EGER JOURNAL
OF
AMERICAN STUDIES

VOLUME XII/1–2

2010

EDITOR: LEHEL VADON
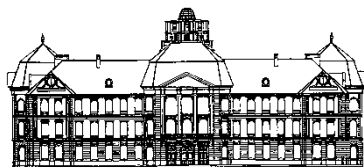
GUEST EDITORS

TIBOR GLANT
ZSOLT VIRÁGOS

ISSN 1786-2337
HU ISSN 1786-2337

CONTENTS

_____ *EJAS*

C<small>ONTENTS</small>

E<small>SSAYS</small>

BOOK REVIEWS

Harold B. Allen in Debrecen

Miklós Kontra

Zoltán Abádi Nagy certainly knows the name, but it may not be an exaggeration to assume that Harold B. Allen's name is probably unknown to most of our colleagues who teach English and American Studies in Hungarian universities today. To those who are as old as I am, his name may sound vaguely familiar. When I first met him as a student in Debrecen in 1972, the second of three English Departments in Hungary had about 120 students taught by about 10 professors. It was easy to know practically everybody in English and American Studies in the country, and the news of remarkable events in the profession spread fast by the grapevine. That Kossuth Lajos University in Debrecen played host to the first-ever Fulbright-Hays professor sent to Hungary in 1972 became known overnight by colleagues in Budapest and Szeged, that is, by about the 30 to 40 senior and junior faculty members in the other two universities with English departments. Thirty-eight years later and after the fall of the Iron Curtain there are so many university departments of English and American Studies, with so many colleagues, and such a large number of exchange programs, that a Fulbrighter in Hungary today is quite unremarkable. For the historical record, in what follows I will try to reconstruct Allen's two trips to Hungary.

According to the *Lexicon Grammaticorum* (Linn 1996), Harold Byron Allen (1902–1988) studied American dialects at the University of Michigan under Hans Kurath and structural linguistics under Charles Carpenter Fries. From 1933 to 1939 he was an assistant editor of *The Early Modern English Dictionary* and from 1939/40 he was an editor of *The Middle English Dictionary*. He received his M.A. in 1928 and his Ph.D. in 1941, both in English from Michigan. In 1944, he moved to the University of Minnesota where he retired as Professor of English and

Linguistics in 1971. He taught and consulted at the University of Cairo, University of Tehran, and Kossuth Lajos University in Debrecen. Allen is best known for his *Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest* (1973–76) "which was the first Atlas to summarize the responses of the informants and to combine the results of mail questionnaires with field interviews." Allen had "a profound effect on the professional development of linguistics in the U.S." (Linn 1996: 21). He headed four national organizations related to the English language in the U.S.A., namely the Conference on English Composition and Communication, the National Council of Teachers of English, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), and the American Dialect Society. He was a co-founder of TESOL and served as its first President in 1965.

Volume 23 (1990–1995) of the *Journal of English Linguistics* was a special issue compiled in memory of Harold B. Allen. I reproduce its contents here to illustrate the breadth of Allen's scholarship and the many scholars whose respect he earned.

JEngL Contents

His first trip to Debrecen

In 1972/73 an unprecedented event took place in Debrecen: a Fulbright-Hays professor came to the university to teach a course named Varieties of American English. Before Allen, we only had the privilege to be taught by an English *lector*, that is a British instructor who taught a few language classes to the 120 students in the department. Now Allen was American, not a Brit, and a linguistics professor, not a lector. He taught us lucky students, and some interested young faculty, our first-ever course in American English, and he delivered a lecture titled "Can Americans Speak English?"

He also did something else, the importance of which I came to appreciate only later. In his own way, Harold Allen was an American cultural diplomat. He first became involved in teaching English as a foreign language in Mexico in 1943. After World War II, he served as consultant in several countries abroad, and realized that the British Council was leaving the United States way behind in teaching English as a foreign language abroad. In his paper on teaching English and U.S. foreign policy, Allen (1978: 59) wrote that "After the first tentative

beginning in Latin America, the English-teaching activity of the United States increased tremendously in various agencies and departments until it reached a peak just before 1970." On the following page of the paper he adds that "most of the people directly involved in the teaching [of English abroad] were really dedicated to a cause. They believed that the teaching of English is a definite step toward the kind of international understanding that must be the foundation of world peace. I can say honestly that when I went to Egypt in 1954 and again for a second year in 1958 I was driven by the thought that somehow by helping to prepare teachers and textbooks for that country I was doing my small bit for the cause of peace. […] It is idealism, yes, but idealism with a very practical motivation. […] It is the same idealism that led also to the founding of the TESOL organization itself."

Driven by his idealism and taking advantage of détente and his connections, Harold Allen played a key role in bringing about a "unilateral exchange program" between Hungary and the University of Minnesota, "by which the Hungarian cultural affairs institute and our Department of State have cooperated in sending four Hungarian students and teachers to obtain the M.A. in TESL at the University of Minnesota" (Allen 1980: 119). The first two or three recipients of the M.A. in TESL went to Minnesota from Debrecen.

Interlude: TESOL 1979 in Boston

In September 1978 I became Associate Instructor of Hungarian at Indiana University, Bloomington. In February 1979 I went to Boston to attend the Thirteenth Annual TESOL Convention. The convention was huge and I knew nobody there. I knew some people by name: Mary Finocchiaro, Christopher Candlin, W. R. Lee, Wilga Rivers, Pit Corder, and a few others, but didn't know anybody in person. No wonder. I might have been (one of) the first Hungarian(s) ever to attend a TESOL Convention. It was an extremely pleasant surprise that I bumped into Harold Allen in the hallway of the Sheraton. We talked a little and he immediately offered whatever help he could. Somewhat later, back in Indiana, I decided I should start a project on the bilingualism of Hungarian-Americans in South Bend, IN. Apart from my determination to embark on this project I had hardly anything. I turned to Allen for help. He referred me to his former student Mike Linn, who, luckily, was soon

to come to Indianapolis for the Midwest meeting of the American Dialect Society. I went to meet Mike, and he gave me a great deal of help throughout the years to come. I enjoyed Allen's and Linn's moral and professional support of the South Bend project from its inception to completion (Kontra 1990).

Allen's second trip to Debrecen

In 1983 Harold was 81 years old. His aging Mercedes was approaching death and he wanted to buy a new one, in Germany, right from the factory, because it was cheaper to buy one in Germany and ship it to the U.S. than to buy it in Minnesota. He bought a Turbo Diesel, a magic car nobody had ever seen in Hungary before. The thing about a Turbo Diesel was that it used diesel, but was as fast as a car that ran with gas. Allen was proud of his car and experimented with it to find out its capabilities. When he drove from Budapest to Debrecen in September 1983, on the infamous Highway No. 4, which had only one lane each direction, passing was almost impossible. But Allen had complete confidence that his Turbo Diesel could pass cars that Hungarians could not. I was sitting next to him and Mrs. Allen sat in a back seat. Somewhere half way between Budapest and Debrecen, Allen felt like passing a truck although another 18-wheeler was coming in the opposite direction. I was breathless, and had I been interviewed by a sociolinguist, I could have given him/her a perfect "danger of death" report. I held on tight, couldn't do anything else. At that moment Elisabeth in the back yelled "Harold Allen!" It was then that I learned somebody's full name can mean "Don't kill us, crazy bastard!" in English.

We made it to Debrecen and on September 16 Allen gave a talk in the university titled "Sex Variation in Dialect Informant Responses". I introduced him as one of the grand old men of American linguistics: a famous dialectologist, who is also an applied linguist, and who isn't shy to write an ESL textbook. His Debrecen lecture was a rehearsal of an invited paper at the upcoming Midwest Regional Meeting of the Dialect Society, which was eventually published in three parts (Allen 1985, 1986a, 1986b).

Weeks before we drove to Debrecen, Harold issued invitations to about a dozen people to come to a dinner party in the best restaurant in town, the one in the then famous "Arany Bika" Hotel. Invited were Americanist colleagues from the university, Zoltán Abádi Nagy among them, two colleagues who received their M.A. in TESL from Minnesota, and the best linguistics professor at Debrecen at the time, Ferenc Papp. As can be seen from the photograph here, the waiters of "Arany Bika" were even able to put a little American flag on the table. Harold Allen played host, spoke about American–Hungarian relations, encouraged us to keep up our idealism, and we drank to American Studies and teaching English in Hungary. At 81, he made no secret of this trip being his swan song of a traveler in Europe.

When back in Budapest, I suggested to the Allens a trip to the Danube Bend. They enjoyed the open air museum in Szentendre, the royal palace in Visegrád, and the magnificent cathedral in Esztergom. Highway No. 11 being even narrower than No. 4, the driving was relatively safe this time, and we even stopped to pose for a picture on the riverside.
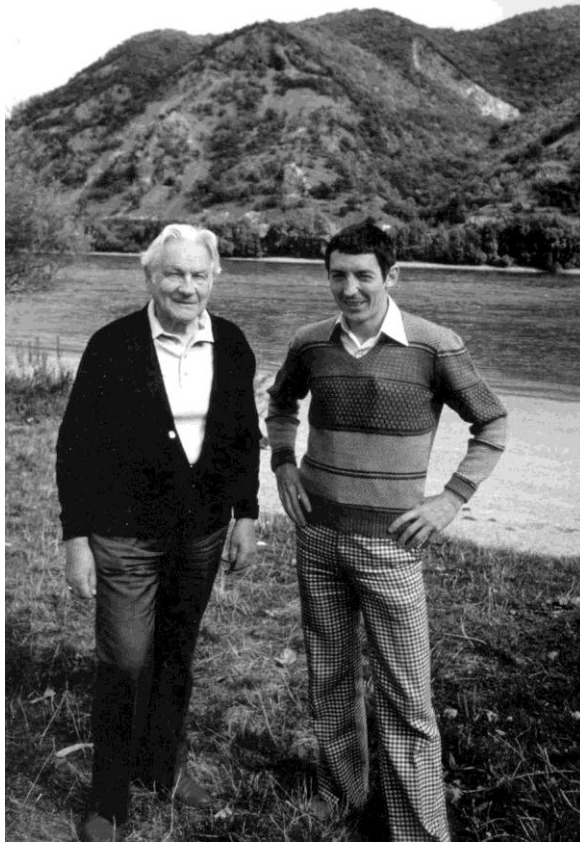
Harold Allen's two trips to Debrecen resulted in an arrangement that made it possible for Hungarians from Debrecen and elsewhere to go to study at the University of Minnesota in the 1970s, and he supported my project on Hungarian-American bilingualism, which later prompted other Hungarian linguists to put Hungarian-Americans on the language contact map (see Fenyvesi 2005 for a thorough overview). He was an important player, who deserves to be remembered for his services to American Studies and linguistics in Hungary.

References

Allen, Harold B. 1978. The Teaching of English as a Second Language and U.S. Foreign Policy. In: Blatchford, Charles H. and Jacquelyn Schachter, eds., *On TESOL '78: EFL Policies, Programs, Practices*, 57–71. Washington, D. C.: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.

Allen, Harold B. 1980. A Report for the Archives of Linguistics. In: Davis, Boyd H. and Raymond K. O'Cain, eds., *First Person Singular*, 111–120. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V.

Allen, Harold B. 1985. Sex-Linked Variation in the Responses of Dialect Informants: Part 1, Lexicon. *Journal of English Linguistics* 18: 97–123.

Allen, Harold B. 1986a. Sex-Linked Variation in the Responses of Dialect Informants: Part 2, Pronunciation. *Journal of English Linguistics* 19: 4–24.

Allen, Harold B. 1986b. Sex-Linked Variation in the Responses of Dialect Informants: Part 3, Grammar. *Journal of English Linguistics* 19: 149–176.

Fenyvesi, Anna. 2005. Hungarian in the United States. In: Fenyvesi, Anna, ed., *Hungarian Language Contact Outside Hungary: Studies on Hungarian as a minority language*, 265–318. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Kontra, Miklós. 1990. *Fejezetek a South Bend-i magyar nyelvhasználatból* (=Chapters on the Hungarian Language as Spoken in South Bend, IN). Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelvtudományi Intézete.

Linn, Michael D. 1996. Allen, Harold Byron. In: Stammerjohann, Harro (general editor), *Lexicon Grammaticorum: Who's Who in the History of World Linguistics*, 20–21. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Interior Architecture:
The Iconography of Culture and Order in
Edith Wharton's Nonfiction

Ágnes Zsófia Kovács

Introduction

Edith Wharton is best known as a novelist of manners specializing in life in upper class New York City society around the turn of the 19th–20th centuries. In this paper I am focusing on work by another Edith Wharton: the author of travel books and a manual on interior design. In particular, I am going to take a look at two early texts of hers, *The Decoration of Houses* (1897) and *Italian Villas and their Gardens* (1904). These two are linked by the intellectual project they perform: showing the American audience the use of European art in everyday life. To put it in general terms, Wharton conveys a sense of cultural order to her American readers through examples of European architecture.

In her *The Social Construction of American Realism*, Amy Kaplan approaches Wharton's early work as an attempt to establish her position as a professional author. Kaplan claims that architecture is the metaphor of writing in Wharton, and both in her early fiction and nonfiction architecture represents the clash between a professional male tradition of writing and female amateur text production. So in her nonfiction, when Wharton discusses architecture, her statements can also be read as comments on her aim to become a professional female author. For instance in *The Decoration of Houses*, when she is describing architectural principles of interior decoration, she criticizes the concept of the domestic interior as the special space of women separate from male authored spaces of architectural design. So the term interior architecture

becomes a metaphor for criticizing the inside-outside divide, for thinking about a supposedly female space in supposedly male terms.

In my discussion of Wharton's early nonfiction I suggest that the gender oriented reading of these texts limits reflection on their other social aspects. Wharton's continual references to historical change, the historiography of art, and national features of cultures situate the gender aspect at the crossroads of other social aspects of culture. Although Wharton seems to set up manuals of interior architecture and garden design, I claim that in fact she lays out historically established principles of taste. She does not hold her arty examples up for copying, but rather for reflection: she offers meditations on the relation of art and everyday life. In her own terms, she reflects on the uses of civilization.

The paper is divided into four sections. The first part explicates the problem of professionalization and cultural work in Wharton's contemporary reception as a basis of my argument. The second part surveys of the importance of the metaphor of architecture for Wharton in her early fiction. The third part looks at how *The Decoration of Houses* relies on the notion of interior architecture while describing European examples of interior order. The fourth part studies how the volume on *Italian Villas* applies the notion of architecture for the space outside the house: the garden. The conclusion formulates the function of the nonfiction texts in more general terms than that of the professional female author. It explicates the approach Wharton performs towards architecture, art history, and cultural change in the texts.

1. The problem: female subversive potential in Wharton's texts

During the 1980s Edith Wharton's *oeuvre* was recanonized. The work was performed by scholars who foregrounded female subversive potential in her fiction. As Millicent Bell puts it: "Though she was no conscious feminist, it was felt that she had expressed her own struggles in fiction that showed her clear understanding of what it had meant to her to be a woman." (Bell 2005, 13) As a result, a multitude of books and articles have been published on the subject. The interest promoted biographical studies showing her life in terms of feminist psychopatology, (Bell 2005, 13) as well as monographs investigating the commodification in the formation of the female artist's character (Bell 2005, 14). This image of Wharton also appears in literary overviews: for instance in 1984,

Amy Kaplan in her *The Social Construction of American Realism* articulated the commodfication of the figure of the female artist in terms of the division between private and public sphere. "[Wharton's] writing is situated at a complex intersection of class and gender. Wharton attempted to construct a separate personality in the mind of the public and to write herself out of the private domestic sphere, (Kaplan 1984, 79) inscribing a public identity in the marketplace, unlike contemporary lady novelists of the domestic sphere like H. B. Stowe and Catherine Sedgwick. (Wright 1997, 5) Wharton's achievement in constructing a public identity for herself as a female author was considered to be a significant alteration of the public roles designated for the lady novelist of her time.

It would seem that the body of travel writings could have been included in the description of the construction of Wharton's public identity as an author. As we know, by writing American travel books she took upon herself a position formerly filled by American men of letters, a position forbidden for lady novelists. It was exactly through the modification of the public roles of the lady novelist that she was able to write travel books. However, there is one specific problem with her newly forged public identity. Wharton the woman of letters seems an arch conservative in questions of gender and class. In other words she writes nonfiction to preserve the existing cultural and social status quo, so much so that in 1996 Frederick Wegener, the editor of a Wharton's uncollected critical writing states that her criticism "does little to locate a genuinely feminine sensibility in it." (Wegener 1996, 44) Also, Michael E. Nowlin argues along similar lines: "Wharton boldly set out to claim cultural authority on grounds long exclusively occupied by men … in the public arena …[but] showed no eagerness to challenge the bifurcation of culture along gendered (as well as class) lines." (Nowlin 1998, 446) It seems the female subversive potential in Wharton cannot be readily reconciled with her public identity.

On the basis of this opposition one is tempted to ask whether she was modern or conservative, feminist or not. Yet these questions cut us off from the achievements of her work. It is more useful to look at her output in terms of what it does, not in terms of what it is like. In this sense, as Nancy Bentley puts it, we can look at Wharton's work as "neither culturally subversive nor apologist; rather [let us look at how] it effects a new representation of the sphere of culture itself in order to articulate, circulate, and finally acculturate the shocks of the modern." (Bentley 1995a, 50) So in *Italian Villas*, the task is not to point out the

incompatibility of the feminist sensibility and the public identity. Rather, the task is to explicate how the text represents the sphere of culture and how it articulates the shocks of the modern (Bentley 1995b, 5).

2. Architecture as metaphor in Wharton's early fiction

Architecture "remained an important metaphor for writing for Wharton throughout her life," as Amy Kaplan claims. "For her, the achievement of architectural form in her novels is related to her sense of attaining the status of the professional author" (Kaplan 78–79). But how can one attain the status of the professional author? Kaplan maintains that Wharton created for herself the status of the professional female author and rejected the traditional role designated for a female author, the status of the amateur lady novelist. The 19th c lady novelist produces popular, sentimental texts for a domestic female audience. Instead, the professional female author aims at leaving the topics of the domestic sphere and adapting herself to the concerns and methods of professional male authors. To illuminate this dilemma of Wharton's, I suggest that we have a look at a section from her 1893 short story titled "The Fulness of Life" and compare the architectural metaphor of writing there to a similar one by Henry James in order to visualize the new problems of the professional author Wharton faces at the beginning of her career.

In her short story, Wharton relies on an architectural metaphor to illuminate the way the female psyche works and is expressed. The frame narrative of the story is quite simple. An intelligent, cultured woman dies and is happy to find herself in Heaven. Upon entry, she is interrogated about her life and relation with her husband, and from the interview it turns out they never had much in common intellectually speaking, as the husband was never able to comprehend the spiritual joys or sorrows of his impressionable wife. At the beginning of the tale, the woman describes her relationship to her husband in architectural terms, and relies on the image I wish to focus on now. As the conversation goes:

> "And yet you were fond of your husband?" [the Spirit asked.]
> "You have hit upon the exact word; I was fond of him, yes, just as I was fond of my grandmother, and the house that I was born in, and my old nurse. Oh, I was fond of him, and we were counted a very happy couple. But I have sometimes thought that a woman's nature is like a great house full of rooms: there is the hall, through which everyone passes in going in and out; the drawing-room, where one receives formal visits; the

sitting-room, where the members of the family come and go as they list; but beyond that, far beyond, are other rooms, the handles of whose doors perhaps are never turned; no one knows the way to them, no one knows whither they lead; and in the innermost room, the holy of holies, the soul sits alone and waits for a footstep that never comes."

"And your husband," asked the Spirit, after a pause, "never got beyond the family sitting-room?"

"Never," she returned, impatiently; "and the worst of it was that he was quite content to remain there. (Wharton 1893, sec. 2)

The description of a woman's nature as a house with public and private spaces provides a visual representation of the inaccessibility of the female 'soul.' Even the husband, the prioritized male enters the communal rooms only. It is only the public spaces that are accessible for him: not because the inner chambers are closed but because he feels no need to access them.

This visual metaphor of the female soul by Wharton is strikingly similar to Henry James's image of the chamber of the mind the novelist is to represent. As James maintains:

Experience is never limited and it is never complete; it is an immense sensibility, a kind of huge spider-web, of the finest silken threads, suspended in the chamber of consciousness and catching every air-borne particle in its tissue. It is the very atmosphere of the mind; and when the mind is imaginative—much more when it happens to be that of a man of genius—it takes to itself the faintest hints of life, it converts the very pulses of the air into revelations. (James 1984, 52)

For James the chamber of the mind is the site where the process of experience happens. The good novelist is after the representation of this process. According to James, French realist novelists fall off the mark because they fail to enter this chamber, they do not even enter the house (of a person's nature).

Let us compare the two images of the 'soul' and its accessability, Wharton's version of the room of the soul and James's chamber of the mind. The main structures of the houses, their architectural designs are identical. In the center one finds the room of the soul, the most important and most private space of the building. For James, the room is accessible, but only for those applying the right means: for novelists interested in psychological introspection and not in empirical sensory details of human life. In other words, access is provided for psychological novelists and not for realist authors. For Wharton, the same question of accessibility is

posed along gender lines. In her version it is specifically the female soul that awaits its male visitor. Also, the male visitor never gets access to the precious chamber. So for Wharton it is the prioritized male who fails to enter the room of the female soul, the analogue of the realist novelist in James.

Let us go a step further and read Wharton's architectural metaphor as a metaphor of writing similar to James's, as Kaplan also suggested. The main concern being the expression of the life of the female soul, it is indicated its space can never be explored by a male visitor. If we read the room-visitor duality in terms of James's code, i. e. as a subject matter and novelist duality, then Wharton's image poses a concern about the novelistic methods that are needed for an exploration of the female soul in a novel. The male novelist and his methods do not suffice in conveying the contents of the female soul, at least not by the realist method. But would Wharton accept a psychologizing novelist, James's ideal, as fit for entry?

If we go on reading the story, we get an ambiguous answer, a yes, no, maybe so. In Heaven, the woman does find a male partner who is able to comprehend her thoughts and emotions, yet she decides not to go for him but to wait for her husband to accompany her in eternity. So yes, there are ways to express the female soul. Yet the female soul does not want to be expressed and reverts to its original isolated position. How are we to take this ambiguity? Why does the woman prefer her isolated condition to one of communication and partnership?

At this point we can return to the question of professional authorship Wharton's architectural metaphors are supposed to be linked to. It is the woman who, despite former claims, prevents the male visitor from entering the room of her soul. The idea of women's sphere as separate, linked to the domestic interior of the house is the one problematized here. Is women's sphere really separate from men's, or is this separation being kept up by women authors themselves? The ironic ending of the short story would suggest the artificiality of the divide and also a criticism of the intelligent lady novelist who keeps up the division by intentionally not sharing her experience with male partners. A professional female author is unlike the lady novelist, as her main concern is to allow communication between the male and female spheres, even at the cost of the loss of the idea of a separate female sphere. So for Wharton the metaphor of architecture is connected to her aim to create the position

of the professional author at the crossroads of former male and female traditions of writing.

3. Interior Architecture: Architecture and interior decoration in *The Decoration of Houses*

The theme of architecture is the main concern of Wharton's nonfiction texts, too. In the next sections, let us have a look at how she involves the concept of architecture into her texts on interior decoration and gardening.

The Decoration of Houses starts out with professing the architectural principle underlying the field of interior decoration. As Wharton starts out "Rooms may be decorated in two ways: by a superficial application of ornament totally independent of structure, or by means of those architectural features which are part of the organism of every house, inside as well as out." (1) The contrast between decoration as superficial ornament versus decoration as structural element has come into being as late as the 19th century, when a division of labor between the work of the architect and the work of the decorator took place. Wharton professes that the art of interior decoration is comprehended only if one thinks of interior decoration as it was conceived of until the 19th century, as a branch of architecture (2), or as house architecture (140). So the keyword to interior decoration is architectural treatment in all areas.

Yet what does an architectural treatment mean in practice, for the areas covered in the different chapters? The book has dull-sounding chapters like: walls, doors, windows, fireplaces, ceilings and floors, hall and stairs, different kinds of rooms (gala, morning, library, dining, bed, school), *bric à brac*. Perhaps it is easier to see how the placement and size of doors, windows, and fireplaces should depend on architectural proportion, simplicity, and the needs of the inmates. Yet how, Wharton asks, does one find the link between these principles and the decoration of bedroom carpets? She finds the answer stating that "in the composition of the whole there is no negligible entity" (192), as in all areas the supreme excellence is simplicity, harmony, and proportion.

Wharton bases her positive belief in the architectural treatment on two presuppositions: first, on her belief in the reliability of the historical method and second, on her belief in an innate sense of beauty. First, she

maintains that an understanding of the historically changing functions of rooms is needed for the application of the right decoration. In her explanations she continually refers to the fact that the present vulgar American style of interior decoration shows deficiencies mainly because it does not understand the proper functions of the rooms and the decorations. It is a historical knowledge of changes of functions in the English middle-class house or in the aristocratic town residence that is needed not to mix functions when planning today. For instance, the gala rooms are not separate from the private apartments in American homes. The historical reason for this is that the American house is the enlargement of the *maison bourgeoise* and of the English middle class house, not the aristocratic county seat or the town residence, where gala rooms had been necessary and a different planning was needed. In Italian Renaissance palaces the private apartment called '*mezzanin*' was placed in a separate portion of the palace, an intermediate story that was formed by building some very high studded salons and of lowering the ceiling of adjoining rooms, thus creating intermediate rooms. (7) In fact, due to changes of lifestyles, the architectural decoration of the renaissance private apartment is of more interest to decorators today than the enormous public spaces of the same palaces.

As the second presupposition of her belief in the architectural method, she accepts the existence an innate sense of beauty. For her, it is a vital part of life like other civic virtues. Her idea is that one has a feeling for beauty that awakens in childhood already. This sense can be cultivated—the schoolroom of a child should provide an environment that develops this sense of beauty. Cultivation here means the development of those habits of observation and comparison that are the base of all sound judgements. (175) With the study of art we learn to observe and compare, aesthetic criteria that are elements of culture and make art a factor of civilization. From this perspective the habit of regarding art as a thing apart from life is fatal to the development of taste, and indirectly, to civilization.

In sum, *The Decoration* criticizes the opposition between spaces inside and outside the house, and also points out the historical changes of the architectural functions linking them. Wharton finds a basis contra historical change in an innate human sense for beauty, observation and reflection.

4. Exterior architecture: The architecture of the garden in *Italian Villas and their Gardens*

In *Italian Villas*, architecture appears as the larger rule behind Italian garden magic invisible for the everyday American perceiver. A harmony of design is based on the rule that the garden must be studied in relation to the house, and both in relation to the landscape. (6) For Wharton, the garden is in effect a prolongation of the house with its own logical functional divisions. It is related to the landscape in its orientation, and in using the natural building materials and plants of the region. Wharton again works with an opposition when she formulates the architectural principle for garden-art. She contrasts the architecturally designed Renaissance or Baroque Italian garden to the English garden of the landscapist school that wishes to blend the garden with the landscape. Historically, the landscape school is responsible for the alteration of several Italian Renaissance gardens into English parks from the mid-18th century on, in essence for a national forgetfulness about functions of the garden space even in Italy since the 18th century.

Armed with this quasi structuralist intention of locating the deep structure of Italian garden magic, Wharton the scientist also lists the basic units necessary for the transformational laws she has identified. There are three basic materials the Italian gardener uses to achieve his goals: marble, water, and perennial verdure because these are the materials the climate/location offers. The garden of the Italian villa consists of the following elements: shady walks, sunny bowling greens, parterres, (rose arbour) orchards, woodland shade, terraces, sheltered flower and/or herb garden, waterworks. Enlisting the ingredients, Wharton is on the lookout for the architectural principle in every villa-garden-landscape relation she presents. She mentions the position of the villa on the property, she identifies the separate functional parts of the garden and their relations to the house, respectively.

Let me give you a delicious example of what exactly all these elements are and of how they can be harmoniously placed according to the three rules above. The case in point is the Villa Gamberaia, 10 miles from Florence, with the main lines of a small but perfect Renaissance garden from the 16th century. The house is situated on a slope overlooking valley of the Arno and the village, and Florence can also be seen at a distance. In front of the façade of the house there is a grassy terrace bounded by a low wall which overhangs the vineyards and the

fields. To the two sides of the villa there are two balustrades, one leading to the chapel, the other to an oblong garden with a pond and symmetrical parterres. Behind the villa, running parallel with it, is a long grass alley or bowling green flanked for part of its length by a retaining wall set with statues and for the remainder by high hedges, closing it off from the oblong garden. The alley is closed on one end by a grotto, a fountain. At the opposite end (behind the oblong garden) it terminates in a balustrade whence one looks down on the Arno. The retaining wall of the bowling green sustains a terrace planted with cypress and ilex and on the other end a lemon house with a small garden. The wall is broken opposite the entrance of the house and a gate leads to a small garden with grotto. Two flights of stairs lead up to the terrace from here. In Wharton's admiring commentary:

> The plan of the Gamberaia has been described thus in detail because it combines in an astonishingly small space,…, almost every typical excellence of the old Italian garden: free circulation of sunlight and air about the house; abundance of water; easy access to dense shade; sheltered walks with different points of view; variety of effect produced by the skilful use of different levels; and, finally, breadth and simplicity of composition. (46)

Wharton's task as a guide is most challenging when she visits run down gardens that look like enchanted forests for the innocent eye. She herself can only identify the parts by relying on her foreknowledge of typical functions, ingredients, and plants used.

In her analysis, Wharton again manifests her belief in the value of historical knowledge of changes of functions in garden space. It is not only that she criticizes the way the landscapist school blots out former traditions of garden design, making geometric lines seem ugly for visitors. She also wishes to acquaint her readers with subsequent styles of art history from Gothic through Renaissance and Baroque, contrasting these to Romanticism. She leads her readers through seven regions of Italy: regions around Florence, Siena, Rome, Rome itself, Geneva, Milan, and Venice, but these can in fact be seen as two tours, one a tour of mainly Renaissance architecture (chapters 1–4) and one a tour of mainly Baroque architecture (chapters 5–7).

Also, she provides commentary on the historiography of art. She often mentions the way other guidebooks comment on the given site, and locates the reasons for preference or dislike. A case in point is the reception of Isola Bella on Lake Maggiore in Lombardy. Baroque

travelers admired its geometry and artifice. Yet in the mid 18th century a counterreaction set in: visitors with a taste for the artificial naturalism of the English landscape school found the frank artificiality of Isola Bella frightening. Commenting on the different judgments, Wharton states that these two preferences are still present in discussions of art, although it would be more useful to reflect on the artificiality of artistic conventions themselves instead of taking sides. "The time has come, however, when it is recognized that both these manners are manners, one as artificial as the other, and each to be judged … by its own aesthetic merit." (205) To my mind, this view allows for the existence of simultaneous but possibly incompatible manners or styles of art.

Apart from the need to reflect on historical discontinuity and the artificiality of styles, there is also a third aspect to be regarded by the art-historian, the aspect of race. In an aside Wharton characterizes Italian architecture as somewhat out of step with classicism in European art and reverting to medieval images.

This Italian reversion to the grotesque, at a time when it was losing fascination for the Northern races, might form the subject of an interesting study of *race aesthetics*. When the coarse and sombre fancy of mediaeval Europe found expression in grinning gargoyles and baleful or buffoonish images, Italian art held serenely to the beautiful…, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the classical graces had taken possession of Northern Europe, the chimerical animals… reappeared in the queer fauna of Italian grottoes and … garden-walk(s). (234, emphasis mine)

In other words in the formation and appearance of art traditions or *manners* seem to be influenced by racial characteristics, too. To read this along with the previous considerations of the meta-historian, diverse races come with diverse histories of art each to be understood as a sign system in itself, possibly incompatible with each other.

In sum, *Italian Villas* manifests an interest in the architectural principles of garden design with an eye to the relation of inside and outside, house and space, but at the same time also stresses that one acknowledges the historicity of garden constructs and the artificiality or constructedness of artistic manners, and realizes the role of national (as she puts it: race) characteristics in the appearance of artistic manners.

> Conclusion: Wharton's approach to culture and history in her early nonfiction work

Having looked at the role of architecture in Wharton's early short story, in her work on interior decoration, and on Italian garden design, let us consider the differences in its use. In the short story the opposition of the male exterior and female interior space was criticized and the chance of revealing the inner space of the soul with the psychologizing, already existing male method was opened for the professional female novelist. In *The Decoration*, the importance of the architectural method in the design of decorations, the mixing of the difference between inside and outside was stressed, but at the same time the historical changes of spatial functions was pointed out, balanced by a belief in man's innate sense of beauty as part of everyday life. In *Italian Villas*, exterior architecture of the garden space was in focus, a criticism of the opposition between inside and out in that outer spaces were shown to have their roomlike functions and proportions. At the same time, the importance of a historical knowledge of changing functions was joined by a new awareness of the artificiality, the constructedness of artistic manners. So the initial deconstruction of the opposition between inside and outside in the short story was first amended by an awareness of the historically changing relation between inside and outside, yet all this was treated as the manifestation of a an innate sense of beauty in man in general. Eventually, this belief in an innate sense of beauty disappeared in *Italian Villas* to be replaced by manners and race, a culturally constructed basis for historical change.

In view of this, I think we indeed need to extend Kaplan's gender oriented approach to architecture in Wharton's early work. Architecture bridges the divide between inside and outside, private and public, female and male spaces, and can be a metaphor of professional female writing. Yet, Wharton's awareness of the historicity of the inside-outside relation and her eventual reflection on the cultural construction of artistic manners indicates that Wharton the cultural critic uses architecture as a metaphor of cultural construction, in her words, of civilization. Eventually reflecting on how this articulates the shock of the modern, one can state that between 1894 and 1905 her theoretical frame of reference changed so much that by *Italian Villas* she could reflect on the cultural construction of artistic manners, an idea that was probably deeply at war with her innate belief in an innate human sense of beauty she discussed in *The Decoration*.

Works Cited

Bell, Millicent. "Introduction" In *The Cambridge Companion to Edith Wharton*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. 1–19.

Bentley, Nancy. 1995a. "Hunting for the Real: Edith Wharton and the Science of Manners" In *The Cambridge Companion to Edith Wharton*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 47–67.

——. 1995b. *The Ethnography of Manners: Hawthorne, James, Wharton*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

James, Henry. 1984. "The Art of Fiction" In Leon Edel and Mark Wilson, eds. *Henry James: Literary Criticism. vol. 1*. New York: The Library of America. (1884) 45–65.

Kaplan, Amy. 1984. *The Social Construction of American Realism*. Chicago: CUP.

Nowlin, Michael E. 1998. "Edith Wharton as critic, traveler, and war hero" *Studies in the Novel* 30:3, 444–451.

Wharton, Edith. "The Fulness of Life" Access: July 9, 2008 Available: http://www.wsu.edu/~campbelld/wharton/books/fulnessoflife.htm

——. & Ogden Codman, Jr. 1998. (1894) *The Decoration of Houses*. New York: The Classical America Edition, Norton C Company.

——. *Italian Villas and Their Gardens*. 1976. (1904) New York: Da Capo Press.

Wegener, Frederick, ed. and introd. 1996. *Edith Wharton: Uncollected Critical Writings*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Wright, Susan Bird. 1997. *Edith Wharton's Travel Writing*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Metaphorical Creativity in Discourse[1]

Zoltán Kövecses

On the "standard" view of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2002), metaphorical creativity arises from the cognitive processes of extending, elaboration, questioning, and combining conceptual content in the source domain (Lakoff and Turner, 1989). I will propose that such cases constitute only a part of metaphorical creativity. An equally important and common set of cases is comprised by what I call "context-induced" metaphors. I will discuss five types of these: metaphors induced by (1) the immediate linguistic context itself, (2) what we know about the major entities participating in the discourse, (3) the physical setting, (4) the social setting, and (5) the immediate cultural context. Such metaphors have not been systematically investigated so far, though they seem to form a large part of our metaphorical creativity.

One of the criticisms of conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) is that it conceives of metaphors as highly conventional static conceptual structures (the correspondences, or mappings, between a source and a target domain). It would follow from this that such conceptual structures manifest themselves in the form of highly conventional metaphorical linguistic expressions (like the metaphorical meanings in a dictionary) based on such mappings. If correct, this view does not easily lend itself to an account of metaphorical creativity. Clearly, we often come across novel metaphorical expressions in real discourse. If all there is to

metaphor is static conceptual structures matched by highly conventional linguistic expressions, it would seem that CMT runs into difficulty in accounting for the many unconventional and novel expressions we find in discourse. I will discuss various types of metaphorical creativity in this section.

