," [= On László Országh's Life-work in the History of Literature.] *Filológiai Tanulmányok* 2—3 (1984): 314.

[11] László Országh, *Bevezetés az amerikanisztikába* [= An Introduction to American Studies.] (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1972) 192 pp.

[12] Péter Egri, "Országh László irodalomtörténeti munkásságáról," [= On László Országh's Life-work in the History of Literature.] *Filológiai Tanulmányok* 2—3 (1984): 315. — Péter Egri, "Országh László 1907—1984," *Irodalomtörténet* 3 (1984): 793.

[13] László Kéry, rev. of *Bevezetés az amerikanisztikába,* [= An Introduction to American Studies.] by László Országh, Magyar Tudomány 7—8 (1973): 549.

Program for American Studies in Hungary[14], he pointed out the historic tradition of official neglect as one of the main obstacles to the establishment and research of the discipline. He considered the mid-century, stereotypical, traditional America-image and the widespread ignorance concerning the cultural achievements of the United States "ostrich-like behavior" and an "impermissible luxury." He argued that "the intellectual achievement of the United States became so versatile and significant in the twentieth century, and America's intellectual role is so dominant in the Western World that a refusal to research this field could adversely affect our intellectual orientation." In order to facilitate the establishment and development of American Studies and to promote research, Országh outlined the most important tasks:

1. The publication of a multi-volume abundantly detailed Hungarian language work aimed to address domestic superficiality and ignorance concerning the United States through an analysis of its historical development, political structure, economy, and society with additional emphasis on the people, language, literature, arts, and science.
2. The publication of a scholarly analysis on the history of American literature.
3. The compilation and publication of a bibliography of primary and secondary sources concerning American literature and literary criticism in Hungary.
4. A scholarly examination of Hungarian—American cultural relations with special attention to the Hungarian reception of American literature.
5. Research on Hungarian influence on American civilization.
6. The creation of an organizational framework, providing adequate financial resources and maintaining a supply line of future re-

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[14] László Országh, "Az amerikanisztika feladatai Magyarországon," [= A Program for American Studies in Hungary.] *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* II (1965): 121—126. — László Országh, "A Programme for American Studies in Hungary," *The New Hungarian Quarterly* 23 (1966): 163—167.

searchers, in order to assure the success of American Studies in Hungary.

7. The establishment of American Studies departments in Hungary as soon as possible.[15]
8. The launching of scholarship-financed research and the organization of teacher exchange programs.
9. The establishment of a reference library to promote university level teaching and research.

Not only did László Országh establish this new discipline, but he also inaugurated a new field of academic inquiry. In addition to laying out a program he turned many elements of his recommendations to reality, and the development of American Studies in Hungary depends on his intellectual and professional guidance to this day.

Országh devoted a significant portion of his scholarly activities to the analysis of Hungarian—English and Hungarian—American cultural relations.[16] His exemplary microphilological essay, *Misztótfalusi Kis and the First Hungarian Book about America,*[17] presents a thorough scholarly analysis of Increase Mather's *De Successu Evangelii apud Indos in Nova Anglia, Epistola ad cl. virum D. Johannem Leusdenum, Linguage Sanctae in Ultrajectina Academia Professorem, scripta a Crescentio Mathero, apud Bostonienses V. D. M. nec non Collegii Harvardini quod est Cantabrigiae*

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[15] I can still hear his testament-like words uttered to me during our last meeting in December 1983: "My son, do not stop the compilation of the bibliography of American literature, and when the time comes establish independent departments of American Studies." The establishment of a separate department of American Studies was always in his mind and he even thought of it when he was mortally ill. His disciples fulfilled his wish and the first department of American Studies was established on January 1, 1990, soon to be followed by departments in Debrecen and Budapest.

[16] Lehel Vadon, *Országh László* (Eger: Eszterházy Károly Tanárképző Főiskola nyomdája, 1994) 37—41.

[17] László Országh, "Misztótfalusi Kis és az első magyar könyv Amerikáról," [= Mistótfalusi Kis and the First Hungarian Book about America.] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1 (1958): 22—41. — László Országh, "A Seventeenth-Century Hungarian Translation of a Work by Increase Mather," *American Literature* 34 (1962): 94—96.

Nov-Anglorum Rectore, 1688. It is the first Hungarian publication solely devoted to America and the first Hungarian translation of an American author's work. Országh fully reconstructed the seriously damaged title page of Mather's work whose sole surviving Hungarian version provided abundant information about the author, the book's content and other valuable bibliographical data. This work is kept at the Calvinist College in Debrecen. Országh provided a letter-perfect rendition of Mather's letter, and the short preface on the back of the title page written by the Hungarian translator to inform the public about the historic background of the colonization and conversion process. His evidence showing how he proved the identity of the translator is reasonable and scientifically sound.

In his study *Literature in the Foxhole. What the American Soldiers Read,* Országh reviewed the type of books disseminated among American soldiers during World War II and demonstrated the author's interest in the sociological aspects of literature.

Országh's outstanding character and vast knowledge virtually predestined him for a life of a scholar-teacher where teaching, learning, and research always complemented each other. Following his 1947 appointment to head the Department of English at Kossuth University in Debrecen—a short politically compelled interruption notwithstanding—he served in that capacity until his retirement in 1968. During his tenure, he not only reorganized but consciously built the department. In an age when even British-oriented subjects were treated with suspicion, Országh's chalenge of contemporary political constraints broke new scholarly ground by introducing courses in American Studies, primarily with a literary focus. In order to promote the success of American Studies in Debrecen he acquired numerous literary classics and reference books for the departmental library. In addition to writing textbooks and compiling readers[18] he established a scholarly periodical, *Hungarian Studies in English.* He edited this publication for the next ten years with the express purpose of promoting the

[18] László Országh, ed., *An American Reader* (Budapest: Felsőoktatási Jegyzetellátó Vállalat, 1960) 452 pp. — László Országh, ed., *Second American Reader* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1963) 394 pp. — László Országh, *A Sketch of the History of American Literature* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1968) 124 pp.

publication of the results of English and American Studies research in Hungary.

He consciously guided several of his young, talented, and devoted students towards the field of British and American Studies in addition to directing numerous senior theses and doctoral dissertations. He established a successful working relationship with English and American universities and research institutions enabling his colleagues to participate in study trips and conferences abroad. He was instrumental in the establishment of a scholarship at Indiana University, Bloomington, where young Debrecen graduates worked for decades teaching Hungarian language and literature while performing scholarly research.

László Országh, the Father of American Studies in Hungary, made the Department of English at Kossuth University a well-known institution, not only at home but beyond our borders as well. His personal and intellectual heritage is a guiding principle for his colleagues and students to follow.

CSILLA BERTHA

TRIBUTE TO THE SCHOLAR, TEACHER AND MAN, LÁSZLÓ ORSZÁGH

Vadon Lehel: *Országh László.* Eger: Eszterházy Károly Tanárképző Főiskola Nyomdája, 1994. 93 pp.

The beauty of humanities is that they—as the name indicates—involve the whole human being; not only the intellectual but also the spiritual, moral, aesthetic spheres of the personality. To reverse it: a scholar and a teacher is truly credible only if he/she pursues the discipline with his/her whole personality; gives, apart from knowledge, a model of moral, aesthetic, humane behaviour. To pay tribute to such a person should also be a matter of total involvement, not only an intellectual evaluation but also an emotional, moral and aesthetic expression of the admiration.