The paper will examine the interrelations among metaphor, discourse, and metaphorical creativity. I will propose that (1) metaphorical creativity in discourse can involve several distinct cases, (2) conceptualizers rely on a number of contextual factors when they use novel metaphors in discourse.

Metaphorical creativity in discourse

Metaphorical creativity in discourse can involve a variety of distinct forms. In my *Metaphor in Culture* (2005), I distinguished two types: creativity that is based on the source domain and creativity that is based on the target. "Source-related" creativity can be of two kinds: "source-internal" and "source-external" creativity. Source-internal creativity involves cases that Lakoff and Turner (1989) describe as elaboration and extending, where unused source-internal conceptual materials are utilized to comprehend the target. "Source-external" cases of creativity operate with what I called the "range of the target," in which a particular target domain receives new, additional source domains in its conceptualization (Kövecses, 2005). The type of creativity in discourse that is based on the target was also described by Kövecses (2005). In it, a particular target that is conventionally associated with a source "connects back" to the source taking further knowledge structures from it. We can call this "target-induced" creativity.

In the remainder of the paper, I will suggest that there is yet another form of metaphorical creativity in discourse—creativity that is induced by the context in which metaphorical conceptualization takes place. This kind of creativity has not been systematically explored in the cognitive linguistic literature on metaphor.

I will term the creativity that is based on the context of metaphorical conceptualization "context-induced" creativity. This occurs where the emergence of a particular metaphorical expression is due to the influence of some aspect of discourse. In particular, five such contextual aspects, or factors, seem to produce unconventional and novel metaphors: (1) the

immediate linguistic context itself, (2) what we know about the major entities participating in the discourse, (3) physical setting, (4) social setting, and (5) the immediate cultural context. There are surely others, but I will limit myself to the discussion of these five.

The effect of the linguistic context on metaphor use

Let us provisionally think of discourse as being composed of a series of concepts organized in a particular way. The concepts that participate in discourse may give rise to either conventional or unconventional and novel linguistic metaphors. I propose that metaphorical expressions can be selected because of the influence of the immediate linguistic context, that is, the concepts that surround the conceptual slot where we need a word or phrase to express a particular meaning. Jean Aitchison (1987) made an interesting observation that bears on this issue. She noted that in newspaper articles and headlines about (American) football games, the names of the teams may select particular metaphors for defeat and victory. She found such examples as follows in the sports pages of American newspapers: "Cougars *drown* Beavers," "Cowboys *corral* Buffaloes," "Air Force *torpedoes* the Navy," "Clemson *cooks* Rice" (Aitchison, 1987: 143). Metaphors used in these sentences are selected on the basis of the names of football teams. Since beavers live in water, defeat can be metaphorically viewed as drowning; since cowboys corral cattle, the opponent can be corralled; since navy ships can be torpedoed, the opponent can be torpedoed, too; and since rice can be cooked, the same process can be used to describe the defeat of the opponent. The metaphors in the above sentences indicate that the target domain of DEFEAT can be variously expressed as drowning, corralling, etc., the choice depending on the concepts (in this case, corresponding to the names of the teams) that make up the utterances in which the metaphor is embedded.

Defeating an opponent is a form of symbolic control, in the same way as the sports activities themselves are symbolic activities. In general, defeating an opponent is conceptualized as physically and/or socially controlling an entity (either animate or inanimate). The high-level, schematic conceptual metaphor DEFEAT IS PHYSICAL AND/OR SOCIAL CONTROL is pervasive in English (and also in other languages); metaphorical words for this conceptualization abound: *beat, upset,*

subdue, knock out, clobber, kill, demolish, conquer, crush, dash, destroy, dust, lick, overcome, overwhelm, ruin, stump, vanquish, thrash, trample, trounce, and literally hundreds of others. The words all indicate some form of physical or social control. The words *cook* and *torpedo* from Aitchison's examples could be added to this list, although they seem to be somewhat *less conventional* than the others. Since defeat is conceptualized as physical and social control, it makes sense for the author to use the words *cook* and *torpedo* in the conceptual slot in the neighborhood of the concepts RICE and NAVY, respectively. It makes sense because the frame for RICE involves COOKING and the frame for NAVY can involve the weapon TORPEDO, on the one hand, and because COOKING and TORPEDOING are ways of physically controlling an entity, on the other.

There is, however, more complication we need to be aware of. In the SPORTS COMPETITION frame, or more specifically, the AMERICAN FOOTBALL frame, there are two opponents, there is an activity on the basis of which the winner is decided, and a resulting relationship between the two opponents: one opponent defeating the other. Given these minimal elements in the frame, we can say that one team defeats another and we can choose a word from the list above to express this meaning. We do this on the basis of the metaphor DEFEAT IS PHYSICAL/SOCIAL CONTROL. However, how do the concepts of RICE and NAVY that are used in the source domain of this metaphor end up in the AMERICAN FOOTBALL frame? American football teams are not identical to RICE and NAVY; these are concepts that we primarily associate with very different entities, such as plants and the armed forces, respectively. Football teams are not plants and armed forces. Obviously, they enter the frame because they are the names of the two football teams. They enter it on the basis of the metonymy NAME FOR THE INSTITUTION (i.e., NAME OF THE TEAM FOR THE TEAM). This metonymy is crucial in understanding the selection of the particular linguistic expressions for defeat. Without the metonymically introduced names for the teams, it would be much less likely for the author to use the terms *cook* and *torpedo*.

The other two words in the set of examples offered by Aitchison, *corral* and *drown*, require similar treatment. We should note, however, that *corralling* and *drowning* are even less conventional cases of talking about defeat than *cook* and *torpedo* are. What nevertheless makes them perfectly understandable and natural in the context is that the frame for AMERICAN FOOTBALL contains the names Cowboys and Beavers. The

words *corral* and *drown* are coherent with these names, on the one hand, and they also fit the DEFEAT IS PHYSICAL/SOCIAL CONTROL metaphor, on the other.

In other words, there seem to be three constraints on the use of such metaphorical expressions in discourse. First, the words used must be consistent with an element of a conceptual frame that occurs in the discourse (such as that for DEFEAT). This would simply ensure that we use literal or metaphorical linguistic expressions for DEFEAT, and not for something else. Second, the linguistic metaphor must be consistent with a high-level, schematic metaphor conventionally used for that element, such as DEFEAT). In the case above, it would be DEFEAT IS PHYSICAL/ SOCIAL CONTROL. Third, the linguistic metaphors chosen on the basis of such metaphors should (probably *must* would be too strong a word here) be consistent with other more specific elements in the same frame (such as AMERICAN FOOTBALL). Such more specific elements within the AMERICAN FOOTBALL frame would be the names of the teams.

The effect of knowledge about major entities in the discourse on metaphor use

In other cases, it seems to be our knowledge about the entities participating in the discourse that plays a role in choosing our metaphors in real discourse. Major entities participating in discourse include the speaker (conceptualizer), the hearer (addressee/ conceptualizer), and the entity or process we talk about (topic). I'll discuss two such examples, involving the topic and the speaker/ conceptualizer.

To begin, I will reanalyze an example first discussed in Kövecses (2005). The Hungarian daily *Magyar Nemzet* (Hungarian Nation) carried an article some years ago about some of the political leaders of neighboring countries who were at the time antagonistic to Hungary. One of them, the then Slovak president, Meciar, used to be a boxer. This gave a Hungarian journalist a chance to use the following metaphor that is based on this particular property of the former Slovak president:

> A pozsonyi exbokszolóra akkor viszünk be atlanti pontot érő ütést, ha az ilyen helyzetekben megszokott nyugati módra "öklözünk": megvető távolságot tartva. (*Hungarian Nation,* September 13, 1997)
> We *deal a blow* worth an Atlantic *point* to the ex-*boxer* of Bratislava if we *box* in a western style as customary in these circumstances: *keeping an aloof distance*. (my translation, ZK)

Confrontational international politics is commonly conceptualized as war, sports, games, etc. There are many different kinds of war, sports, and games, all of which could potentially be used to talk about confrontational international politics. In all probability, the journalist chose boxing because of his knowledge (shared by many of his readers) about one of the entities that constitute the topic of the discourse.

In using the metaphor CONFRONTATIONAL INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IS BOXING, the author is relying both on some conventional and unconventional mappings. What is common to the war, sports, and games metaphors is, of course, that they all focus on and highlight the notion of winning in relation to the activity to which they apply. This is their shared "meaning focus" (Kövecses, 2000, 2002) and this is that makes up the conventional part of the metaphor. The boxer corresponding to the politician and the blows exchanged corresponding to the political statements made are explicitly present in the discourse in question. In addition, we also assume that both boxers want to win and that the participating politicians want the same (whatever winning means in politics). However, the manner in which the boxers box and politicians argue is not a part of the conventional framework of the metaphor. "Keeping an aloof distance" probably comes into the discourse as a result of the author thinking about the target domain of politics. In the author's view, politics regarding Meciar should be conducted in a cool, detached manner. What corresponds to this way of doing politics in boxing is that you box in a way that you keep an aloof distance from your opponent. The process is then similar to what we have seen above in the discussion of the EUROPEAN HOUSE metaphor.

In the previous case, the metaphor was selected and elaborated as a result of what the conceptualizer knows about the topic. It is also possible to find cases where the selection of a metaphor depends on knowledge that the conceptualizer has about himself or herself. What is especially intriguing about such cases is that the author's (conceptualizer's) knowledge about him- or herself does not need to be conscious. The next example, taken from my previous work (Kövecses, 2005) but reanalyzed here, demonstrates this possibility. As one would expect, one important source of such cases is the area of therapy or psychological counseling. In a therapeutic context people commonly create novel metaphors as a result of unique and traumatic life experiences. The metaphors that are created under these circumstances need not be consciously formed. The example

comes from an article in the magazine *A & U* (March, 2003) about photographic artist Frank Jump.

Frank Jump photographs old painted mural advertisements in New York City. He has AIDS, but he has outlived his expected life span. His life and his art are intimately connected metaphorically. The conceptual metaphor operative here could be put as follows: SURVIVING AIDS DESPITE PREDICTIONS TO THE CONTRARY IS FOR THE OLD MURAL ADVERTISEMENTS TO SURVIVE THEIR EXPECTED "LIFE SPAN." At first, Jump was not consciously aware that he works within the frame of a conceptual metaphor that relies on his condition. In his own words:

> In the beginning, I didn't make the connection between the subject matter and my own sero-positivity. I was asked to be part of the Day Without Art exhibition a few years ago and didn't think I was worthy—other artists' work was much more HIV-specific. … But my mentor said, "Don't you see the connection? You're documenting something that was never intended to live this long. *You* never intended to live this long." [p. 27; italics in the original]

The mentor made the conceptual metaphor conscious for the artist. I believe something similar is happening in many cases of psychotherapy and counseling.

It is clear that the metaphor SURVIVING AIDS DESPITE PREDICTIONS TO THE CONTRARY IS FOR THE OLD MURAL ADVERTISEMENTS TO SURVIVE THEIR EXPECTED "LIFE SPAN" is anything but a conventional conceptual metaphor. The metaphor is created by Frank Jump as a novel analogy—the unconscious but nevertheless real analogy between surviving one's expected life span as a person who has AIDS and the survival of the mural advertisements that were created to be around on the walls of buildings in New York City for only a limited amount of time. In this case, (unconscious) self-knowledge leads the conceptualizer to find the appropriate analogy. The analogy is appropriate because the source and the target domains share schematic structural resemblance; namely, an entity existing longer than expected. The resulting metaphor(ical analogy) is novel and creative and it comes about as a result of what the conceptualizer knows about himself.

The effect of physical setting on metaphor use

The physical setting may also influence the selection and use of particular metaphors in discourse. The physical setting comprises, among possibly other things, the physical *events and their consequences* that make up or are part of the setting, the various aspects of the physical *environment*, and the *perceptual qualities* that characterize the setting. I'll briefly discuss an example for each.

The first of these, *physical events and their consequences*, is well demonstrated by a statement made by an American journalist who traveled to New Orleans to do an interview with Fats Domino, the famous American musician and singer, two years after the devastation wreaked by hurricane Katrina, when the city of New Orleans was still struggling with many of the consequences of the hurricane. The journalist comments:

> The 2005 hurricane capsized Domino's life, though he's loath to confess any inconvenience or misery outside of missing his social circle … (*USA TODAY*, 2007, September 21, Section 6B)

The metaphorical statement "The 2005 hurricane *capsized* Domino's life" is based on the general metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY and its more specific version LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY. The SEA JOURNEY source domain is chosen probably because of the role of the sea in the hurricane. More importantly, it should be noted that the verb *capsize* is used (as opposed to, say, *run aground*), though it is not a conventional linguistic manifestation of either the general JOURNEY or the more specific SEA JOURNEY source domains. I suggest that this verb is selected by the journalist as a result of the (still) visible consequences in New Orleans of the hurricane as a devastating physical event. The physical setting thus possibly triggers extension of an existing conventional conceptual metaphor and causes the speaker/ conceptualizer to choose a metaphorical expression that best fits that setting.

Next, let us consider *environmental conditions* as a part of the physical setting. The physical setting as a potential cause of, or factor in, which metaphors we choose was first studied by Boers (1999). He started out from the following general hypothesis. People will make more extensive use of a source domain when that particular source domain becomes more salient for them under certain circumstances. In other words, certain changes in the circumstances of the communicative

situation may make people more aware of a particular source domain, and this may result in an increased use of the source domain in metaphorical conceptualization. The specific hypothesis was that the source domain of HEALTH will be especially productive of linguistic expressions in the winter because this is the time when, at least in countries of the northern hemisphere, people are more aware of their bodies through the more frequent occurrence of illnesses (such as colds, influenza, pneumonia, bronchitis). The particular target domain that was selected for the study was ECONOMY. Thus, according to the hypothesis, we can expect an increase in the relative salience of the ECONOMY IS HEALTH metaphor in the winter period. The salience of the HEALTH domain was assessed in terms of the frequency of health-related metaphorical expressions for economy.

In order to test the hypothesis, Boers counted all the metaphorical expressions that have to do with economy and that are based on the HEALTH source domain in the editorials of all issues of the English weekly magazine *The Economist* over a period of ten years. The study resulted in a sample of over one million words. Here is a selection of some of the metaphorical expressions that he identified: "*healthy* companies," "*sickly* firms," "economic *remedy*," "*symptoms* of a corporate *disease*," "a financial *injection*," "*arthritic* markets," "economic *recovery*," and many others. The heavy presence of such and similar expressions shows that economy is commonly talked and thought about in terms of bodily health. The question for the researcher was whether there was any fluctuation in the frequency of use of the HEALTH metaphor from season to season. Boers found that the frequency of the metaphor was highest between the months of December and March. The same result was found systematically for the ten years under investigation. During this period, the frequency of health-related metaphors for economy went up and stayed higher in the winter. This finding supported the hypothesis. When the HEALTH domain becomes more salient for people, they make more extensive use of it than when it is less salient.

We can reinterpret Boers' findings in the following way. Since the physical setting is part of the communicative situation, it may play a role in selecting particular metaphorical source domains. In the present example, wintertime is more likely to lead to the selection of health-related metaphors than to other metaphors, simply because such metaphors may be higher up in awareness than others due to the adverse impact of the physical environment on conceptualizers.

The effect of social setting on metaphor use

When we use metaphors, we use them in a social context as well. The social context can be extremely variable. It can involve anything from the social relationships that obtain between the participants of the discourse through the gender roles of the participants to the various social occasions in which the discourse takes place. Let us take an example for the last possibility from the American newspaper *USA TODAY*.

As mentioned above, in 2007 the newspaper carried an article about Fats Domino, one of the great living musicians based in flood-stricken New Orleans. In the article, the journalist describes in part Domino's life after Katrina—the hurricane that destroyed his house and caused a lot of damage to his life and that of many other people in New Orleans. The subtitle of the article reads:

> The rock 'n' roll pioneer rebuilds his life—and on the new album 'Goin' Home,' his timeless music. (*USA TODAY*, 2007, September 21, Section 6B)

How can we account for the use of the metaphor "*rebuilds* his life" in this text? We could simply suggest that this is an instance of the LIFE IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor and that whatever meaning is intended to be conveyed by the expression is most conventionally conveyed by this particular conceptual metaphor and this particular metaphorical expression. But then this may not entirely justify the use of the expression. There are potentially other conceptual metaphors (and corresponding metaphorical expressions) that could also be used to achieve a comparable semantic effect. Two that readily come to mind include the LIFE IS A JOURNEY and the LIFE IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphors. We could also say that x *set out again on his/her path* or that after his/her life broke down, x *got it to work* again or *restarted* it. These and similar metaphors would enable the speaker/ conceptualizer and the hearer to come to the interpretation that the rebuilding idea activates.

However, of the potentially possible choices it is the LIFE IS A BUILDING metaphor is selected for the purpose. In all probability this is because, at the time of the interview, Domino was also in the process of rebuilding his house that was destroyed by the hurricane in 2005. If this is correct, it can be suggested that the social situation (rebuilding his house) triggered, or facilitated, the choice of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A BUILDING. In other words, a real-world instance of a source domain is

more likely to lead to the choice of a source concept of which it is an instance than to that of a source domain of which it is not. In this sense, the social setting may play a role in the selection of certain preferred conceptual metaphors, and hence of certain preferred metaphorical expressions in discourse.

In such cases, the emerging general picture seems to be as follows: There is a particular social setting and there is a particular meaning that needs to be activated. If the meaning can be activated by means of a metaphorical mapping that fits the social setting, speakers/ concept-tualizers will prefer to choose that mapping (together with the linguistic expression that is based on the mapping). More simply, if the social setting involves an element that is an instance of an appropriate source domain, speakers are likely to use that source domain.

The effect of the immediate cultural context on metaphor use

The social setting can be relatively easily distinguished from the cultural context when we have to deal with social roles, social relations, and social power. However, the social setting is less clearly distinguishable from what I call the "cultural context" in many other cases. The situation I wish to describe in this section is probably more cultural than social, in that it lacks such straightforward social elements and characteristics as power, relations, and roles.

Consider the following example taken from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, in which Bill Whalen, a professor of political science in Stanford and an advisor to Arnold Schwarzenegger, uses metaphorical language concerning the actor who later became the governor of California:

> "Arnold Schwarzenegger is not the second Jesse Ventura or the second Ronald Reagan, but the first Arnold Schwarzenegger," said Bill Whalen, a Hoover Institution scholar who worked with Schwarzenegger on his successful ballot initiative last year and supports the actor's campaign for governor.
> "He's a unique commodity—unless there happens to be a whole sea of immigrant body builders who are coming here to run for office. This is 'Rise of the Machine,' not 'Attack of the Clones.'" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, A16, August 17, 2003)

Of interest in this connection are the metaphors *He's a unique commodity* and particularly *This is 'Rise of the Machine,' not 'Attack of*

the Clones.' The first one is based on a completely conventional conceptual metaphor: PEOPLE ARE COMMODITIES, as shown by the very word *commodity* to describe the actor. The other two are highly unconventional and novel. What makes Bill Whalen produce these unconventional metaphors and what allows us to understand them? There are, I suggest, two reasons. First, and more obviously, it is because Arnold Schwarzenegger played in the first of these movies. In other words, what sanctions the use of these metaphorical expressions has to do with the knowledge that the conceptualizer (Whalen) has about the topic of the discourse (Schwarzenegger), as discussed in a previous section. Second, and less obviously but more importantly, he uses the metaphors because these are movies that, at the time of speaking (i.e., 2003), everyone knew about in California and the US. In other words, they were part and parcel of the immediate cultural context. Significantly, the second movie, *Attack of the Clones* does not feature Schwarzenegger, but it is the key to understanding of the contrast between individual and copy that Whalen is referring to.

Given this knowledge, people can figure out what Whalen intended to say, which was that Schwarzenegger is a unique individual and not one of a series of look-alikes. But figuring this out may not be as easy and straightforward as it seems. After all, the metaphor *Rise of the Machine* does not clearly and explicitly convey the idea that Schwarzenegger is unique in any sense. (As a matter of fact, the mention of machines goes against our intuitions of uniqueness.) However, we get this meaning via two textual props in the text. The first one is a series of statements by Whalen: "Arnold Schwarzenegger is not the second Jesse Ventura or the second Ronald Reagan, but the first Arnold Schwarzenegger" and "He's a unique commodity—unless there happens to be a whole sea of immigrant body builders who are coming here to run for office." What seems to be the case here is that the speaker emphasizes the idea of individuality *before* he uses the MACHINE metaphor. But not even this prior emphasis would be sufficient by itself. Imagine that the text stops with the words "…This is 'Rise of the Machine.'" I think most native speakers would be baffled and have a hard time understanding what Whalen intended to say in this last sentence. Therefore, in order to fully understand the discourse we badly need the second textual prop, which is: "not '*Attack of the Clones.*'" It is against the background of this phrase that we understand what the metaphorical expression *Rise of the Machine* might possibly mean.

In other words, in this case we have an entirely novel (but contextually motivated) metaphor in the discourse. In order to understand the meaning of this metaphorical phrase we need support from the neighboring linguistic context. In the present example, it is provided in the form of the two contextual props discussed above.

The combined effect of factors on metaphor use

For the sake of the clarity of analysis, I have tried to show the relevance to the selection of discourse metaphors of each of the factors one by one. But this does not mean that in reality they always occur in an isolated fashion. As a matter of fact, it is reasonable to expect them to co-occur in real discourse. For example, a person's concerns, or interests, as a factor may combine with additional knowledge about himself or herself, as well as the topic of the discourse, and the three can, in this way, powerfully influence how the conceptualizer will express himself or herself metaphorically. The next and final example demonstrates this possibility in a fairly clear way.

At the time of working on the present article (January through March, 2008), there was heated debate in Hungarian society about whether the country should adopt a health insurance system, similar to that in the U.S.A., based on competing privately-owned health insurance companies, rather than staying with a single, state-owned and state-regulated system. As part of the debate, many people volunteered their opinion on this issue in a variety of media, the Internet being one of them. As I was following the debate on the Internet, I found an article that can serve, in my view, as a good demonstration of a situation in which one's use of metaphors in a discourse is informed by a combination of factors, not just a single one.

A Hungarian doctor published a substantial essay in one of the Hungarian news networks about the many potential undesirable consequences of the proposed new privatized system. He outlines and introduces what he has to say in his essay in the following way (given first in the Hungarian original):

> Dolgozatom a gondolkodási időben született.
> Célkitűzése a törvény várható hatásainak elemzése.
> Módszereiben az orvosi gondolkodást követi.

A magyar egészségügyet képzeli a beteg helyzetébe.
Kezelőorvosnak a kormányt tekinti, és konzulensként a szakértőket illetve a szerzőt magát kéri fel.
A prognózis meghatározás feltételének tekinti a helyes diagnózist.
Végül röviden megvizsgálja van-e alternatív kezelési lehetőség.

Here's an almost literal translation of the text into English (I have used quotation marks for cases where there is no clear equivalent for a Hungarian word or expression in English or I am not aware of one):

This paper was born in the period when people think about the issue.
Its objective is to analyze the expected effects of the law.
In its methods, it follows the way doctors think.
It imagines Hungarian healthcare as the patient.
It takes the government as the attending physician, and invites experts and the author (of the article) himself to be the consultants.
It considers the correct diagnosis to be the precondition for predicting the prognosis.
Finally it briefly examines if there is an alternative possibility for treatment.

Unless the author of the article deliberately wishes to provide an illustration for the use of metaphors in discourse and/or has read Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By*, and/or, even less likely, that s/he has read my *Metaphor in Culture* (and I doubt that either of these is the case), this is a remarkable example of how a combination of contextual factors can influence the way we often speak/write and think metaphorically. The author of the article is a doctor himself/herself, we can assume s/he has a great deal of interest in his/her job (s/he took the trouble of writing the article), and s/he is writing about Hungarian healthcare. The first of these is concerned with what I called knowledge about the speaker/conceptualizer; the second corresponds to personal concern, or interest (related to the speaker); and the third involves what was called the topic of the discourse. It seems that the three factors are jointly responsible for the way the author uses metaphors in the discourse (and, given this example, for how s/he, in addition, actually structures what s/he says). Needless to say, many other combinations of factors can be imagined and expected to co-occur in and influence real discourse.

An extended view of metaphorical creativity

We are now in a position to discuss two important issues regarding metaphorical creativity. First, we can ask what the sources of metaphorical creativity are, and second, we can try to tackle the issue of the role of the communicative situation in metaphorical creativity.

What are the sources of metaphorical creativity?

The "standard" version of CMT operates with largely uncontextualized or minimally contextualized linguistic examples of hypothesized conceptual metaphors. The conceptual metaphors are seen as constituted by sets of mappings between the source and the target domains. The mappings are assumed to be fairly static conceptual structures. The linguistic metaphors that are motivated by such static correspondences are entrenched, conventional expressions that eventually find their way to good, detailed dictionaries of languages. Dictionaries and the meanings they contain represent what is static and highly conventional about particular languages. In this view it is problematic to account for metaphorical creativity. How does this somewhat simplified and rough characterization of "standard" CMT change in light of the work reported in this paper?

If we look at metaphors from a discourse perspective and if we try to draw conclusions on the basis of what we have found here, we can see three important sources of metaphorical creativity. The first is the type of creativity that arises from the source domain (in its source-internal and source-external versions), the second derives from the target domain, and the third emerges from the context. Since I have discussed the first two elsewhere (see Kovecses, 2005), I'll deal with the third type only.

The third type of metaphorical creativity is what I called "context-induced" creativity. To the best of my knowledge, apart from some sporadic instances (such as Aitchison, 1987; Koller, 2004; Kövecses, 2005; Semino, in press/ 2008; Benczes, to appear), the issue of context-induced metaphorical creativity has not been systematically investigated. A considerable portion of novel metaphorical language seems to derive from such contextual factors as the immediate linguistic context, knowledge about discourse participants, physical setting, and the like. It remains to be seen how robust the phenomenon is and whether it deserves

serious further investigation. Based on an informal collection of data from a variety of newspapers, it appears that the context provides a major source of motivation for the use of many novel metaphors. These metaphors are clearly not, in Grady's (1999) classification, either resemblance or correlation-based cases. They seem to have a unique status, in that they are grounded in the context in which metaphorical conceptualization is taking place.

The role of context in metaphorical creativity

Many of the examples of unconventional metaphoric language we have seen in this paper could simply not be explained without taking into account a series of contextual factors. Five such factors have been identified, but possibly there are more. My claim is that in addition to the well studied conceptual metaphors and metaphorical analogies used to convey meanings and achieve rhetorical functions in discourse, conceptualizers are also very much aware and take advantage of the various factors that make up the immediate context in which metaphorical conceptualization takes place.

The *linguistic context* is constituted by the various conceptual frames (including temporary mental spaces) and symbolic units (form-meaning pairs, or, simply, words) representing and activating the frames. Metaphorically-used expressions (i.e., metaphoric symbolic units) are placed into this flow of frames and words at appropriate points in the manner explained in the discussion of several of the examples. Thus the most immediate context in which metaphorical expressions are used is the linguistic context; more specifically and precisely, the frames that immediately precede and provide the slot into which linguistic metaphors can be inserted. This flow of discourse can be imagined as a line of successive (though not necessarily temporally arranged) frames (with the frames commonly nested in more general frames).

The *major entities that participate in the discourse* are the speaker/ conceptualizer, the topic, and the hearer/ conceptualizer. The speaker and the hearer are both also conceptualizers in the sense that both the production and understanding of discourse requires the activation of literal, metonymic, and metaphoric frames. More importantly for the present purpose, the speaker may have, sometimes detailed, knowledge about him- or herself, the hearer, and the topic. As we have seen, in the

case of the speaker this knowledge need not be conscious. The knowledge the speaker has about these entities may form the basis of the use of both conventional and unconventional metaphors in discourse.

Discourses do not occur in a vacuum. The three types of situations that I have considered in the paper include the *physical environment*, the *social setting*, and the *immediate cultural context*. This means that the speaker and the hearer are communicating about a topic (i.e., producing and reproducing a discourse) in a specific and immediate physical, social, and cultural context. The use of metaphors is affected by less specific and less immediate contexts as well, such as the "broader cultural context" (see Kövecses, 2005), but this larger context was not the focus of this paper. Moreover, as was noted above, each of these contextual factors comes in a variety of distinct forms, and they can shade into each other. Finally, all the factors can affect the use of metaphors in discourse simultaneously, and they can do so in various combinations.

We can imagine the three factors as frames that are nested in one another, such that the physical setting as the outermost frame includes the social frame that includes the cultural frame, where we find the speaker/ conceptualizer, the hearer/ conceptualizer, and the topic, as well as the diagram for the flow of discourse. These contextual factors can trigger, singly or in combination, the use of conventional or unconventional and novel metaphorical expressions in the discourse. We can represent the joint workings of these factors in the diagram below:
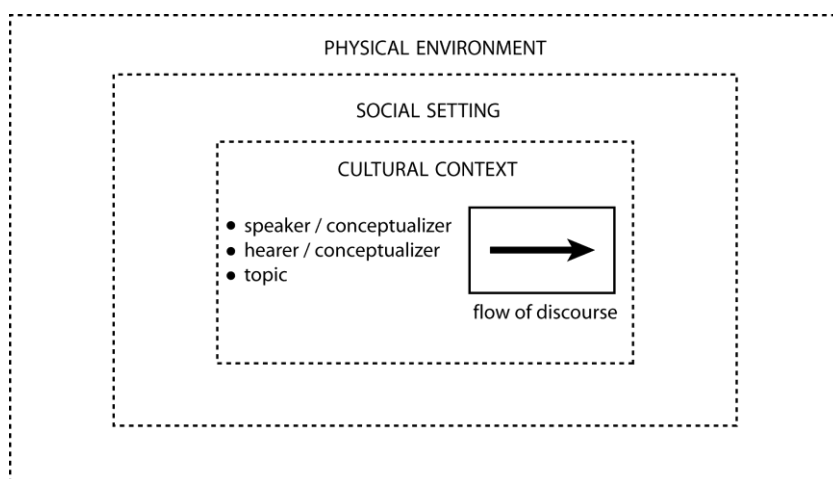
As noted, all the factors can trigger the use of metaphors in discourse. In some cases, the contextual factors will simply lead to the emergence and use of well-worn, conventional metaphorical expressions, but in others they may produce genuinely novel expressions. We can call this mechanism the "pressure of coherence," a notion I introduced elsewhere (Kövecses, 2005). The pressure of coherence includes all the mechanisms that lead to the use of particular metaphors in discourse. The core idea is that we try to be coherent, in addition to the body, with most of the other, especially contextual, factors that regulate what we say and think.

Conclusions

The paper has examined the interrelations among the notions of metaphor, discourse, and creativity. Several important connections have been found.

First, metaphorical creativity in discourse can involve several distinct cases: (a) the case where a novel source domain is applied or novel elements of the source are applied to a given target domain (source-induced creativity); (b) the case where elements of the target originally not involved in a set of constitutive mappings are utilized and found matching counterparts in the source (target-induced creativity); (c) the case where various contextual factors lead to novel metaphors (context-induced creativity).

Second, context plays a crucial role in understanding why we use certain metaphors as we produce discourse. Conceptualizers seem to rely on a number of contextual factors when they use metaphors in discourse. The ones that have been identified in the paper include the immediate linguistic context, the knowledge conceptualizers have about themselves and the topic, the immediate cultural context, the social context, and the physical setting. Since all of these are shared between the speaker and hearer (the conceptualizers), the contextual factors facilitate the development and mutual understanding of the discourse.

Given the evidence in the paper, we can conclude that conceptualizers try and tend to be coherent not only with their bodies (as is the case with correlational metaphors) but also with the various facets of the context in the course of metaphorically conceptualizing the world.

Works Cited

Aitchison, Jean. 1987. *Words in the Mind.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Benczes, Réka. To appear. Setting limits on creativity in the production and use of metaphorical and metonymical compounds. In: Sascha Michel and Alexander Onysko (eds.), *Cognitive Approaches to Word Formation*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.)

Boers, Frank. 1999. When a bodily source domain becomes prominent. In R. Gibbs and G. Steen, eds., *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics.* 47–56. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Grady, Joseph. 1999. A typology of motivation for conceptual metaphors. Correlations vs. resemblance. In Ray W. Gibbs and Gerard J. Steen (Eds.) Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 79–100.

Koller, Veronika. 2004/2008. *Metaphor and Gender in Business Media Discourse: a Critical Cognitive Study*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave.

Kövecses, Zoltán. 2000. The scope of metaphor. In A. Barcelona (ed.) *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads.* Berlin: Gruyter. Pp. 79–92.

Kövecses, Zoltán. 2002. *Metaphor. A Practical Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kövecses, Zoltán. 2005. *Metaphor in Culture. Universality and Variation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George and Mark Turner. 1989. *More Than Cool Reason. A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Semino, Elena. In press/ 2008. *Metaphor in Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

"… bright young modernists"[1] in Canada

Katalin Kürtösi

"Why will you sing of railways?" (F.O. Call)

The critical discourse about literature in Canada most often hovers between two positions, namely pointing out the significance of foreign influences (and thus stressing its colonial situation) or underlining the presence of 'home grown' features in writing. The most widely cited phrasing of these considerations can be found in N. Frye's *Divisions on a Ground* (1982) where his model for colonial literature enumerates three stages, starting with a superficial imitation of literary expressions dominating in works written in the mother country, secondly, responding to contemporary styles, and in the third phase, that of maturity, the heritage of previous centuries and decades is consciously incorporated into the body of writing. (21–23) While most scholars choose to elaborate on the first and third phases, I wish to investigate the first decades when Canadian writers and critics were not only fascinated by the new perspectives and forms of literature in Europe but also 'domesticated' these novel attitudes with a remarkable freshness. The period I wish to concentrate on is the two early decades of the twentieth century between 1910 and 1930—these are the turbulent years of experimenting Modernism in Europe and it will be demonstrated how Canadian men of letters were responding to its challenges.

Experimenting 'Modernism' is a term with a wide range of meanings (in the context of European art, its 'equivalent' is the avant-garde)—for the present investigations the following definitions and descriptions will be considered:

---

[1] S. Ross, 12.

- modernism is a "self-reflexively experimental aesthetic practice that produces its meaning in dialogue with a social field characterized by historical modernization". (Willmott, 2005, 101)
- "As the author appears in the text, so does the painter in the painting. The reflexive text assumes the centre of the public and aesthetic stage, and in doing so declaratively repudiates the fixed forms, the settled cultural authority of the academies and their bourgeois taste". (Williams, 33)
- The high point of the avant-garde has usually been considered […] the 1910–30 period when expressionism, futurism, dadaism, surrealism, and constructivism were to generate antagonistic and visionary impulses which signalled a vital tradition of social radicalism and social innovation. (Bayard, 3–4)

M. A. Gillies enumerates some widely accepted features of modernism—for our purposes, the stress on abstract art forms, aesthetic self-consciousness, radical innovation, fragmentation and shock, the breaking of formal and linguistic conventions and the use of paradox, the wish to create new art that would reflect the new social realities are of most importance. (2)

The main targets of attack in this new art were the dominating styles of the nineteenth century, i.e. Romanticism and Realism. Canadian writers and painters also fired at their predecessors featuring the typical elements of Romanticism what in many cases went hand in hand with expressions of national sentiments. Modernists favoured the genre of the manifesto to announce their (very often contradictory) views about the relationship of social reality and artistic expression—Marinetti's futurist manifesto of 1909 can serve as a typical example of this form of communicating new convictions about art and life, and at the same time, it can be regarded as the initial step toward unrestricted artistic experimentation in the early twentieth century.

In Québec, the first references to the Futurists appeared on August 17th, 1912 when *le Devoir* published an article by Georges Malet on "The Futurist school—new literary rules" which had appeared in *la Gazette de France*, Paris a couple of days earlier. Three weeks later the same daily had another article about Marinetti and his movement, starting a debate about his views—and concluded with refusing them. (Bourassa, 48) Poets of the time, however, were more welcoming towards innovations:

Guillome Lahaise (1888–1969) under the pen name of Guy Delahaye published a volume of 'cubo-futurist' poems in 1912—*"Mignonne, allons voir si la Rose…"* had two editions in Montréal that year.

In English Canada the first references to futurism are dated in 1914, but in an ironic way some of its principles were present in Leacock's *Sunshine Sketches* of 1912: "the 'buses roar and hum to the station; the trains shriek; the traffic multiplies; the people move faster and faster" (cited by Staines, 12). A. Stringer published *Open Water*, his poetry volume in 1914: while the poems are strongly reminiscent of late-Romantic and Victorian style, his foreword contains telling references to a new way of literary representation, including principles disseminated by Futurists. Since his work and views are not widely known even among Canadianists, let us cite his major remarks about the task of the poet in his days:

> In painting and in music, as in sculpture and the drama, there has been a movement of late to achieve what may be called formal emancipation, a struggle to break away from the restraints and the technical obligations imposed upon the worker by his artistic predecessors. In one case this movement may be called Futurism, and in another it may be termed Romanticism. […]
>
> Poetry alone, during the last century, seems to have remained stable, in the matter of structure. Few new forms have been invented […] what the singer of today has felt has not been directly and openly expressed. His apparel has remained medieval.
>
> […] the iambic pentameter […] has been found by the later singer to be ill-fitted for the utterance of those more intimate moods and those subjective experiences which may be described as characteristically modern.
>
> […] poetry represents the extreme vanguard of consciousness both adventuring and pioneering along the path of future progress.
>
> […] rhythmically, the modern versifier has been a Cubist without quite comprehending it. He has been viewing the world mathematically. He has been crowding his soul into a geometrically designed mould. (5–8)

Futurism was not the sole influence on Canadian poets wishing to renew their art: American *imagism* and free verse also played a crucial role in the efforts to break with the old forms.

Although the poems in Stringer's volume did not meet his own expectations and artistic views, his novels indirectly did have a great impact on Modernist fiction in Canada: according to latest research, Stringer's *The Prairie Wife* (published in 1915, film version in 1925) and his two consecutive novels about rural life in North America show

remarkable similarities with *As For Me and My House* (1941) by Sinclair Ross, which is generally considered as the first example of truly Modernist, self-reflective fiction in Canada.[2] As it is well-known, *As For Me…* presents the reader with a small town preacher's wife who is struggling to write an accurate journal about their life, relationship and frustration, while Philip, the husband takes refuge from everyday realities in his study, drawing and painting pictures about the congregation, the false facades of main street houses and also about horses—the latter symbolizes freedom, artistic expression and male virility alike, and his name means 'lover of horses'.

The processes of artistic creation (namely her writing and playing the piano, and his painting) form thus the main thread of this novel set during the times of the Great Depression in the Canadian prairies. Both Philip Bentley and his wife used to dream about evading the prospective monotony of their lives by looking at European models or travelling to Europe: he, as a student, was saving his meagre income to buy "expensive volumes of French reproductions" (17), while she was "teaching and saving hard for another year's study in the East, wondering if I might even make it Europe" (22). But having spent twelve years in various small towns on the Prairies, their dreams have evaporated, they have estranged from each other, Philip became an introvert person: "Philip these last years grows more and more to himself. At times I find even myself an outsider. He retreats to his books and wants no intrusions. No little Main Street intellectuals to air their learning and discuss theology. No bright young modernists to ask him what he thinks of evolution." (12) The reference to modernism/modernists and evolution (symbolized by the railway and their car) is present in the second entry of the diary—but the underlying message is that time has stopped, this childless couple is moving in a vicous circle starting it again and again in each small town: Mrs. Bentley diagnoses the situation as such when speaking about Philip hating "Horizon, all the Horizons" and shrinking from the Church. (88). "Because you're a hypocrite you lose your self-respect, because you lose your self-respect you lose your initiative and self-belief—it's the same vicious circle, every year closing in a little tighter." (112) Although the circle has a loop at the end of the novel with the birth of Philip's

---

[2] "[…] most of its formal, thematic, symbolic, and even modernist elements were borrowed from Arthur Stringer's almost unknown prairie trilogy—*The Prairie Wife* (1915), *The Prairie Mother* (1920), and *The Prairie Child* (1922)". Hill, 252.

illegitimate son—Philip himself was one—whose mother, Judith, dies after delivering the baby and Mrs. Bentley is ready to mother it right away, their departure from Horizon to the next small town after thirteen months suggests that only minor changes are in prospect—probably for the better, with a new life accompanying them and Philip resuming to smoke the pipe.

In 1920 another poetry volume, *Acanthus and Wild Grape* promoted the ideas of Futurism in its foreword: Frank Oliver Call expressed that the artist had to reflect upon the new ways of perception and on the impact of speed on our life.

> […] verse libre, like the motor-car and aeroplane, has come to stay whether we like it or no.
>
> In France, Italy, the United States, and even in conservative England, the increase in the number of poems recently published in this form has been remarkable. The modernists hail this tendency as the dawn of a new era of freedom […] There is much beauty to be found in walking in beaten paths or rambling in fenced-in fields and woods, but perhaps one who sails the skies in an aeroplane may see visions and feel emotions that never come to those who wander on foot along the old paths of the woods and fields below. (21–22)

Although in the Foreword Call seems to accept the new perspectives of Modernist writers/poets, the poems themselves contradict his opennes towards them. His "To a Modern Poet" manifests self-reflection, a typical feature of Modernist art, but Call refuses topics typically Modern and opts for a return to Keatsian principles.[3]

> Why must you sing of sorrow
> When the world is so full of woe?
> Why must you sing of the ugly?
> For the ugly and sad I know.
> Why will you sing of railways,
> Of iron and Steel and Coal,
> And the din of the smoky cities?
> For these will not feed my soul.

---

[3] Similar preferences can be detected in Delahaye's "AMOUR ET ART", in a stanza called *Poème synthétique*: "La nature concentre en sa splendeur aimante,
      Les charmes de bonté, les éclats de beauté".

> But sing to me songs of beauty
> To gladden my tired eyes, -
> […]
> For the earth has a store of beauty
> Deep hid from our blinded eyes,
> And only the true-born poet
> Knows just where the treasure lies.

In contrast with the spirit of the Foreword, Call's poem testifies to the poetic practice which he himself refused: the form, the rhymes alike remind nineteenth century verse. As Trehearne observes, Call's interest toward the Modern was more of an intellectual practice—he was so much a believer of abstract beauty that he himself seems to be doubting his dedication towards Modernism. (74–75)

After the less-known Modernist ideas of A. Stringer and F. O. Call, let us turn our attention to the widely recognized breakthrough of Modernism in Canada: the *McGill Fortnightly Review*, a short-lived student paper (November 21st, 1925—April 27th, 1927), edited by F. R. Scott and A. J. M. Smith published not only poems but also their views about what Modern literature should be like. Smith in an essay published in December 1926 elaborated on the expectations concerning modern approaches. His visions about "Contemporary Poetry" prove his remarkable sensitivity towards the innovations in the life of his days and how they should be reflected in arts. Some of his statements are worth reflection even in our days.

> Our age is an age of change […] that is taking place with a rapidity unknown in any other epoch. […] the whole world [is] contracted […] under the tightening bands of closer communication. Things moved faster, and we had to move with them.
> […] Ideas are changing, and therefore manners and morals are changing […] the arts [are] […] in a state of flux. […] Contemporary poetry reflects it as clearly as any other art.
> Poetry today must be the result of the impingement of modern conditions upon the personality and temperament of the poet […]
> We are at the beginning of an era, and who creates a new world must create a new art to express it. (27–28)

Beside the typical references of Modernist artists to 'change', 'rapidity', 'fastness', 'flux', 'the beginning of an era', 'new world' and 'new art', mentioning "the tightening bands of closer communication" can be interpreted as forecasting Marshall MacLuhan's theorizing on the

crucial role of communication in Modern world, ultimately leading to his coining the new term of the 'global village' some 25 years later. "Far in a corner"[4], as F. R. Scott puts it, on the margin of Western culture, the impact of European experimental Modernism is not only interpreted as artistic manifestations worth following, but is also enriched by a new element, that of the crucial role of communication, as a manifestly Canadian perspective with respect to the 'new world' and 'new art'.

Poetry was not the exclusive field in Canadian art life to respond to Modernist ideas spreading in Europe and crossing the ocean: painters declared the need for change and leaving back Romanticism in the second decade of the twentieth century. The Group of Seven artists are better known for their new ways of landscape representation—their experimentations reaching out in the direction of abstraction (i.e. L. Harris's paintings about the North) are less frequently analyzed although what Paul says in *As For Me…* can be considered as evidence to its recognition, at least in the circles of artists. "There'll be horses to ride, a river to swim in, and bare wild hills for Philip to draw. Their contours […] are so strong and pure in form that just as they are they're like a modernist's abstractions." (60)

Cubism, surrealism were also received favourably by several painters in the country although the recognition of their work came very late. Bertram Brooker (1888–1955) in 1927 was the first artist in Canada to exhibit abstract art—he was influenced by the futurists and V. Kandinsky's theoretical writing. Brooker, a writer, painter, musician and marketing expert was often inspired by music when painting, e.g. "Sounds Assembling". In the late 1920s he regularly published a column on "The Seven Arts" with analyses of theatre, music, visual arts and poetry: his reviews "underlined the qualities of a distinctly Canadian arts and culture." (internet source)

---

[4] "Far in a corner sits (though none would know it)
   The very picture of disconsolation,
   A rather lewd and most ungodly poet
   Writing these verses, for his soul's salvation."
  It is only in the April 1927 *Fortnightly* publication of Scott's "The Canadian Authors Meet" that the last stanza offers a contrast to the rejected school of Canadian poetry, while later editions of the poem omit it. Scott in these four lines draws a portrait of the Modernist poet referring to his marginal position, discontent, and the process of writing itself.

Western Modernism of the interwar period found Canada in a state of transition from the marginal and colonial position with its implication of feeling inferior towards a self-assurance to be reflected in the arts by instantly responding to artistic innovation and adding elements that point in the direction of novel visions of the world and of arts in the age of globalization: experimental Modernism can also be looked upon as the threshold of this new phenomenon. The pioneers of Modernism in Canada played a vital role in the process of re-defining the place of the Canadian artist of which N. Frye says in the mid-twentieth century: writers of those days "have begun to write in a world which is post-Canadian, as it is post-American, post-British, and post everything except the world itself. There are no provinces in the empire of aeroplane and television, and no physical separation from the centres of culture". (Frye, 1965, 848)

Works Cited

Bourassa, André-G. *Surréalisme et littérature québécoise. Histoire d'une révolution culturelle.* Montréal: Les Herbes Rouges, 1986.

Call, Frank Oliver. „Preface to *Acanthus and Wild Grape*"—in: Dudek—Gnarowski, 21–23."

Delahaye, Guy. *"Mignonne, allons voir si la Rose ..."*. 2. kiadás. Montréal: C. DEOM, 1912.

Dudek, Louis – Michael Gnarowski (eds). *The Making of Modern Poetry in Canada. Essential Articles on Contemporary Canadian Poetry in English*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1970.

Frye, Northrop. "Conclusion."—in: Carl F. Klinck (ed.). *Literary History of Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

——. *Divisions on a Ground. Essays on Canadian Literature*. Ed., Preface: James Polk. Toronto: Anansi, 1982.

Gillies, Mary Ann, Aurelea Mahood. *Modernist Literature*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, Ithaca, 2007.

Hill, Colin. "As For Me and My Blueprint: Sinclair Ross's Debt to Arthur Stringer."—in: Irvine, Dean (ed., Intr.). *The Canadian Modernists Meet*. University of Ottawa Press, 2005. 251–272.

Reid, Dennis. *Bertram Brooker*. Canadian Artists Series 1. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada. 1979.

Ross, Sinclair. *As For Me and My House*. With an Afterword by Robert Kroetsch. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1989.

Smith, A. J. M. "Contemporary Poetry," *The McGill Fortnightly Review*, December 15, 1926.—in: Dudek-Gnarowski, 27-30.

Staines, David. *Beyond the Provinces. Literary Canada at Century's End.* Toronto–Buffalo–London: The University of Toronto Press, 1995.

Stringer, Arthur. "Preface to *Open Water*". (Toronto: Bell & Cocburn, 1914)—in: Dudek-Gnarowski, 5–9.

Trehearne, Brian. *Aestheticism and the Canadian modernists: aspects of a poetic influence*. Montréal: McGill—Queen's University Press, 1989.

Williams, Raymond. *The Politics of Modernism. Against the New Conformists*. Ed., Intr. Tony Pinkney. London–New York: Verso, 1989.

Willmott, Glenn. *McLuhan, or Modernism in Reverse*. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1996.

www.Arthistoryarchive.com/arthistory/canadian/Bertram-Brooker. (accessed: 2009.10.10.)

Changes in the U.S. National Security Concepts after the Cold War

Tamás Magyarics

During the Cold War the so-called grand strategy of the U.S. did not change a lot. By 'grand strategy' we mean the relationship between the military tools and the international commitments; that is, the assessment and the determination of the potential threats to a country and what tools this country wishes to use to counter them. (Layne 1994:19). Washington was pursuing a '*positional grand strategy*' for about forty years between the late 1940s and the early 1990s: it treated one country (the Soviet Union) or, by extension, one group of countries (the Communist states) as the single most threatening challenge to its national security and did all its best to weaken and contain these potential adversaries. In contrast, the U.S. seems to have adopted a so-called *milieu grand strategy* after the conclusion of the Cold War, that is, the collapse of Communism in East and Central Europe and the dissolution of the Soviet Union; in the lack of a concretely defined enemy country or group of countries The Americans have been trying to shape the international environment in accordance of their long-term security interests.

Acquiring the position of a hegemon—and later on, retaining it—enjoyed a priority among the Cold War objectives. By hegemony we mean a preponderant military, economic, and political power. Under the definition, the U.S. obtained the status of a hegemon in the non-Communist parts of the world during the Cold War. The system thus created can best be likened to a hub and spokes. The U.S. stood in the center of each of the military alliances in the capitalist world (NATO, ANZUS, SEATO), the financial and commercial organizations (IMF, World Bank, GATT—the 'Bretton Woods' system), as well as the political ones (OAS, UN) in the early Cold War years. This situation was

modified by the appearance of the so-called non-aligned countries (the Bandung Conference, 1955); in other words, the gradual fading away of the bipolar world and the zero-sum game approach and the emergence of the concept of a multipolar world in place of it. The acceptance of the hegemony of the U.S. in the capitalist world was based on three factors. One, the potential competitors had been defeated during the World War (Germany, Japan) or weakened dramatically (Great Britain, France). Two, the Americans offered useful 'services' in the military, economic, financial, and political fields; that is, they were behaving as a 'benevolent hegemon' (Layne 2002:187). Three, at least as far as the European and Asian capitalist countries were concerned, the U.S. put a security umbrella over them and, thus, made it possible for these countries to build up the welfare state. The military preponderant power was realized in developing a nuclear triad (gound-, sea-, and air-based) of both tactical (theater) and strategic nuclear forces. The 'massive retaliation' of the 1950s was replaced by the 'flexible response' and the tendency started in the late 1950s and early 1960s seems to survive even nowadays. More specifically, the transformation of the U.S. armed forces has been moving towards az ever more flexible, mobile, smaller, and more lethal strategies in harmony with the concept of attempting to shape the *milieu* in the first place. At the same time, preponderant power determines more than ever the grand strategy of the U.S.: currently, Washington is spending rougly as much on-defence related issues as the rest of the world. However, it does not translate itself into a more secure environment for the U.S.; in fact, some even argue that the U.S. has to face more complex and less manageable challenges now than during the Cold War.

It was the so-called Wesphalian system that characterized the international relations between the mid 17th century through the very end of the 20th century; that is, it was almost exclusively the (nation)states that were the actors in international life. However, with the ending of the Cold War, a great number of non-state (supra. and substate) actors appeared on the world stage. It turned out that the U.S. was able to play the role of a hegemon in the capitalist world during the Cold War, but it is unable to assume the role of a global hegemon. Military, political, and economic power has become more and more dispersed; in fact, this process ocurred within a number of states as well. The emerging 'failed' and 'failing' states, that is, those which are unable to assume the functions characterizing the 'normal' states, have substantially contributed to a more unstable world and forced the U.S.—and some other members of

the international community (e.g., NATO during the Kosovo-crisis)—to reconsider their security concepts. The Cold War 'grand strategy' of the U.S. became useless; a number of asymmetrical challenges emerged in place of the symmetrical threat posed by the Soviet Union. The two pillars of the Cold War 'grand strategy', *containment* and *deterrence*, or the 'mutually assured destruction' (MAD) proved to be effective against states which were pursuing rational goals. Nowadays, a lot of terrorist groups are different from the 'traditional' terrorists, insofar as they are pursuing irrational goals; while containment and deterrence are also inefficient against 'failed' or 'failing' states either. At the same time, the *security agenda* has become wider; it includes from fighting international terrorism through drug abuse to environmental degradation. Meanwhile, the international positions of the U.S. have weakened in areas apart from the military one: while the U.S. produced close to 50 percent of the world's GDP in the late 1840s and about a third a decade later, now it accounts for only about a fifth of the total industrial production in the world. Moreover, her political hegemony has also weakened: the European allies are heading for a post-Westfalian, post-modern interpretation of international relations with a hevy dependence of 'soft power', while the majority of the American strategic thinkers still view the world in terms of power relations (similarly to the Russians and Chinese among others).

The postwar military and security planning in the U.S. can be divided into three distinct phases. First, the period between 1989 and 1991, that is, from the collapse of Communism in East and Central Europe to the Gulf War; then from the Gulf War to September 11, 2001; and, finally, the period since 9/11. In general, the first one was characterized by George H. W. Bush's "New World Order" concept, a sort of neo-Wilsonian idea, according to which the Soviet Union had ceased to be an enemy, instead, it had become a (strategic) partner in settling the conflicts all over the world, the primary forum of which should be the international organizations and settlements should be based on the principles of international law. The Gulf War in 1991 was the culmination but, at the same time, the conclusion of this strategic thinking. As regards the former idea, Saddam Hussein's aggression against Kuvait brought about an agreement rarely if ever seen before by the major powers in the world; the United Nations Security Council unanimously authorized the international community to restore the *status quo ante* in Kuvait and dozens of different states took part in the military

operations under American leadership. Regarding the latter idea, the Iraqi invasion put an end to the dream that armed aggressions had disappeared from international life. It showed the the small and medium-sized states on the peripheries still wished to settle pent-up tensions by resorting to the use of force, and the world was still far from a post-modern world in which violence does not play a significant role in international relations. In sum, the use of force had become 'legitimate' in the relations between states. (Tucker and Hendrickson 7). Moreover, the dissolution of formerly multiethnic countries (primarily Yugoslavia but also the Soviet Union) drove home the lesson that non-state actors did play a decisive role in international relations; the number of the variables dramatically increased and this fact made strategic planning more, and not less, complicated and difficult in areas such as force planning or force structures.

Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that though caesure was real it was not as sharp as meets the eye; continuity seems to have been more dominant than discontinuity in strategic thinking. The official positions taken by both the Republican and the Democratic administrations in the 1990s, as well as such unofficial documents like the *Defense Policy Guidance* (1992) or the *Report of the Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States (The Rumsfeld Report)* (1998) unanimously called for the maintenance of the hegemony of the U.S. The *Defense Policy Guidance*, which was written by such 'hardliners' as Paul Wolfowitz, Zalmay Khalilzad, Richard Perle, Andrew Marshall and I. Lewis Libby stated that the U.S. should maintain such mechanisms which would deter the potential competitors from even trying to play a more prominent regional or global role. It defined the 'vital' regions for the U.S.; they incorporated Western Europe, East Asia, the territory of the former Soviet Union, and Southeast Asia. It basically meant that the authors were still thinking within the geopolitical framework as defined by Nicholas Spykman in the early 1940s; that is, the paramount strategic goal of the U.S. should be the prevention of the emergence of a Eurasian hegemon. The next year (1993), the strategic defense review initiated by the first Secretary of Defense, Les Aspin, of the Clinton Administration officially put the strategy of containment to rest and envisioned the future of the national security policy of the U.S. in strengthening the existing international organizations and the creation of new ones in the spirit of the structuralist approach to international relations and the liberal internationalist traditions. However, it wished to use these intruments for strenghtening deterrence. (*Report on the Bottom-Up Review*). It is

obvious, that 'deterrence' remained relevant to some extent from among the Cold War strategies; while 'containment' received a new lease of life insofar as George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton alike attempted to apply 'dual containment' concerning Iraq and Iran—with mixed results. These two states, together with North Korea, featured prominently in the so-called Rumsfeld Report in 1998 as the most imminent danger to the U.S. because they—or, in general, countries wishing to produce nuclear weapons—tried to diminish the capability of the U.S. to resort to the use of force in regions close to them. In sum, their overall goal is to deny unrestricted U.S. influence—that is, to challenge U.S. hegemony. The *Quadrennial Defense Review* of 1997, mandated by Congress to be prepared every four years, also identified these three states as the most dangerous regional adversaries. The document, among others, claimed that the U.S. should expect az armed action on behalf of these emerging powers against the U.S. or her allies before 2015. In addition, it calculated with the appearance of a global competitor after 2015—in the person of Russia or China. The defense posture, accordingly, provided for the prevention of adversarial regional powers, as well as for the deterrence of any potential aggression against the U.S. or her allies. In general: prevention and deterrence constituted the core of national security strategy besides the creation of regional stability.

The Clinton Administration did not pay too much attention to foreign and security policy initially; the Democrats had won the presidential election in 1992 partly because they had placed domestic politics into the center of their platform. The continuity in security policy was first broken to a certain extent in 1993 when National Security Adviser Anthony Lake suggested that the administration move away from containment towards *enlargement.* The origins of this concept can be traced back to Woodrow Wilson, who claimed that the national security of the U.S. depended on the international environment. So long as parliamentary democracy and a functioning market economy prevail in the majority of the countries in the world, the U.S. is safe. As regards the premise, there is more or less a consensus in the American national security elite; the difference that has emerged within it centers around the question whether the U.S. should only show an example or she should actively promote the spread of such systems ('democracy export'). Lake's view found its way into the national security doctrine of the Clinton Administration in 1995. The document entitled *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement* unambiguously endorsed the

latter option: it declared that the increase of the number of 'market democracies' was standing in the center of the national security of the country, while the threats should still be 'deterred and contained' (*A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement* 2). The goals were traditional, however, some new tools could be discovered, as least as compared to the Cold War ones. Thus, the 'opening of foreign markets' and 'the spread of democracy abroad' were given special emphasis besides the creation of 'cooperating security structures' (2-3). However, one can already discern one of the most controversial decisions of the American administrations after the Cold War: the reinterpretation of the 'Westphalian' sovereignty. The *NSS* of 1995 mixed no words in stating that "sovereignty does not protect any government if it violates human rights" (ii). Such an interpretation of international law was later expanded by the Bush Administration in the early 2000s; it maintained that if one state is unable to function properly (e.g., to exert exclusive control over its territory), then it should not be entitled to enjoy sovereignty because a failed or failing state poses a threat to the whole international community. This is the point when the U.S. officially expanded its national security concern and commitment globally after the Cold War. This horizontal expansion started with the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, then it was complemented in quick succession after the Second World War with the Truman Doctrine (American security guarantees to Greece and Turkey); the Eisenhower Doctrine (the Middle East); and the Carter Doctrine (The Persian Gulf). This principle also denotes the meeting point of the geographic and the functional aspects of the extended U.S. national security concept. It is true that the strategy—to a certain in a contradictory manner—stated that the armed forces of the U.S. would only de deployed "where the interests and values are threatened to a large extent" (ii). This way the Clinton Administration took a step toward "selective', though 'cooperative' hegemony; in other words, the administration left a door open to define the venue of armed intervention while watering down the prior universalistic rhetoric (Posen and Ross 43-44). However, the Clinton Administration was critized severely for intervening in places such as Somalia, Haiti, Bosni, and Kosovo where American interests were not directly threatened.

The intervention in Kosovo in 1999 has special relevance to the topic. Here, one of the basic pronciples of the national security strategy of the Clinton Administration was challenged: the 'enlargement' of the democratic community in Central and Eastearn Europe. Second, the

416

future of NATO was on stake too after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. The supporters of the realist scholl of international relations and those of isolationism both argued that there was no need for the North Atlantic Alliance any more. However, keeping the Soviet Union 'out' of Europe had only been one of the main reasons of the conclusion of the Washington Treaty in 1949. The other two, that is keeping the U.S. 'in' and Germany 'down', still seemed to be relevant. (Regarding the latter, one should recall the British and French worries about the re-unification of Germany.) As a matter of fact, 'keeping Russia out' became a priority of the Central and East Europeans after they (re)gained their independence. The way out was moving forward, i.e., on the one hand, incorporating the so-called out-of-area operations into the missions of NATO and, on the other one, using the Alliance as a tool for expanding the zone of security and stability and to create a Europe 'whole and free', which could become an appropriate partner for the U.S. in handling the new challenges which emerged outside of Europe. One can also add that the U.S. wanted to prevent the 're-nationalization' of military matters in Europe by maintaining NATO and, thus, continuing assuming a substantial burden in the defense of the continent. (Layne 1994:27). Kosovo was also a touchstone of the 1998 *A National Security Strategy for a New Century,* which placed the following three goals into the center of the country's national security: the enhancement of security at home and abroad alike; the increase and spread of economic wealth in the world; and the support of democracies. Moreover, it categorized national interest sas follows: vital (e.g., the physical security of the territory and population of the U.S.); important (affacting the security of the U.S. indirectly, such as mass immigration from Haiti); and humanitarian and other interests (e.g., preventing or alleviating natural amd man-made catastrophes). (*A National Security Strategy for a New Century* 5). Kosovo got into the category of 'humanitarian disaster'; in addition, the government had lost its legitimacy—and national sovereignty—by having used excessive force against certain groups of its own people. In final analysis, the Clinton Administration—as an unintended consequence—helped undermine the legitimacy of one of the most important organizations created after World War II with the strong support of the U.S.—the United Nations—as well as the principle of national sovereignty.

The *A National Security Strategy for a New Century* states on the first page that U.S. security requires that American should play a leading

role in the world if the Americans wish to live in safety at home. The organic linking of internal and external security enjoys an overwhelming support within the national security establishment with the possible exception of the isolationists (such as, for instance, Patrick J. Buchanan). At the same time, the intervention in Kosovo exposed some potentially ominous frictions within NATO as well. The difficulties arising from the necessity of coordinating with each of the NATO members and the problems of interoprability between the U.S. and the European forces in general strengthened the positions of the supporters of the *ad hoc* coalitions; as Donald Rumsfeld put it later, the "mission should define the coalition" and not the other way round. In a broader context this approach means that the U.S. should not take too many views by the allies into consideration and, therefore, can put more stress on realizing purely American interests and values; in other words, can act *unilaterally.* Although it is generally the George W. Bush Administration that is credited with lifting unilateralism into the U.S. national security strategy, practically no American President has ever excluded unilateral action in case it was needed; more specifically, the *A National Security Strategy for a New Century* in 1998 already declared that "We should always be ready to act alone" when this step is the most advantageous to the U.S. (2).

The attacks against the U.S. on September 11, 2001 meant a turning point in the national security strategy of the U.S., though we cannot speak about a U-turn at all. We can speak about the opening of various *windows of vulnerability* since at least Pearl Harbor. The Japanese attack on December 7, 1941 destroyed one of the pillars of contemporary American national security: the belief that the two oceans were able to keep away any potential enemy. The second 'pillar' of contemporary U.S. national security, the Royal Navy, was weakened beyond repair as well. The next 'window of vulnerability' was opened in 1949, with the explosion of the Soviet atomic bomb, then in 1957, with launching the Sputnik, that is, a vehicle capable of delivering weapons of mass destruction (WMD) over the territory of the U.S. The attacks against New York City and Washington, D.C. dramatically changed the threat perception in the U.S.; the *Quadrennial Defense Review* of 2006 states in its introduction that the country is for a long war (1) and *The National Security Strategy of the United States* published the same year starts with these threatening words: "America is at war …" (1). *The National Security Strategy of the United States* of 2002, that is, the one that was born immediately after 9/11, identified the greatest threat to the U.S. in the meeting of 'radicalism and

technology'; the nightmare scenario for the American national security elite is the one in which radical (predominantly Muslim) groups acquire WMD with the help od mediation of rogue or failed or failing states. To counter these threats, speciall attention is paid to the support of open societies because they constitute the basis of "internal stability and international order". (iv.) One of the basic principles of the strategy is the idea of liberal internationalism: to make the world not only safer but also better. (1) The tools to achieve these goals have become commonly known as the Bush Doctrine; the various elements of the doctrine appeared int he 2002 NSS and the different speeches of the President (specifically, the *State of the Union* speech on January 29, the speech at West Point on June 1, 2002, and the second Inauguration Address on January 20, 2005). The most important points are as follows: the prevention of the spread of WMD (non-proliferation); deterring the so-called rogue states; the active support of freedom and the institutions of democracy; unilateral steps if the security of the U.S. requires it, and preventive or pre-rmptive use of force if needed. Besides deterrence, great stress was put on the development of force structure and technological assets for meeting the challenges under the nuclear threshold, that is, the so-called *full spectrum dominance, real time battleground control*, and the $C^4 4$ (*Command, Control, Communications, Computer, and Intelligence*). It also stressed the so-called *staying power*, that is, the capability to invade and keep territories in the conterinsurgency operations, as this ability may prove to be decisive in wars on terrorists and/or guerillas. (Shanker 1).

The two most controversial elements of the so-called Bush Doctrine are reserving the right of unilateral military steps in case there is no authorization from the appropriate international organizations (primarily, the U.N.) and the right of preventive or pre-emptive military strikes. First, it must be noted that neither of them is new in American national security thinking. As regards the former one, let it suffice to refer to the Clinton Administration; while concerning the latter one, the U.S. (NATO) reserved the right of the first use of WMD throughout the Cold War (it is still part of the official strategy of NATO) and endeavored to keep the potential adversaries in suspense as to when and what military measures the U.S. would take in case of an international conflict. The Bush Administration was attacked for these ideas primarily because the majority of the rest of the world professed a different threat perception and, therefore, took a different view with regard to the possible counter-

measures. First, the Bush Administration believed that the potential synergy of the new security challenges (terrorists + rogue/failed/failing states + WMD) constituted an existential threat to the U.S. and the international order at large. Second, the Republican administration was convinced that the existing international organizations and legal tools were inadequate to handle the new security challenges and, therefore, Washington was forced to take, if it was needed, unilateral measures in defense. (Thus, for instance, China and Russia are predominantly interested in—soft—balancing the U.S. globally and, therefore, take every opportunity to weaken the U.S., even at the price of supporting or propping up regimes which harbor and asisst terrorists or states which are engaged in producing WMD; both of these great powers are members of the UNSC, where they can veto any measure to be introduced to punish, for instance, proliferating countries.) From the above premises, the idea of preventive or pre-emptive steps derives logically: given the current technological capabilities and the relatively easy access to sensitive information, these measures appear in new light. A next logical step from this notion is the revision of the principle od state sovereignty. The Busg Administration strongly believed that the U.S. would face 'probably' asymmetrical challenges in the future. Therefore, force structure should be adjusted to the new environment: as the potential adversary is not so easily foreseeable as it was during the Cold War, the U.S. should develop a new, 'capability based' model. (*Quadrennial Defense Review*, September 30, 2001, iii). Besides the military measures, the Bush Administration committed itself to '*transformational diplomacy*'; that is, encouraging the creation of democratic institutions so that the political leaders of the countries could be made responsible for whatever happens in their state.

In contrast to the analysis of the Bush Administration, most of the people outside the U.S., and some inside as well, do not consider international terrorism a strategic threat. They believe that the roots of the problem is predominantly economic and social, so military steps are misplaced. Moreover, unilateralism is also rejected partly because of the danger of precedent, and partly because the neo-conservative approach to state sovereignty, *ad adsurdum*, may threaten the security of *any* state in the world and, in the spirit of *Realpolitik*, the latter will increase their efforts to provide for their own security which, in turn, may result in a global arms race and a dangerously high level of arms buildup. Third, the critics call attention to the fact that these 'existential threats' require the

efforts by the whole or the majority of the international community; therefore, resorting to unilateral steps could not eradicate the problem. In addition, there were structural problems in the Bush Administration's approach to alliances. The Rumsfeldian 'the mission determines the coalition' requires that the common platformshould be found again and again in each new 'coalition of the willing', while there is no need for such complicated and time-consuming process in an alliance based on commonly professed interests and values. (Brooks and Wohlforth 51; Daalder, Lindsay and Goldgeier 413.) Zbigniew Brzezinski added that *ad hoc* coalitions are, by definition, for a short time and of tactical nature, while what the U.S. really needs are strategic alliances. (Brzezinski 35). The former National Security Adviser to President Carter also suggested that these strategic partners should come from Europe as the European countries are the ones sharing the more or less similar interests and values with the U.S. and not Russia or India. (Brzezinski 60).

As it was already mentioned, other great powers, primarily Russia and China, consider U.S. dominance/hegemony a threat to their national interests and, therefore, do their best to balance the Americans. At the same time, retaining the leading role (hegemony) in the world is at the very center of the U.S. national security strategy. As *The National Security Strategy of the United States* (2006) puts it: "We wish to *shape* the world" instead of being just a part of the transformation of the world order. (1). The U.S., consequently, wishes to maintain '*hegemoniac stability*' and '*democratic peace*' in the world. (Owens 26) Hegemony means trying to create an international environment which is most beneficial to the country concerned. Though hegemoniac stability is not necessarily a zero-sum game, that is, it can bring greater stability and prosperity to other states as well (the post-World War II West European situation is a case in mind), a number of countries which do not profit from this system are bound to attempt to alter the situation and, thus, are likely to make the international order less stable. (Layne 2002:177). The American 'transformational diplomacy' (democracy export) may be perceived as an attempt to undermine the authoritarian rule—certainly this is the prevalent view in Russia and China. Moreover, most of the European countries have grave doubts about the feasibility of exporting democracy; they believe that any democratic transition should be a bottom-up organic process, in which the creation of appropriate political institutions (e.g., a representative body, etc.) should only follow genuine and gradual economic and social transitions. It must be mentioned that

while the first Bush Administration made relatively huge afforts at democracy export (nation building), especially in the Middle East, it shifted toward stability—a more restrained and realistic goal between 2005 and 2009.

During the Cold War the major adversary was a totalitarian ideology and, accordingly, the major 'front' was the struggle for the 'hearts and minds' of the people. After the attacks on 9/11, President Bush. For a very short time, held Islam responsible for the atrocities. However, the Administration soon changed the rhetoric and the main target became 'radical *Islamists'*—that is, not the whole religion but those who used it for advancing their radical and violent agenda. Nevertheless, the ideological dimension did not disappear from the American strategic thinking: *The National Security Strategy of the United States* in 2006 unambiguously declared that the fight against terrorists would be a military one in the short run, but an ideological battle in the long run. (9).

There are several different theories to describe the current international situation. Joseph S. Nye, Jr. claims that the world is neither unipolar, nor multipolar. He likenes the world to a three-dimensional chessboard. On one ots its level, that of military might, the U.S. enjoys undisputed superiority. On the second, economic level, there are several centers of power; while on the third one, on the relations among states, power is dispersed to a large extent because it is on this level that the non-state actors appear. (Nye 58). Fareed Zakaria writes about 'the rise of the rest' and he also suggests that power is widely dispersed among the state and non-state actors in international life. Parag Khanna does not only see the relative loss of power by the U.S. as the main dynamic in today's international relations, but he also believes that the EU and China are losing influence on the global geopolitical 'market' as well. Robert Kagan speaks about the return of great power rivalry which characterized the 19th and 20th centuries, but he adds that the ideological struggle has also reappeared after being declared 'dead' by Francis Fukuyama in the early 1990s. Nina Hachigian and Mona Suthpen calls attention to the fact, though, that ideological rivalry belongs to the past because the potentially most dangerous centers of power to the U.S. from a strategic point of view—Russia, China, and India—in reality do not pose any serious ideological challenge to Washington; the challenge they do pose is predominantly technological. (Hachigian and Suthpen 43–44) Stephen Van Evera adds that the U.S. should break with Spykman's geopolitical theory: it does not have any relevance in today's world whether one

country gains hegemony in Eurasia or not. (Leffler and Legro 259). Moreover, these potential rivals are in the same security 'boat' with the U.S.: transnational terrorism, the proliferation of WMD, climate change, pandemics, environmental degradation, etc. affect them as much as they do the Americans. To solve these problems, strategic cooperation is needed; and the U.S. should reconsider its 'go-it-along' mentality and give up a portion of its sovereignty.