Lehel Vadon's book on Professor László Országh, entitled simply: *Országh László* (Eger, 1994) is such a tribute to such a scholar. On the tenth anniversary of Prof. Országh's death his one-time student compiled two volumes: this description and evaluation of the scholarly career completed with a detailed bibliography, to be a companion volume to the festschrift, *Emlékkönyv Országh László tiszteletére* ("A Festschrift in Honour of László Országh") with essays by Országh's students and admirers.

The book *Országh László* counterbalances—as much as such a book can have the power to—the general and shameful neglect that this outstanding scholar had to suffer most of his lifetime by the authorities. One

of the greatest and most many-sided scholars of English and American literature and language in Hungary of the twentieth century, the founder of American studies in Hungary, the editor of definitive one- and two-language dictionaries (the latter of which are world-famous), one of the last polymaths with an encyclopedic knowledge, received hardly any high award from the communist leaders of Hungary whereas he was the recepient—and the only Hungarian so far—of the most prestigious honours England bestows upon non-English citizens, "Commander of the Order of the British Empire" (1979). The lack of appreciation on the part of Hungarian communist authorities is, however, to Országh's credit; he never served the political system, never hid his contempt for the stupidities, meanness and anti-intellectualism of the dictatorship, and kept criticising it with quiet but murderously sharp irony from the vantage point of the enormous superiority of his intellect and wit. No wonder that instead of awards, he received punishment: the English department which he established in 1947, at Debrecen Kossuth University was dispersed in 1950 (when learning or teaching Western languages itself was suspicious), he himself was relegated to the politically least dangerous task: editing dictionaries. One of the indicators of his moral greatness is that he made "a laboratory out of a galley-bench"—to borrow the image of another marginalized literary genius, the writer László Németh, who used it to describe his own experience of having had to earn his living by translations in the '58s and '60s. Vadon's biographical essay emphasizes how many philosophical and philological considerations, how much conscientious work, wide horizon, huge knowledge and all-embracing thinking is necessary for editing such definitive two-language (Hungarian—English and English—Hungarian) dictionaries like those of Országh.

As lexicographer, Országh served not only the learning of English but also the preservation and correct usage of his mother tongue with what he considered his chief work, editing a seven volume Hungarian dictionary, the kind which is usually written once in a century. The enormous work he undertook involved every step from putting down the theoretical considerations, principles and practical problems of compiling it to the actual checking of every single entry. What is more, Országh carried out this

hugely significant work in probably the darkest decades of Hungarian history, the Stalinist '50s, according to his own principles and insisting on choosing his own crew (partly from other neglected but highly qualified scholars),—which, in the words of one of his disciples, Tamás Magay, was in itself more than heroic.

Considered one of the greatest lexicographers in the world, Országh established a school of lexicography. Also as a lexicologist, his achievement is remarkable in tracing the English origin of part of the Hungarian vocabulary. But while the greater public knows Országh for his dictionaries, and teachers of English for his schoolbooks and English grammars, the Americanist scholar, Vadon noticably writes with the greatest enthusiasm about the Americanist, the author of not only the first history of American literature in Hungary (1967), but also of the first history of American literary-history-writing (1935) in the world. Among others Howard Mumford Jones, "one of the commanding literary historians" testifies to this: "Doubtless there exists somewhere a thorough survey of the problem of American literary history, but the only work I have seen is in Hungarian... by Országh László" (quoted by Myron Simon in his memoirs of Országh). Országh, in his book-length study of American literature gave an original, well-informed, deeply penetrating—despite its conciseness—and highly critical survey of its chief tendencies, movements and authors, always emphasizing the specially American features, the formation of national ideals and values. With his "Introduction to American Studies" (1972) and other, shorter essays on the subject Országh established American studies in Hungary, in his summarizing of the most important features of American history, literature, education, music, arts, politics, philosophy, religion, folklore and other aspects of life and thinking. Outlining the steps to be followed in introducing American studies, Országh gave directions valid even today—ones followed by many of his disciples. Vadon, in writing this scholarly biography and undertaking the editing and publication of the Festschrift expresses his respect and admiration for his mentor, so in establishing the first independent American Studies department in the country (Eger, 1990), he desired to fulfill Országh's wish to have departments of American studies, which the old scholar repeatedly

recommended and also emphatically requested in his last, "testament-like" conversation with the author.

Vadon's bias for American studies does not make him neglect the significance of Országh's work in English literature, especially his essays on Shakespeare and on the sources and development of the English novel. Neither does he forget about his researches in cultural studies, in the English—Hungarian and American—Hungarian cultural relationships, and even mentions some of the lesser-known results of those researches such as Hungarian subjects, figures, events occuring in some English Renaissance plays. With these details along with revealing that Országh's first important essay was written on a Hungarian writer, the author throws light on another side of Országh's image: that he, while doing the greatest service to spreading and improving the study of English and American culture, was in no way advocating "anglomania", a turning away from and looking down upon one's own culture—a common disease in Hungary.

For those interested in English and American studies in Hungary and in the work of this formidable scholar, Dr. Vadon's book is invaluable in summing up the scholarly career of Professor Országh grouped according to the subjects: Americanist, English scholar, cultural historian, lexicographer, lexicologist, scholar-teacher. He nevertheless, emphasizes the synthesis of these disciplines: "László Országh was the very last member of that generation of great scholars who had to cover full fields of national and international disciplines of philology" and that "he was the only scholar to gain an academic degree in two disciplines, literature and language". Országh's many-sided interest can also be seen from the conscientiously compiled and very welcome full bibliography with which Vadon completes his summary of his professor's work. All through the evaluation the author points out the precision and thoroughness of Országh's meticulous research in any subject, his enormous knowledge, the originality of his thinking and the significance of his pioneering, introductory and founding work. He successfully combines objectivity, scholarly precision and concreteness as biographer and reviewer, with personal observations and heart-felt warm memories of the onetime student, although the personal memories are

modestly relegated into the notes. He allows his voice to warm up only when speaking about the teacher and the human being.

The students and disciples of Országh are, however, mostly indebted to Lehel Vadon for expressing, if not on their behalf, then instead of them, their respect and admiration with this book and for evoking the well-known figure of the scholar, the teacher and the man whose personality-forming power few could or wanted to escape. The carefully selected photos also help to bring back to life some of those well-known expressions that his students used to look at first with fear, then with awe, admiration and respectful affection. For it was a great privilege to be the student of this grand old man who not only inspired respect for his rare intelligence, knowledge, competence, but who also cast a spell on those listening to him. Who was a model of moral steadfastness and integrity, of independent spirit, of a life-long commitment to work. A model of distinguished elegance and style in physical appearance as well as in speaking—his spoken sentences could have been published as they were, both in English and in Hungarian. "A Hungarian gentleman in the Kádár-regime", when gentlemanly values were not appreciated, even less encouraged—as one of the contributors to the Festschrift, Gyula Kodolányi calls him. A model of unappeasable intellectual curiosity, who, for instance, asked his student who happened to be in Bretagne, specific questions about such little-known treasures as the unique many-figured carved calvaries there, although he already knew more about them than the natives. A truly old-fashioned professor, dignified, fearfully strict and demanding in grading and judging but deeply humane, understanding and helpful, even down to such simple gestures as, for example when a student turned up at the oral examination with a swollen tooth, he immediately dug out a painkiller and brought it and a glass of water to her before starting the exam. Who helped many of his students even years after they graduated, not only with advice and encouragement but also by assigning them tasks, such as, for instance, writing articles for the Encyclopedia of World Literature (for which he did extensive editing work), thus giving them self-confidence enough to begin scholarly research and writing on their own.