The Obama-administration has also committed itself to maintain the basic strategic goal of its predecessors: maintaining the leading position of the U.S. in the world. Besides the protection of the American soil and population, the Democratic Administration still concentrates on the nonproliferation of the WMD, the prevention of the synergy between transnational terrorist groups and WMD, the delay of the rise of global and regional rivals, as well as the support of parliamentary democracy and free market economy. However, a shift can be perceived toward the 'soft' areas: public diplomacy and the improvement of the image of the U.S. have been given a more prominent role than in the past few years. The other shift is toward a more hard-headed *Realpolitik*: the most obvious example is the attempt 'to reset' the relationship with Russia, which in practice seems to mean that Washington is willing to make concessions and symbolic gestures to Moscow in return for closer cooperation in such strategic matters as nonproliferation or Iran. (The question is whether Russia is willing and/or capable of cooperating in these and other strategic issues.) Barack Obama seems to be downgrading Europe to a certain extent; the question the successive American administrations asked for about half a century after 1945 was 'what we can do for you?'—as a strong Europe was absolutely necessary for the security of the U.S. Now, it seems that this question is put the other way round: 'what can you do for us?' The vital geographic and functional challenges to the U.S. fall outside of Europe nowadays and there is a preceptible shift of attention away from Europe to Asia in the first place in U.S. strategic thinking. The threat perception—and the recommended or preferred tools to handle them—continues to be different on the two sides of the Atlantic. The U.S. military posture has not changed a lot recently and the transformation of the U.S. armed forces continues to widen the capability gap between the U.S. and its allies within NATO. Therefore, the possibility of unilateral American action cannot be excluded in the future either. In sum, the U.S. 'grand strategy' that took shape in the 1990s shows more continuity than discontinuity under the

Democratic and Republican administrations; what has changed is mostly the rhetoric and not the goals.

Works Cited

A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement. The White House, February 1995.

A National Security Strategy for a New Century (October 1998). www.au.af.mil/awc/awcgate/nss/nsss_1998.pdf

Brooks, Stephen G. & William C. Wohlforth. "Reshaping the World Order. How Washington Should Reform International Institutions". Foreign Affair, March/April 2009, 49–63. Print.

Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership.* New York: Basic Books. 2004. Print.

Daalder, Ivo H., James M. Lindsay, and James B. Steinberg. "Hard Choices: National Security and the War on Terrorism". Current History December 2002, 409–413. Print.

Defense Planning Guidance 1992. www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/iraq/etc/wolf.html

George W. Bush's *Second Inaugural Address*, January 20, 2005. http://edition.cnn.com/2005/ALLPOLITICS/01/20/bush.transcript/index.html

George W. Bush's *State of the Union Address,* January 29, 2002. http://edition.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/01/29.bush.speech.txt

Hachigian, Nina & Mona Suthpen. "Strategic Collaboration: How the U.S. Can Thrive as Other Powers Rise". The Washington Quarterly Autumn 2008, 43–57. Print.

Ikenberry, G. John. "American Grand Strategy in the Age of Terror". Survival Winter 2001–2002, 19-34. Print.

Layne, Christopher. "American Grand Strategy After the Cold War: Primacy or Blue Water?" *In:* Charles F. Hermann, ed. *American Defense Annual 1994.* New York: Lexington Books, 1994. 19–43. Print.

Layne, Christopher. "Offshore Balancing Revisited". *In:* Alexander T. J. Lennon, ed. *What Does the World Want from America? International Perspectives on U.S. Foreign Policy.* Cambridge, MA-London, Eng.: MIT Press, 2002. 172–191. Print.

Leffler, Melvyn P. & Jeffrey W. Legro, eds. *To Lead the World: American Strategy After the Bush Doctrine.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008. Print.

Mastanduno, Michael. 'Preserving the Unipolar Moment: Realist Theories and U.S. Grand Strategy After the Cold War'. *In:* Ethan B. Kapstein & Michael Mastanduno, eds. *Unipolar Politics. Realism and State Strategies After the Cold War.* New York: Columbia UP, 1999. 138–181. Print.

Nye, Joseph S., Jr. "Recovering American Leadership". Survival, February–March 2008, 55–68. Print.

Posen, Barry R. & Andrew L. Ross. "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy". *In:* Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds. *America's*

Strategic Choices. Cambridge, MA-London, Eng.: MIT Press, 1994. 3–51. Print.

Quadrennial Defense Review Report, September 30, 2001. www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/qdr2001.pdf

Quadrennial Defense Review Report, February 6, 2006. www.defenselink.mil/qdr/report/Report20060203.pdf

Report on the Bottom-Up Review by Les Aspin, Secretary of Defense, October 1993. www.fas.org/man/docs/bur/index.html

Report of the Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States (The Rumsfeld Report). July 15, 1998. www.fas.org/irp/threat/bm_threat.htm

Report of the Quadrennial Defense Review by William S. Cohen, Secretary of State, May 1997. www.defenselink.mil/qdr/archive/toc.html

Shanker, Tom. "Pentagon Rethinking Old Doctrine on 2 Wars". March 15, 2009. http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/15/washington/15military.html

The National Security Strategy of the United States, 2002.

The National Security Strategy of the United States, March 16, 2006.

The National Military Strategy of the United States of America. A Strategy for Today; A Vision for Tomorrow. 2004. www.defenselink.mil/news/Mar 2005/d20050318nms.pdf.

Official America and Hungarian Revisionism between the World Wars

Éva Mathey

In gratitude to Professor Zoltán Abádi-Nagy, ardent promoter of academic and cultural relations between Hungary and the United States of America.

The dismemberment of the Kingdom of Hungary after the First World War and consequently the Treaty of Trianon came as a shock for the Hungarians. The treaty, which the Allies dictated and not negotiated with Hungary, was considered unjust, and its revision became a number one concern for interwar Hungarian society regardless of class and status.

Mainly defined by a set of traditional images of America as the land of freedom, democracy and fair play and the image of the United States as *arbiter mundi*, and at the same time based on significant political, historical and ideological tenets (i.e. the question of dismemberment, Wilson and the Fourteen Points, US boundary proposals for Hungary at the Paris Peace conference, American refusal to sign the Treaty of Trianon) Hungarians fed high expectations toward the United States relative to the revision of the Treaty of Trianon. Such Hungarian revisionist aspirations toward the United States, however, were not well-founded. Although some expressions of individual American sympathies with Hungary's cause furnished some hope, official America did not intend to support the revision of the Treaty of Trianon. The official American standpoint in relation to Hungary in general and treaty revision in particular can only be fully understood against a backdrop of the

general trends of American foreign policy in the interwar period and, within this framework, American policy toward Hungary. Such an analysis, combined with the demonstration of the attitude of the respective American governmental bodies (including the State Department and the representatives of the US in Hungary in the American Legation in Budapest) regarding Hungarian revisionism conclusively demonstrates the lack of official interest in the Hungarian cause.

The fundamental guiding principle of American foreign policy toward Europe following the First World War was the Monroe doctrine, the century-old American policy of political isolation. By the Senate's rejection of the Paris peace treaties and the reluctance to join the League of Nations the United States refused to undertake the political and military commitment to and the responsibility for enforcing the peace. American unwillingness to endorse international causes, as manifested, for example, by the debate about the World Court, the Locarno treaty or the Kellogg-Briand Pact, indicated that she decidedly pursued the policy of non-entanglement, primarily with European issues. While the US refused to accept international commitments and obligations, political isolationism from Europe was somewhat reinterpreted in accordance with ever-increasing American interests in the European economy. What tied American economic interests to Europe were mainly the interrelated questions of debts, war-time and peace time loans and the claims, reparations, occupation costs as well as other economic privileges arising from the separate peace treaties the US signed with European countries. On the other hand, the opportunity for US investments and prospective trade relations with that part of the world also underlined US economic interests.[1] The key to European economic recovery and prosperity, thus to

---

[1] For more on international relations after the war see Selig Adler, *The Uncertain Giant: 1921–1941. American Foreign Policy Between the Wars* (New York: MacMillan, 1995), 70–92; Peter H. Buckingham, *International Normalcy. The Open Door Peace with the Former Central Powers, 1921–1929* (Willmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1983), 1–34; 124–153; Frank Costigliola, *Awkward Dominion. American Political, Cultural, and Economic Relations with Europe, 1919–1933* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984). See also Melvin Small, *Democracy and Diplomacy. The Impact of Domestic Politics on U.S. Foreign Policy, 1789–1994* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) and Armin Rappaport, ed., *Essays in American Diplomacy* (New York: MacMillan, 1967). Hereafter respectively cited as Adler, *The Uncertain Giant*; Buckingham, *International Normalcy*; Costigliola, *Awkward Dominion* and Small, *Democracy and Diplomacy*.

the success of American business, as the Young and Dawes Plans demonstrate, was, of course, Germany. Therefore, the US devoted special attention to her. At the same time, other Central European countries, among them Hungary, also became a possible target of American investors. American economic interest largely defined the relative significance of Hungary in terms of American foreign policy in the region.

Although Hungarians liked to believe otherwise, the Kingdom of Hungary was not among the most important American spheres of interest. What is more, Budapest and Hungary had also been labeled as places (relatively) "unimportant"[2] by the State Department. Still, as part of Central Europe, and more importantly as a politically and economically rather instable state, Hungary continuously held the attention of the Division of Western European Affairs of the State Department. The Western European Desk was concerned about Hungarian affairs, and explicitly stated its desire to receive continuous information regarding Hungarian politics, government, economic life, military and social issues.[3]

After the armistice in November 1918 the state of belligerency had to be terminated and peace had to be signed between the US and Hungary. Consequently, the general terms and conditions upon which the diplomatic, political and economic relations of the two countries were to rest during the interwar period were defined by the separate peace treaty between Hungary and the United States, signed on August 29, 1921. The specific stipulations of the treaty, setting the framework for the relations of Hungary and the United States, reflect the uneven nature of the relationship between the two countries, with the US dictating the conditions.[4] While Hungary had to guarantee all the rights, privileges and

---

[2] William R. Castle, Jr. to George A. Gordon. October 20, 1926. *The William R. Castle, Jr. Papers*, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa. Hereafter cited as *The William R. Castle, Jr. Papers.* Access to the Castle Papers was made possible for me by Dr. Tibor Glant. With regard to important consular transfers Castle informs Gordon, secretary in the American Legation in Budapest, about the transfer of a high ranking consular officer, Mr. Gale to Budapest, who, as Castle suspects, will "make a terrible fuss about being sent to a place as unimportant as Budapest."

[3] William R. Castle, Jr. to Charles B. Curtis, December 6, 1923. *The William R. Castle, Jr. Papers.*

[4] See Charles Evans Hughes to Ulysses Grant-Smith, July 9, 1921: "[…] the peace resolution is a clear expression of the Congress that more rights, advantages, and

advantages to the US to which she was entitled under the Treaty of Trianon, the US explicitly renounced all the responsibilities and obligations possibly arising from it, especially in relation to stipulations specified in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article I

Hungary undertakes to accord to the United States, and the United States shall have and enjoy, all the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages specified in the […] Joint Resolution of the Congress of the United States of July 2, 1921, including all the rights and advantages stipulated for the benefit of the United States in the Treaty of Trianon which the United States shall fully enjoy notwithstanding the fact that such Treaty has not been ratified by the United States. […]

Article II

With view to defining more particularly the obligation of Hungary under the foregoing Article with respect to certain provision in the Treaty of Trianon, it is understood and agreed between the High Contracting Parties:

(1) That the rights and advantages stipulated in that Treaty for the benefit of the United States, which it is intended the United States shall have and enjoy, are those defined in Parts V, VI, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII and XIV.

(2) That the United States shall not be bound by the provisions of Part I of that Treaty, nor by any provisions of that Treaty including those mentioned in paragraph (1) of this Article, which relate to the Covenant of the League of Nations, nor shall the United States be bound by any action taken by the League of Nations, or by the Council, or by the Assembly thereof, unless the United States shall expressly give its assent to such action.

(3) That the United States assumes no obligations under or with respect to the provisions of Part II, Part III, Part IV and Part XIII of that Treaty.[5]

Within this larger framework, following the treaty of peace and, of course, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon, other treaties previously made by the US with Hungary had to be renegotiated, with special emphasis on those which guaranteed US trade and business

---

interests must be secured to the USA, and that our Government will not conclude any treaty that does not secure those rights, etc." *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. 1921. Vol. 2* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1936), 250.

[5] Treaty between the United States of America and Hungary, Signed at Budapest, August 29, 1921. Quoted in Small, *Democracy and Diplomacy*, 257.

interests. Besides such instruments as the copyright and extradition treaties, "there remained still the following: commerce and navigation, property and consular jurisdiction, agreement concerning tobacco, consular convention, naturalization, trade marks and arbitration, etc."[6] The Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Consular Rights with Hungary, signed on June 24, 1925, for example, was one result of such considerations and negotiations.[7]

The three chief points of interest to the government of the US in connection with Hungary, as was confidentially stated by George A. Gordon, a secretary of the American Legation in Budapest, were (1) legitimism and the King question, (2) the fiscal policy of the Hungarian government and the economic consolidation in Hungary, and (3) Trianon and Hungarian revisionism.[8] While the legitimist threat was ruled out after Emperor Charles' second unsuccessful attempt to return to the throne, economic questions and Hungarian revisionism remained the major focuses of attention for official America. The consolidation of the Hungarian economy, a budget standing on firm grounds and the solvency of Hungarian banks became the prerequisite of the sympathies of American business circles and the American government.[9] The international loan to Hungary for reconstruction, known as the League of Nations loan, to which the US government also consented in 1924, served the very aim to help Hungary get back on her feet.[10] It indirectly secured American economic interests (including the payment of debts and claims) and rendered prospective investments (for example in shipping, agriculture, forestry and railways) safer. A memorandum sent to the State Department by Ulysses Grant-Smith, the US commissioner to Hungary from 1919 to

---

[6] Horace Dorsey Newson to William R. Castle, Jr., November, 29, 1922. *The William R. Castle, Jr. Papers*.

[7] For more detail see the 69th Congress 1st Session (March 17–April 5, 1926) *Records of the Senate Vol. LXVII. Part 6. 1926*. RG46 NARA.

[8] George A. Gordon to Secretary of State, June 3, 1927. M710 Roll 1 and 2 RG59, NARA.

[9] See the conversation between Regent Miklós Horthy and William R. Castle, July 23, 1920 and Castle's account on his conversation with Hungarian Finance Minister on November 2, 1922. *William R. Castle, Jr. Diaries.* Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. This source was made available to me by Dr. Tibor Glant of Debrecen University.

[10] The American Jeremiah Smith, commissioner of the League of Nations was sent to Hungary to provide assistance and help in the consolidation of Hungarian economy.

1922, summarized the situation as follows: until serious post-war problems of Central Europe and Hungary were

> solved to some appreciable degree the commerce of the West must suffer the delet[e]rious effects of one portion of the body being deceased and in a stage of high fever. […] It is evident, therefore, that the United States has a vital interest in desiring an early solution of these great problems and the consequent pacification of so large and populous an area of the earth's surface.[11]

That American economic interest defined American action in Hungary is also demonstrated by the following incident. In the winter of 1926 the Tripartite Claims Commission dealing with claims arising under Article 231 of the Treaty of Trianon set the prewar rate of exchange concerning the payment of debts according to the average rate during the month preceding the outbreak of the war. In case of the US, as of November 1917, this rate amounted to 9.4 cents per crown, which Hungary found too high. The Hungarian government, via the Hungarian Legation in Washington and the American Legation in Budapest, tried to bargain for a reduction or, as George A. Gordon of the American Legation in Budapest remarked somewhat furiously, it "solicit[ed] an out and out gift." This Hungarian demand, however, did not find favorable reception in the State Department. On the one hand, the Commission was an independent body which governments could not influence. On the other hand, by that time the State Department judged the conditions of the Hungarian economy and budget good enough to pay that rate. Other favors such as the postponement of the payment of other unpaid claims (for example reparations for prisoners of war) due to the US had already been granted to Hungary previously. Therefore, there seemed to be no legitimate reason for the Hungarian Government "to plead the necessity of poverty" and economic instability or try to classify legitimate American claims as "treaty charges," a State Department memorandum argued.[12] Such bargaining on the part of the Hungarian government was labeled as "evasive haggling," and the argument put forth by the Hungarian government as to why such a favor for them was necessary

---

[11] Ulysses Grant-Smith to the State Department, December 13, 1920. Roll 1 and 2 M710 RG 59, NARA.

[12] George A. Gordon to William R. Castle, Jr., November 27, 1926. *The William R. Castle, Jr. Papers*.

was designated as "preposterous." The memorandum continued to pass a devastating judgment concerning the Hungarian attitude:

> [The Hungarian] Government in general seems to be somewhat in the habit of regarding the United States as the purveyor of all good things, including an unceasing flow of foreign loans, and the quality of its gratitude is certainly not devoid of a lively sense of favors to come; it therefore behooves it not to confine its responsiveness to lip service.[13]

Gordon's opinion may stand out as rather extreme, but a general conclusion may be drawn that while the US was willing to cooperate with and assist Hungary for the sake of Hungary's economic consolidation, it was not altruism or America's sense of responsibility that made the US do so. Her down-to earth and well-calculated interest explained her economic policy toward Hungary.

The third major issue of interest for the US government was Hungarian revisionism. The questions of economic stability and the revision of the Treaty of Trianon were interestingly linked, inasmuch as the harsh peace terms and the subsequent political, economic and social burdens which Trianon imposed on Hungary were argued to have created a considerable threat to the economic viability of the country, and also to the economic stability of the whole of Central Europe. On the grounds of economic, political and moral considerations American politicians from official circles often gave voice to their belief that the treaty was a mistaken one, and that its economic, financial and political stipulations were too harsh. Such views, however, never affected the official position of the United States on the revision of the Treaty of Trianon. Official US retained its uncompromisingly consistent policy of non-entanglement in this question.

William R. Castle, Jr., chief of the Division of Western European Affairs at the Department of State, was in charge of Hungarian matters. Since he was actively involved in dealing with Hungarian issues, his papers and official correspondence offer reliable grounds for reviewing official American views about treaty revision. Several of his comments in his diary suggest that he deeply understood the "bitterness" of Hungarians over the peace treaty.[14] When discussing the difficulties of the Hungarian

---

[13] George A. Gordon to William R. Castle, Jr., November 27, 1926. *The William R. Castle, Jr. Papers.*

[14] See for example the July 27, 1921 entry in *William R. Castle, Jr. Diaries.*

economy, the failure of the crops, and Hungary's difficulties in 1921 and 1922 in stabilizing its currency, he did not view the large payments the Reparation Commission tried to force on Hungary as timely. He warned of the possibility of an immediate and disastrous economic and financial crash in Hungary:

> Personally, I have no sympathy whatever for reparation demands on Hungary. The people who want the money are the Czechs, Yugoslavs and Roumanians who should be satisfied with the vast Hungarian territories they have acquired. I think there can be no doubt in this case that what they all three want is the utter ruin of Hungary, to absorb the country altogether, which would mean trouble for generations to come.[15]

Castle was aware that the peace treaties "created impossible nations with impossible boundaries and the ruling groups in these new nations are playing havoc with their own states as well as bringing on an international crisis."[16] Still, in his official capacity as undersecretary of state of the Western European Desk he never promoted changes in the postwar European system. He consistently warned his colleagues in the American Legation in Budapest to avoid any connection with Hungarian revisionist propaganda, popular, unofficial, or semi-official.

At the time, as the immediate effect of the Kossuth Pilgrimage in 1928, the Hungarian patriotic organizations in the US were preparing to carry out pro-Hungarian propaganda, "[t]his, of course, include[ing] propaganda for the revision of the treaty." They were also preparing to organize a Hungarian congress in Buffalo. Neither of the ideas was welcomed by the State Department. The Department assumed that the Buffalo congress expected its proceedings and speeches to be "widely reported in all the papers […] and thereby" it hoped to "influence the American government and […] demand the revision of the treaty."[17] The issue was even more delicate since some representatives of the Hungarian government were also expected to attend the congress. Therefore, Castle sent the following instructions to the American minister in Budapest:

> [Y]ou could well find the opportunity to say to some of your friends in the Hungarian Government that the American Government is not at all

---

[15] November 22, 1922. *William R. Castle, Jr. Diaries*.

[16] July 27, 1921. *William R. Castle, Jr. Diaries*.

[17] William R. Castle, Jr. to Joshua Butler Wright, March 8, 1929. *The William R. Castle, Jr. Papers*.

keen about this kind of business. When foreigners become naturalized, we feel that their efforts should be devoted to improving things in the country of their adoption. This does not at all mean that we expect them to lose interest in the problems of the country from which they come, but merely that they should not publicly devote themselves to propaganda, which in this case is not only pro-Hungarian, but anti-Czech, Roumanian and Yugoslav and is, therefore, directly against governments with which we are on friendly terms. […] [I]t would create a storm of abuse […] not favorable to Hungary and that besides making trouble in this country, it would undoubtedly do serious harm to the Hungarian cause. Anything that Hungary does to spread pro-Hungarian ideas, such as sending over exchange students and exchange professors to the universities or people who will talk or write in a reasonable way, we naturally have no objection to whatever, but I can only reiterate that these patriotic organizations can and do make a lot of trouble.[18]

So, even the least possible association with revisionist propaganda was viewed by official America as most unacceptable and dangerous.[19]

Similarly, the State Department and the American Legation in Budapest handled the dedication of the statue to General Harry Hill Bandholtz in August 1936 with caution. Bandholtz was the American member of the Inter-Allied Military Mission to Budapest in 1919. He enjoyed great popularity and the respect of the Hungarians, because he prevented the Rumanian army from looting the Royal Hungarian Museum in Budapest[20] during the Rumanian occupation of Budapest in the fall of 1919. To commemorate the activities of the general, the American Hungarian community raised funds for the statue. Hungarians viewed the Bandholtz statue as a living proof of the Rumanian aggression as well as

---

[18] William R. Castle, Jr. to Joshua Butler Wright, March 8, 1929. *The William R. Castle, Jr. Papers*.

[19] Even the indirect danger of revisionist "junketing" prompted the immediate action of the State Department, as was the case when Countess Bethlen wished to deliver a lecture in the US under the title "The Habsburgs, Mussolini and other European public characters." "If Countess Bethlen should come over and give some rather scandalous lectures about European personalities, I have no doubt that she would draw an audience of sorts, but it would be distinctly disagreeable for us and disagreeable for Hungary. Personally," Castle observed, "I don't like to see the wife of the Prime Minister come to this country for a more or less junketing expedition and if I were a really rich man, I should offer to pay her to stay away. That would also be because of my liking for Hungary." William R. Castle, Jr. to Nicholas Roosevelt, June 20, 1931. *The William R. Castle, Jr. Papers*.

[20] The Royal Hungarian Museum is known as the Hungarian National Museum today.

symbol of the devastation of Trianon and American sympathy for the Hungarian cause.[21] John F. Montgomery, then American minister to Budapest, was not only invited to be present at the unveiling, but was asked to speak as well. Reference to Trianon and covert revisionist appeals to the American nation were expected at the ceremony, which took place on July 4.[22] Therefore, the State Department took immediate steps to instruct the US representatives in the American Legation "to be careful not to take an active part in the ceremony and under no circumstances should [any of them] make any remarks."[23] Minister Montgomery shared the concerns of the State Department and also wished to refrain from participation at the unveiling. He could only excuse himself from being present by way of an official leave of absence signed by the secretary of state which instructed him to be in Washington before June 15th, well before the ceremony.[24] The unveiling of the Bandholtz statue in Budapest, as was foreseen, set Hungarian anti-Trianon propaganda into motion, when after the erection of the statue the American Hungarian daily, *Szabadság*, launched a campaign to collect signatures in support of the revision of the treaty. Official US stayed out of that project as well.

Official representatives of the US to Hungary during the interwar period displayed the same attitude toward revision. Of course, the American ministers to Hungary had to comply with the official American approach. But was there a personal side to all this? Did any of them, even tacitly, support Hungarian revisionism? Did their personal relations to the

---

[21] For more detail on the political significance of the statue see János Pótó, *Az emlékeztetés helyei. Emlékművek és politika* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2003).

[22] The unveiling of the Bandholtz statue finally took place on August 23, 1919.

[23] Secretary of State Cordell Hull to John F. Montgomery, March 23, 1936. *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. Diplomatic Papers. 1936. Vol. 2* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1954), 335. Hereafter cited as *FRUS. 1936.*

[24] Montgomery to Hull, March 27, 1936; Hull to Montgomery, March 31, 1936. *FRUS. 1936*, 336. Hungarians were utterly disappointed by the absence of the American minister. To avoid offending Hungarian sensibilities and bad impressions about the American Legation, one of the charges represented the American Legation at the unveiling ceremony. For further detail also see Tibor Frank, ed., *Roosevelt követe Budapesten. John F. Montgomery bizalmas politikai beszélgetései, 1934–1941* (Budapest: Corvina, 2002), 50–53. Hereafter cited as Frank, ed., *Roosevelt követe Budapesten.*

country and its leaders influence their official views? The record shows a range of reactions.

During the interwar period five American diplomats served as senior American representatives in Budapest: Ulysses Grant-Smith (1919–1922), Theodore Brentano (1922–1927), Joshua Butler Wright (1927–1931), Nicholas Roosevelt (1931–1933) and John Flournoy Montgomery (1933–1941). Ulysses Grant-Smith was the unofficial diplomatic representative of the US in Hungary from December 1919 to January 1922, and served as *chargé d'affaires pro tempore* until May 1922.[25] He was sent to the region to safeguard American interests, and had the responsibility to establish the foundations of the official contacts between the two countries.[26] The difficulties of his task defined not only his official, but also his reserved and often negatively biased personal relations to the country and her people. The "habitual, unconscious exaggeration practiced by all the people" and their "tendency to speak in figurative phrases, and […] consequently misunderstand and discount one another's statements"[27] made him a stern critic of postwar Hungary. During most of his stay in Hungary, until August 29, 1921, no official diplomatic relations existed between the US and Hungary. This set the framework for his actions and explained why his activities were guided by extraordinary caution with respect to any kind of political utterance relative to Hungarian problems after the war, among them the Treaty of Trianon.[28] His opinion and the instructions he received from the State Department, for example, in connection with the Conference of Allied

---

[25] *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography. Current Volume F. 1939–1942* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1942), 403.

[26] "While exercising the utmost caution not to commit yourself and this government to preference for one or the other of the many political groups which seeks to control the government of Hungary, you will be expected tactfully to encourage such constructive movements among the Hungarians as would appear to lead toward the firmer establishment of a representative government." Secretary of State to the Ulysses Grant-Smith, December 10, 1919. *FRUS. 1919. Vol.1 and 2* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1934), 410–411. Hereafter cited as *FRUS. 1919. Vol.1 and 2.*

[27] Ulysses Grant-Smith to Secretary of State, May 17, 1920. Roll 1 and 2, M710 RG 59, NARA.

[28] Secretary of State to the Ulysses Grant-Smith, December 10, 1919. *FRUS. 1919. Vol.1 and 2*, 410–411. Ulysses-Grant Smith served during the term of three secretaries of state, namely Robert Lansing, Bainbridge Colby and Charles Evans Hughes.

Diplomatic Representatives in Budapest, shows how undesirable he considered even the least direct connection with issues relating, in any way, to Hungarian politics. Grant-Smith was of the opinion "that any participation of the American representative in Hungary in the conference should be in response to a request from the British, French and Italian Governments and that it should be strictly informal."[29] "It appears to me," says Grant-Smith,

> that the best American policy would be to avoid becoming implicated in any demarche which may be taken in this regard; and I am more than ever impressed by the wisdom of the telegraphic instructions sent me under date of November 23, last, […] that I should take no part, even as an observer, in the conferences of diplomatic representatives of the Principled Allied powers at this capital. The longer I follow the development of affairs in Central and Eastern Europe the more do I become convinced of the wisdom of a policy of detachment and a minimum interference on our part in the regulation of the numberless complicated questions which continue to arise as a result of the war. The tendency would ever become more marked, on the part of all concerned, to shift the responsibility for failures to our shoulders, as well as the expense. The presence of foreign communities in the United States makes our country peculiarly susceptible to alien propaganda, and we should shortly find domestic problems overshadowed by issues far removed from our shores, and not infrequently inimical to our national interests.[30]

Grant-Smith knew that although Hungary accepted the loss of her territories temporarily, she would not submit forever to the conditions brought about by the peace treaty.[31] He had strong opinions about Hungary's new frontiers:

> The Magyars, just as the Serbs, Roumanians, and Czechs, if victorious, would have laid claim to vast territories as due them. It is their nature, it is their habit of mind to make exaggerated claims. […] Consequently, had the new boundaries of Hungary been made to include all the contiguous Magyar populations which lie at present in Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Yugoslavia, the Hungarians would have immediately claimed

---

[29] Grant-Smith to Secretary of State, September 29, 1920. Roll 1 and 2, M710 RG59, NARA.

[30] Ulysses Grant-Smith to Secretary of State, December 24, 1920. Roll 1 and 2, M710 RG 59, NARA.

[31] Ulysses Grant-Smith to Secretary of State, May 31, 1920. Roll 1 and 2, M710 RG 59, NARA.

something beyond. As it is presented, however, the League of Nations might very well and, in justice, ought to hand back those populations to Hungary. This might keep them quiet for a time and would afford them no legitimate grounds to carry on a propaganda for regaining lost territories.[32]

In August 1921 the US and Hungary signed a separate peace treaty ending the state of belligerency. In consequence, official diplomatic relations between the two countries were established as well. The first official representative of the US to Hungary after the war was Theodore Brentano.

Brentano was a retired judge when he entered the diplomatic service and was appointed minister to Hungary in 1921. He served in Budapest between 1922 and 1927.[33] His diplomatic activities in Budapest were met with some criticism in the State Department, since Castle was not fully satisfied with his work.[34] Unfortunately, only a small amount of State Department documents are available regarding Theodore Brentano's stand on the revision of the Trianon peace treaty. His monthly memoranda to the secretary of state on revisionist propaganda in Hungary and abroad, however, contained no personal comments. Thus, in the absence of personal remarks his opinion is impossible to analyze. His successor, Joshua Butler Wright was the exact opposite.

Having served at various important diplomatic posts both in Europe (Brussels, London, The Hague) and in Latin America (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and Santiago, Chile), Wright was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Hungary in 1927.[35] His diaries contain some objective comments regarding Hungarian questions and treaty

---

[32] Ulysses Grant-Smith to Secretary of State, May 17, 1920. Roll 1 and 2, M710 RG 59, NARA.

[33] *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography. Current Volume C* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1930), 487–488.

[34] Rumors were spread that Brentano was drunk more often than sober. "There has been a good deal of agitation in the Department to replace Judge Brentano by a Service Minister. There are innumerable stories that he is drunk most of the time and if these stories are true he is, of course, a peculiarly unfit representative of this dry country. There have also been rumors of personal misbehavior with some Jewish dancer from the opera, but in these stories I take no stock whatever." Castle to Charles B. Curtis, May 6, 1925. *The William R. Castle, Jr. Papers.*

[35] *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography. Volume XXX* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1943), 196–197.

revision, including the one according to which the League of Nations was not paying enough attention to the local questions in this [Central Europe] part of the world.[36] His official correspondence with the State Department on the other hand is more indicative of his critical stand on Hungarian issues. The fact that Wright kept a shrewd eye on Hungarian affairs, especially on revisionist propaganda is best demonstrated by his comment regarding the Hungarian exaggeration and overestimation of the successes of the Rothermere campaign.[37] The American Legation in Hungary continuously informed the State Department about issues relating to Rothermere's campaign, as well as about the press coverage it received both in Hungary and abroad, with special respect to the successor states. State Department documents make it clear that official American circles deemed Rothermere's eccentric activities unfortunate and harmful, encouraging false hopes.[38] Joshua Butler Wright's somewhat harsh judgment concerning Hungarian tendencies to overestimate the significance of the Rothermere's campaign sheds light on official American attitudes toward revisionism. Considering the extent to which the Hungarians believed that their difficulties interested the rest of the world, "[o]ne gains the impression," Wright said,

> that these people are convinced that Hungary is an important factor in the general European policy of England and other great Powers; this is bred from their intense national spirit and love of country, which, I

[36] Joshua Butler Wright on October 9, 1927. Box 3. Series IV. Diaries. *Joshua Butler Wright Papers*. Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.

[37] Lord Harold Sidney Harmsworth Rothermere's all-out anti-Trianon press campaign in the London *Daily Mail* energized Hungarian revisionism from abroad. He made the Hungarian question the focus of attention in Britain, as well as in the United States. Although Rothermere's efforts did not yield any political results, he became the hero of the day. He won over many Americans and Hungarian-Americans after his unofficial visit to the United States in the winter of 1927–1928. While official America ignored him, Hungarian- American communities welcomed the Englishman as the savior of Hungary. He became popular with "the man of the street and of the press." His eloquent, enthusiastic and highly emotional argumentation stressed the responsibility of the United States in creating an unjust peace and appealed to the American liberal and democratic tradition. He had great influence on his audience by reciting popular slogans such as, for example, that "Trianon was born in the US" and made them believe that "Hungary's future will be decided in the United States." *Amerikai Magyar Népszava*, April 28, 1928.

[38] Wright to Secretary of State, July 31, 1927. Roll 1or 2, M710 RG 59, NARA.

believe, is unsurpassed anywhere else in the world. It is therefore to be regretted that they appear to be blind to the ill-effects of this untimely agitation.[39]

Wright's comment went to the heart of the matter: Hungarian expectations of official American support were not well-founded.

Nicholas Roosevelt's personal papers and correspondence with the State Department reveal the same approach. Nicholas Roosevelt, diplomat and journalist, served at diplomatic posts in Paris and Madrid, and was a captain in the military in France after the US entered the First World War. After the armistice President Wilson appointed him his *aide* in Paris, then member to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. Later he was commissioned to Vienna in 1919–1920 as member of the American field mission.[40] Therefore, when in 1930 he received an appointment as minister to Hungary, he arrived in a region which was familiar to him. While in office Roosevelt concentrated mostly on the economic and financial life of both Hungary and Central Europe.[41] He never really liked the place. His condescending attitude toward "semi-feudal" Hungary, the behavior of Hungarians and their conduct in life are duly illustrated by Roosevelt's memoirs, *A Front Row Seat*.[42] As Roosevelt was regarded "the best informed American in Central Europe,"[43] a former journalist and a diplomat who had widespread contacts with the American business and political circles, Hungarians expected much from him: "Mr. Roosevelt is not only a diplomat but also a journalist who writes striking articles for the best American reviews and dailies. His sympathy therefore not only

---

[39] Wright to Secretary of State, September 30, 1927. Roll 1and 2, M710 RG 59, NARA.

[40] Roosevelt was in Budapest in March 1919 when the Hungarian Soviet Republic (Tanácsköztársaság) was declared.

[41] *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography. Current Volume F. 1939–1942* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1942), 324–325.

[42] For further details see Nicholas Roosevelt, *A Front Row Seat. A Sparklingly Personal Narrative of the History-Making Events in Which Mr. Roosevelt Has Participated, and the Notable Figures He Has Known, Especially the Roosevelt Family* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), 186-205. His retrospective recollections may have become somewhat more critical of contemporary Hungary than they actually were in 1930–1933. On the other hand his critical approach to Hungarian issues and cautious policy are also underlined by his correspondence with the State Department.

[43] *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography. Current Volume F. 1939–1942* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1942), 324.

means that he communicates the favorable impressions gained in Hungary in an official quality but he gives even greater publicity to the same."[44] In an interview Roosevelt was asked what Hungary could expect from the United States? He gave a very diplomatic answer. While avoiding the disappointing answer of a straightforward "not much," he cordially explained that until America got more familiar with Hungary, she could not expect much from the US. Therefore, she needed bigger and wider publicity in the US to make ties and spiritual relations between the two countries stronger. For this, he said in several interviews, as a journalist, he would willingly work: "Being not only in the service but also a journalist, I will use the publicity of the American papers in the interest of Hungary. One does read more and more about your country now in our papers, but I will also contribute with my modest pen to increase the publicity on Hungary."[45]

Like his predecessors, Roosevelt viewed Hungarian attempts at the revision of the Treaty of Trianon critically and with caution. Roosevelt was concerned about the Hungarian military, despite the fact that the Treaty of Trianon introduced strict limits on its size. He was very much aware that Hungary had not accepted the peace treaties "except through force." He knew that Hungarians looked forward to regaining their lost territories; therefore, he wrote, the suspected "development of Hungary's military establishment could materially affect the peace of Europe."[46] The essence of his opinion concerning revisionism was briefly but explicitly summed up in the introduction which Roosevelt wrote to Horthy's memoirs in 1956. The program, he says, "to try to restore to Hungary the

---

[44] *8 órai újság*, September 28, 1933 in Box 5. Series I. Correspondence, *Nicholas Roosevelt Papers*, Syracuse University Library, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY. Hereafter cited as *Nicholas Roosevelt Papers*.

[45] *8 órai újság*, September 28, 1933. Box 5. Series I. Correspondence, *Nicholas Roosevelt Papers*. See also "Mit remélhet Magyarország Amerikától?" *Pesti Hírlap*, October 12, 1930 in Box 3. Series VII. Correspondence, *Nicholas Roosevelt Papers*. See also "Október […] az új amerikai követ. Beszélgetés a New York Times szerkesztőségében Nicholas Roosevelttel," *Az Est*, October 12, 1930 in Box 3, Series VII, *Nicholas Roosevelt Papers.*; Imre Déri, "Roosevelt követ beszél terveiről s Magyarországról," *Amerikai Magyar Népszava*, September 27, 1930 in Box 3. Series VII, *Nicholas Roosevelt Papers*; Emil Lengyel, "Old Budapest Goes American," *New York Herald Tribune*, March 31, 1931, 15 in Box 3. Series VII, *Nicholas Roosevelt Papers.*

[46] Nicholas Roosevelt to Secretary of War Patrick J. Hurley, January 14, 1931. *The William R. Castle, Jr. Papers*.

boundaries it had had before the Habsburg [E]mpire broke up" was "a policy" which "however commendable to Magyars, ran counter to the nationalist aspirations and fears of non-Magyars, and was doomed to failure."[47] His successor, John Flournoy Montgomery, also had a strong opinion about Hungarian revisionism.

Unlike Nicholas Roosevelt, Montgomery became a true admirer of Hungary during his mission in Budapest. This affection, however, did not positively bias his views concerning revisionism. Montgomery, a manufacturer and businessman with extensive interests in the milk condensing and food industry in the US, served as minister to Budapest between 1933 and 1941.[48] His personal papers and correspondence reveal how much he got to like Horthy's Hungary. Indulging in the pompous and often ceremonious life of Hungary, he kept close relations with the members of the aristocracy, representatives of other foreign posts in Budapest and, of course, with prominent members of Hungarian political life. His views sometimes reflected the rather limited scope of his Hungarian social and political acquaintances. That notwithstanding, Montgomery sensed how powerful and dangerous a force Trianon was, and how it united all the layers of Hungarian society irrespective of class and social standing.[49] As mentioned, Montgomery did not want to participate in the unveiling ceremony of the Bandholtz statue.[50] Despite his favorable attitude toward Horthy's Hungary, and his sometime more favorable judgment of things Hungarian, he developed a fairly critical opinion of the Hungarian attitude toward revisionism and the policies devised to achieve this goal. Although Montgomery did not consider the

---

[47] The draft of Roosevelt's introduction to the book attached to Nicholas Roosevelt to Robert Speller, the publisher of Horthy's memoirs, April 25, 1956. In Box 4. Series I. *Nicholas Roosevelt Papers*. See also Miklós Horthy, *Memoirs* (New York: Robert Speller & Sons, 1957).

[48] *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography. Current Volume D* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1934), 410–411.

[49] Frank, ed., *Roosevelt követe Budapesten*, 11–65. See also Montgomery's comments on golf, traveling, cuisine, viticulture, social life in Hungary in Box 1, Budapest Diplomatic Corps Exchanges, 1933–1937, *The John F. Montgomery Papers*. MS 353. Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University. Hereafter cited as *The John F. Montgomery Papers*.

[50] On the Bandholtz statue also see Box 4, Vol. VII. Personal Correspondence, 1933–37, Part I, *The John F. Montgomery Papers*.

Habsburgh Empire a "political monstrosity"[51] and understood the grief of the Hungarians over its dismemberment, he did not allow himself to be misled by Hungarian revisionist aspirations. He grew even more critical of Hungarian revisionism when Hungary sought to restore her former boundaries by force within the framework of the ever-strengthening German alliance.[52] And while in his *Hungary, The Unwilling Satellite* Montgomery readily tried to save Hungary's reputation and depict her ultimate accession to the Axis powers as one of force and "unwilling" expediency, at the same time he passed rather ominous comments concerning revisionism and its dangers:

> The revisionism I found in Hungary was a curious myth rather than a clear program. National disasters are just as conducive to psychological derangements as national triumphs. The main symptom in both cases is the growth of legends. In Hungary, people spoke with religious fervor of the restoration of the thousand-year-old realm, quite oblivious to the fact that in King Stephen's time, Hungary did not have the frontiers which she lost in 1919. […] As time went on and I gained the confidence of my Magyar friends, I discovered that many responsible Magyars were by no means in favor of a revisionist policy. On the contrary, they considered it a serious handicap, because it had become a national obsession. […] They also knew that revisionism was a dangerous toy and that Hungary was utterly unprepared for war. […] To the politicians, revisionism was a godsend, but more responsible men thought it dangerous.[53]

Throughout the interwar period the US strictly adhered to the policy of (political) non-entanglement. Providing support for the revision of the Treaty of Trianon was never a viable option despite Hungary's conviction, hope and illusions to the contrary. It was a well-known fact that the US did not become a member of the League of Nations, nor did she ratify its Covenant. Hungarians also attached much hope to the fact

---

[51] Montgomery to Robert D. Coe, December 4, 1939. Box 3, Foreign Service Personnel Exchanges, 1938–1939, Part I. Vol. 5. *The John F. Montgomery Papers*: "Personally I am not of the opinion that the Austrian-Hungarian Empire was a political monstrosity. Everything I have learnt since I have been here convinces me to the contrary."

[52] Messerschmidt to Montgomery, November 20, 1934 and March 5, 1936, Box 2, Foreign Service Personnel Exchange, 1933–37, Part 1. Vol. 3, *The John F. Montgomery Papers*. See also Montgomery's correspondence with the State Department. Roll #1 M1206 RG 59, NARA.

[53] John Flournoy Montgomery, *Hungary. The Unwilling Satellite* (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1947), 52–55. See also Frank, ed., *Roosevelt követe Budapesten*, 48–49.

that following a long congressional debate in 1928 the US became a signatory to the Kellogg-Briand Pact: "The great importance of this international document," says the *Budapesti Hírlap*,

> is not because of its elimination of war- for the possibility of war still exists-but the fact that the Government of the United States, which has hitherto stood aloof from European politics, considers that the moment has come to lead Europe, not merely financially, but by applying the fresh and untainted Anglo-Saxon standard of morals to the corrupted political atmosphere of the old world.[54]

Overestimating the significance of the pact with regard to Hungary, the article concluded that "America should take the golden pen and with it bring about order in Europe through treaty revision. In that case there would be no necessity of war. Without treaty revision peace will remain a vision."[55] The Kellogg-Briand Pact was meant to become a powerful non-aggression treaty. Yet, by not assuming military and political responsibility under collective security, the US turned the pact into a somewhat ineffective multilateral treaty outlawing war. It did not become an effective means of conflict resolution.

In conclusion, Hungarian revisionist expectations toward the US were built on false hopes and illusions. America's relations to Hungary in general and treaty revision in particular were defined by the official American policy of political isolation toward Europe. The Western European Desk of the Department of State, and its head, William R. Castle, Jr., as well as the official American representatives of the US to Hungary consistently represented such a policy.

---

[54] Wright's Memorandum on Hungarian Affairs in August to Secretary of State. September 8, 1928. Roll 10 M708, RG 59 NARA.

[55] Wright's Memorandum on Hungarian Affairs in August to Secretary of State. September 8, 1928. Roll 10 M708, RG 59 NARA.

Looking Back to Colonial Times: Austin Clarke's Idiosyncratic Way of Remembering Places on Barbados

Judit Molnár

Austin Clarke, a black West Indian from Barbados, left the island in 1955 at the age of 21 before it gained independence in 1966. He says: "When Barbados became independent, I was not in Barbados but I had always felt independent because [...] we were in the majority. [...] We had a situation where not only whites and blacks, but all people were able to live as one" (1990). Despite the fact he lived in a colonized space he does not recall it as something that he suffered from; yet his emotional rootedness is in the colonial tradition. He confirms: "[...] I am Barbadian by nature—the best of me is Barbadian; the best of my memories are Barbadian" (1990). However, the title he gave to what he calls "a memoir" is *Growing Stupid Under the Union Jack* (1980), and it is a critique of the colonial system. Clarke has often been seen as doing pioneering work in this respect: "[he] laid the groundwork for West Indian writing in Canada (Kaup 172); "[he] has become Canada's first major black writer" (Algoo-Baksh 13).

His memoir written in a realist tradition is a good example of "effective remembering". Dawn Thompson firmly asserts: "If identity resides anywhere it resides in memory" (59). It is the adult Clarke, who looks back on his early childhood and adolescent years during World War II. His transformative years were closely connected to the schools he attended, and the church. The novel's basic theme is education. Because the very schools and the church he attended become for Clarke the sites of pedagogy of the colonial situation, I want to focus on the function of these places in his fiction. First, I elaborate on these *places*, the way they form a *space* and then I move onto the specificities of the surroundings.

447

It was only through "proper" education that one could move up on the caste-ridden society of Barbados, and Clarke happily complied with his mother's wish: "Go 'long, boy and *learn*! Learning going make you into a man" (5). His mother did not want him to miss out on what she could never have, hence her wholehearted support. In his discursive narrative, built on association rather than chronology, we move in and out of different educational institutions and the church. The British school-system that was imported to Barbados and the Anglican Church have had long-lasting effects on Clarke. After St. Matthias Boys' Elementary School, he was admitted to the prestigious Combermere School, Barbados oldest secondary school established in 1695. Having left the unhappy primary school where flogging was at the centre of his school experience, Clarke happily immersed himself in Western culture studying Latin, French, and British history. Years later, he clearly saw the one-sidedness of the knowledge he acquired in Barbados. I knew all about the Kings; the Tudors, Stuarts and Plantaganets; and the war of the Roses; but nothing was taught about Barbados. We lived in Barbados, but we studied English society and manners. (80) Clarke's devotion to the literary history of Britain became stronger and stronger. He lived through the important events in the history of the Empire: "I was not a 'History Fool': I just loved and cherished my past in the *History of England* book" (81). As Lloyd W. Brown points out the word "fool": "[in] the Creole usage [...] implies an awesome expertise. [...] it also voices the colonial deference to the colonizer's culture" (15). The application of the ambiguous meaning of the word serves also as an example of the binary cultural oppositions embedded in Clarke's early experiences. Clarke was not a "history fool" but a "dreaming fool" (159). According to Bill Ashcroft: "[e]ducation, and literary education in particular, has been a major theme and contestation in postcolonial literatures" ("The Post-colonial" 425). Milton was always dear to him; incidentally even his best friend is also called Milton. He was thoroughly familiar with *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, thus Brown sees a connection in Clarke's wish to explode the two myths: one associated with the Caribbean as Paradise and the other with the New World as El Dorado. (121) Both of them are, however, only *imaginary spaces*. Brown clearly demonstrates the falseness of these believes. He claims:

> Nothing has more forcefully emphasized the fallacy of a Caribbean
> Paradise than an islander's stubborn quest for their economic and social

El Dorado: In the Panama Canal Zone at the turn of the century; Great Britain after the Second World War; the United States over the last forty years; and Canada since the fifties. (2)

The image of a possible El Dorado in the New World often vanishes when immigrants face the harsh reality of the society where they hoped to fulfill their dreams and instead find themselves culturally, socially, and politically suppressed.

Clarke's schooling is also inseparable from the institution from the Anglican Church, which was equally complicit in the colonial play of power. Students studied intensely the Scripture, prayed from the *Book of Common Prayers*, and he sang enthusiastically in the church choir, too. It was not by accident that the school building and the smaller church—among coconut palms—were located side by side, separated only "by a thick wall" (27). When they were singing at school: "[t]he school had become a church" (7). Algoo points out: "The Anglican church also gained in significance from its connection with the school system, a nexus symbolized by the *physical proximity* of school and church" (148; emphasis added). The church and the school functioned in a similar way during the war to which there are constant references; kids painted the names of German generals and swastikas on the wall of the church (43) and the school became very similar to a "concentration camp" (47). The Anglican Cathedral was big and looked grandiose; it was "[i]n Town, in the capital, and that added to its charm and importance" (124). There were other churches there that differed from the Anglican one not only in their ceremonies and the tenets they taught but also in their physical appearances. Clarke says about the Church of the Nazarene: "It was slotted at the lower end of the religious ladder" (125). It looked very shabby: "The Church of the Nazarene was a one-room, broken down rocking institution" (125). This topologizing of memory is significant in the text. As Kort notes, "While we also remember things as having occurred at certain times, we remember more closely *where* they occurred. In fact, early memories are '*housed*'; they are distinguished from and related to another more by *space* than by time" (167; emphasis added). For as Edwards Casey puts it: "[p]laces are congealed scenes for remembered contents; and as such they serve to situate what we remember" (189).

Clarke's mother attended this latter church and allowed the congregation to use their living room to hold their prayer meetings there.

(128) (The living room together with the vestry where, ironically enough the adolescent Clarke is initiated into sinfulness through stealing, can both be considered private and sacred places.) In-between these two churches, the Anglican Cathedral and the Church of the Nazarene, there was the AME church for middle-class people. It "[w]as larger, with walls washed in white pain—the colour of grandness and purity" (96).

The fragmented nature of the society of Barbados was reflected in its spatial layout. The town was basically divided into two parts: the upper and the lower parts; the former inhabited by the rich and the latter by the poor: "[Clarke] demonstrates the pervasiveness of class in society employing the *topography* of the land to suggest the caste-like rigidity of the social structure" (Algoo 147; emphasis added). Clarke's family also moved up *Flagstaff Hill* to build a bigger house that they kept enlargening bit by bit. They also rented some land to cultivate. On their way up, they passed the rum shop, the Bath Corner, where some older students used to gather to discuss politics. Yet even this is not an ideologically neutral place; the daily rituals of colonization are implicit even in the smallest gestures. The staff on the road was used to raise and pull down the Union Jack each and every day. (71) After all, "[they] were the English of Little England. Little black Englishmen" (56).

Clarke describes the people in the new neighbourhood and the houses at length. (91–97) Further away, *Belleville Avenue* "a showpiece of [his] country" (193) with its "colonial charm" (193) was a "reference point" (197). On one side, is *Carrington Village* where the poor live and on other side, by way of extreme contrast, the rich. The *Governor's house* is a veritable monument to colonial, white supremacy: "The queen was safe and sound in Buckingham Palace, and the Governor in Government House sipping Scotch and soda" (182). In *St. Matthias* it was the *Marine Hotel* that divided people; it became a sign for social discrimination. "On Old Year's Night" (33) the white were enjoying themselves inside while the black were dancing outside because the "Marine was 'blasted' serrigated" (sic) (34). Since it was not safe for people like Clarke to walk on *Belleville Avenue*; he took refuge in the drugstore, where he could hide himself and watch this part of the town. James Ferguson notes:

> "[Clarke] describes in detail his many walks on sunny afternoons along *Hastings* main road when the sun scorched the bottom of his feet leaving tar mark on the surface. He describes how quiet the area was in those days, with hardly anyone walking the streets or any vehicular traffic. He would always walk slowly as he approached the *drug store* for that was

one of his favourite *places* where he stood outside and surveyed the place, looking at the sweets on display and inhaling the various potent medicines and of course the Lysol. (3; emphasis added)

Ferguson draws our attention to the importance even of naming in colonial space: "[p]laces with names like *Hastings* and *Worthing* were tropical replicas of Home County retirement resorts" (1; emphasis added). The social divisions between various places could be found even up on *Flagstaff Hill*. When Clarke opened the window of his bedroom he had a commanding view of this space that was permeated by colonial hierarchies. One group of the houses were painted in many colours and had names like *Labour Blest*, *In God We Trust*, *The Cottage*, *Flagstaff Castle*, while the other group of houses were pure white and "carried signs *Beware of Dog* or *Trespassers Will be Persecuted*" (151). Social discrimination was visible here, too. He could see the *hidden plantation house*, too surrounded by wooden, moveable *chattel houses* in which working class people lived in plantation days. (150; emphasis added) Algoo concludes: "The achievements and acquisitions of the whites became the hallmarks of respectability, representing wealth and power, [it] was the symbol of black ambition" (148). Because of its wealth and importance this "magnificent" (150) edifice had to be hidden and protected against possible intruders.

The islanders had different ways of getting away from the exhausting everyday routine. The adults could go to the *Garrison Pasture* enjoying horse races; it "[w]as also known as a place where men and women did 'things' at night, when the moon wasn't shining" (27). When children wanted to have fun they went either to the *Gravsend* (sic) *Beach* or played in the *sugar cane fields*. These places became spaces of liberation. As Yi-Fu Tuan asserts: "Spaciousness is closely associated with the sense of being *free*. *Freedom implies space*; it means having the power and enough room in which to act" ("Space" 52; emphasis added). The *beach* and the *sea* provided Clarke with the expanse of a limitless horizon: And I think of a line in a poem, written about a boy I do not know and may never meet, on this beach or elsewhere, who *stood in his shoes and he wondered, he wondered; he stood in his shoes and he wondered...* (157; emphasis original) It was lovely to walk in the *sugar cane fields* when the cutting season came; they could enjoy all the odours, the fresh air, the open blue skies. They were away from home, the "accustomed territory" (108). "Sometimes we would play in the thick

canes of green waves [...]" (109); it filled them with joy. They secretly spied upon young lovers hiding among the canes.

The streets back in town form a pattern of a spider's web for they were originally built for animals. (202) This is where everyday life continues and where you are watched by Sir Conrad Reeves, the first black Chief Justice of Barbados, the son of a slave woman whose statute stands outside the *House of Assembly*. The insignia of the royal coat of arms behind and above him cannot be missed. After all Barbados is part of the empire and this is firmly inscribed on the students' minds at school. The teacher with the map in his hand says:

"'What my hands passing over, now boys?'
'The *British Empire*, sir!'
They know, as I know it, *with their eyes shut.*"
(46; emphasis added)

The map used at school is an important spacial document not to be left unnoticed. It is not surprising that in the end Clarke longs to pursue his studies in Great Britain. At that time: "Canada was not talked about: it existed only in apples. It was a blur on our consciousness" (31). In order to be able to do so he had to know the answers to exam questions set in England because that decided his life in Barbados.

Yet, despite this desire for an elsewhere, Clarke's detailed description of Barbados leaves us with the conflicted image of a place where: "The home and village abandoned with love and pride" (Algoo 149).

Works Cited

Algoo-Baksh, Stella. *Austin C. Clarke: A Biography*. Toronto: ECW Press, 1984.

Aschroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.

Brown, Llyod. *El Dorado and Paradise*. London (Ont.): Centre for Social and Humanistic Studies, 1989.

Casey, Edwards. *Remembering a Phenomenological Study*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987.

Clarke, Austin. *Growing Up Stupid Under the Union Jack: A Memoir*. 1980. Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers, 2005.

—, Interview. *Other Solitudes: Canadian Multicultural Fictions*. Ed. Hutcheon Linda and Marion Richmond. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990. 63–70.

Ferguson, James. "Little England Behind You." *Caribbean Beat*. http://www.amazon.ca/ Growing-Stupid-Under-Union-Jack/dp/06769771598

Kaup. Monika. "West Indian Canadian Writing: Crossing the Border from Exile to Immigration." *Essays on Canadian Writing* 57 (1995): 33–42.

Thompson, Dawn. "Technologies of Ethnicity." *Essays on Canadian Writing* (1995) 51–69.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977. Rpt. 1997.

The Power of Art: The Woman Artist in Rachel Crothers' *He and She* and Tina Howe's *Painting Churches*

Lenke Németh

> *"I'll hate myself because I gave it up—and I almost hate—hate—her." (Crothers)*
> *"You just don't take me seriously! Poor old Mags and her ridiculous portraits. . ." (Howe)*

The presence of woman artists in female–authored plays is conspicuously frequent in two distinctive periods in the history of the American theatre and drama, in the 1910s and 1970s. Arguably, the increasing number of women playwrights as well as the dramatization of the issues of female creativity in the two periods coincides with the rise of the first and second waves of American feminism. In both eras women's fight for freedom and equality was high on the agenda, though with slightly different immediate aims. At the beginning of the twentieth century the primary aim was obtaining voting rights, while in the 1960s, fuelled by the Civil Rights Movement and sparked by Betty Friedan's groundbreaking book *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), the women's movement addressed unequal opportunities for women in workplaces and education. Curiously enough, the "new woman" of the 1910s transformed into a "rare woman" in the 1960s due to the patriarchal society's huge discrimination against women in many facets of life.

Admittedly, a conventionally male-dominated realm, the theatre—destined to give voice to conflicting ideas in a community or society—served as an appropriate venue to deal with, challenge, and reflect on the changing social attitude towards women's socially ascribed roles in both

waves of feminism. In their pursuit for freedom and independence many talented women found that artistic endeavour was particularly rewarding. Thus it is not merely new generations of female playwrights that emerged in both periods but also numerous plays by them explored the relationship between the woman artist and the society. These women playwrights, I suggest, can be credited with establishing the subgenre of *female Künstlerdrama*[1] within the history of American drama and theatre. As regards its theme, at the beginning of the century female Künstlerdrama mainly addresses society's exclusionary attitude to women artists, while in the second period the thematic focus shifts to the presentation of women artists' inner struggle for recognition in family and society. The prevalent dramatic mode applied is realism, yet carefully adjusted to the thematic focus. Thus earlier playwrights use "muckraking realism"[2] (Graver 711), which dominated American Theatre from 1905 to 1917 and can appropriately depict the social norms of early twentieth-century American society. Toward the end of the century, however, dramatists tend to use different kinds of "realisms" such as psychological, lyrical, surrealist, symbolic, expressionist, and even postmodernist, which are appropriate to reveal complex inner processes of the characters.

Major representatives in the first period include Zona Gale (1874–1938), Marion Craig Wentworth (1872–?), and most importantly, successful director, playwright and actress Rachel Crothers (1878–1958). Though Crothers "was a consistent and acknowledged presence" for over thirty years (1907–1938) in American theatre, her work was marginalized by contemporary critics and was rewritten in the American dramatic canon only after the second wave of the feminist theatre movement (Murphy 82). Her dramatic output stands out as she wrote a large number of plays that deal with "the struggle of women to define their values in the face of the conflicting demands of nurturing a family and pursuing a career" (82). Her most significant plays with women artist protagonists in them include *A Man's World* (1909) and *He and She* (1911).

---

[1] "Künstlerdrama" is a commonly used designation of plays with artist characters in them. Csilla Bertha also uses this term to identify the so-called "artist-drama" in contemporary Irish theatre and drama (347).

[2] As defined by David Graver muckraking realism takes "the pedagogical concerns of 'evolutionary realism' and shifts to an interest in broader social issues with plots that hinged on partisan politics" (711).

Female Künstlerdrama continues to flourish from the 1970s, as the following brief list of authors and their works testify: Adrienne Kennedy's *A Movie Star Has to Star in Black and White* (1976), Wendy Wasserstein's *Uncommon Women and Others* (1977), as well as her Pulitzer Prize winning play, *The Heidi Chronicles* (1988), Heather McDonald'd *Dream of a Common Language* (1992), and Rebecca Gilman's *The Sweetest Thing in Baseball* (2004) all discuss women artists' struggle for self-definition. The centrality of the woman artists, however, is especially striking in Tina Howe's (1937-) plays. From the beginning of her career nearly all her characters are women artists. As she admits in an interview: "I have an obsession with art. It runs through all of my plays" (qtd. in Barlow 241). Indeed, her first rather controversial plays including The *Nest* (1970) and *Birth After Birth* (written in 1973 and first produced in 1995) deal with female creativity, while her later works such as *Museum* (1976), *The Art of Dining* (1979), and *Painting Churches* (1983) all center around the portrayal of female artists.

For the present study I have chosen Crothers' *He and She* and Howe's *Painting Churches* as their thematic similarities offer vistas for comparison. Though written more than seventy years apart from each other, they both deal with the permanence of women artists' hunger for the approval and their failure to find self-fulfilment both in the public and private spheres of their lives. Their respective female protagonists, Anne Herford, a sculptor in Crothers' play, and Margaret Church, a painter in Howe's play, both long for the approval of their talent. Apparently, Ann's artistic endeavors are supported in her family as it is her husband, Tom— a sculptor himself—who teaches the mastery of sculpting to Ann. Yet, when she wins a competition for a major commission which everybody thought would go to her husband, she is compelled to give up her career so that she can devote her life entirely to her motherly duties. By contrast, born into a much more fortunate era in terms of opportunities for women artists, Mags is a highly successful portrait painter who is going to have her first solo exhibition in a prestigious New York gallery—an event Ann could not even have dreamt about—yet her parents have failed to acknowledge her talent. In the course of the plays the two female protagonists go through major changes in terms of understanding themselves and perceiving reality due to the revelatory and redemptive functions of art. In this paper I will argue that despite differences in the temporal and socio-political contexts the two plays are set in, both plays

explore how art contributes to a woman artist's self-definition and her perception of reality.

The artist's understanding of reality through creating art is central to both plays. While Crothers' interest lies in the impact that the final artistic product exerts on the family members, Howe centers her play on the troublesome process of artistic creation, which transforms into a re-creation of the parent-daughter relationship. After winning the competition "in a fair, fine, hard fight" (Crothers 310), Ann faces the dilemma whether to take up the opportunity and launch a full-fledged professional career or to submit to patriarchal expectations and denounce the prize. Ann decides to accept the job, a major commission for doing a frieze. With her act she chooses to oppose society's double standards, though in those days "Victorian society did not deem it suitable for a woman to dedicate her life to art in a professional way (but approved her taking up art as a hobby)" (Narbona-Carrion and Dolores 70).

The vehemence by which her own relatives disapprove her victory over her husband makes Ann acutely aware of the deep-rooted double standards in society. Susan Gubar's observation appropriately describes this feature of patriarchal society: "our culture is steeped in such myths of male primacy in theological, artistic, and scientific creativity" (244). The pressure Ann resists is enormous as reactions from her family members serve well to make various points of the play and act as mouthpieces of prevalent views in the society. Rehearsing views ingrained in them by the ideology of patriarchal society, each of her relatives condemns Ann for taking her artistic ambitions seriously and disparages her for "neglecting" her duties as a wife and a mother. Ann's daughter, Millicent is a case in the point: "I think that's perfectly horrid, mother. Why should they give it to you? I think father ought to have it—he's the man" (330). Further on, Daisy, Ann's sister-in-law and Dr. Remington, Ann's father both remind her of the primacy of her motherly duties. Daisy sighs: "Oh—I wish the damned frieze were in Guinea and that Ann had nothing to do but take care of Tom and Millicent—like any other woman. I'd give anything is she hadn't won the competition" (328). Dr. Remington remarks: "I'd rather you'd failed a thousand times over—for your own good. What are you going to do with Millicent while you're making this thing?" (325). In spite of the rejections Ann resists the pressure to give up the commission in order to preserve the pride of her husband.

Ann's apparently enlightened and open-minded husband's reaction is most revealing about male oppression in society. Just like Pygmalion,

who shapes and creates his beautiful ivory statue, a female body, Tom, as a teacher of his wife even acknowledges her talent when looking at her frieze: "Beautiful! Astoundingly beautiful! Well as I know you, I didn't think you had it in you" (Crothers 315). Nevertheless, Tom's contentment with his own "creation," that is Ann as a sculptor, lasts as long as he controls his wife's freedom and independence. When the artistic "product" tries to lead a life of her own and aims to pursue her own career, the mask of the enlightened man shatters immediately: "If another *man* had got it I'd take my licking without whining [...] Why can't I be that way to *her*" (923). As long as the woman artist remains in the position relegated to her—muted and objectified—the creator is satisfied. Gubar's extension of the Pygmalion myth highlights the objectified status of the female: "If the creator is a man," Gubar argues, "the creation itself is the female, who, like Pygmalion's ivory girl, has no name or identity or voice of her own" (244).

Tom's pride is further damaged by losing his "breadwinner's role. He grunts, "a woman can't mix up in a man's business [...]. It's too—distracting—too—take you away from more important things. [...] Millicent and me" (326). All these reactions to Ann's success underlie that woman cannot be an artist, a creator, or a sculptor. She must not break down or erase the long-established categories produced for women in patriarchal society. A woman's place and space are predetermined, as Gubar articulates: "Woman is not simply an object, however. If we think in terms of the production of culture, she is an art object: she is the ivory carving or mud replica, an icon or doll, but she is not the sculptor" (244).

Howe dramatizes art's revelatory function through displaying Mags painting her aging parents' portrait before they move to a smaller house. In return for helping them to pack and move to a cottage from their present home in Beacon Hill, Boston she asks them to let her paint their portrait. What seems to be merely portrait painting provides Mags a deeper insight into the life of her parents and also remedies the conflictual parent-daughter relationship. It is through this process of creating art that Mags eventually understands that the "move to another house has a symbolic as well as an economic end [...]. What they are leaving for is, ultimately, their death" (Bigsby 63–64). Also, the painful act of creation will help her reconcile with her parents and take the journey from selfishness to acceptance, from isolation to inclusion.

The creative process is constantly hindered by Mags' parents, Fanny and Gardner Church. Fanny keeps asking why she should paint it

now that "they are trying to move" (178) or by posing as Michelangelo's *Pietá* Fanny and Gardner make fun of what Mags treats as serious work. Mags has to understand she "must 'see' her parent before she can paint them, and her painting will reveal just how much she has or has not succeeded in viewing them honestly" (Barlow 245). Apart from being constantly reminded of the necessity of openness and honesty with which an artist must relate to her subject, Mags also perceives the elusiveness of reality. She must learn that art is not a mere copy of reality, neither is it an imitation of another work of art (*Pietá*). Reality has to be fully absorbed and re-created by the artist. Finally, without her parents' cooperation she will complete the painting by relying on her creativity and her own conception of art, and amazingly, her parents will approve and appreciate that portrait.

The troublesome process of painting her parents' portrait involves Mags' equally tormenting route of creating and defining herself. She finds herself confronting all her previous anxieties and traumas because of the denial of her abilites. Independent and successful as Mags may seem to be when she arrives, from the very first moment she enters the family house she uses various means to conceal her sense of insecurity. Her unconventional looks and her constant eating of junk food hide her vulnerability and dissatisfaction with herself. The mask of a trendy woman who "has very much her own look" (Howe 174) soon disappears in a succession of rapid grotesque scenes that present several incidents from her childhood and early adulthood when her talent was badly ignored.

In a dramatic monologue at the end of the first act, Mags recalls a traumatic memory from her childhood. Remembering the past event develops into a carefully built and dynamic climactic scene with Mags' defining her own values. It also turns out that Mags' obsession with art grew out of her special relationship with food. Unable to swallow what her mother cooked, Mags was banished from the family table and was forced to eat her food in her bedroom alone. After getting rid of the food (she flushed it all down the toilet), she began creating her first wax masterpiece out of crayons by letting them melt down on the hot radiator thus producing an intricate colourful design that she describes in culinary terms: it looked like "spilled jello, trembling and pulsing" or "it oozed and bubbled like raspberry jam!" (202). Lynda Hart is right in suggesting that Mags "transformed her hunger into art: not in a selfish Faustian quest for knowledge […] but with the protective, embracing gossamers of love

460

and forgiveness" (58) as she continued to develop her work. Three months later, as Mags describes the "RADIATOR WAS ... SPECTACULAR!" [...] IT LOOKED LIKE SOME COLOSSAL FRUITCAKE! [sic!] (Howe 202). For every color she imagined a taste: YELLOW: lemon curls dipped in sugar ... RED: glazed cherries laced with rum" (Howe 202). Mags vividly recalls the exhilaration she felt over creation as well as the utter pain when her first piece of art, which "glittered and towered in the moonlight like some ... gigantic Viennese pastry" (203) was destroyed by her parents. In the present now she is able to confront her parents and assert herself as an artist: "It was a monument of my castoff dinners, only I hadn't built it with food ... I found my own material. [...] I FOUND MY OWN MATERIALS ...!" [sic!] (203). She succeeds in defining herself and overcoming her insecurity by clearly articulating, "I have abilities" (204), which at first she struggles to say but then she repeats it more and more loudly and triumphantly by adding it first "strong" and "very" thus ending it: "I have ...very strong abilities" (203).

Unlike Mags, who is primarily shown in her artist's role and represents the liberated, self-conscious woman of the 1970s, Ann in *He and She* is depicted in the conventional roles that patriarchal society ascribes to women: a loving wife, a caring mother, and an obeying daughter, yet, at first, she also represents the New Woman, who is able to handle and coordinate all her tasks in her life. Even her husband, Tom confirms how capable Ann is in his reply to his assistant Keith's question: "[...] How can she keep on that and keep house too?" TOM: Well, they *do,* you know—somehow" (302). Ann's New Woman status, however, rapidly deteriorates into that of a traditional woman's who is forced to submit herself to male oppression. When Ann learns that her sixteen-year-old daughter Millicent has fallen in love with the chauffeur at her boarding school, she decides that she must put aside her work and let her husband execute the design so that she can pay closer attention to her daughter. Despite the fact that Ann felt equally the importance of her responsibility as a mother and her duty to be true to herself as an artist, she cannot erase the double standards in society and cannot pursue the life of an artist.

In an equally powerful dramatic monologue at the end of *He and She* Ann also asserts her own talent and clearly defines what it means to be a woman artist in early twentieth-century American society and what it means to be a woman denied an outlet for her creativity. She voices her

bitterness and disappointment since finally she must concede to her primary sex role. Her point is that a society that allows a woman a chance to explore only one part of her potential is unjust:

> I'll hate myself because I gave it up—and I almost hate—hate—her. I know. Why I 've seen my men and women up there—their strong limbs stretched—their hair blown back. I've seen the crowd looking up—and I've heard the people say—'A woman did that' and my heart almost burst with pride—not so much that I had done it—but for all women. And then the door opened –and Millicent came in. There isn't any choice, Tom. (Crothers 335).

By contrast, the liberated woman of the 1970, Mags has the chance to rebel and lead the life of a professional artist. Mags' intention to paint her parents *in her own way* is her means of rebellion and her final attempt to gain their approval she desperately longs for. Though they have resigned to the fact that their daughter has become an artist, they have failed to appreciate their daughter's success. Even though Gardner demonstrates his love towards her, he does not regard her as a real artist, only a daughter who is "loaded with talent" (179). When she announces the great news about her one-woman show, apart from her parents' cliché-like expressions of joy—"We're so happy for you" (179)—they both immediately change the subject and turn their attention to eating Saltines (kind of crackers). She bursts out: "You just don't take me seriously! Poor old Mags and her ridiculous portraits..." (189).

At the conclusion, however, Fanny and Gardner see Mags' abilities to use colors and light so inventively that has always been her strong points. Fanny resigns to Mags idiosyncratic way of perceiving and transforming reality. When the lighting effects capture her attention, she can resign to the fact that she is painted with orange hair, purple skin and with no feet but the light reminds her of a Renoir painting with a couple dancing. When the curtain falls Fanny and Gardner dance to a Chopin waltz, imitating figures in a Renoir painting (*Dance at Bougival*, 1883*),* while Mags watches them moved to tears and a car horn announces their imminent departure from the family home. She gains their approval and unites them in one last extraordinary moment. This is a moment when art transports the characters beyond the fears and longings that mark and mar their lives. How's description of this scene captures the transitory nature and redemptive function of art:

462

It's great victory for Mags. I think it is one of those transcendent
moments. It is as if they are stopping time. They are caught there. That's
what a great painting does. It stops the flow. It pins you there. They got
so caught up in the painting that time stopped, the decay stopped, and
they became timeless. It lasts for one heartbeat, and then is gone. We all
know it is a purely theatrical moment, which is why it is so precious."
(qtd. in Barlow, 250)

Irrespective of the temporal and spatial settings *He and She* and
Painting Churches are embedded, their respective female protagonists,
Ann and Mags have defined their values and asserted themselves as
artists, though Ann had to yield male oppression. Interestingly enough,
the male-defined artist (Ann) must withdraw her artistic self from public,
whereas no matter how tormenting a process it was for Mags to shape and
create herself as an artist, she can fully realize her artistic self in public.
Eventually neither of them can realize all her potentials as they both have
to sacrifice one part of their lives: either the personal for the public,
artistic life (Mags), or the public, artistic life for the personal (Ann).

Works Cited

Barlow, Judith, E. "The Art of Tina Howe." *Feminine Focus: The New
   Women Playwrights.* Ed. Enoch Brater. Oxford: OUP, 1989. 241–73.
Bertha, Csilla. "Visual Art and Artist in Contemporary Irish Drama."
   HJEAS 15.2 (2009): 347–67.
Bigsby, Christopher. *Contemporary American Playwrights*. Cambridge:
   CUP, 1999.
Crothers, Rachel. *He and She. American Drama: Colonial to
   Contemporary.* Eds. Stephen Watt and Gary Richardson. Forth
   Worth: Harcourt Brace, 1995. 298–335.
Graver, David. "The History and Heterogeneity of American Dramatic
   Dramatic Realism." *American Literary History* 11.4 (1999): 710–20.
Gubar, Susan. "'The Blank Page' and the Issues of Female Creativity."
   Critical Inquiry 8.2 (1981): 243–63.
Hart, Lynda. "Body Art. Hunger and Satiation in the Plays of Tina
   Howe." Ed. Lynda Hart. *Making A Spectacle: Feminist Essays on
   Contemporary Women's Theatre*. Ann Arbor: The U of Michigan P,
   1989. 41–60.
Howe, Tina. *Painting Churches. Coastal Disturbances*: *Four Plays*. New
   York: The Theatre Communication Group, 1989. 168–227.