For all of us who knew him and/or his work, "Országh's life is an allegory of what, over the centuries, has made Hungary pre-eminent for its creativity and progress in times when hardly more than survival appeared possible" (Myron Simon). For those of us fortunate enough to have been his students and to have known him more closely, he was, in addition, a helpful, benign, inspiring father-figure, whose Debrecen office and Budapest apartment, in Vadon's words, was a "chapel which we often entered awkwardly and full of uncertainties but which we always left appeased, hopeful and recharged."

This is why it is not only with intellectual curiosity that one opens Lehel Vadon's book on László Országh but also with personal joy, warm memories and gratitude. Gratitude on the one hand, for the privilege of having known this exceptional personality and, on the other, to the author for paying this homáge, which not only in its contents but also in its simple elegance of appearance—silver letters on a dark blue cover—is worthy of the subject of the tribute.

JOHN C. CHALBERG

DINESH D'SOUZA: *ILLIBERAL EDUCATION: THE POLITICS OF RACE AND SEX ON CAMPUS.*

The Free Press, 1991. 319 pp.

Reform in higher education is not the exclusive province of countries formerly within the sphere of the former Soviet Union. In the United States reform-minded, even revolutionary, changes are well underway, perhaps already imbedded in, some universities. In fact, such changes are a part of the fabric of academic life in elite American universities, universities which reformers in central and Eastern Europe might be inclined to employ as models for carrying out their own agendas for change in higher education. Harvard, Stanford, Duke, Michigan, Yale, and the University of California at Berkeley. All are among the elite of the elite universities in the United States. Any educational reformer in Hungary, Poland, or Czechoslovakia could be excused for being automatically tempted to look to them for academic leadership. But if Dinesh D'Souza is even partially correct, such temptations ought to be universally resisted.

A native of India and a 1983 graduate of Dartmouth College, D'Souza is not far removed from his days as an American undergraduate. Despite his relative youth, he has already cultivated a deep interest in the condition of higher education in the United States—and a reputation for clear thinking in some very muddy ideological waters.

In prose that belies his evidence D'Souza reveals what ideology has wrought in the name of what was once "liberal education." Calmly,

rationally, and yet without understatement, he assumes the pose of a Paul Revere in the past tense and without exclamation points: "The barbarians have arrived, the barbarians have arrived," he repeats and repeats.

And just who are these barbarians? Some are young. Others are not so young. Some wear T-shirts and angry faces. Others disguise themselves behind three-piece suits and nervous, if smiling, faces. Some occupy entire buildings. Others occupy over-sized desks. Some do not know any better; others should. And all claim to be well-intentioned to a fault.

The result of all these good intentions is an unspoken—and unlikely—alliance between highly organized cadres of self-styled campus "activists" and usually reactive ad hoc committees of university faculty and administrators, more than a few of whom were once themselves campus "activists" of another era, specifically the 1960s.

D'Souza finds no conspiracy in any of this. Thankfully, his mind refuses to work that way. But he does find policies in place with which he is in fundamental disagreement, as well as a lot of irony sprouting among the hardy ivy.

It is true that the American academy has become over-populated with "tenured radicals" (to borrow from the title of a recent book on the state of American higher education). It is also true that these radicals operate on the basis of political agendas that extend well beyond the walls of American universities. And it is finally the case that many of these radicals are either left-over from the 1960s or desire to revive some version of radicalism, whether Marxist, feminist or otherwise, for the 1990s.

In an irony that extends beyond D'Souza's purposes, it is both maddening and laughable to note that Marxism, having been expelled from the east, has found a haven in the academies of the west. If for no other reason than that, educational reformers in what was once the Soviet sphere ought to look elsewhere for models of openness and true intellectual exploration and diversity.

In D'Souza's field of vision it is both ironic and menacing that first amendment freedoms do not draw the radicals of the 1990s to the barricades with the same fervor that animated the radicals of the 1960s. Nearly thirty years ago California-Berkeley graduate student Mario Savio

and others of similar persuasion may have defined freedom of speech to mean the right to "talk dirty" in public. But they also advertised themselves as individuals who were quite seriously interested in the free and open exchange of ideas. At least that seemed to be the case when the "Free Speech Movement" was young and innocent—and (by today's radical standards) foolish.

There will surely be conservatives (in the American sense of that term, meaning traditionalists and capitalists of all varieties, rather than unrepentant Marxists of the erstwhile Soviet variety), who will read this book, shudder at its contents, and agree with both its perspective and its program for reform. Those same conservatives, if that had at least reached adulthood and conservatism in time to, say, choose between Kennedy and Nixon, probably condemned the "Free Speech Movement" in its infancy. Now, however, they can lust for the "good old days" when American radicals were naive enough to actually believe in the market place of ideas.

No doubt Dinesh D'Souza will be accused of pursuing a political—and conservative—agenda of his own. A former editor of the notorious (by leftist standards) *Dartmouth Review*, D'Souza is at least a "fellow traveler," if not a "card-carrying" member of the American conservative movement. But *Illiberal Education* is not a latter-day Popular Front manifesto for the American right. He realizes that the battle he has entered into will inevitably be political, but his ultimate goal is the de-politicization of the American university. In that sense, his agenda is very similar to that of educational reformers in Central and Eastern Europe.

Having been denied power virtually anywhere else in American society, the left, especially the hard left, has taken refuge in the university. Having been willing to meet the enemy on his own ground, D'Souza has the decency—and the wit—to give his enemies a fair hearing—and sufficient rope with which to hang themselves.

His plan of action was to interview ordinary students and activists students, apolitical faculty and highly political faculty, weak-kneed administrators, well-intentioned administrators, and blatantly political administrators. Representatives from each category are provided enough printed space in which to state, unadorned, his or her case. D'Souza offers

probing questions and telling rejoinders, but no advocate of "illiberal education" should have reason to feel that his or her views were not liberally and fairly (and fatally?) aired.

The issues that D'Souza explores can be grouped as follows: the baneful effects of affirmative action admissions policies (at Berkeley), the battles over a core curriculum (at Stanford), efforts to limit on campus free speech (at Michigan), varieties of racism (at Michigan and Howard Universities), the impact of politicized faculty hiring (at Duke), and what he calls the "tyranny of the minority" (at Harvard).

Each chapter opens with an episode and expands to a history of the policy under review. Included within the history is a defense of the policy (in the words of its defenders) and a critique of the same (either by D'Souza or by an inhabitant of the academy, usually an undergraduate who willing to talk honestly with him, occasionally a similarly persuaded faculty member, and infrequently an incautious administrator).

For example, one Yat-pang Au was rejected for admission to the Berkeley class of 1991, despite test scores which placed him in the 98th percentile nationally and which ranked him higher than fifty percent of those freshmen who did manage to gain admission to Berkeley in the fall of 1987. What was the problem? Questionable recommendations? No. A dearth of extra-curricular activities or community service in his high school portfolio? No. The problem was race. Yat-pang Au was denied admission to the University of California-Berkeley because he is an Asian-American.