Murphy, Brenda. "Feminism and The Marketplace: The Career of Rachel Crothers." Ed. Brenda Murphy. *Cambridge Companion to American Women Playwrights.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999. 82–98.

Narbona-Carrion, Maria Dolores. "The Woman Artist as Portrayed by Rachel Crothers and Heather McDonald." Eds. Barbara Ozieblo and Maria Dolores Narbona-Carrion. *Codifying the National Self: Spectators, Actors and the American Dramatic Text*. Brussels: Peter Lang, 2006. 66–81.

The Fight for a Yankee over Here: Attempts to Secure an American for an Official League of Nations Post in the Post-War Central European Financial Reconstruction Era of the 1920s[1]

Zoltán Peterecz

Introduction: The European Scene after the First World War

After the devastation of World War I, most of Europe lay in ruin. The map of Europe had been redrawn—new states were born, old empires were gone, and some losing countries survived but at the great cost of territories detached. As the months passed, it was clear that some rehabilitation would be needed. Mainly with Great Britain in the lead, Europe tried to put its house in order. The banks and financial houses of London were the only financial institutions in Europe with the organization, power and resources to finance the bulk of the European reconstruction, and so with Great Britain in the lead, Europe tried to put its house in order.

There was another reason, however, as to why Great Britain had to take on the leading role in European reconstruction. America, after somewhat reluctantly joining the war in 1917, was on the verge of becoming a major force on the European Continent. However, Woodrow Wilson's dream of a postwar international organization to guard over the peace came into being without the United States. The US Senate voted against such an international commitment both as a political revenge for

---

[1] This is a much-revised and largely expanded version of a presentation that took place in "New Concepts and Approaches in English and American Studies" PhD Conference, Eötvös Loránd University, November 13, 2008.

Wilson's not including any prominent Republican at the Peace Conference, and reflecting the general sentiment of isolationism in the country. Thus the League of Nations, formally established on January 10, 1920, was starting from a disadvantageous position in terms of world wide influence, power, credibility, and sufficiency. Moreover, Germany and the Soviet Union, two countries that would have somewhat countered the fallout from the United States lack of involvement and lent credibility to the organization were also absent from the League of Nations formation, with Germany not becoming a member in 1926 and the Soviet Union not until 1934.

The lack of American participation did not exclude the possibility of US contribution to financial affairs in Post-War Europe. The subsequent American Republican governments, however, made such a course much more difficult. When European reconstruction became an issue in which American participation was sought, the main difficulty lay in the fact that such initiatives emanated form the League of Nations. Since the United States was not a member, the large American financial firms, the most prominent being J. P. Morgan & Co., were extremely careful in joining deals, even if profits were luring. In addition to political differences, the relations between the Allied Powers and the United States were heavily burdened with debt questions and issues of reparations. The Europeans, especially the French, wanted to squeeze reparations out of the loser states, mainly from Germany, and they thought to repay the American creditors from this sum, a course the United States could not accept. It seemed that until this problem was solved, there could be no lasting cooperation between the two sides.

Since there was no hope for official support, the League had to count on private collaboration with Americans. In addition to bankers, American private citizens were working with the League of Nations, in various capacities, but always in an unofficial capacity, since the United States government tried to avoid every official contact with the League. So, when the financial reconstructions of European countries came to the forefront, the League of Nations hoped to secure both American bankers for their money and American private citizens for their work in the schemes, a concept that was to strengthen both halves of such a vision. The remainder of this paper will look at two compelling examples of this concept in Austria and Hungary, and what the ramifications of reconstruction were for these countries.

466

Part I: Austria

Austria, the remnant of the once powerful Habsburg Empire, found itself under devastating circumstances in the wake of the First World War. The territory of the country became a fraction of what it had been and it meant the loss of agricultural products, raw materials, and finished products, since most of these had been produced in its rural areas, now new and independent states understandably on unfriendly terms with Austria. In the capital, where lack of food caused starvation, a concentrated population of about two million tried to make ends meet. With a large population but insufficient resources, the once happy capital reflected a gloomy picture. The political landscape was not promising either. On November 12, 1918, a republic was declared and Austria showed political polarization that was to be the norm for the next 15 years. In the country the Christian Democrats enjoyed a majority, whereas in Vienna, the political left ruled. The country had to accept the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, which was signed on September 10, 1919. As in the case of Germany, the Treaty contained the Covenant of the League of Nations, of which Austria was not yet a member.[2] Article 88 forbade Austria from trying to join Germany, without referring to the country by name, while the economic and financial clauses were similar to the German peace treaty. As a consequence, Austria was liable to pay reparation for loss and damages done during the war. The amount of the sum to be paid was to be determined by the Reparation Commission and payments were to start after May 1, 1921, and continue for the next thirty years. Both from political and economic points of view, Austria faced an unhappy period.

Indeed, for some time Austria could not survive on its own. The first three years after the armistice was characterized by international charity in the form of food and public loans. The major powers provided about $100 million to which the British contributed $45 million and the Americans $24 million.[3] The United States, Great Britain, France, and

---

[2] This clause was the reason why the United States did not ratify the Treaty, just like in the case of Germany, and a separate peace treaty was signed between the two countries on August 24, 1921.

[3] League of Nations, *The Financial Reconstruction of Austria. General Survey and Principal Documents* (Geneva, 1926), 11; The Austrian Chargé (Prochnik) to Hughes, February 23, 1922, FRUS, 1922, Vol. 1, 615–6.

Italy paid an American loan of $48 million in equal parts.[4] Besides official help, private charity also provided millions, and the United States took the lion's share in this sphere as well. These measures, however, proved inadequate to alleviate the mounting troubles. The economy came to a virtual standstill and there was rampant inflation. The League of Nations, the prominent representative of the "New Europe," could not let Austria pass into social upheaval. Economic instability, with a worthless currency,[5] it was feared, would lead to revolution. With such apprehensions in mind, the British leadership, set into motion to solve the Austrian problem through the League.

Despite British efforts and the terrible circumstances in Vienna, it took a long time before the League turned its attention toward Austria in earnest. The Austrian government officially pleaded to the League for help on August 23, 1922.[6] The powers showed lukewarm interest and it was only due to a British request that the Austrian question was put on the agenda at the next session of the Council.[7] On September 6, Austrian Chancellor Ignaz Seipel appeared in front of the League Council, and officially declared that Austria would accept control in exchange for help, but at the same time he also used the ongoing political and economic situation in his country as blackmail.[8] The Austrian situation was in fact infused with the possibility of social disturbance. As a result, the rest of the defining actors on the European landscape had no choice but to follow the British lead in order to reach a solution. Furthermore, the prestige of the League was on the line: if it failed in its very first undertaking, what would the future hold?

Upon the recommendations of the Financial Committee, on October 4, 1922, three Protocols were signed by Great Britain, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Austria: in the first mutual assurance of political

---

[4] Jusserand to Lansing, February 20, 1920, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States (subsequently FRUS), 1920, Vol. 1, 260.

[5] Clerks in Vienna tended to use the back of crown notes as scribbling paper, simply because it was the cheapest paper available. (Sir Arthur Salter, *Memoirs of a Public Servant* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961), 175).

[6] Seipel to the League Council, August 23, 1922, C12652/74/3 FO/371/7340, The National Archives of Great Britain (subsequently TNA).

[7] British Cabinet to the Secretary-General, August 25, 1922, Ibid., C12838/74/3.

[8] League of Nations, *The League of Nations Reconstruction Schemes in the Inter-War Period* (Geneva, 1944), 29.

independence and territorial integrity was given to and by Austria; the second stated the conditions of the guarantee of the loan not exceeding 650 million gold crowns; the third was about Austria's obligation and the functions of the Commissioner-General, a person working in Vienna as an agent of the League and controlling the loan proceeds and the reconstruction.[9] A Bank of Issue was also to be set up that was to be independent of the government with the sole authority to issue any money. These steps were to insure the arrest of the fall of the crown and stop the inflation. With the loan of 631 million gold crowns, Austria was supposed to put its financial situation in order by the end of 1924. Right after the signing of the Protocols, the search for the would-be Commissioner-General started in earnest. Time was a crucial factor. A League delegation was to visit Vienna in the first days of November, and the League wanted by then to find a suitable person for the position. As a starting point, he was not to represent any of the guaranteeing powers. Nor was he to come from any neighboring countries. These were sound political considerations, since such a case would have compromised the possible execution of the reconstruction scheme. The post-war relations in Central Europe were bitter. Austria was especially apprehensive of neighboring Italy and Czechoslovakia, two of the guarantor countries. Seipel was afraid that unless Great Britain, France, and the United States came to the rescue, Austria would be exploited by the Italians and the Czechs.[10] Therefore a person was needed with impeccable credentials who represented an as economically, historically and politically, detached country as was possible. Austrians then would not feel sheer domination; it was enough to put their country under League control.

At first a few American and Dutch names were bandied about as possible candidates for the position, but the search quickly settled on the American Roland William Boyden. He had been an unofficial delegate on the Reparation Committee since 1920, meaning that he had no right to vote, but in effect, his ideas and opinions counted as much as that of the official delegates.[11] He had already proved on that body that he well understood both British and French policies, and demonstrated the capacity for conciliatory persuasion, thus he seemed to hold the qualities

---

[9] League of Nations, *Austria*, 137–150.

[10] Akers-Douglas to Curzon, September 15, 1922, C13183/74/3, FO371/7340, TNA.

[11] He submitted his resignation to the State Department after Warren Harding's victory at the polls in 1920, but it was not accepted and he worked on till 1923.

needed from the political point of view. Aside from his being an American, he had "the required temperament and political aptitude for this task."[12]

In a politically divided country, the personal qualities of the League's Commissioner might have meant the key to allaying the intensity of political controversy. Boyden's personality also played to his favor. While Alfred Zimmerman, the possible Dutch backup, was known to possess a "somewhat domineering character," Norman believed that the American's somewhat more amenable manner was the key factor in his strong appeal.[13] When Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League, broached the idea of securing Boyden as Commissioner-General to Lord Arthur Balfour, "the idea of appointing an American, intimately acquainted with the problems at issue, greatly appealed" to the latter.[14] It is quite clear that, due to the political underpinnings, the first option was to recruit an American.

Boyden was willing to accept the job and wrote to the State Department and asked whether they had any objection to his holding such a position. A quick and short answer came giving the State Department's consent, but Boyden was slow in notifying the League, which caused significant problems for the organization. The time factor was important, because until a new Commissioner-General was named, the chances were weak for Austria to find provisional credits. Therefore, the whole scheme was in danger if no suitable person was found. That is why the League officials were so impatient to find out whether Boyden would accept it, and if he wouldn't, they wanted to waste no time in securing their backup choice, Alfred Zimmerman. "If Boyden turns it down, don't waste more time, but take Z. and be thankful," was Blackett's suggestion, simply for fear that they might run out of time.[15] The situation in Vienna was far from reassuring and in the first days of November the situation became critical. Thus Boyden's acceptance became urgent for the League of

---

[12] Sir Arthur Salter, *Personality in Politics* (London: Faber and Faber, 1947), 164; Salter, *Memoirs*, 179.

[13] Marling to FO, February 22, 1922, C2679/74/3, FO371/7336, TNA; Norman to Strong, October 24, 1922, 2A 165/1, Bank of England Archives (subsequently BoE).

[14] Monnet to Hankey, November 2, 1922, Appointment of a Commissioner General for Austria. Doc. No. 24510, R. 519, League of Nations Archives (subsequently LNA).

[15] Blackett to Salter, October 23, 1922, 79/13/1, Box No. 3. Austria, S. 99. Nixon Papers, LNA.

Nations. They were already preparing to propose Zimmerman in case Boyden refused.[16] The young world organization rightfully thought that its prestige was at stake. With every single day, not only the situation of Austria was deteriorating, but the international status of the League was weakening. If it was impotent to launch a reconstruction scheme in a tiny Central European state, how would it cope with much more ambitious plans on the world stage? Also, the securing of an American for the job would have meant some kind of cooperation between the League and the United States, if it was of the most informal nature.

The US State Department, however, did not come to the rescue. It seemed to have misunderstood the message of Boyden concerning the Austrian position, and in a later telegram asked him not to accept it.[17] What really happened was a fatal twist of history. Someone in the State Department saw the first, consenting message and found it too curt in light of the service Boyden had given his country. So, in another telegram, they expressed their reluctance at losing Boyden to another post. It was not meant to prevent him from taking the new post, but he interpreted it that way.[18] This was found out only years later, which must have been small compensation. Afterwards, League officials had no other choice but to move forward with Zimmerman.

Since there was not much time left and Zimmerman seemed to possess the technical qualities needed for the execution of the job, the League started serious negotiations with him. In Arthur Salter's words, he regarded "opposition to Socialism as a kind of crusade," and he was "unsuited for a task of political conciliation."[19] But to a large degree, it was his experiences with Socialists in Rotterdam, where he had been Burgomaster, that made Zimmerman seem so likely a candidate. All in all, with Boyden out, the League was satisfied with the Dutchman. The members of the Austrian sub-committee accepted Zimmerman and an official invitation was sent out duly.[20]

Zimmerman gave up his home position with regrets and was somewhat reluctant to fill the offered position. He was simply not

---

[16] Monnet and Salter to Balfour, November 5, 1922, C15137/74/3, FO371/7343, TNA.

[17] Boyden to Monnet and Salter, November 8, 1922, No. 3. Austria, S. 106. Salter Papers, LNA.

[18] Salter, *Personality*, 167.

[19] Salter, *Personality*, 166; Salter, *Memoirs*, 180.

[20] Drummond to Tufton, November 20, 1922, C15903/74/3, FO371/7343, TNA.

enthusiastic about the job and always came up with certain requirements to create easier circumstances for himself once in Vienna. He made a demand of six months preliminary appointment with indemnity payable if for any reason he lost the job, a situation not comforting to the League.[21] Moreover, he was not keen to take part in a venture that might fail. He was not satisfied with £ 6,000 a month for expenses either and wanted some increase, next to the £ 1,000 indemnity in case his duties would be terminated.[22] While he was granted £6,500 finally, it is interesting to note that Boyden would have been satisfied with £2,000 a month.[23] The League simply could not delay the issue for lack of time; they needed a man for the post, whatever the demands. The League accepted Zimmerman's conditions, as they ultimately caused no significant changes to the overall scheme and so on December 15, 1922, the new Commissioner-General began his post in Vienna.[24]

Despite the fact that at last the League of Nations secured a Commissioner-General, the problems of the Austrian reconstructions were far from over. Bonds were secured on the revenues of the Customs and Tobacco Monopoly as a guarantee for the issues in the four guarantor countries each undertaking to guarantee 20%.[25] In November inflation was stopped. According to the League scheme, 100,000 officials were to be dismissed until July 1, 1924, in order to reduce the government's widespread bureaucracy to a more acceptable level.[26] In early December both the Reconstruction Law and the Geneva Protocols were ratified by a majority vote in the Austrian Parliament. During November and

---

[21] Drummond to Niemeyer, November 30, 1922, and Drummond and Monnet to Salter, December 8, 1922, 2/4/1, No. 6. Austria, S. 109. Salter Papers, LNA.

[22] Drummond to Tufton, November 17, 1922, F. 2073/021/3. Austrian Reconstruction, T160/584, TNA.

[23] Commissioner-General: Note as to Action. 2/4/1, No. 6. Austria, S. 109. Salter Papers. LNA.

[24] Drummond to Zimmerman, December 10, 1922, No. 3. Austria, S. 106. Salter Papers. LNA.

[25] In the summer of 1923, the long-term loan was guaranteed as follows: Great Britain, France, and Czechoslovakia 24.5% each, Italy 20.5%, Belgium and Sweden 2% each, Denmark and the Netherlands 1% each. (League of Nations, *Schemes*, 31.)

[26] This number was not delivered by Austria. Although between October 1922 and March 1923, the number of state officials discharged was 65,000, until June 30, 1926, altogether 96,382 officials were dismissed. (Rothschild, *Austria's Economic Development*, 50; League of Nations, *The Financial Reconstruction of Austria*, 87.)

December unemployment doubled from 58,000 to 117,000.[27] Although the Commissioner-General was chosen, the soon-to-open National Bank had no president. Following some debate between Austria and the guarantor states, former Minister of Finance Richard Reisch was nominated to the post with the condition that a foreign adviser would be attached with large powers.[28] After securing a short-term loan in the amount of £3,500,000 in February, 1923, the focus shifted to the more monumental task of securing a long-term loan.[29]

It was important from the political point of view that private American capital be involved. Already in April, 1923, the League saw in an American participation a possible "precedent involving far-reaching consequences," even if the money raised in the United States was a small one.[30] Montagu Norman was asked to try to lay the groundwork in America for the Austrian loan, but J. P. Morgan & Co. signaled that at present there was no chance of issuing an Austrian loan in the US.[31] This was despite the fact that the Reparation Commission decision on February 20 suspended the liens for reparation charges on any revenues pledged as security on the loan for twenty years, and the US Congress in a Joint Resolution on March 16, 1922, postponed the relief credits for twenty years.[32] The American government gave first priority to the British debt settlement. In April Norman got further information from a New York banker that the loan in its present form had not much chance in the United States.[33] In spite of such unfavorable news, Norman now used all his powers to ensure the success of the loan to Austria. He reassured a worrying Zimmerman that despite the great financial and political problems, he was doing everything possible.[34] His efforts might have been in vain but help came from J. P. Morgan in the end. Contrary to his

---

[27] League of Nations, *Austria*, 36.

[28] On the debate see Keeling to Curzon, December 21, 1922, C17515/74/3, FO371/7344, TNA; Foreign Office to Keeling, December 22, 1922, Ibid., C17537/74/3; Keeling to Curzon, December 21, 1922, Ibid., C17603/74/3.

[29] League of Nations, *Austria*, 38-9.

[30] De Bordes' memorandum, April 27, 1923, 4-8c, C. 6, LNA.

[31] Strakosch to Norman, December 30, 1922, and J. P. Morgan to Morgan, Grenfell & Co., January 17, 1923, OV28/54, BoE.

[32] Congressional Record, 67th Congress, 2nd Session, 3997, March 16, 1922.

[33] Norman to Bark, April 25, 1923, G3/179, BoE.

[34] Norman to Zimmerman, May 16, 1923, Ibid..

earlier views, J. P. Morgan had decided to take up the Austrian case. This was despite the efforts of the banking house to secure American governmental assistance in the loan.[35] In May, Thomas Lamont came over to Europe to deal with a tranche to be floated later in New York. The sheer weight of his presence meant that now the scheme had a realistic chance of becoming a reality.

To help convince American bankers and to garner public support, Lamont eased the path for Zimmerman, who made a speech on June 4 in London to a group of American press people with the aim of advertising the Austrian reconstruction with the hope that the American tranche of the long-term loan would be realized. Norman did the lion's share of doing the background work. He had almost daily conversations with Lamont, and gave an interview to American reporters, despite the fact that he avoided publicity as much as he could.[36] The effort paid off and the London issue was made on June 11, and the American tranche was launched on the same day. By 10:15, ten minutes after opening, the American subscription totaled five times the $25 million the banks were committed to.[37] Jack Morgan was surprised at the success and found the "oversubscription almost bewildering."[38]

Now that the two heavyweights had gone along, the rest was a formality. Throughout the summer the long-term loan of a net total of 611,000,000 gold crowns was floated in several countries. Great Britain stood out with subscribing more than 300,000,000 gold crowns (£14,000,000), while the United States' share was about 123,000,000 gold crowns ($25,000,000).[39] The American part was roughly equal to what had been missing in the spring. In this sense, American private capital came to the rescue. In issuing an adequate British part the main figure was clearly Norman and Zimmerman expressed his gratitude for his "brilliant leading of the action."[40] The remainder of the loan was provided by Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland,

---

[35] Michael J. Hogan, *Informal Entente* (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 1991), 65.

[36] Norman's Diary Entries, May 30, June 1, June 4, and June 8, 1923, ADM 34/12, BoE.

[37] Michael J. Hogan, *Informal Entente. The Private Structure of Cooperation in Anglo-American Economic Diplomacy, 1918–1928* (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 1991), 66.

[38] J. P. Morgan to Morgan, Grenfell & Co., June 11, 1923, OV28/56, BoE.

[39] League of Nations, *Austria*, 41.

[40] Zimmerman to Norman, June 11, 1923, 4-8h, C. 6, LNA.

Czechoslovakia, Spain, and Austria. The price of issue was typically in the 76–8 % range, while the nominal rate of interest was 6%, in the United States it was 85.625% and 7% respectively.[41] The numbers reflected well that the loan was not judged as a great investment. Still, what the League of Nations had set out to achieve was completed despite the many obstacles placed in its path. After all, the League made sure that a country in the heart of Europe would be helped collectively. Only a few years after the war, former enemy received the help it so badly needed.

Although the scheme got off to a promising start, the period of reconstruction was burdened with troubles throughout—often centering on the Commissioner. As a clear sign of overall Austrian antipathy to the system of control, Alfred Zimmerman, who was reluctant to give in on any point that showed a departure from the original scheme, was a constant target of criticism. Only a few months after Zimmerman took up the post, the Socialists drew up a resolution that wanted to prevent the League Commissioner from carrying out private negotiations and getting any information from Austrians by labeling such an act High Treason against the State.[42] The motion died a quick death, but the anti-Zimmerman sentiment remained. The average opinion was well summed up in the saying that "even the locomotives will whistle cheerfully when they carry Zimmerman back to Holland."[43] Therefore, when decontrol was within sight at last, the Austrians did not hide their joy. The sheer psychological value of regaining independence was enormous. It must be noted that the termination of Zimmerman's office did not mean the absolute end of financial control. The Council had the right to reestablish control if the service of the loan was in danger, and the position of the bank adviser was renewed for three more years. Zimmerman left Vienna on July 5, 1926. There was a farewell luncheon before his departure given by the President of the Confederation, and he got the Grand Cordon of the Decoration of Honor of the Republic for his distinguished services to Austria. On the official level, especially at the happy conclusion of affairs, Alfred Zimmerman was a friend now. As Chancellor Ramek put it, "You came to us as a stranger, now you leave us as a friend, as one of

---

[41] League of Nations, *Austria*, 41–2.

[42] Keeling to Curzon, March 29, 1923, F. 2073/021/4. Austrian Reconstruction, T160/584, TNA.

[43] *The New York Times*, December 10, 1925.

us. Austria will never forget you, our heartiest good wishes accompany you."[44]

By any analysis, the financial reconstruction of Austria was a success. In addition to the balancing of the budget and stabilizing the currency the two most conspicuous accomplishments, the standard of living of the working class became much higher than it was only a few years earlier and public health also showed a remarkable improvement. From all angles, the reconstruction period was very advantageous for Austria. It escaped an absolute breakdown. The weak economic and financial situation would have, in all likelihood, driven the country into total social chaos, and such an event might have meant outside interference. Great Britain, relying largely on its financial background, its influence in the League of Nations, and its good relations with the United States, wanted an independent and functioning Austria in the heart of Europe, because they saw in it the possibility of achieving the grand vision of turning Central Europe into a more or less working economic block that would provide peace, stability, and an economic outlet for Great Britain and the whole of Europe. Partly to achieve such a long-term goal, Austria was only seen as an important start. Soon after that the Austrian reconstruction scheme was set into motion, the attention turned toward the next country, Austria's eastern neighbor, Hungary.

Part II: Hungary

Hungary was, in many ways, in a similar situation to Austria. Although as an agricultural country, it was a little bit better off in terms of supplying basic sustenance for its people, but politically it was much worse off. The short-lived bolshevist coup in 1919 deteriorated the situation of the country both politically and financially. The main political drawback of the communist rule in Hungary was manifest at the peace negotiations. The Peace Treaty of Trianon, signed on June 4, 1920, was a fatal blow to Hungary and sealed its fate for along time to come. Although the country expected harsh terms and more or less accepted the new realities of Central Europe, Hungarians all the way through had hoped and believed that Wilsonian principles would prevail and territories with Hungarian majorities would not be lost. To the shock of the whole

---

[44] Chilston to Chamberlain, July 6, 1926, C7753/246/3, FO371/11213, TNA.

476

nation, the treaty detached huge Hungarian ethnic blocs, which was due to nothing else but serving the wishes of the neighboring Slavic countries. The territory of Hungary was reduced to one-third of its former territory, and the population decreased by about ten million to a little less than eight million. Parts VIII and IX of the Trianon Treaty dealt with reparation and financial matters. The text declared that Hungary would have to pay reparations for a period of thirty years starting from May 1, 1921, although the sum was not specified.

Similarly to Austria and other Central and Eastern European countries, Hungary was provided with relief. In all likelihood due to the bolshevist takeover, the country got only a fraction of what Austria or the other recipient countries were given. While the whole region received relief of almost $500 million, the sum given to Hungary was only $9.3 million.[45] Not surprisingly, the main share of the relief was financed by the United States, 86% of the total, while Great Britain provided 12%.[46] When the issue of repatriation came to the fore, relief was also largely needed. About 13,000 men were successfully brought back from the Soviet Union. The $1,200,000 needed for the enterprise was also largely provided from American sources.[47] American relief was not restricted to material questions only. In 1922, when the worst was over, the United American Lines Inc. decided to give 1 million crowns to a Hungarian cultural institution.[48] The Hungarian Historical Society was chosen as the beneficiary. With these outside efforts, Hungary slowly climbed back to its pre-war status, but it was clear that without political consolidation the country would stand no chance of rehabilitation of any kind.

The real change came with the István Bethlen becoming Hungary's new Prime Minister on April 14, 1921. His political approach was very practical and realistic. As he put it, "What I am saying and doing is the outcome of domestic and foreign policy necessities. My policy is shaped

---

[45] M. C. Kaser and E. A. Radice, eds. *The Economic History of Eastern Europe, 1919–1975*. Vol. 1. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 387.

[46] György Ránki, *Gazdaság és külpolitika. A nagyhatalmak harca a délkelet-európai gazdasági hegemóniáért (1919–1939)* [Economy and Foreign Policy. The Fight of the Great Powers for Economic Hegemony in South-Central Europe]. (Budapest: Magvető Kiadó, 1981), 40.

[47] Grant-Smith to Hughes, December 10, 1921, 864.00/482, Roll 6, M. 708, National Archives and Records Administration (subsequently NARA).

[48] Doroghi to Bethlen, July 11, 1922, 1136/922/37, 7. cs. 1922–1931 B/4, K 468, Hungarian National Archives (subsequently HNA).

by the circumstances."[49] The American minister in Budapest described him as "the real political pivot and barometer of political life."[50] After Bethlen became the prime minister of Hungary, the British minister in Budapest sent a report in which he wrote that all efforts must be made to help the consolidation of the country.[51] At the end of 1922, Hungary managed to become a member of the League of Nations, a step that would serve the country well. In becoming a member of the most important political body of the day, Hungary stepped out of the political isolation it had been subjected to since the end of the war, and the doors opened for the chance at outside financial help. For such an aid, Hungary first and foremost wanted American and British help.

It was well known that within the League of Nations Great Britain and France vied for leadership. On the whole, owing to both political and financial capital, the British had the bigger influence, so it was all too understandable for Hungary to be attracted to Great Britain. In addition, Britain could not allow Hungary to "go under financially" if it wanted to achieve its Central European goal.[52] On the other hand, France was the principal supporter of the Little Entente, the anti-Hungarian alliance of Czechoslovakia, Romania, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom. Therefore, it was also a necessity for Hungary to find a counterbalance and it knew that if there was one country on the continent that had sway over its antagonistic neighbors even more than France it was Great Britain. Naturally, Hungary was well aware of the fact that in the changing post-war world the most influential country was outside Europe, and so it was only logical that Hungary try to develop a relationship with the United States.

Hungary, being a member of the Central Powers during World War I, was automatically considered an enemy state of the United States, although the two nations held nothing against the other. After the armistice, the two countries tried to put their relations on a normal footing in the hope of future cooperation. As was seen, charity was coming to the country from private American resources, but affairs needed to be normalized on the diplomatic level as well. As a first step, trade and

---

[49] Ignác Romsics, *Bethlen István* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 1999), 188.

[50] Memorandum on Hungary in Brentano to Hughes, October 1, 1922, Ibid., 864.00/517, Roll 6, M. 708, NARA.

[51] Romsics, *Bethlen*, 185.

[52] Lampson's note on February 22, 1923, C3081/942/21, FO371/8861, TNA.

communication were again authorized between the United States and Hungary beginning September 2, 1919, and shortly after, Ulysses Grant-Smith was appointed to be Commissioner to Hungary on December 4, 1919.[53] He was not accredited as a diplomatic representative since no peace treaty had been concluded between the two countries, but his main task was not altered by this lack of formality as he was to do everything in his power to help a representative government to take root in Hungary.[54] This was important for the United States after the bolshevist rule, which was seen upon as the new threat. The next phase between the relations of the two countries was characterized by the conclusion of a separate peace treaty.

Since the United State Senate refused to ratify the Paris Peace Treaty, America neither became part of the League of Nations, nor concluded peace treaties with its ex-enemies. The clear signal that the United States treated these countries as one group was evident in the fact that it concluded separate peace treaties with these states within a few days: on August 24, 1921, with Germany, on August 25, 1921, with Austria, and on August 29, 1921, with Hungary. The United States made clear that it was willing to talk with Hungary concerning peace only if it was based on a similar peace treaty with Germany.[55] The American government basically blackmailed Hungary, coated in nice diplomatic terms, that acceptance of the terms agreed to by Germany was the condition necessary reestablishing diplomatic relations.[56] Grant-Smith pointed out to the Hungarians "the advantages which would accrue to Hungary, both of political and economic nature, by their acceptance of the stipulations of the Peace Resolution, and the subsequent negotiation of an agreement with the United States."[57] Hungary had no real choice but to accept what was offered

In normalizing the relations with the United States, Hungary tried to play on the friendly Anglo-Saxon card. Both from political and financial perspectives, the United States and Great Britain were the two countries

---

[53] Notice Issued by the War Trade Board Section of the Department of State, September 2, 1919, FRUS, 1919, Vol. 2, 410.

[54] The Secretary of State to the Commissioner at Vienna (Grant-Smith), December 10, 1919, Ibid., 410–2.

[55] Hughes to Grant-Smith, July 9, 1921, 711.64119/1, Roll 1, M. 709, NARA.

[56] Hughes to Grant-Smith, July 23, and July 28, 1921, Ibid., 711.64119/1 and /2.

[57] Grant-Smith to Hughes, August 3, 1921, Ibid., 711.64119/15.

that Hungary could expect the most help from. One of the various Hungarian plans after the war advised that "Hungary should offer itself to America as a base for its economic penetration into Central and Eastern Europe."[58] This scheme, although nothing came of it, sized up well the American intentions regarding Europe after the war: the United States was to remain outside the political problems of Europe but was interested in economic expansion. Obviously, Hungary needed to find help far from its geographical position, because its neighbors were its enemies, France was their quasi-ally, Germany was burdened with its own problems, Soviet Russia was an ideological enemy, and Italy had not shown yet its interest in Central Europe. This meant that only Great Britain and the United States remained; both were far enough away to be friendly and powerful enough to help.

With British prodding and Austria as an exemplar, Hungary asked for help from the League of Nations on May 5, 1923. From this moment on a long political tug of war started between the British and the French inside the League. After many months of diplomatic negotiations a compromise was reached, and the Protocols for a Hungarian loan under the aegis of the League were signed by all involved countries on March 14, 1924. One remaining problem was that Hungary needed all the countries concerned to waive their priority of relief bonds in favor of the reconstruction. One of the most difficult partners in this question was the United States, which was willing only to do so if all the other countries concerned did the same, a line of policy mirroring the British one.[59] Finally, on April 25, 1924, the debt funding agreement was signed, and the US was willing to suspend priority charges over relief bonds for the sake of a loan for Hungary. By the end of May then, all countries had waived their priority on behalf of the reconstruction loan. Almost everything had been accomplished before the actual flotation of the loan. The remaining problem to be solved was to find the right person for the position of the Commission-General to Hungary.

As was the case with Austria, the time factor was crucial in determining a new Commission-General, and the League wanted to find a suitable candidate as quickly as possible. As was also the case with Austria, after a few European names were considered for the position, it

---

[58] Ránki, *Gazdaság*, 20.
[59] Niemeyer to FO, January 26, 1924, C1480/37/21, FO371/9904, TNA; Hughes to Pelényi, February 16, 1924, FRUS, 1924, Vol. 2, 325–7.

was ultimately decided by the organization and Hungary that an American would be the preferred choice for the post. It must not be forgotten that in the whole of Europe, the United States was possibly the only country that could safely count on friendly feelings and that could really boast of being a neutral, meaning it stayed away from the continental bickering. In addition to the political goodwill of an American, the Bethlen government supposedly had information that the American money market would be willing to participate only if an American were chosen for the post.[60] Also, Hungary wanted to avoid an Austria-like control, which they judged as far too restrictive and all-encompassing. For all of these reasons it was crucial that an American fill the post of Commissioner-General in Hungary.

In light of this belief, the Hungarian government had already started to make steps toward securing a prominent American citizen. The reasoning was that if they managed to convince a high-standing American to accept the post, it would automatically create the needed confidence on the money markets. The United States had taken part in the Austrian reconstruction and it was no secret that the Americans were following the British example there. Thus if an American were named Commissioner, it seemed, the doors of the private American banks would open and the United States would play a large role in securing the loan. The target person was Warren P. Gould Harding, ex-Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston. Harding was backed by other influential men. The most well known of them was Colonel House, President Wilson's one-time friend and advisor, who told Sir Eric Drummond, the General Secretary of the League, that he thought that Harding's nomination would "be [the] best possible way of insuring American cooperation financially in Central Europe. I would strongly recommend his selection."[61] The Hungarian Committee of the League agreed on the choice of Harding. However, he signaled early in March that due to his state of health he would not be able to accept the post.[62]

On the eve of the Protocols being ratified by the final signatory countries, the Hungarian reconstruction plan was in danger of

---

[60] Mária Ormos, *Az 1924. évi magyar államkölcsön megszerzése* [Raising the Hungarian State Loan of 1924] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964), 115.

[61] House to Drummond, January 15, 1924, Financial Reconstruction of Hungary, Appointment of a Commissioner General by the League. Doc. No. 33315, R. 298, LNA.

[62] Harding to Salter, March 7, 1924, C4678/37/21, FO371/9907, TNA.

dangerously slowing down. Without a Commissioner-General there was no prospect of efficient work getting done in Hungary, and raising the long-term loan would be unimaginable. The League had to find a suitable person in the shortest time possible. Norman Davies and Owen Young recommended without hesitation Boyden as best, Jeremiah Smith, Jr. as second best for the job, and Walker Dower Hines as a third possibility.[63] Harding warmly recommended, if Boyden could not be secured, an old colleague of his, Frederick Adrian Delano, who was Vice-Governor of the Federal Reserve Board from 1914–1918, had worked in Europe, and spoke French.[64] The chances that Boyden would accept were not great. He had the stinging memory of what had happened a year and a half earlier, when he was virtually assured of the Austrian Commissioner-General position only to lose it at the last moment. Besides, his wife was very sick, which would have made it doubly difficult for him to accept it.[65] At the March 15 meeting of the Hungarian Committee the body decided that an official invitation would be sent to Boyden, and if he refused, the next possible candidates, Smith, Hines, and Delano would be approached.[66]

As was expected, Roland Boyden did indeed refuse the position. What was important, however, was that he recommended Smith for the job.[67] Even more momentous than Boyden's recommendation was when Drummond informed the Hungarian Committee that the "highest financial circles [in] America strongly take [the] same view."[68] This was significant, because as the case of the possible loan stood, it was "clearly of greatest importance obtaining [a] person acceptable [to] financial circles best qualified."[69] Since the League expected that a third of the loan would be subscribed in the United States, they needed someone for the post that enjoyed the favor of the American financial circles. If they had to choose between two American candidates, they would definitely pick

---

[63] Salter to Niemeyer, March 11, 1924, C4124/3721, FO371/9906, TNA.

[64] Telephone message from Salter to Drummond, March 14, 1924, Doc. No. 33315, R. 298, LNA.

[65] Hevesy to Daruváry, March 15, 1924, 10-1390/1437, 209 cs. 123, K 69, HNA.

[66] Cadogan to FO, March 15, 1924, C4542/37/21, FO371/9907, TNA.

[67] Telephone message from Drummond to Walters, March 24, 1924, Doc. No. 33315, R. 298, LNA.

[68] Drummond to Members, March 24, 1924, C5039/37/21, FO371/9907, TNA.

[69] Ibid.

the one that promised an easier and more bountiful American participation. Both the British Foreign Office and the Treasury were of the opinion that the main point was that the person should be an American citizen.[70] By April it was clear that Smith's backing had grown irresistible. In addition to Boyden and Davis, both Pierre Jay of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and Thomas Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co. had stood behind him, with the latter three "definitely adverse to Delano."[71] In all probability, it was Lamont's opinion that made all the difference. As he wrote to Salter confidentially, "quite aside from personal liking for the two men last mentioned (Mr. Hines and Mr. Delano) [I] would regard neither one as fully equipped for the job; Smith would be better than either."[72] Lamont was the person that arranged the American part of the Austrian loan, so it was understandable that the League had a sensitive ear to his recommendation. Suddenly, an upstart Yankee was shoved into the limelight with a mountainous task awaiting him.

Jeremiah Smith, Jr., after being educated at Exeter and Harvard, together with Thomas Lamont, served as secretary to Justice Gray of the United States Supreme Court in 1895–96, and thereafter he practiced law in Boston. He often dealt with local bankruptcies and was known as a person who "has held important receiverships and is prominently identified with large corporate interests."[73] He was appointed as member of the War Relief Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation in June 1915 and visited a few European countries in this capacity. During the First World War, when he served with the American Expeditionary Forces, thanks to Lamont, Smith was awarded a captain's commission as captain in the Quartermaster's Corps.[74] From this point on, Jeremiah Smith's international career began. Upon the Morgan heavyweight's request, Smith took part at the Paris Peace Conference as a counselor to the Treasury Department representatives and financial advisers to the American Commission. He was largely disappointed with the final treaty and thought it a mistake to sign it.[75] After the Paris Peace Conference, Smith accompanied Lamont to Japan and China as an aide of his, and

---

[70] Lampson's notes, March 24, 1924, C5039/37/21, FO371/9907, TNA.

[71] Memorandum, April 2, 1924, Doc. No. 33315, R. 298, LNA.

[72] Lamont to Salter, March 22, 1924, quoted in Salter to Bethlen, April 11, 1924, Ibid.

[73] *Boston Daily Globe*, June 23, 1907.

[74] Thomas W. Lamont, *Across World Frontiers* (New York: 1951), 82.

[75] Ibid., 83.

later to Mexico in the capacity of counselor again in the Mexican debt settlement.[76] Thanks to Lamont's unwavering help, Smith had gained immense experience in international negotiations pertaining to financial questions and problems. The international expertise Smith could boast of was a key aspect in accepting him, but naturally Lamont's recommendation was the decisive factor.

The League officially invited Jeremiah Smith, Jr. to become Commissioner-General to Hungary until June 1926 with an $18,000 a year salary.[77] In light of the dragged out process in securing a Commissioner-General, they asked him to give an answer as soon as possible. In what Montagu Norman, who during these weeks looked at the success of the Hungarian loan with doubt, described as "a moment of enthusiasm," Smith, with the consent of the State Department, accepted the offer.[78] As a Democrat, he supported President's Wilson's dream, and all through his life he was an advocate of the League of Nations. In all likelihood, the job in Hungary offered Smith the chance to become an earnest participant in that organization. His affirmative answer also lifted another burden off the League officials' shoulders and they were more than happy to announce the official appointment.[79]

Smith as Commissioner-General to Hungary for the League of Nations was provided with frequent powers. These were spelled out in detail in Article VI. of Protocol No. II. It is indicative of the importance of the post that this article was the longest in the two Protocols. The main points were as follows: supervising the reconstruction program; all information requested by him to be provided by the Hungarian government; he could in case of the program being in danger, "require the Hungarian Government to increase the yield of existing taxation or to impose new taxes;" only with his consent was the government allowed to take up new loans; he would reside in Budapest and would provide the Council with monthly reports on the reconstruction program; and, most

---

[76] The work in Japan and China, and the negotiations for the organization of a new financial Consortium for China, see FRUS, 1920, Vol. 1, 497, 575-89. In connection with his work in the Mexican debt settlement in 1922, see E. Lamont, *The Ambassador from Wall Street*, 175-86, and *The New York Times*, January 2, 1924.

[77] Salter to Smith, April 5, 1924, Doc. No. 33315, R. 298, LNA.

[78] Norman to Blackett, May 21, 1924, G3/180, BoE.

[79] Official League communiqué, April 8, 1924, 1924-1929, P.III. Press communiqués, C. 117, LNA.

importantly from the government's point of view, "the functions of the Commissioner-General shall be brought to an end by a decision of the Council of the League of Nations when the Council shall have ascertained that the financial stability of Hungary is assured."[80] In addition, he was to have a total authority over the special account into which the yield of the securities was paid, and over any amount payable on annuity of the loan.[81] In light of the tight supervision that Smith would be entitled to in Hungary, it was evident that Hungarians were somewhat afraid lest they should get a dictator similar to what the Viennese people got in the person of Zimmerman. On the other hand, Smith's nationality provided the basis for hope as well.

Smith arrived in Hungary on May 1, 1924. His deputy was another American, Royall Tyler, who was desired to be on the staff from early on because he "would be invaluable."[82] Aside from his financial qualifications and being an American, Tyler spoke five languages and could translate for Smith in daily conferences. Smith was also assisted by Harry Siepmann from Great Britain, René Charron from France, and by Licen from Belgium.

The mood in Hungary had become calmer with Smith's arrival. Brentano reported that Smith had seemingly won "the general admiration of the Hungarian Government and people, due especially to his assiduity, modesty and courtesy."[83] With the Commissioner-General nominated and staying in the country, the most arduous phase of the scheme had begun: the 250-million-loan for the Hungarian reconstruction scheme to begin.

In raising the loan, London was to be the main actor, but the active participation of the United States was expected as well. Naturally, it was a big disappointment when in mid-May J. P. Morgan & Co. withdrew.[84] Lamont informed Smith that the Dutch and Czechoslovak issues had been poor and the American public was not ready for a new bond issue.[85] To be sure, J. P. Morgan & Co. was already busy laying the groundwork for the

---

[80] League of Nations. *The Financial Reconstruction of Hungary. General Survey and Principal Documents*. (Geneva, 1926), 84–6.

[81] Ibid., 84, 89-90.

[82] Lord Cecil to House, February 11, 1924, C2521/37/21, FO371/9905, TNA.

[83] Brentano to Hughes, June 11, 1924, 864.00/583, Roll 6, M. 708, NARA.

[84] Strakosch to Smith, May 23, 1924, OV9/434, BoE.

[85] Lamont to Smith, May 22, 1924, C9203/37/21, FO371/9908, TNA.

big prize, the German loan in the upcoming fall.[86] The Commissioner-General was understandably disappointed. He knew that the public in Hungary looked at him as somewhat of a Messiah, who would bring the Promised Land—in the form of American money. Despite this fiasco to the contrary, he faced the future with optimism and had "no regrets at having undertaken this work."[87]

With J.P. Morgan out, Norman took over and made an exceptional agreement with the new Hungarian National Bank, and provided most of the missing money. Finally, another American house, Speyer & Co. undertook to float $7,500,000 of the loan, so at least some American participation was realized. The subscription started in London by Baring Brothers & Co., Rothschild and Son, and J. Henry Schroder & Co. on July 2, 1924, and the very next day in New York by the consortium led by Speyer & Co. After so much worry, the news was more than welcome that in the two most important places the loan was a huge success. In London, where more than half of the total amount was floated, lists had to be closed before noon, and the sum offered was over-subscribed many times over.[88] In New York, the subscription was a similar success. Brentano, the American Minister in Hungary, attributed the oversubscription to American sympathy to and belief in Hungary.[89] Speyer sent the reassuring cable that the whole block was subscribed and the lists were closed.[90] Naturally, Smith was "very much pleased that there was an American participation."[91] So was Bethlen, who confidently stated: "Now the American bankers have also decided that Hungary is a good, safe investment."[92] In the course of the next week, the Dutch, the Swedish, and the Italian tranches scored great successes as well. With the issue of the Czech tranche in August, the whole loan issue was done. Speyer personally came to Budapest in mid-August and negotiated to take over

---

[86] Frank Costigliola, "The United State and the Reconstruction of Germany in the 1920s," *The Business History Review* 50, no. 4 (Winter 1976): 490–2.

[87] Smith to Salter, May 24, 1924, OV9/434, BoE.

[88] Strakosch to Smith, July 2, 1924, C.III (4) Correspondence—Sir Henry Strakosch, C. 111, LNA.

[89] *Az Est*, July 25, 1924, XV/150.

[90] Felkin to Salter, July 4, 1924, 1924, Dossier concerning the American tranche. Doc. No. 37289, R. 413, LNA.

[91] *The New York Times*, July 6, 1924.

[92] *Time*, July 7, 1924.

$1.5 million from the Hungarian tranche, 80% of the total domestically raised amount, making the American part now $9 million in total.[93] Now the money had been raised and Hungary started down the road of a hopeful financial reconstruction.

The Hungarian reconstruction was an even bigger success than the Austrian one. Only about one fourth of the loan had to be used for deficits. Inflation was halted in July, the budget deficit disappeared within a few months and remained stable, and the same was true for the Hungarian crown. Since revenues comfortably covered expenditures, in 1925 the League authorized $50 million to be used from the loan for productive investments. At the termination of the Commissioner-General on June 30, 1926, all of Hungary celebrated Smith. When the Hungarian Prime Minister wanted to give a high decoration in honor of Smith, the American was appalled and replied: "If you do, then I shall never forgive you. Your friendship and gratitude are more precious to me than any decoration."[94] The fact that he refused to accept his salary for the past two years made him a hero both in Hungary and the United States. The Hungarian government decided to set up a Jeremiah Smith Scholarship Fund, which was to send two Hungarian students for an academic year to the United States every year. With the departure of Smith, the successful financial reconstruction of Hungary came to a close.

Afterword

It must be said that the American role in European reconstruction was both negligible and crucially important. On the political level, the US government did not want to commit itself to the Central European reconstruction, or any other reconstruction, for that matter, save the German one. The United States wanted to avoid any step that might have born on the question of reparations and inter-allied debts connected to it. On the financial front, the United States provided a small portion of the Austrian and the Hungarian reconstructions, less than one fifth of the total in both. Still, the psychological effect of the participation of American private capital was invaluable for both programs. It showed that there was confidence for this region overseas and it was worth investing money in

---

[93] Barclay to MacDonald, August 15, 1924, C13283/37/21, FO371/9909, TNA.
[94] *The New York Times*, June 30, 1926.

these countries. The floodgates were open and huge amounts of American capital started to come.

On another level, although it failed in the case of Austria, the League of Nations managed to secure an American for the post of Commissioner-General in Hungary. Their choice of Jeremiah Smith, Jr. proved to be a winning one. Even if as a League official, Smith inevitably represented the United States in Central Europe. Aside from professional qualifications, the human dimension that Smith brought with him was invaluable. Hungarians, politicians, and everyday people all loved him and held him as a savior of Hungary. His popularity stood in sharp contrast with that of Alfred Zimmerman in Austria.

"Thought there'd be huckleberries": Intertextual Game between Toni Morrison's *Beloved* and Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*

Zoltán Simon

In an essay titled "Black Matter(s)," Toni Morrison challenges centuries-long Eurocentric notions of literary criticism which hold that "traditional, canonical American literature is free of, uninformed by, and unshaped by the four-hundred-year old presence of first Africans and then African Americans in the United States" (256). In the course of her examination of the conspicuous absence in the American canon of what she calls Africanism, i.e. "the denotative and connotative blackness African peoples have come to signify" (256), Morrison also discusses at some length Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884). She argues that while the critique of class and race is present in Twain's novel, it is "disguised or enhanced through a combination of humor, adventure, and the naive" (265). In the character of Huck Finn, Twain "inscribes the critique of slavery and the pretensions of the would-be middle class" (266), but he characteristically downplays the significance of Jim's role in the moral development of Huck. Morrison's main objection to the novel is that it ignores "that there is no way, given the confines of the novel, for Huck to mature into a moral human being in America without Jim [...]" (266). While in "Black Matter(s)" Morrison addresses Twain's novel from the position of a literary critic, this is not her first engagement with that text. In a much more exciting manner, in several passages of *Beloved*, her highly acclaimed novel first published in 1987, she encoded a fascinating dialogue with the 19th-century text. What I aim to do demonstrate is how the intricate web of allusions to *The*

Adventures of Huckleberry Finn is constructed in *Beloved* and what Morrison's aim might have been with engaging in this exciting literary game.

The answers to the mandatory questions of any intertextual analysis, whether the author of the later text was aware of the earlier one and whether he or she consciously engaged the reader in the intertextual game, should be obvious in this case. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is one of the best-known novels of the 19th century and a perfect example of the "dead-white-male" canon, known to millions of people all around the world. Throughout her teaching career, Morrison must have read and taught the novel on countless occasions. Considered in the light of her essay quoted above, we should have little doubt that Morrison's rewriting in *Beloved* of several key passages of Twain's novel is a conscious, if subtle, literary maneuver on her part.

The intertextuality between Twain's and Morrison's novel was pointed out, among others, by Richard C. Moreland in his article "'He Wants to Put His Story Next to Hers': Putting Twain's Story Next to Hers in Morrison's *Beloved*." In his article, Moreland argues that the juxtaposition of the two novels reveals the forces that hinder working toward social aggregation across barriers of race and culture. Morrison, as Moreland observes, works through the conflicts and fears that Twain only hinted at in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, as she pays closer attention to the influence of slavery and racism on the lives of her characters. Furthermore, the African American female perspective of *Beloved* (both Morrison's and Sethe's) opens up dimensions inconceivable in the white male centered microcosm of Twain's novel.

Sylvia Mayer also calls attention to the importance of many conspicuous parallels between the two texts, such as the fact that the white owner of the restaurant Sethe works in is called Sawyer, and that he might be seen as "one version of Tom Sawyer grown up," or the scene when on her way home from work Sethe passes a store "significantly called Phelps', and recalls her anger at the owner's discriminatory practices when serving black customers" (341–42). At the heart of the intertextual play, however, is the scene of Sethe's escape from Sweet Home as assisted by the "whitegirl," Amy Denver. This episode, related in two sessions of Sethe's "rememoryings" in *Beloved* (31–35; 76–85), is paralleled and contrasted with the escape of Jim in Twain's novel, facilitated by Huck Finn himself. The similarities between the two scenes

are striking, but the differences, as will be demonstrated, are perhaps even more revealing.

The most obvious parallel is inherent in the setting: both novels are set in the antebellum United States, divided into free and slaveholding states. This division and the borderline between free and slave territories plays a significant role in both works, inasmuch as the enslaved black characters attempt to escape into free states. Furthermore, in both novels, it is a river (the Mississippi in Twain's novel, and the Ohio in Morrison's) that serves as a borderline, and at the same time as a gateway, between the two worlds. Sethe and Jim also share, at least partially, their motivation to run. He is treated by Miss Watson "pooty rough" and is afraid of being sold "down to Orleans" (242), and thus separated from his family. Importantly, Morrison is much more specific about the treatment Sethe received at "Sweet Home": she is treated as a breeding animal, brutally tortured and humiliated by her masters. Her primary motivation for the escape, however, just like Jim's, is to be reunited with her family.

The escapes of the two principal black characters are facilitated by two young whites: Huck Finn and Amy Denver. Both of them are in their teens and both of them are social misfits of sorts on the run. Huck is running from his father as well as from civilization, while Amy's motivation to escape is somewhat similar to Sethe's: she is illegally kept working in her mother's place, who was an indentured servant and died before serving out her term. While Amy's own years spent in servitude bordering on slavery clearly constitute an experience that aligns her with Sethe, Morrison makes it clear that Sethe's life was far more unbearable. This is something that even Amy admits when, upon seeing the scars on Sethe's back resembling a chokecherry tree, she compares Sethe's fate to her own: "I had me some whippings, but I don't remember nothing like this. [...] Whoever planted that tree beat Mr. Buddy [Amy's former master] by a mile. Glad I ain't you" (79). The similarities between Huck Finn and Amy Denver are further emphasized in their comparable attitudes to the institution of slavery, as well as toward the individual runaway slaves they encounter in their respective stories. As Sylvia Mayer pointed out, despite the fact that Amy, just like Huck, is "strongly affected by the perverted moral codes of the slaveholding society in which she has grown up [...] she is able to transcend this influence and act on pure moral impulse" (339).

That the environment they grew up in evidently inculcated Huck and Amy with racist views is reflected in their language as well as their

general notions on African Americans. Unable to persuade Jim that the French speak an altogether different language, Huck does not hesitate to declare generalizingly: "I see it warn't no use wasting words—you can't learn a nigger to argue. So I quit" (283). Amy, too, uses the "n"-word freely and nonchalantly, and is just as inclined to jump to easy conclusions as a result of her racial prejudice, saying "You must of did something" (80). Hardly knowing anything of Sethe, she immediately sees her against the framework of her racially biased views: "We got an old nigger girl come by our place. She don't know nothing. [...] She don't know nothing, just like you. You don't know a thing. End up dead, that's what. Not me" (80).

In the course of the encounter and interaction between the two pairs of white and black characters, the initial attitudes of the whites change. In Amy's case this transformation seems to have taken place much faster and more spontaneously, while for Huck to overcome the moral code of the slaveholding society and to determine that he would rather go to hell than betray Jim took a considerably longer time. The reasons for this difference can best be understood if the two encounters and the development of the black-white relationship are examined in greater detail in the two novels.

Huck Finn's slow and gradual moral development and maturation in Twain's novel can best be measured in his relationship to Jim. In the first scene the two characters are depicted together (Chapter 2), Huck and his gang are playing a practical trick on Jim, who believes that he has been bewitched (198–99). This early scene foreshadows the later tricks Huck will play on Jim: the rattlesnake joke of Chapter 10 and the trash scene of Chapter 15. Huck's gradual development into a more responsible moral person can easily be charted by examining his behavior after these pranks. He shows no trace of remorse after the first trick; the narrator-protagonist Huck only ridicules Jim for his superstitiousness. When after Huck's next practical joke with the rattlesnake Jim falls sick for four days, Huck admits, if only to himself, his own irresponsibility and calls himself a fool (252–53). Huck's last trick on Jim comes when, after the fog causes them to "miss their exit" at Cairo and thereby Jim's chance for freedom, Huck tells Jim that they have never been separated and all that Jim believes happened was only a dream. Asked to interpret the trash all over the raft, Jim realizes that Huck was playing yet another trick on him and tells Huck: "all you wuz thinkin' 'bout wuz how you could make a fool uv ole Jim wid a lie. Dat truck dah is *trash*; en trash is what people is dat puts

dirt on de head er dey fren's en makes 'em ashamed" (290, italics in the original). Jim's sadly reprimanding words make Huck realize for the first time the strength of the emotional tie formed between Jim and himself, and he repentantly apologizes to Jim and resolves to put an end to the tricks.

Initially Huck is only passively facilitating Jim's escape by promising not to reveal his whereabouts. For the first time here, he is torn between two commitments: his word of honor not to tell on him and the code of ethics of the Southern white society. "People would call me a low-down Abolitionist and despise me for keeping mum—but that don't make no difference" (241), Huck asserts. When leaving the island in fear of being detected, however, Huck becomes an active agent in Jim's escape. "Git up and hump yourself, Jim! There ain't a minute to lose. They're after *us*!" (263, emphasis added), thus awakes Huck the sleeping Jim. They are really only after Jim, but Huck already identifies with Jim's cause to an extent to take responsibility for his safety. It is also originally Huck's plan to float down on the Mississippi to Cairo, sell the raft and take a steamboat up the Ohio River deep into the free states.

Huck's final commitment on Jim's side, however, only comes considerably later and after much wavering between the two sets of values. While in the final analysis Huck did save Jim from being caught several times during their passage, he is abhorred at hearing Jim's plans to "get and Ab'litionist to go and steal" his two children (308). He actually starts to paddle ashore to give Jim up, but is stopped by Jim's confession that "you's de bes' fren Jim's ever had; en you's de *only* fren' ole Jim's got now" (309). Later still he goes as far as writing the letter informing Miss Watson about the whereabouts of Jim (450). It is only when the duke sells Jim back into slavery (and then only after much struggle) that Huck finally resolves to break his commitment to the ethics of slaveholding society and declares that he would rather go to hell than abandon Jim: "I was a-trembling, because I'd got to decide, forever, betwixt two things, and I knowed it. [...] 'All right, then, I'll go to hell'— and tore it [i.e. the letter betraying Jim] up" (451). Ironically, Huck does not recognize his moral superiority and views his decision not to give up Jim as a sign of wickedness and a betrayal of the values of the society he grew up in. Huck's determination "to go to work and steal Jim out of slavery again" (451) from the Phelps is clearly the climactic peak in the novel. There is, however, a tangible contrast between this splendid plan and its execution: the latter is spoiled by the sudden appearance of Tom

Sawyer. Although, to Huck's utter astonishment, Tom agrees to help free Jim, it must be kept in mind that Jim *is* already free and Tom knows about it. Rather than freeing him, Tom Sawyer actually keeps Jim enslaved and continues to allow him to suffer so that he, Tom, can execute the grandiose plans he lifted from his readings of romances.

One of the serious imperfections of Twain's novel, as Mayer observes, is that Jim "emerges from behind the stereotypical mask of the minstrel figure only for a short time" (340). He is depicted "as a complexly drawn human being" (Mayer 340) in the middle part of the novel (i.e. the actual journey on the Mississippi), but is reduced to a stereotypical representation of slaves in the first and the third (last) part of the narrative. In the first section, in St. Petersburg, the only defining characteristic feature of Jim is his superstitiousness. Although this is a feature he retains throughout the novel, Huck and the reader know him to be a much more complex character in the next part. In the concluding third part of the novel (beginning with Chapters 32), however, "Jim is again reduced to the minstrel figure" (Mayer 340), while Huck loses his previous active role and only acts under the leadership of Tom Sawyer.

As shown before, the scenes of Sethe's encounter with Amy Denver in *Beloved* seem in many ways deliberately paralleled with the middle section of the plot of Twain's novel. The analogies range from the setting, including the approximate dating, the basic situation of an encounter between an escaping slave and a white social outcast, the help offered by the latter, the significance of the river as a dividing line between freedom and slavery, as well as the venue of the birth of Sethe's daughter and the symbolic rebirth of Huck. In her rewriting of Twain's story of interracial alliance, Morrison changed several key elements that serve to correct and adjust what Twain got wrong and to communicate her own message with the core story. While the similarities are important to situate the story in relation to the now archetypal older one, in terms of the intertextual game, it is really the differences that carry much of the meaning of the text. What follows is a close reading of the Sethe-Amy scenes in *Beloved* with special attention to these differences.

The encounter between Sethe and Amy is presented in two passages in *Beloved*. In the first passage (pages 31–35), Denver relives the beginnings of her favorite story, the one concerning her own birth, as it was related to her by Sethe: "easily she stepped into the told story that lay before her eyes [...] . And to get to the part of the story she liked best, she had to start way back [...]" (29). A lonely but imaginative girl, Denver

enters the story of her own beginnings and relives it in every small detail. Tortured and exhausted, humiliated, starving and very pregnant, Sethe is on the run from Sweet Home. She is running *away* from the whip of schoolteacher, the "mossy teeth" (78) of his nephews, and most importantly, running *toward* her three children on the other side of the river, when she is startled by a "*person* walking on a path not ten yards away" (31, emphasis added). That person, the owner of the "young white voice," Sethe assumes, must be a male, a "whiteboy" (31). Sethe's and the reader's assumption, however, proves wrong when she first beholds Amy: "It wasn't no whiteboy at all. Was a girl" (31). This major departure from Twain's version of the encounter should only be noted at this point, for it will gain significance later.

Amy Denver, no longer genderless, but still nameless to both Sethe and the reader, looks like the "raggediest-looking *trash* you ever saw" (33, emphasis added) even to Sethe. The use of the word "trash" seems significant here. For one thing, Amy is established as soon as first seen as a social outcast, "white trash" as she might be called today, just like Huck Finn. Furthermore, the word "trash" also reinforces the kinship between Amy and Huck because Jim likened Huck to trash for fooling him into believing he only dreamed what happened to them. "Her name was Amy and she needed beef and pot liquor like nobody in this world" (32), we learn next. The first name reference, as well as the fact that this is "the part Denver loved the best" (32) relieves much of the tension inherently present in the encounter of a runaway slave and a white person in a forest. The description of Amy as hungrier than anybody in the world, including Sethe, further diminishes the social distance between them. Surprisingly, when asked, Sethe immediately admits she is "running," a word that ironically contradicts with her physical condition. Amy, however, does not react in any stereotypical white way, and returns their conversation to her central concern, i.e. food:

> You got anything on you, gal, pass for food? [...] I like to die I'm so hungry. [...] Thought there'd be huckleberries. Look like it. That's why I come up in here. Didn't expect to find no nigger woman. If they was any, birds ate em. You like huckleberries? [...] That mean you don't have no appetite? Well, I got to eat me something. (32, emphasis added)

Seemingly all that Amy is talking about is food. Encoded in this short passage, however, there is a dialogue not only between Amy and Sethe, but also between the two novels. With the all too familiar setting

and situation, one might think "there would be huckleberries," or at least one Huckleberry. Anyway, it "look[s] like it." That's why Amy came up in here, in the forest/story. But it only *looks* like it—for this is *not* the same story. Sethe's, an African American woman's, appearance in Huck Finn's story was not expected. Notice the absence of a personal pronoun here: "Didn't expect to find [...]." Is it Amy or the reader who is surprised here? Finally a never answered question closes the passage that might be read as a direct reference to Twain's novel: "You like huckleberries?"

Unlike Jim and Huck in Twain's novel, Sethe and Amy have not met before. To some extent, they are both suspicious of the other, as suggested by their body language: they do "not look directly at each other, not straight in the eyes anyway" (33). Even if it is Sethe who repeatedly manages to keep Amy from leaving (cf. "she [Amy] stood up to go [...] 'Where you on your way to, miss?' She turned and looked at Sethe with freshly lit eyes" [32]; also: "she moved off saying, 'I gotta go.' [...] "I can't get up from here,' said Sethe. 'What?' She stopped and turned to hear. [...] Amy [...] came slowly back to where Sethe lay." [33–34]), she is also cautious enough not to reveal her real name. As Mayer notes, Sethe "remains aware of the danger of the situation, of the general unpredictability of the behavior of any white person [...]" (341).

At this point, the narration of the encounter stops short for a little while, only to be continued after the appearance of Beloved on the scene: she induces Denver to tell her "how Sethe made you in the boat" (76). Denver picks up her favorite story where she left it off a few pages earlier, with Amy massaging Sethe's feet back into life. When Amy first sees her back, it is she who first compares it to a chokecherry tree, foreshadowing her role as name-giver: Sethe's yet to be born baby will soon bear Amy Denver's name. Constantly jabbering about the velvet she will buy for herself in Boston and predicting that Sethe will not see the next morning, Amy actually saves Sethe's life. When the morning comes, Amy makes shoes for her, finds and steals a boat, and while crossing the Ohio River, helps her deliver her baby.

On the free side of the Ohio, "on a riverbank in the cool of a summer evening two women struggled under a shower of silvery blue" (84). Their different races and backgrounds no longer matter, they are only identified as "two women," defined through their femininity and motherhood, sharing in one of the most universal human experiences: the birth of a child. Should an outsider see them now, they would look like "two throw-away people, two lawless outlaws—a slave and a barefoot

whitewoman with unpinned hair—wrapping a ten-minute-old baby in the rags they wore. But no pateroller came and no preacher" (85).

After the moments of magic are gone, for the last time, "Amy said she had to go; that she wouldn't be caught dead in daylight on a busy river with a runaway" (85)—and this time Sethe does not ask her to stay. They know they will never see each other again, but this does not matter. Their encounter, symbolizing a momentary transcendence of racial and social barriers and a universal sisterhood of women, will be remembered in the stories of Sethe. "You gonna tell her?" asks Amy. "You better tell her" (85). But Sethe knows she has to keep the story alive, for this *is* a story to pass on.

Arguably, the most significant differences between the two stories derive from two factors: the gender of the characters and the perspective of the runaway slave used in Morrison's version. In both cases, it appears, in her rewriting of the original story, Morrison's aim was, on the one hand, to create "an awareness of the crucial absences in *Huck Finn*" (Mayer 346), and on the other hand, to fill in these absences in Twain's version. With the notable exception of Milkman in *Son of Solomon*, Morrison's most memorable characters are usually black women, very often defined through their motherhood. *Beloved* is a perfect example for this, since Sethe is running to her three children and is just about to give birth to her fourth when Amy comes across her. In their heroic struggle, the two women are bound together by their common womanhood, which proves to be a power strong enough to make Amy overcome and transcend her racial prejudice—and to do so much faster than Huck Finn.

Even more important is Morrison's changed perspective employed in her narration of the events. Denver's birth becomes a story, and it is Denver herself, who tells the story, first to herself then to Beloved: the story of her mother's flight and encounter with the "whitegirl," and her own birth. Thus, unlike Huck-Twain's white male narration of the encounter, the story of Amy and Sethe is presented to us as filtered through the consciousness of the two principal African American female characters, Sethe and Denver.

Works Cited

Clemens, Samuel Langhorne. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Bernard DeVoto, ed. *The Portable Mark Twain*. New York: Penguin, 1977. Print.

Mayer, Sylvia. "'You Like Huckleberries?' Toni Morrison's *Beloved* and Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*." *The Black Columbiad: Defining Moments in African American Literature and Culture*. Ed. Wenner Sollors and Maria Diedrich. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1994. 337–46. Print.

Moreland, Richard C. "'He Wants to Put His Story Next to Hers': Putting Twain's Story Next to Hers in Morrison's *Beloved*." *Modern Fiction Studies*. 39 (1993): 501–25. Print.

Morrison, Toni. *Beloved*. 1987. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993. Print.

——. "Black Matter(s)." *Falling into Theory: Conflicting Views on Reading Literature*. Ed by David H. Richter. Boston: Bedford, 1994. 256–68. Print.

John Hirsh and the American Theatre

Péter Szaffkó

> He gave to Canada his life, which was fruitful; his passion, which was terrifying; and his love, which he longed to believe had been returned. / He was not a reclusive man. He was aggressive, he talked a lot, ususally with fury; he gave speeches at every opportunity. And yet somehow he could not be grasped. (Conlogue C5)

These are the first lines of Ray Conlogue's obituary in *The Globe and Mail*, one of Canada's leading newspapers published on August 3, 1989, two days after John Hirsch's death. One week later Diane Turbide of *Maclean's* magazine had a rather similar approach to Hirsch when she called him a representative of the "Theatre of Passion […] who "gave his heart and soul to the stage" (Turbide 54). Another critic, Robert Cushman simply stated that Hirsch had been "the greatest director ever to have grown up in Canada" (Cushman 68). There has hardly been any other Canadian director so frequently written about in the period between the late 1950s and 1980s and whose personality in the Canadian theatre has been so influential and controversial at the same time. There has hardly been any other Canadian director in the second half of the twentieth century who had such impressive achievements in such a short time by founding several theatres in four decades and becoming, for a while, a leading figure of the Stratford Shakespeare Festival and CBC television drama. There has hardly been any other Canadian director in the second half of the twentieth century who went to the United States to make a stage career only to be better accepted at home.

During his relatively long and basically successful theatrical career Hirsch often faced incomprehension, pusillanimity, bureaucracy and other barriers but there was never any doubt about the fact that he had been one of the most dominant personalities in the postwar Canadian theatre who may have achieved this special status by retaining his Central European,

Hungarian and Jewish identity. It is perhaps less known that John Hirsch's career was very strongly connected to the contemporary American theatre in which he also played a significant role. The purpose of the present paper is to summarize his life and work with a special emphasis on his contributions to the theatre in the United States of America.

John Stephen Hirsch (1930–1989)

John Stephen Hirsch was born as *János Hirsch* on May 1, 1930 in Siófok, Hungary. His father was a merchant, and one of his grandfather's relatives had been the famous Hungarian operetta composer Imre Kálmán who was also born in Siófok. Hirsch's parents as well as his younger brother István became victims of fascism: they were killed in Auschwitz. János escaped deportation but he and his grandfather made it to the protected ghetto of Budapest which was too much for the grandfather and it is only John who managed to survive. After the war, as a fourteen-year-old boy, Hirsch had stayed in the refugee camps of several European countries. After a while he ended up in a Jewish orphanage close to Paris. He tried to get to various different countries but finally he was supported by the Canadian Jewish Congress who helped him to get to Canada where he was adopted by a Winnipeg family in 1947. John's new parents—Alex and Pauline Shack—were left-wing, working-class Jewish people with two daughters both of them working as teachers.

After learning English and taking his final exam at high school, John Hirsch was accepted to the University of Manitoba where he studied English and Philosophy and graduated as an outstanding student in 1952. Although he gave up further studies for the sake of theatre, in 1966 he got his PhD in English Literature which was quite an achievement, given the fact that he spent most of his life in the theatre as a manager and director at the same time. It is not accidental that Ray Conlogue found it important to mention in his obituary that besides Tyrone Guthrie, the Hungarian-born director was the only intellectual among the artistic directors at Stratford, Ontario, and that the "actors complained of the mass of information that Hirsch would bring to a show" (Conlogue C5).

Theatre was almost in his genes so much so that even in one of the refugee camps he and his friend had organized a puppet show to the children there. In the 1950s in Winnipeg 'the' theatre was the amateur

Little Theatre which had four shows a year. It did not take long for Hirsch to get in touch with them and as early as 1954 he directed a play, Jean Giraudoux' *The Enchanted* which turned out to be his first significant stage work in Canada. After graduating from the university, he first founded a puppet theatre and then the *Touring Children's Theatre* with the help of wealthy local citizens. During this period he staged two of his own puppet shows as well as his adaptation of a very popular children's play called *Rupert the Great.*

Seven years after his arrival in Canada, he became a producer at the local station of CBC TV where he gained a lot of experience. In 1956, he decided to go to London to study acting where he became a student of the Central School of Speech and Drama. His stay in London was to have a decisive influence on his later career since it was a period when British theatre went through a radical change. On returning from England, he and his one-time fellow student Tom Hendry established *Theatre 77* which was announced immediately on CBC Radio (October 29, 1957) since after a 25-year interval Winnipeg once again had a professional company, i.e. the actors were paid for their work. In the radio interview Hirsch claimed that there were enough professional actors in the town and that he was not afraid of their leaving Winnipeg for a more attractive career because one of his aims was to make sure that talented people would have a chance for good training and stage debut in their hometown.

Next year (1958) John Hirsch suggested the merger of *Theatre 77* and the amateur *Winnipeg Little Theatre* and with the help of Tom Hendry and the leaders of the other company they created the Manitoba Theatre Centre (MTC), the first regional theatre in Canada and North America. The foundation of the MTC started a new phase in Canadian culture as a result of which—with the financial support of the newly established Canada Council (1957)—most Canadian cities began to build theatre centres based on the Winnipeg example. These institutions hosted basically professional companies, and, therefore, the launching of the MTC marks the beginning of modern professional theatre in Canada replacing the long-standing dominance of amateur companies.

The success of the MTC made Hirsch suddenly known all over the country and he received more and more invitations to direct in other theatres such as the *Théâtre du Nouveau Monde* in Montreal in 1964, the *Stratford Festival* in 1965 and the *Lincoln Centre* in New York in 1966. Then he would "commute" between Stratford (Ontario) and New York

staging major works of Shakespeare, Brecht, G. B. Shaw, William Saroyan and Chekhov.

By the mid-sixties John Hirsch had become so popular or well-known that he got into the papers even if he just turned up at a social event. From a professional point of view, however, the most important thing in this period was his being invited to Stratford in 1965 where in four seasons he directed eight shows including four Shakespeare plays, one Canadian premiere and two adaptations. Much later he recollected these years in the following way:

> It was the classics who saved me from going mad and who gave a new meaning to my life. If I could not have worked with the plays of Shakespeare, Chekhov, Brecht and other masters, I might have gone mad because of my Holocaust memories for I would not have been able to work up directly what I had lived through. All these experiences can be found in the plays: in Chekhov in the disintegration and disappearance of the society or in Shakespeare's personal tragedies. While working on these plays, I meditated over my fate as well. I have always been the archeologist of my soul. The plays helped me in the discovery and I cured myself in this process. ("John Hirsch", my translation)

The appreciation of his professional achievements is well illustrated by the fact that in 1968 he was nominated as co-artistic director of the Stratford Festival with Jean Gascon. He worked in this position for two years and then, in 1970, he decided to go to New York to become famous although he could not have felt neglected in Canada since in 1967 he was among the very first Canadians to receive the *Order of Canada*, the highest civilian honour.