Now Berkeley is the jewel of the California state system. Historically, only excellent students qualify for admission. "Merit" is an abused term in American society, but Berkeley had always taken pride in adhering to the principle of merit admission. It still claims to do so, but "merit" at Berkeley today has a slightly different meaning and a thoroughly different result. Under the leadership of Chancellor Ira Heyman the university decided to use merit criteria to measure differences in academic preparation and test scores only *within* racial groups.

In sum, Au was a victim of an unpublicized, but nonetheless real, affirmative action quota system. Once again irony, or, in D'Souza's view, "unjust irony," intrudes. Quotas were initially established to increase the

number of blacks and Hispanics at Berkeley. But those same quotas have in effect restricted the number of Asian-Americans who are able to enter the university. Intended as instruments of inclusion, quotas at Berkeley have functioned as "instruments of exclusion."

When confronted with evidence of discrimination (in a law suit brought by the Au family) Berkeley officials initially denied allegations about quotas. After nearly two years of dissembling Chancellor Heyman admitted to committing the ultimate American political sin: "insensivity." But he refused, no doubt in the name of sensitivity, to abandon the official university goal of racially proportional (to the general California population) representation in the Berkeley student body.

The individual story of Yat-pang Au did have a happy ending. He was admitted to the junior class in the fall of 1989, but only after great political and legal pressure from the Asian-American community of California.

However, too often there is no happy ending for the intended beneficiaries of affirmative action. In their scramble to recruit sufficient numbers of blacks and Hispanics, institutions such as Berkeley are forced to admit some students who are not prepared to compete with many of their classmates, especially those Asians and whites who ranked *even higher* than young Au. The result is a tragically high dropout rate among black and Hispanic students who are bright and ambitious, but who, for whatever reason, who were not ready for Berkeley-level competition and who would have been better served by attending a less demanding university.

Of course, Berkeley comes equipped with a full complement of remedial programs to assist students in need. But this often compounds the problem, notes D'Souza. Time invested in "catch-up" education is time away from the work at hand. As a result, such students often end up even further behind, thereby increasing their chances of failure rather than of success.

Despite the obvious deficiencies of affirmative action, Berkeley-style, D'Souza was easily able to find proponents of the system. One Melanie Lewis, a "vivacious" black undergraduate (with test scores markedly lower than Au's) supports preferential treatment for blacks: "I am oppressed, I will always be oppressed. Yes, I came from a good family and an economically stable background. But my race was still deprived, and that will always live

with me." Secure in her status as a permament victim of American white racism, Lewis readily dismissed the plight of Yat-pang Au: "If I were him I wouldn't want to come here. I wouldn't fight so hard to go somewhere that didn't want me."

When reminded of the experience of James Meredith, who in 1962 required a panoply of U.S. federal marshals to secure his admission to a University of Mississippi "that didn't want" him, Lewis praised the fortitude of Meredith, but missed the irony. In truth, James Meredith and Yat-pang Au are genuine victims of different versions of American racism. Melanie Lewis is not. In sum, D'Souza sees her as a living, if "unwitting" argument against affirmative action: because Lewis is convinced that she will always be opporessed, her socioeconomic background notwithstanding, no amount of preferential treatment could possibly benefit her—or relieve her of her self-imposed victimhood.

Despite the Sisyphean nature of their task, Berkeley administrators seem undaunted. One Bud Travers, a "dapper middle-aged senior official" and one of the "main architects of its admissions policies," is not ready to surrender to fairness—and reality: certain minorities are entitled to preferential treatment because "Berkeley is a state school, and must serve the various constituencies in the state." Democracy dictates that "all groups should be represented." But does democracy dictate group treatment according to a preordained proportional scheme? Yes, because society must atone for "past and present discrimination." The result is an Orwellian world of official discrimination undertaken in the name of avoiding discrimination.

D'Souza describes Travers as "uncomfortable" about denying slots to deserving Asian (and white) applicants, but in the end he is unbending: preferential treatment is his preference, because social justice must prevail over individual rights. D'Souza is rightly non-plussed. What could be more democratic than the ascendancy of individual merit and the assertion of individual rights over group rights?

Others question the democratic intent—and content—of standardized tests. An official of the NAACP told D'Souza that such instruments have been used "from the cradle to the grave to select, reject, stratify, classify, and sort people." More specifically, the charge is advanced that the

questions themselves are loaded against black students. D'Souza is not convinced. In the first place, reliable evidence suggests that uniform national aptitude tests are the best predictors of college performance, especially in this era of high school "grade inflation." Secondly, attempts to make the individual questions "more comprehensible to blacks" inevitably result in stereotyping blacks as products of ghetto environments.

Finally, irony once again intrudes. National aptitude tests were introduced in the United States in the 1920s precisely because of discriminatory admissions policies. Jews, Catholics, and blacks, among others, complained of rejection by universities interested in admitting only WASPs (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants) and well-to-do WASPs at that. To eliminate, or at least to tone down, such bias, the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) was developed and implemented.

D'Souza's reference to WASP favoritism leads to a single flaw in his argument and, no doubt, to the reason he used a public, rather than private, university to make what is generally a valid point. Private colleges and universities have long been accused—and properly so—of discriminating in favor of students who manage to qualify for admission through no merit of their own beyond accident of birth. Either children of wealth or children of alumni, they are the beneficiaries of an older, more genteel, form of preferential treatment. D'Souza is correct to elevate merit; but he is mistaken if he thinks—or pretends—that pure merit was once the sole yardstick for admission to all elite universities in the United States—public or private.

But the general insidiousness of "illiberal education" does not discriminate between public and private universities. Politicized curricula, official and unofficial codes of censorship, and racial segregation can be found at any of the universities on his select list. Here again irony pokes its way to the surface. This time, however, the irony is mine, not D'Souza's. Just as universities in Central and Eastern Europe begin the laborious, but necessary, process of de-politicizing everything from admissions policies to curricula to classroom and campus behavior, certain influential American universities move to politicize the same three areas of academic life.

More distressing than the conscious politicization on the part of individual faculty and students is the almost naive refusal of supposedly powerful administrators to see just what is going on under their collective noses. Their blindness, of course, is not total. They see what they want to see. And they see without possessing any vision whatsoever. At least that is true for the typical university administrator, who tends to be non-ideological and career-minded. Their expertise may once have been confined to scholarly pursuits. But their elevation to university administration has converted many of them into experts on either public relations or crisis management—or both. Rather than concede that they discriminate on the basis of race in admitting students, they either deny the charge—or disguise it as "affirmative action." Rather than face accusations of, horrors, "insensitivity" or, horror of horrors, "racism," they reveal themselves to be the most sensitive of racists.

D'Souza's roguish gallery of university administrators fall into two general categories: radicalized former faculty members who pursue a political, usually feminist agenda; and professional bureaucrats who are constantly being pursued by campus radicals, whether students or faculty. It is the latter group which D'Souza estimates to be in the distinct majority.

Two examples of their power ought to make his point. In response to undergraduate humor with a clearly racist tone the University of Michigan developed a broad censorship code which definitely abridged the first amendment in the name of eliminating not only racist, sexist, and homophobic speech, but gestures as well. D'Souza is not about to condone racially or sexually derogatory language, humorously intended or not. But he does dismiss much of it as sophomoric, documents that some of it has been created by "persecuted" minorities in search of a platform, and decrees that a lot of it is traceable to policies of preferential treatment themselves.

Here D'Souza is on very controversial ground. Citing polling evidence which suggests white racism has decreased in the general culture, he concludes that instances of such racism on American campuses are primarily a reaction to official policies of reverse racism. Liberals have a slightly different explanation: Ronald Reagan. Offering a version of the

"devil made me do it" excuse, they contend that the presence of this conservative in the White House unleashed a mini-torrent of long suppressed, but suddenly sanctioned, racism. D'Souza is not convinced. Why, he wonders, have northern campuses been the scene of most of the racial incidents of recent years? Is the liberal north a myth? No, in fact it is to blame. Liberal administrators who practice reverse racism through discriminatory admissions and the sanctioning of black student unions are to blame. So are those administrators who resort to a double standard when it comes to handling racial incidents on campus: white action, violent or otherwise, against blacks is prosecuted; black action, violent or otherwise, against whites is either ignored or covered up.

Who is correct, D'Souza or his liberal critics? The question is a tricky one, and its resolution is ultimately unquantifiable. But the impressionistic evidence does favor D'Souza. It seems less likely that a reservoir of pent-up white racism was released by Ronald Reagan than that individual students on individual campuses are quite aware of—and angrily responding to—the reality around them. To be sure, D'Souza does not deny that white racism exists in the hearts and souls of countless American students. But he refuses to flinch from the presence of black racism on American campuses (even though its apologists insist that only white people can be racists, because only white people hold power in America). And he wants to force countless university administrators to concede that their racially-inspired (if more "sensitive") decisions have resulted first, in reverse racism, second, in a white backlash, and finally, in more racially divided universities than might otherwise have been the case.

A second example of administrative cowardice—and of racism masquerading as senstivity—concerns Harvard University. On February 9, 1988, social historian Stephan Thernstrom was "absolutely stunned" to learn that he stood accused of "racial insenstivity." Though a proponent of traditional liberalism and of the new social history (which is the history of common people, rather than their kings or presidents), Thernstrom could not be labeled even the mildest of neo-conservatives. What, then, was the charge against him. In a class on the history of American ethnic groups he had allegedly argued that Jim Crow laws (which imposed formal racial

segregation in the late 19th century) were "beneficial." What was worse, he had "read aloud from white planatation journals" that painted a "benevolent" picture of slavery.

At stake in the ensuing war of words, therefore, was not just the reputation of a single professor, but the health of academic freedom in American higher education. And a brief war there was. But it was one from which the administration of Harvard University fled. Left to fight essentially alone, Professor Thernstrom charged his student accusers with behaving as "McCarthyites of the left." Just as Senator Joseph McCarthy had had a chilling effect on American dissent in the early 1950s, so were these students intent on limiting free expression in the late 1980s. Granted, in his heyday Senator McCarthy was a much more powerful figure than these unelected undergraduates, but the desire to intimate by innuendo and outright falsehood was distressingly the same. The drive to enforce an acceptable orthodoxy was also quite similar. And so was the ideological motive, even if this time its practitioners happened to reside on the left wing of the political spectrum.

Thernstrom did plead guilty to quoting from planters' journals: "It is essential for young people to hear what justifications the slave owners supplied for their actions." He also conceded that he had discussed the segregation legislation in question, but maintained that he had "simply described the effects of these laws and (had) to assume that it (was) the content of the laws that the students found hurtful."

The result of the entire episode was neither the dismissal nor the resignation of Professor Thernstrom. Harvard did not lose a valued and productive faculty member. But Harvard and its students are poorer nonetheless. Stephan Thernstrom has decided not to teach his academic specialty for the foreseeable future: "It just isn't worth it. Professors who teach race issues encounter such a culture of hostility, among some students, that some of these questions are simply not teachable anymore, at least not in an honest, critical way."

On reflection, Thernstrom harbors no ill-will against his student accusers. But he remains angry with his university's administration: "I felt like a rape victim, and yet the silence of the administration seemed to give

the benefit of the doubt to the students who attacked me...I could not even defend myself, because the charge of racism or racial insenstivity is ultimately unanswerable."

Exactly what did the Harvard administration do or not do? Dean of the Faculty Michael Spence refused to discipline anyone, but was moved to praise Thernstrom's accusers as "judicious and fair" because they had followed university grievance procedures. Harvard President Derek Bok did concede that Thernstrom had a right to teach as he wished, but cautioned that Harvard professors should be aware of "possible insensitivity" in their lectures.

D'Souza continues with a litany of examples of what he calls the "tyranny of the minority," which has invaded American higher education and against which too many university administrators stand fearful and mute. Genuine scholars in Central and Eastern Europe universities know very well what can happen when tyrants gain control of what should be citadels of truth and its objective pursuit. If anyone has anything to teach those on the other side of what was the Iron Curtain, it is not those who are about the business of transforming American higher education in the name of sensitivity and diversity, but rather those who have been victimized by tyrants, "sensitive" or otherwise, and their deafeningly silent accomplices in bureaucracies everywhere.

The havoc created by these tyrants goes well beyond a stunned liberal professor here and there. That Stephan Thernstrom no longer teaches the history of American ethnic groups at Harvard is, I suppose, a victory of sorts for the sensitivity police. But it is a minor victory compared with entire curricula stripped of meaning by deconstructionists or loaded with meaning by the ideologues of diversity. On the subject of the challenge to the traditional core curriculum D'Souza offers two telling points: there are non-western and non-white male authors who ought to be added to any educated person's definition of the canon; but those who propose such additions are often not interested in great literature or reflective discourse.

Led by the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Stanford University students chant "Hey, hey, ho, ho, western culture's got to go." Led by Clayborne Carson, professor of Afro-American history and editor of the Martin Luther

King papers, Stanford has eliminated its western-oriented great books curriculum and replaced it with a new set of required courses on "Culture, Ideas, and values" (or CIV, which may have been some administrator's idea of lulling the alumni into thinking that this was just another version of what was once called "western civ"). Carson contends that there is "something inherently anti-intellectual about...an educational institution establishing a canon." If so, wonders D'Souza, why not jettison any notion of a required curriculum, rather than replace the western culture emphasis with a multicultural requirement? But then Stanford students might not become acquainted with an oral history called *I. Rigoberta: An Indian Woman in Guatemala.* In the name of diversity, the translator's introduction informs students that Rigoberta "speaks for all the Indians of the American continent." And just what does she have to say? That feminism, socialism, and Marxism represent the way and the truth for her and for "all Indians of the American continent." So much for the new diversity.

D'Souza rightly prefers a different brand of diversity, namely diversity of the mind. University leaders at Stanford, Harvard, etc., assume the "self-evident virtues of diversity," but D'Souza thinks otherwise: "Universities such as Brandeis, Notre Dame, and Mount Holyoke, which were founded on principles of religious or gender homogeneity, still manage to provide an excellent education." For the final time, irony claims our attention. These three universities, which are grounded in old orthodoxies, refuse to promote a curriculum that is politically orthodox and, therefore, continue to produce students who have at least a chance of achieving intellectual independence.

But whether the classroom or coffeehouse is at Brandeis or Berkeley. D'Souza is overwhelmed by the homogeneity, not the diversity of intellectual opinion. Within the student body of his Bombay high school were monarchists, liberals, communists, Fabian socialists, agrarians, theocrats, to name a few. Within American universities are students, the vast majority of whom "display striking agreement on all the basic questions of life." Moreover, those same students tend to regard anyone with a firmly held idea as at worst "dangerously dogmatic" and at best in violation of the "social etiquette of tolerance."

Given that intellectually drab picture of the American university, one might think that Dinesh D'Souza would praise the intensity and conviction of the campus radicals whose activities he has chronicled and whose ideas he explores in order to deplore. In fairness, D'Souza does not object to the presence of Marxists, paleo or neo, within any faculty. Nor does he wish to ban feminists from the world of scholarly inquiry or even from a campus picket line. He is not at all opposed to unconventional ideas; what he is opposed to is enforced dogmatism, whether the issue is curricular reform, faculty hiring or freedom of speech. And he firmly rejects the notion that mandated racial diversity on the college campus will eventually create true intellectual diversity.

Having roundly criticized what passes for reform within the American academy, D'Souza offers his own "modest proposals," which he prefaces with a few guiding principles. In the first place the university ought to be an intellectual community, and "no community can be built on the basis of preferential treatment and double standards." According to D'Souza, a liberal education is "education for rulers"; and since every citizen is a ruler in a democracy, "liberal education is consistent with democracy." So is the notion of treating people as individuals rather than as members of warring groups. Moreover, both democracy and liberal education presume that issues should be settled "in terms of idealism, not interest; in terms of right, not force." Finally, D'Souza agrees that liberal education in America must mean global education. "Provincialism has always been the enemy of that broad-minded outlook which is the very essence of liberal learning." And provincialism he finds aplenty, especially in the ghetto-ized enclaves which claim to be hot-houses of campus revolution.

With these principles in mind, D'Souza argues for the retention of preferential treatment in admissiones, so long as the criteria is based on proven "socioeconomic," rather than presumed "racial disadvantage." Therefore, "no longer will a black or Hispanic doctor's son...receive preference over the daughter of an Appalachian coal miner or a Vietnamese street vendor."

Secondly, D'Souza wants universities to discourage campus-wide "self-segregation" (read provincialism). No group which is racially separatist

ought to be recognized or funded by the university. This would mean no Black Student Association. But it might well mean a W.E.B. DuBois Society based on the ideas and writings of the black Marxist author. University-funded groups should be organized on the basis of "intellectual and cultural interests, not skin color or sexual proclivity."

Finally, universities ought to devise required freshmen courses which are grounded in the classics, both western and non-western. Paul Robeson, the black American actor and fellow traveler with communism, recalled that his father took him "page by page through Virgil and Homer." The result was a "love of learning, a ceaseless quest for truth in all its fulness..." That Robeson's quest also led him to embrace communism may or may not have had anything to do with his introduction to the classics. In any event, D'Souza is not worried. Then again, perhaps he should be. Students can be mightily perverse creatures. If reading Homer contributed to the radicalization of Paul Robeson, then reading John Stuart Mill might have a similar effect on future generations of students. For that matter, "traveling with Rigoberta" might lead her readers to reject Marxism totally. Indoctrination seldom works the way that the tyrants intend. Once again this is a lesson that the east might teach the west.

Still, whether D'Souza is worried or unworried about the intended—or unintended—consequences of his proposals is not the important issue. His larger point is both simple and correct: efforts at indoctrination have no legitimate place in the academy. Here he has much to teach the increasingly politicized universities of the west and little to offer the leaders of universities in Central and Eastern Europe which are currently about the business of recovering from the "tyranny of the minority" long imposed on them.

DAVIS D. JOYCE

D. W. MEINIG: *THE SHAPING OF AMERICA: A GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE ON 500 YEARS OF HISTORY. VOLUME 2: CONTINENTAL AMERICA, 1800—1867.*

Yale University Press, 1993. 636 pp.

Eric Foner, reviewing Howard Zinn's important 1980 book, *A People's History of the United States*, said that it involved "a reversal of perspective, a reshuffling of heroes and villains. The book bears the same relation to traditional texts as a photographic negative does to a print: the areas of darkness and light have been reversed." Meinig's work, while it basically should not be compared to Zinn's in any other way, is like it in the sense that it grabs you, shakes you, makes you think. Both the first volume, *Atlantic America* (1492—1800), published in 1986, and this volume, *Continental America*, did that for me—indeed, made me re-think major portions of the very American history that I am not only familiar with but have been teaching for a quarter of a century. Such books are too rare.

Meinig is Maxwell Research Professor of Geography at Syracuse University (New York). Like many authors of such multi-volume works, he underestimated the number of pages he would need for his task; he now projects two additional volumes: *Transcontinental America, 1850—1915,* which he assures us is now "in preparation," and *Global America, 1915—1992.*

Just what does a geographical perspective on history entail? To begin, it should be noted that it entails an interdisciplinary approach (history/geography) which should have a great deal of appeal for people in American Studies. It is historical geography. It is not history. It is not geography. It is both. And more.

To flesh this out a bit, what does Meinig say about his approach? Not enough, unfortunately, as he made a decision not to repeat, from his first volume, his "succinct statement of ... views on the nature of geography and history, relationships between these fields, and a few basic geographic principles that inform this entire project." In that volume, he had written: "Geography is not just a physical stage for the historical drama, nor just a set of facts about areas of the earth; it is a special way of looking at the world." Clearly, Meinig is not a crude geographical determinist; he emphasized that "by *geographic* character, structure, and system," he meant not "the determination of history by the fundament of nature" but rather "the human creation of places and of networks of relationships among them."

If Meinig's approach still seems a bit vague, it should help to describe the book itself. *Continental America* consists of four parts: "Extension: The Creation of a Continental Empire," "Expansion: The Growth of a Continental Nation," "Tension: The Sundering of a Federation," and "Context: The United States in North America circa 1867." The four parts are very uneven in length: "Extension" and "Expansion" cover the mass of the book with just over 200 pages each; "Tension" is only about half that; and "Context," really just a conclusion, is only about 25 pages. Each part begins with a "Prologue," briefly but brilliantly introducing what is to come. Meinig includes an extensive bibliography. And, as might be expected in such a work, illustrations play a major role; there are 86 of them, of which some will be mentioned later.

As an example of Meinig's prologues, here is the one for the first part, "Expansion," in its entirety:

> The United States began in a spacious frame—the world's largest republic, obviously rich in potential if as yet modest in

development. And just twenty years after its formal independence, it was, at a single stroke [the Louisiana Purchase], *doubled* in area. During the next fifty years an even greater expanse of territory was added [primarily the Mexican Cession at the end of the Mexican War] so that by midcentury the United States was more than *three* times its original size.

The creation of the outer framework of the Republic is a geographical topic worthy of close analysis and speculative reflection. However "natural" and matter-of-fact this broad, compact, almost symmetrical transcontinental belt of territory must seem after all these years, no one ever envisioned exactly that extent and shape for the nation during this era of expansion; no far-sighted statesman ever sketched that geographical design on the map as the objective of national policy.

We are concerned with the various geographical designs that were put forth during each episode and stage of that history, with what the territorial issues were, what alternatives were considered, and why the United States did come to have the particular outline it eventually obtained. We are also concerned not simply with the setting of exact boundaries but with the creation of broad borderlands. While a sequence of gigantic extensions shifted the western limits of the United States from the Great River to the crest of the Great Mountains to the shores of the Great Ocean, we will be dealing not simply with the Westward Movement, so famous in our national history and mythology, but more accurately, with a powerful Outward Movement that ramified deeply into every neighboring society. And while we will not, in this part, focus closely on the actual expansion of the "American" people, we will pay attention to those other peoples who got caught in the path of that expansion through these successive extensions of American jurisdiction. Having established the outer bounds of the United States, we will then be ready to look more closely at the

momentous geographical changes taking place within this expanding structure during these years.

Meinig proceeds to cover in that part such familiar topics as the Louisiana Purchase, Indian removal, Oregon, and Texas and the Mexican War, but always with a fresh perspective.

On the War of 1812, for example, he chooses to emphasize the Canadian viewpoint. How many Americans are aware that the famous British invasion of Washington, D. C., was in direct retaliation for the American looting and burning of York a short time before? And if the Americans were able to rationalize a victory in that war, certainly the Canadians could more readily proclaim victory: "They could also breathe a great sigh of relief that they had not been conquered and forcibly incorporated into the body of their aggressive, volatile, republican neighbor."

Indian removal, says Meinig, involved a "decision to establish an Indian America and a White America;" it was "a kind of geographical social engineering."

Meinig quotes traditional historian of American expansion Frederick Merk about the Oregon settlement at the Forty-ninth parallel as "the boundary that the finger of nature and the finger of history pointed out," then continues skeptically: "As for the first, it is difficult for a geographer to discern 'the finger of nature' ... in a geometric line drawn straight across great mountains and rivers and across the human systems adapted to those gross lineaments of nature. As for 'the finger of history,' it is true that the United States kept its 'finger' pointed firmly along the Forty-ninth parallel, but it must also be concluded that it thereby achieved a geopolitical victory that its historical geographical position could hardly justify. ..." "Manifest Destiny," it would seem, the phrase used by Americans of that generation to justify their expansion, was neither "manifest" nor "destined"!

Meinig is perhaps at his best in discussing Texas and the Mexican War; two of his earlier books were *Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographical Change, 1600—1970* and *Imperial Texas: An Interpretive Essay in Cultural Geography.* Here he writes:

> The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo [which ended the war with Mexico] involved a variety of issues between the two parties (land claims, indemnifications, and so on), but geography was the crux of the matter. This war began over disputed territories, the main objectives—of both sides—had always been defined in terms of specific territories, and at each stage of the war as their armies ranged across much of the Mexican nation and their warships blockaded its harbors, American leaders pored over maps to consider how big a bite to take out of their victim. It is difficult to appreciate the immense geographical scope and portent of those discussions. We have lived so long with the results and, as with the Oregon dispute, the outcome has been so commonly represented as the logical, more or less inevitable—even equitable (on the grounds that corrupt, chaotic Mexico did not deserve to rule those lands)—result of American development that it is useful to consider the geography of this great alteration with care.

Sometimes Meinig will write a sentence that will surely make many American readers squirm, as: "The Americans were of course acting with that luxury of choice given to a powerful aggressor that has beaten a weak neighbor into submission."

Indeed, Meinig's analysis of American imperialism in general, a central theme of his work, will prove discomforting to many Americans. As he notes, "rarely did anyone speak of the United States as an empire in the old generic sense of a geopolitical structure exhibiting the coercive dominance of one people over other, captive, peoples." And he notes correctly that this tendency to call it "imperialism" when another country does it but something else, like "Manifest Destiny," when America does it, is "still part of the national mythology." But how any intelligent reader could read Meinig's pages on "Empire: The Geopolitical Management of Captive Peoples" and deny that the United States of America was an imperial power

is beyond this reviewer. (Some, however, might want to take issue with his contention that it was an "unusually severe" one.)

We cannot continue to look at subsequent parts of *Continental America* at such length. Suffice it to say that in part two, "Expansion," Meinig turns his focus inward to look at such topics as the filling in of the continent through westward expansion, the development of a transportation network, and the development of cities and industries.

How, one might understandably wonder, could Meinig possibly have anything fresh to say about Frederick Jackson Turner's much used, abused, debated, and for many relegated frontier thesis? But his modestly-described "geographic assessment" of Turner's "notoriously elusive concept" is more than just fresh—it is brilliant. At its heart are two of Meinig's 86 illustrations: one a two-page diagram of the "Classic Turnerian Pattern" of the six stages from "savagery" to "civilization" (wilderness, trader's frontier, rancher's frontier, farmer's frontier, intensive agriculture, and city and factory); and the other a two-page diagram presenting "An Alternative Pattern: American System of Regional Development" from "North American Traditional System" to "Modern World System" (Indian society, imperial frontier, mercantile frontier, speculative frontier, shakeout and selective growth, and toward consolidation). Describing the illustrations with words does not do them justice—that is why they are illustrations—they need to be read, studied, thought about. Some might not agree with the reviewer for the History Book Club when it offered Meinig's volume to its readers that Turner's model was "rendered all but useless for explanatory or even descriptive purposes," but few will differ that Meinig offers "a sophisticated, coherent alternative."

While commenting on Meinig's illustrations, it should be noted that some are maps, which are brilliant, and some are pictures, which do not work as well, in part because some readers will need a magnifying glass to see the features to which Meinig calls our attention.

Meinig is remarkably sensitive and insightful in his historical/geographical perspective on the African American presence. "Just as the severity of the United States as an imperial society is attested by the common plight of the American Indians," he writes, "so the severe se-

lectivity of the United States as a national society is attested by the chronic plight of American Blacks."

Many readers will probably feel that Meinig does not contribute as many new insights in part three, "Tension." Still, it is interesting that from his historical/geographical perspective, slavery is still central in understanding America's mid-19th century crisis; so, not surprisingly, is geography, though neither "caused" the war, he insists. "The Civil War remains the great watershed in American history," he writes. "We tend to be so traumatized by that awesome bloodletting that the insistent question is always: Why did the Union fail? But a broader perspective on such geopolitical matters might first pose the question: How could it have held together for so long under such dynamic circumstances? For the rapidity and scale of expansion of the American federation during the first half of the nineteenth century were, and remain, unprecedented in world political history." Thus the United States had become "a great paradox: a growing, prospering, ever-expanding federation was a turbulent, weakening, and foundering federation."

Finally, Meinig explains 1867 as his cut-off point for this volume by reference to the Reconstruction Act of 1867 (and, in a totally different context, the purchase of Alaska), and concludes: "To trace the reintegration of the South into the federation and the nation it will be better to enlarge our perspective so as to bring the whole of transcontinental America into the picture—as we shall do in Volume III."

It may be true, as Meinig insists, that his focus is "more on places than on persons." But if the traditional layperson's division of geography into human and physical has any validity, certainly Meinig's is human. His work is not environmental history, he says; perhaps not, but it is related, and helpful for understanding the complex interrelationships between humans and their natural (and humanly constructed) environment, and it is not surprising that noted environmental historian William Cronon is among those who have praised Meinig's work. Perhaps historical geographers were somewhat marginalized within their field during the quantitative revolution of the 1960s that affected so many disciplines, but perhaps it can also be argued, as one historical geographer (M. Dear) has done, that by definition

all geography should be historical because "the central object in human geography is to understand the simultaneity of time and space in structuring social process." In any case, Ralph H. Brown's classic *Historical Geography of the United States*, published in 1948, was apparently the most recent synthetic treatment of the subject until Meinig began his work; a new effort was long overdue.

D. W. Meinig was born in 1924. Seven years passed between the publication of volume one and volume two of *The Shaping of America*. At that rate, it will be 2007 before the projected fourth and final volume appears. One can only hope that Meinig manages to complete the task, for it is an important contribution indeed.

MIKLÓS KONTRA

VADON, LEHEL: *ORSZÁGH LÁSZLÓ*
Eger: Eszterházy Károly Tanárképző Főiskola Nyomdája,
1994. 93 pp.

László Országh died ten years ago, in 1984, in his 77th year. He was editor-in-chief of the 7-volume Explanatory Dictionary of Hungarian *(A Magyar Nyelv Értelmező Szótára,* 1959—1962), which laid the foundations for all current monolingual and bilingual dictionaries. He edited the best English—Hungarian and Hungarian—English dictionaries available. He was a high school English teacher in Budapest (1932—1943), Professor of English Language and Literature at the University of Debrecen (1947—1950 and 1957—1968), the founder of American Studies in Hungary, a dedicated scholar of cultural history, and, most of all, an inspiration to his students, who were later to become leading lights in English and American Studies in Hungary.

Országh was a living legend. His former colleagues in the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy (where the Explanatory Dictionary was made) and his students across the country still relate memorable stories about him. When compiling the list of entry-words for Hungarian dictionaries, *bolond* 'fool' and *bolsevik* 'Bolshevik' turned out to be unhappy but unavoidable neighbors. In keeping with post-WW II communist vigilance and paranoia, lexicographers were "urged" to insert a word between these two *as bolond bolsevik* would be treasonous if someone were to read the dictionary vertically, rather than in the more usual horizontal

fashion. Most lexicographers complied, inserting *bolonyik,* a word of Slavic origin known only to botanists; Országh didn't.

For several years after he retired from the University of Debrecen, he still visited high schools where his best students were English teachers. The famous professor whose name is seen on every Hungarian English learner's dictionary continued to visit high schools 100 miles from Budapest and to inspire teenagers to master English. In August 1994, I lectured in the Országh Memorial Section of the International Congress of Hungarian Linguistics in Eger. After my talk a young man introduced himself to me and said he had several letters from Országh, who once visited his class and offered to start a correspondence with some pupils.

In recognition of his bridge-building activities between the English and Hungarians, Országh was made Commander of the British Empire (CBE) in 1979. No other Hungarian in Hungary has ever received such an honor. When a former student of his interviewed him for the Debrecen daily *Hajdú-Bihari Napló,* Országh gave the student a copy of a photograph taken at the ceremony in the British Ambassador's residence in Budapest. As he handed over the photograph, he wryly remarked that the editors of the Debrecen newspaper would probably cut off the bottom half of the picture, because the CBE medal hanging from the ribbon around his neck looked like a crucifix, at least to anyone who hadn't seen a CBE medal before. In the officially atheist Hungary of the 1970s a picture showing a cross on the hero of the interview could be deemed "religious propaganda". The interviewer (who is my friend) told me this story, and we both agreed that Országh was probably overcautious and exaggerating. We thought it most unlikely that even editors of the communist party daily would use the editorial scissors to "decrucify" the picture. Needless to say, we were naive, and Országh was, as so often, a realist. The unmutilated photograph has since been published in No. 52 (1986) of the United States Information Agency's Hungarian-language periodical USA, and now in Lehel Vadon's excellent book on Országh.

University teachers and students of English were a carefully selected and politically not very trustworthy minority before the dismantling of state socialism in Hungary in 1989. It was no big deal to know almost everybody

in the profession, that is the teachers in the English departments of the three universities and two teacher's colleges with such departments. Scholarships to English-speaking countries were a rather rare commodity for Hungarian university professors and almost unavailable for others. Books and visiting professors from England or America were equally rare. The profession was small and resources were shared through intensive networking. At the center of it all was Országh, the matchless, demanding authority in Hungary who maintained, and had us maintain, high professional standards.

In post-communist Hungary, British and American studies look very different. Now there are more institutions that call themselves universities than I can count. Each has something that they call an English department. Some of the heads of these departments have hardly anything to qualify them to be university professors of English. When Russian ceased to be a mandatory school language in Hungary, the demand for English and German skyrocketed, and no higher educational institution has a place in the sun if it doesn't have an English department. Unfortunately, the attempt to address the demand for English across the country has resulted in lowering our standards.

Paradoxically, some of the new teachers are better trained than we were 20 years ago, but there are also masses of unqualified teachers teaching English in public schools. English and American books are readily available today in Hungary (if one has the money to buy them), but the market indiscriminately hawks quality books and professionally worthless volumes alike, volumes that would never have been published or distributed in communist Hungary. Some of our younger colleagues have obtained M.A. or Ph.D. degrees in English-speaking countries, are active in Hungarian and international associations, and publish in refereed journals abroad. At the same time the quality of some papers presented at conferences in Hungary is far below any acceptable standard. As we struggle through these times of change, we may need to be reminded of where we come from, and what earlier standards are all too often being ignored. This elegant book on Országh comes at the right time.

A carefully presented and well documented biography (15—66) begins the book. Eleven excellently reproduced black-and-white photographs variously show Országh as a student of the famous Eötvös College in Budapest, among his classmates with Professor F. L. Pattee of Rollins College in Florida in the 1930s, lecturing in the Hungarian Academy in 1974, and last but not least, at the CBE ceremony where he received the "religious-looking" medal. Looking at the adult Országh in the pictures one cannot but agree with Gyula Kodolányi who has recently called him "a Hungarian gentleman". I personally agree with Kodolányi one hundred per cent that Országh was an extremely genuine personality, very elegant, somewhat anachronistic in communist Hungary, who wore his elegance on his sleeve purposely to defy the political system around him (Kodolányi 1993).

Part two (67—83) of the book contains the bibliography of Országh's published books and papers in chronological order, starting from 1929. His publications range from Hungarian and bilingual lexicography through Anglo-American/Hungarian cultural contacts to Shakespeare, Sinclair Lewis, "The genesis of the Hungarian name of the United States of America" (published *in Hungarian Studies in English* Vol. X [1976]), to an analysis of what American GIs read in WW II and many other areas. Országh called himself *a filosz,* i.e. a philologist. By that he meant a scholar equally well-versed in linguistics, literary history and possibly the arts. He belonged to the old school who were able to teach all the courses in the English department's curriculum from Beowulf to modern writers, and the history of English as well as its descriptive grammar and lexicography. He had a hard time reading letters from his former students when they claimed that the time of the allround scholar like himself was over and that literary studies had become so specialized as to make it impossible to keep up with developments even in closely related fields like linguistics. The variety of his topics and the quality of his publications make today's reader envy a man who studied the humanities in their integrity.

Part three (84—93) is also highly informative containing bibliographic items about Országh and his published works. Listed here are reviews of his bilingual dictionaries by the Columbia professor John Lotz, Országh's Dutch

colleague R. W. Zandvoort, his former teachers, colleagues and students from Bloomington, Indiana to London, to Debrecen, as well as anonymous appreciations in Budapest dailies. The 86 items in this part show a towering figure in Hungarian scholarship. Those of us who knew him will always remember him. Those who are too young to have known him will find in his ouvre a challenge of standards and quality enough to change their lives.

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