The theatres of New York and other American cities brought him similar success to those in Winnipeg and Stratford and he collected a number of prestigious prizes for his directions: the Outer Critics' Circle Award for G. B. Shaw's *Saint Joan* (Repertory Theatre of Lincoln Center, Vivian Beaumont Theatre, New York, 1968), Obie Award for his provocative staging of the British Heathcote Williams' *AC/DC* (Chelsea Theatre Center, Brooklyn Academy of Music, Brooklyn, 1970), the Los Angeles Drama Critics' Award for translation and adaptation of *The Dybbuk*, a classic work of Jiddish Theatre (Center Theatre Group, Mark Taper Forum, Los Angeles, 1975). He had a chance to show his talent even on Broadway where he staged the professional premiere of Joseph Heller's *We Bombed in New Haven* (1968). During this same period he also directed in Winnipeg, in Minneapolis as well as in the Habima

502

National Theatre in Tel-Aviv, Israel. In 1973, however, he moved back to Canada. According to some contemporary opinions he would have liked to become Artistic Director in Stratford but he had to wait almost a decade for that. After fulfilling the position of Head of CBC Drama from 1974 to 1978, he worked as Advisory Artistic Director of the American Seattle Repertory Theatre between 1979 and 1981 when quite unexpectedly and under rather strange circumstances, he was asked to take over the Stratford Festival. He accepted the offer and stayed in that position until 1985. The general assessment of the five years he spent there has been quite mixed but it is commonly agreed that he was the one who led the Festival out of the crisis. Although professionally these years do not belong to his best, the results were worthy of Hirsch. In spite of the criticism he had received during his directorship, in his farewell speech he said the following:

> I am leaving this theatre, as I always leave places, with a sense of loss. Whenever we leave something behind, we are losing something, and although the immediate feeling might be that of relief, and a great sense of joy because of what's ahead, we also feel sadness. Especially when one had been as closely connected to this theatre as I have. These are very difficult times. (Hirsch [10])

After these 'difficult times' there came a more peaceful period. Though he still directed in Canada and in the United States, he was mostly involved in teaching. He accepted the offer of the prestigious Yale School of Drama and the Southern Methodist University in Dallas to teach drama history. His 'retirement' into the classroom did not at all mean that Hirsch would have grown tired or disillusioned. Quite the contrary. As a matter of fact, he continued to do what he had been doing in the previous decades: he accepted any offer coming from any corner of the continent leading to his constant travelling and working. In one of the interviews of this period he said that "the older you get the harder it is to keep bouncing around physically from one place to another, but the possibility of rot setting in is very frightening to me. You sort out priorities, and for it's always been a matter of going where the most interesting work is. What would I do here? Sit for twelve months and do a play or two?" (Friedlander 2)

The most influential stage work of his last years was a production of Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* in San Diego. The reason for emphasizing this performance is that it was a worthy end to his life-work.

> I worked on it for six months and I believe the production touched the ordinary American who has undergone Irangate, and the Reagan years. It awakened audiences to the problems of leadership, the nature of democracy and the role of the media in politics today. The approach I took can be termed 'radical Shakespeare' in that I unashamedly shaped the play in a certain way." (Friedlander 2).

This is 1988 and the presidential election is coming to the end (finally won by George W. Bush) so it is not surprising that "the audience arrives to confront two huge banks of television monitors flashing footage of tanks in battle, urban squalor, Senate hearings on the Iran-Contra scandal, commercial advertisements, and snippets of *Wheel of Fortune* and *Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous*" (Shewey). Later Hirsch related that the reason for him to insert these elements in the production was not sensation or misinterpreted modernisation but the idea that he wanted "to communicate the heart of the play which is profoundly ambiguous" (Friedlander 2). Whatever the explanation for the success of this production of *Coriolanus* is, it has been considered as one of the most memorable Shakespeare-directions in the history of the San Diego Festival as well as in the life of John Hirsch. Ray Conlogue who regards this Coriolanus-production Hirsch's last great achievement wrote that the performance was "so powerful that the shock effects from it are still registering in the U.S. theatre community" (Conlogue C5).

A few months after the premiere Hirsch fell seriously ill which turned out to be fatal. After long suffering he died on August 1, 1989 in the Mt. Sinai Hospital in Toronto. His funeral was attended by thousands of people and his friends and colleagues organized a memorial evening in his honour in the St. Lawrence Centre in Toronto.

John Hirsch's Directions in the USA

In the third volume of the *International Dictionary of Theatre*—which contains the names of significant actors, directors and designers—John Hirsch seems to be the only Canadian director representing his country. "Hirsch was the first Canadian director to demonstrate not only the possibility but the positive values of a career that combines US and Canadian influences …" (*International Dictionary* 355). Even though there were other talented and remarkable directors on the Canadian stages, Hirsch's theatre work may be regarded as much North American as purely Canadian both in a geographical and a cultural sense. With the

exception of a few short years, he was travelling between east and west, north and south as if always looking for something more challenging or for something much better. This 'mobility' may have contributed to his rich career.

Hirsch's connection with the American theatre started in *New York's Lincoln Center*. Between 1966 and 1971 he directed seven productions at the newly opened Vivian Beaumont Theatre and an additional one at the Ambassador. Each of these productions had more than 40 performances, a good run in a repertory theatre. The selection of the plays clearly illustrates the fact that while Hirsch was basically attracted to classical works and favoured European drama, he regarded the stage as a world theatre with no restrictions on genres. His directions at the Lincoln Center included premieres as well as revivals. His first stage work in New York was a brand new translation of Federico Garcia Lorca's *Yerma* in 1966 (first performed in the US in 1947) while the first production of Joseph Heller's *We Bombed New Haven* on Broadway was also directed by him. (The original production of the play—quite understandably—had been staged by the company of the Drama School at Yale University, New Haven a few months earlier.) From among the five major European plays Hirsh directed in the US between 1966 and 1971— *Yerma*, Brecht's *Life of Galileo*, *Saint Joan*, *The Playboy of the Western World* and *Antigone*—the greatest critical success proved to be G. B. Shaw's modern historical drama for which he received the New York Outer Critics' Circle Award in 1968. The production was also notable from the point of view of American theatre history because it was the first time that the title role was performed by a black actress, Diana Sands who had become very popular after her portrayal of one of the main characters in the film version of Loraine Hansberry's *Raisin in the Sun* co-starring with Sidney Poitier.

A note must be made of Hirsch's connection with the National Theatre of the Deaf in Waterford, Connecticut. The theatre was established in 1967 with the help of state subsidy in order to organize national tours of productions with and for people with impaired hearing and to train actors and other professionals needed for such a special venture. As early as 1969, Hirsch was invited to direct *Tyger! Tyger! and Other Burnings*, a stage piece based on a collection of poems by William Blake, Lewis Carroll, Robert F. Panara and Elizabeth Barrett Browning. The unusual production was part of a travelling show using the sign

language of the deaf which was presented, among others, in the Longacre Theatre on Broadway.

1970 was a very busy but certainly prolific year in Hirsch's career. In addition to directing George F. Kaufman and Marc Connelly's *Beggar on Horseback* in the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in New York, he also staged Brecht's *Man Equals Man* in Winnipeg only to be asked to direct the same play in the Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis the same year. And this is not all. It was also in 1970 that his award-winning production *AC/DC* written by British poet, actor and playwright Heathcote Williams was on at the Brooklyn Academy of Music and the same year found him in the Habima National Theatre in Tel Aviv where he directed Chekhov's *Seagull*.

It has already been mentioned that in 1966 Hirsch resigned as Director of MTC but he retained his connections with the theatre he had founded. It was true for this "American period" when he regularly returned to his second birthplace, Winnipeg. In 1971, he directed Joe Orton's hilarious comedy *What the Butler Saw* to be followed by the American musical *Guys and Dolls* two years later. The greatest artistic achievement of this period, however, was his own higly successful adaptation of the famous Jewish mystic play called The Dybbuk which he produced in Winnipeg in 1974, and later in Toronto and Los Angeles.

The Dybbuk, or Between Two Worlds is a play written by a White Russian Jewish anthropologist under the pseudonym S. Ansky in 1914. He collected the folklore sources of the story for years and when he showed the final Russian version to Stanislavsky who liked it very much, the famous director asked him to translate the text into Yiddish saying that it would be more authentic if it was performed by a Jewish company. In 1920, however, S. Ansky died and the premiere of his play was held a few weeks after his death—in Warsaw. The Dybbuk was an immediate success soon making it to New York while in Moscow it was performed in Hebrew by the Habima company directed by Vachtangov. Later it became a national symbol of the Habima Theatre but it was also successfully presented by other theatres including the Royal Shakespeare Company. In 1937 the play was adapted for the screen by a Polish director, the music for a ballett version was composed by Leonard Bernstein whereas in 2008 the play was made into a multimedia Canadian opera with an international cast later shown in many American cities as well as in Germany. (It even had a few Hungarian-language productions,

most recently under the title *White Fire, Black Fire* in the Hungarian State Theatre in Cluj in 2002.)

It is not accidental that a play like this raised the interest of Hirsch who had always been seeking for new works that he could use to express his inner world. The title-giving "dybbuk" is a malicious little spirit, a wandering soul of a dead person who enters the body of a living person and captures her. During the plot it turns out that the dybbuk captures the soul of a bride who lost her lover and is now forced to get married with another man. The spirit, however, cannot be driven away from the girl who is probably united with her lover after she dies. The play explores not only the relationships between the living and the dead but also touches upon such issues as the cosmic order and eternal truth. This mystic element was put in the centre of Hirsch's production and turned into a kind of superhuman force. Writing about the performance, Martin Knelman remarked that "watching it, one could feel that John Hirsch had poured his entire life into this one production, finding the links between religion and theatre, between the old world and the new. *The Dybbuk* was his tribute to the vanished world that propelled him, and it was a beautiful embrace" (Knelman 23). The success of the special piece was well illustrated by the fact that he was asked to direct the same play in the St. Lawrence Centre, the most prestigious theatre in Toronto, and that a year later he was awarded for the Los Angeles version of *The Dybbuk*.

The facts and the published interviews and articles clearly show that John Hirsch considered the American theatre scene almost as important as that of his own chosen second country. Canada and the United States for him did not really constitute two different worlds but rather one and the same cultural "market". In return, American theatre critics and the public appreciated his contribution to the same extent as he had been recognized and admired by the emerging and strengthening Canadian theatre profession and its grateful audience.

Works Cited

Conlogue, Ray. "Director Brought Passionate Intensity to Canadian Theatre." *The Globe and Mail* (3 August 1989) C5.

Hirsch, John."Directing in Canada." *Canadian Theatre Review* 1 (Winter 1974): 49–55.

——."My Life in Canadian Art." *Canadian Theatre Review* 34 (Spring 1982): 39–45.

"Hungarian Interview—John Hirsch." Created 1978-03-13. *Multicultural Canada*. October 8, 2008.
<http://multiculturalcanada.ca/cdm_item/hungarian/68/100>

Hunter, Martin. *Romancing the Bard. Stratford at Fifty*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2001.

"John Hirsch." *Zsidók Siófokon – Hungarian Jews in Siófok Town.* 2009. február 15. <http://sites.google.com/site/zsidoksiofokon/Home/tartalom---contents/jelentos-szemelyisegek/john-hirsch-1930–1989>

Kirkley, Richard Bruce. "John Hirsch and the Critical Mass: Alternative Theatre on CBC in the 1970s." *Theatre Research in Canada/ Recherches théâtrales du Canada* 15: 1 (Spring 1994): 75–95.

Knelman, Martin. "All's Well That Ends Well." Saturday Night (August 1982) 59–60.

——. *A Stratford Tempest*. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1982.

Longfield, Kevin. *From Fire to Flood. A History of Theatre in Manitoba*. Winnipeg: Signature Editions, 2001.

Miller, Jack. "Hirsch Finishes the Job as CBC Drama Chief But Dream Went Astray." *The Toronto Star* (March 4, 1978) D3.

Miller, Mary Jane. "Canadian Television Drama 1952-1970: Canada's National Theatre." *Theatre Research in Canada/Recherches théâtrales du Canada* 5: 1 (Spring 1984): 51–71.

Pettigrew, John and Jamie Portman. *Stratford: The First Thirty Years. Vols. 1-2*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1985.

Shewey, Don. "Power Politics—On 'Coriolanus.'" *Donshewey.com* (March 1989) 2009. február 18.
<http://www.donshewey.com/theater_reviews/coriolanus.html>

Slack, Lyle. "Hirsch's Stratford Years Provoke Mixed Reviews." *The Toronto Star* (November 2, 1985): F3.

Sperdakos, Paula. "Acting in Canada in 1965: Frances Hyland, Kate Reid, Martha Henry and John Hirsch's *The Cherry Orchard* at Stratford." *Theatre Research in Canada* 19.1 (Spring 1998): 35–62.

Stratford Festival Story, The. A Catalogue-Index to the Stratford, Ontario, Festival 1953–1990. Ed. J. Alan B. Somerset. New York; Westport, CT; London: Greenwood Press, 1991.

Turbide, Diane. "Obituary. Theatre of Passion: Johh Hirsch Gave Heart and Soul to the Stage." *Maclean's* (August 14, 1989): 54.

Wagner, Anton, ed. *Contemporary Canadian Theatre: New World Visions*. Toronto: Simon & Pierre, 1985.

Gothic Sentimentalism in Nineteenth-Century American Women's Literature

Edina Szalay

> *"A book is a hand stretched forth in the dark passage*
> *of life to see if there is another hand to meet it."*
> *(Harriet Beecher Stowe to George Eliot)*

"Critical" sympathies: reception and rejection

The literary scholarship of the past decades has produced a renaissance of interest in nineteenth-century American literature. The consistent and successful calling for a reconsideration of who, what, and how constitutes the American canon flanked by a dynamically rising critical discourse on women writers, popular genres, and cultural studies of the period have presented us with readings reflecting an excitingly heterogeneous and complex century quite apart from the previously sanctioned tunnel vision.

Initially, I was engaged in the study and teaching of the Gothic and nineteenth-century American women writers (most of them labeled "sentimental") in a somewhat parallel fashion, for years I treated the two as essentially different, if not exclusive, artistic creeds of literalizing one's experience of the world. Yet, ultimately, I started to perceive links where I previously saw walls. Some of these connections seem apparent: both the Gothic and sentimentalism have been contested fields in literary criticism and both have received a lot of bad rep. They have been associated with triviality, superficiality, and femininity—i. e., the "sub-literary"—their only value resting on their very valuelessness that made "major" writers and works shine even more dazzlingly.

Undoubtedly, the history of the critical reception of either the American Gothic or sentimentalism seems more like a roller coaster ride than a casual stroll in the garden. Critics obviously had a hard time defining the significance of one or the other for the American canon. For nineteenth-century critics and reviewers, Nina Baym argues, the designation "gothic" did not even seem to exist, probably because "the very idea of the gothic at this time seemed incompatible with the idea of the novel" (*Novels* 201). Baym's observation that the age primarily saw the Gothic as a lyric genre and not a narrative one is significant because later critical efforts to construct the canon of ante- and postbellum America tended to focus on fiction and—with the exception of poets Emily Dickinson and, especially, Walt Whitman—listed only writers of fiction as "major" American authors. Theresa Goddu outlines other probable reasons for such neglect. For one, she argues, "[g]iven its historical belatedness, critics [were] particularly anxious to provide the American literary canon with a respectable foundation" (6). The Gothic's early association with the popular, the feminine, and the excessive ruled out any chance of respectability, as Richard Chase's choice of listing the gothic under the heading of melodrama reflects. Unlike its British counterpart, American gothic did not emerge as a distinctive genre dominating a specific time period and sporting a well-definable set of authors. Though it has been present in American literature from the beginnings as a conventional "constellation of grotesque images and symbols and the hyperbolic language of emotional torture and mental anguish" (Davidson 218) highlighting the evil underside of the New Republic, it was seen as only one of several forms that played a (minor) role in the development of the early American novel. Thus the gothic seemed to be flying under the radar until Fiedler's monumental study which not only rehabilitated it but elevated it to the status of canon-maker: "Our fiction […] is, bewilderingly and embarrasingly, a gothic fiction, unrealistic and negative, sadist and melodramatic—a literature of darkness and the grotesque in the land of light and affirmation" (29).

If the gothic was invisible, the sentimental glared only too brightly for later critics. Treated respectfully and matter-of-factly by nineteenth-century reviewers, the genre drove later critics to despair who could not deny its popularity and all-pervasiveness but found its "aesthetic value" suspect. Not that many critics devoted attention to the women's literature of the period in the first place and those who did, often did it sneeringly. Critics seemed to be only too happy to finally deliver poetic justice to

witers they identified as major (who all happened to be male) for all the neglect, scorn, and impoverishment inflicted on them while the "female scribblers" alias "single-minded sentimentalists" (Fiedler 105) raked in the big bucks only to rush to the closest department store to spend it all on another silk shawl. Or so the story goes, embellished by Fred Lewis Pattee, Herbert Ross Brown, James D. Hart, Leslie Fiedler or Ann Douglas. Women had it easy: "publishers in the 'fifties learned to welcome any woman who turned up at their offices with a novel in a bulky manuscript under her arm" (Hart 97).

Delivering condemning judgment on artistic unworthiness by poking fun at women writers' appearance has been considered witty by some, as in Hart's description of Susan Warner's less-than-attractive countenance: "One look at her spare equine face distinguished by a pair of eyes set not quite evenly in her head, a thin determined mouth, a hair brushed tightly behind large ears proclaimed her a spinster by nature" (95). Others followed Hart to point out the fact that both Warner sisters had long, "giraffe" necks. It is arguable whether assessments like the above are funny or rude, but one cannot help wondering why no similar descriptions form a part of Hart's critical evaluation of male authors' works. In fact, he adopts the common critical stance by not even attempting to analyze Warner's novels in any depth, instead subisituting contemptuous comments on the woman for a critique of the artist. This wave of critical discourse (vaguely up to the 1970s, but with the exception of Helen Waite Papashvily's *All the Happy Endings*) assumes that the uniform worthlessness of all sentimental literature is so apparent that it requires no further critical investigation. So it comes as no surprise that individual female authors of the era are habitually lumped together under the heading "women writers" or "sentimentalists" and treated as one homogeneous group. Consequently, even when such critics discuss one specific author, she is assumed to stand in for the rest of her sex, and the problems detected in her work are meant to characterize the uniform faults of texts produced by women. (In contrast, we never read sentences, like "male writers did this/think that" only what Hawthorne, Poe, Whitman thought or did). Fiedler, for example, comes to the sweeping conlusion that Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* "succeeded in projecting once and for all the American woman's image of herself as the long-suffering martyr of love—the inevitable victim of male brutality and lust" (97). Jay B. Hubbell cannot but wonder "why so many of the more intelligent read the novels of Augusta Jane Evans and Mary Elizabeth

Braddon rather than the novels of George Meredith and Henry James"
(79). Pattee's answer to such musings represents the critical consensus:
"[the] great mass of American readers, for the most part women, did not
think at all" (307).[1] Embarrasingly enough for critics invested in
retrospepctively establishing a "respectable" canon of nineteenth-century
American literature, it was the sentimental bestseller that first turned the
tide of British literary dominance in American literary history. For better
or worse, as Mrs. Oliphant complained, the "dreadful, perfect little girls
who come over from the other side of the Atlantic to do good to the
Britishers, like the heroines of [SusanWarner's] *Queechy* and *The Wide
Wide World*" (qtd. in Henry Nash Smith 50) ruled the day and colonized
the British literary market.

It was not until the 1970s, partly due to general canon debates and a
rising interest in cultural studies, that critics started to approach
sentimentalism in less prejudicial ways.[2] Due to the work of critics, like

---

[1] This wave of critical evaluation in the twentieth century is represented by Fred Lewis
Pattee's *The Feminine Fifties* (1936), Herbert Ross Brown's *The Sentimental Novel in
America, 1789–1860* (1940), James D. Hart's *The Popular Book: A History of
America's Literary Taste* (1961), Alexander Cowie's "The Vogue of the Domestic
Novel, 1950–1870," Henry Nash Smith's "The Scribbling Woman and the Cosmic
Success Story." They see sentimental novels as escapist and lacking artistic depth,
their primary function being to divert readers' attention (assumed to be women, for the
most part) from the real troubles of American national life and instructing them to be
complacent slaves to the patriarchal order. Starting with Helen Waite Papashvily's *All
the Happy Endings* (1956), a new trend emerges that denies that sentimental literature
would be superficial and full of hurrah optimism. Just on the contrary, critics like
Papashvily, Ann Douglas (*The Feminization of American Culture*, 1977) or Dee
Garrison ("Immoral Fiction in the Late Victorian Library") detect the subversive
nature of sentimentalism that primarily plays itself out as the war of the sexes with
sentimental novels serving as "manual of arms, [women's] handbook of strategy"
(Papashvily 24).

[2] Nina Baym's *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America,
1820–70* (1978) was groundbreaking for several reasons: it called for treating
sentimental authors on their own terms, and by its method of close reading of actual
texts, it demonstrated the variety of this body of literature. Numerous inspiring studies
followed: Alfred Habegger's *Gender, Fantasy and Realism in American Literature*
(1982), Mary Kelley's *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in
Nineteenth-Century America* (1984), Jane Tompkins's *Sensational Designs: The
Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860* (1985), Cathy N. Davidson's
Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America (1986), Susan K. Harris's
19th-Century American Women's Novels: Interpretive Strategies (1990), Shirley
Samuels, ed. *The Cult of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-*

Cathy N. Davidson, Nina Baym, Jane Tompkins, Paul Lauter, and others, who look at these writers afresh, we have come to see the variety of female characters, plots, and views inhabiting the sentimental tradition both synchronicallly and diachronically. Significantly, this era of critical discourse offers a wide variety of potential contexts, views, and opinions, often ones diametrically opposed to each other even when they study the same texts on similar grounds. Some are sympathetic to sentimentalism, some see it as the "middle-class regime of socialization through coercive love, […] 'disciplinary intimacy'" (Brodhead qtd. in Howard 64). But, in any case, the plurality of opinions, so much unlike the uniform condemnation characteristic of earlier criticism, underlines that sentimentalism is tretated seriously and has ceased to be the call word for bad literature. As Joanne Dobson conludes: "sentimental literature can be 'good' or 'bad.' Sentimental texts can be profound or simple, authentic or spurious, sincere or exploitative, strong or weak, radical or conservative" (268). Current studies have also done away with the simplistic sentimental/female –realistic/male dichotomy by calling attention to the ways male authors—from Charles Dickens through Henry Wadsworth Longfellow to Nathaniel Hawthorne—have invested in sentimental discourse. Neither do we see now sentimental literature as a monolithic unit or a narrowly defined genre. Definitions have been numerous and varied but they generally treat sentimentalism as a form of ideology, "an emotional and philosophical ethos" (Dobson 266) that can materialize in a wide array of genres and formulas.

"A rose by any name": definitions and discontent

So, how can we define the relationship between the gothic and the sentimental, two literary modes that ultimately emerge as central to the canon of the nineteenth-century? I believe the answer hinges on the definitions one chooses to work with and we have already cast a cursory glance at the maze of available designations. Major critics of the American gothic often see the gothic and sentimentalism as antithetical and define the gothic in light of that opposition: "While sentimental romance has its place in this genre [the gothic], it is never the locus of intense emotion; such emotion resides in those exchanges most imbued

Century America (1992) or Joyce W. Warren, ed. The (Other) American Traditions: Nineteenth-Century Women Writers (1993), just to name a few major ones.

with mystery and terror for Western culture, the incestuous and the homoerotic" (Gross 52). Or, as Fiedler concludes, the Gothic "spurred on those serious American writers whom the example of the sentimental had only galled" (126). Critics, otherwise sympathetic to the genre, often resort to evasion when they substitute "dark" for "gothic," as David Reynolds does in his seminal *Beneath the American Renaissance* (1988). He prefers to refer to gothic works as the literature of "Dark Adventure" and almost entirely expurgates the "literature of women's wrongs" of potential gothic connotations. In this context, "dark" generally connotes "profound" (as in "dark experiences of American life" or "dark vision of America") and serves as an evaluative criterion to fence off the gothic (as they define it) from the "sunny" sentimentalism of women writers. Fiedler, Hart, Pattee and others have primarily presented the case as the battle of the sexes: sentimental authors (read: female) in the red corner, major Gothic writers (read: male) in the blue. The stakes are especially high for Fiedler because in his pioneering book *Love and Death in the American Novel* he is out on a mission to redeem the Gothic not simply as a major literary form but, in fact, as *the* American genre representing the essence of America's vision of itself. In order to turn the tides on the suspect reputation of the Gothic, Fiedler argues for its presence as a driving force in the works of all major American authors (Hawthorne, Melville, and so on), successfully elevates some writers (e.g., Charles Brockden Brown), previously considered minor, to the major league of literary importance, and ends up constructing a linear male Gothic tradition within the American canon. According to the inherent logic of Fiedler's argument, women can be imagined to produce only sentimental works (meaning anti-Gothic, anti-intellectual, anti-realistic), consequently they have no respectable place in the canon. Assertions, such as, "our classic literature is a literature of horror for boys" (Fiedler 29) or that the gothic is "the embodiment of demonic-quest-romance, in which a lonely, self-divided hero embarks on an insane pursuit of the Absolute" (Thompson 2) highlight how the gothic hero exiled from society evolves as a perfect match for the image of the isolato long favored as the quintessential American hero.

Ironically enough the definition of sentimentalism as "private, excessive, undisciplined, self-centered emotionality" (Baym, *Woman's* xxix) uncannily recalls descriptions of the American gothic hailed for its excessive "turn inward, away from society and toward the psyche of the hidden blackness of the American soul" (Goddu 9). However, when

defined as a body of literature that "celebrates human connection, both personal and communal, and acknowledges the shared devastation of affective loss" (Dobson 266) through "public sympathy and benevolent fellow feeling" (Baym, *Woman's* xxx), sentimentalism appears to be the direct opposite of the Gothic. Or is it? "Gothic" is no less a slippery a term than "sentimental" is and famously resents being pinned down in simple categories. The confident arguments of Fiedler, Donald A. Ringe and others delude us to see the gothic as a well-contained narrative form but, in fact, these critics tell us only half of the story (at best). The "unrealistic and negative, sadist and melodramatic" literature Fiedler identifies as *the* gothic (29) which is characterized by the fear of "insanity and the disintegration of the self" (Fiedler 129), pursues "the essential nature of evil" (Hart 92) and insists on "moral ambiguity ... the confusion of good and evil" (Hume 287) can only lead to "despair, pain and annihilation" (Thompson 2). Fiedler is nevertheless correct to observe that "the deeper implications [of such a narrative] are barely perceptible in the gently spooky fiction of Mrs. Radcliffe" (129). Indeed they are not but that does not make Radcliffe's romances a bit less Gothic. Her Female Gothic springs from the same Ur-Gothic—Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*—but right from the beginning advances a counter-story that challenges the implications of the Walpolean narrative later adopted by Gregory Monk Lewis, William Beckford, Charles Maturin or Charles Brockden Brown.

Claire Kahane was among the first to call attention to the results of the severe amputation male critics have inflicted on the body of the Gothic canon. They often choose to focus on "male authors and male protagonists in order to elaborate the oedipal dynamics of a Gothic text, and affectively restrict if not exclude female desire even from texts written by women" (Kahane 335–36). On the basis of critical priorities previously outlined, it is no surprise that women writers were absent from the lists of critics theorizing about the American Gothic[3]. As Elaine

---

[3] However, even critics otherwise interested in the Female Gothic were slow to move beyond the consideration of exclusively British authors. Ellen Moers, Kate Ferguson Ellis, Anne Williams and Eugenia DeLamotte primarily concern themselves with writers like Radcliffe, Clara Reeve, Mary Shelley, the Brontës or Christina Rosetti and only occasionally mention American authors (Sylvia Plath, Djuna Barnes, Carson McCullers). No American women from the nineteenth-century feature on their lists. I suspect that the main reason for this is that, with the exception of Williams's book, these critical works were written before the canon debates that re-evaluated

Showalter concludes: "American Gothic could not be written *by* women because it was a protest *against* women, a flight from the domestic and the feminine" (131). A similar attitude has been applied to the American canon in general. A Baym observes speaking of the American romance, in these stories "the encroaching, constricting, destroying society is represented with particular urgency in the figure of one or more women ("Melodramas" 72).

It is not only female authors who are erased from Fiedler's American Gothic universe but female characters as well: "Chief of the gothic symbols is, of course, the Maiden in flight—understood in the spirit of *The Monk* as representing the uprooted soul of the artist, the spirit of the man who has lost his moral home" (131). That is, a character may appear to be a woman but in fact serves only as a metaphor for MAN, the exiled isolato familiar from the American romance. The home (s)he is deprived of is of course no domestic space either but a moral one. Stating that "our classic literature is a literature of horror for boys" (29), Fiedler closes the homosocial circle of male writer-character-reader. However, I find it unlikely that the maiden-in-flight so central to female-authored gothic texts would be so gravely misinterpreted by generations of (female) readers whose close identification with the heroine is, by Fiedler's logic, mere delusion. Had they known all along they were indulging in the adventures of the enstranged male artist! Fiedler feels obliged to deal with the phenomenon of the gothic heroine but since his concept allows no place for women's stories, he has to unsex her somehow—"Make [her] bearded like a man!" (Dickinson Fr 267)—reveal her sex as mere masquerade. What I find most problematic in Fiedler's approach, fast adopted by others, is that it denies the validity of different traditions within the Gothic canon in the same vein as F. O. Matthiessen and others refused to admit the sentimental, both camps striving to construct a homogeneous and restrictive canon of nineteenth-century American literature that acknowledges only one type of writing as authentic and "major."

The point becomes only too apparent if one look at some major studies of the American gothic. We have already seen Fiedler's ghettoizing approach and others were quick to follow. When critics like Eric Savoy are engaged in constructing an "American Gothic continuum"

---

sentimental literature and re-admitted previously disparaged authors like Southworth or Warner.

(180), they embrace the Fiedlerean concept of exclusions that admits neither the possibility of simultaneously existing Gothic traditions nor the possible crossbreeding of the Gothic and other major genres of the nineteenth-century, the sentimental novel included.[4]

Undoubtedly, it is difficult to define the boundaries between the Male and Female Gothic. Both formulas developed their own set of conventions in regard to plot, narrative technique, affective focus and the supernatural.[5] Some simply assume that Male Gothic is written by men while Female Gothic by women. This approach, however, may prove to be oververSimplifying because although the Male formula may be more common in works written by men just as women writers may far more often use the Female Gothic formula, there are, of course, significant exceptions. Charlotte Dacré's apocalyptic *Zofloya* that offers neither redemption nor happy ending for heroines (innocent or guilty) cannot

---

[4] Rosemary Jackson lists Brockden Brown, Washington Irving, Edgar Allan Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, James and William Faulkner in her influential study, *Fantasy*. Ringe promises to study the "major" American Gothic writers of the nineteenth century and devotes chapters to Brown Irving, Poe, and Hawthorne while also discussing others less exclusively associated with the genre (Jean Crevecoeur, James Kirke Paulding, John Pendleton Kennedy, James Fenimore Cooper, William Gilmore Simms, Robert Montgomery Bird, Washington Allston, Richard Henry Dana, Jr., John Neal). Irving Malin's essay on American Gothic images mentions Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, James, Faulkner, Irving, Ernest Hemingway (!), Mark Twain (but not Charlotte Perkins Gilman). Louis Gross proposes to study only two female authors, Esther Forbes and Anne Rice (but none from the nineteenth-century). Savoy's article bears the title "The Rise of the American Gothic" but instead of the comprehensive overview one would expect of potential traditions that all contributed to such a rise, we get the same list of names identified as *the* American Gothic authors: Brown, Hathorne, Poe, Melville, and James although the last paragraph casts a cursory glance at Dickinson.

[5] Briefly and somewhat oversimplifyingly, we could say that the Male Gothic favors the tragic plot (which ends with the overreaching hero's fall) vs. the Female Gothic preference for an affirmative happy ending; the first typically relies on either third person omniscient narrators or presents the action through multiple points of view, e.g., journal entries, while the first person/heroine narrator is more typical of Female Gothic works. Writers like Walpole, Lewis, and others indulge in supernatural phenomena that they treat as real and serious while, from Ann Radcliffe on, women usually choose to offer a rational explanation of mysteries. Finally, horror (defined as petrifying, appalling physical fear) is the central emotion of Male Gothic texts while in Female Gothic versions heroines are more affected by intense terror, a fearful but stimulating sentiment which urges the expansion of mental faculties as a basic tool of the heroine's survival.

deny the influence of Lewis's *The Monk*, and Mary Wilkins Freeman's or Edith Wharton's ghost stories sporting unrationalized supernatural events fall under the Male Gothic designation. Henry James's *The Turn of the Screw*, on the other hand, poses as a hybrid of the two gothic formulas. In my understanding, the Male and Female Gothic traditions function less as distinctive sets of narrative and thematic conventions and more as different approaches to negotiating reality, foregrounding and confronting fears, anxieties as well as hopes regarding a variety of fields: human relationships, questions of life and death, sense of evil or social injustice. And it is exactly the focus on the evils affecting women's lives where Female Gothic and sentimentalism converge.

My primary concern is not to establish a rival female American Gothic tradition although I assume a continuing dialogue between women writers who gravitated towards a similar (though by no means identical) vision of women's situation in American culture and drew substantially on Gothic paraphernalia to express their concerns. I will pursue to show that "American Gothic" is far from being a monolithic tradition; that women *did* substantially contribute to this tradition which, like Fiedler, I also see as central to American literature. However, my contention is that sentimentalism and Gothic are not at all antithetical; rather, they are intricately linked to each other; and that female writers of sentimental works and/or gothic texts *did* take a stand in cultural dialogue and produced works that, far from being escapist, did indeed engage in exploring contemporary social reality. I wish to define both the Gothic and sentimentalism more broadly than a genre easily categorized by a set of narrative conventions (the laundry list approach). Although my argument centers on Gothic and sentimental works written at a certain period of time and place (nineteenth-century America), I believe that the vigorous survival of both genres well beyond their original appearance and heyday calls attention to their adaptability. In fact, I see Gothic and sentimental texts as expressive of a complex aesthetic worldview, an ideology representing diverse cultural assumptions about the Self and its relation to others or the world at large.[6]

---

[6] Trying to find the correct designation has been problematic for critics, especially in regard to Gothic literature. Is the Gothic (or the sentimental, for that matter) a "genre," a "tradition," or a "mode"? None of these terms seem to have satisfied critics who felt that no matter what we call it, there always seemed to be significant exclusions. Thus I prefer using the seemingly vague terms "text" and "work" wherever possible.

The psychologization of the Gothic critics so often privilege was not necessarily a revolutionary, primarily nineteenth-century or exclusively American phenomenon but a general result of the diversification of the Gothic. In her discussion of the development of the British Gothic in the nineteenth-century, Alison Milbank persuasively argues that "the turn to the psychological […] often hailed by as an advance, whereby the unwieldy Gothic machinery of the previous century gives way to a more modern and sophisticated conception of a purely internal drama […] is an inherently conservative turn that avoids the radical implications of the full-length Gothic novel at the time and returns the setting to a safely distant continental arena" (151) or, we could add, to the safely distant historical time of the colonial past. This reasoning does not devalue the American Gothic tradition represented by Washington Irving, or Nathaniel Hawthorne, yet highlights the fact that critical categories contain no inherent value. It is not evident that a Gothic text exploring psychological drama would be superior to one dealing with social surfaces, that a representation of "a national way of reconstructing history" (Savoy "Rise" 176) or the Puritan origins of the American self would be superior to dealing with the horror of contemporary domestic relations.

Cathy Davidson acknowledges the validity of widely different versions of the Gothic in the early American novel and distinguishes two dominant strains: one dealing with individual psychology, the other concentrating on "the psychology of social relations" but both, in their own ways, interested in the "inherent limitations of individual consciousness, and the consequent need for some control of individual freedom, […] the equally inherent weaknesses of existing systems, and […] the need for social reform" (220). Davidson's observations open up the canon to Female Gothic texts which then appear as relevant as those of Poe, Hawthorne and Melville[7].

However, sometimes it is impossible to operate with such restricted choices so I will also use the term "genre" or "tradition." Whatever I may call it though, I mean to understand the Gothic or the sentimental in the expansive sense outlined above.

[7] Davidson's approach represents a more liberal definition of the American Gothic canon that includes writers of both sexes. She identifies two major traditions in regard to the early American novel. One is a combination of the early sentimental novel and the Gothic inspired by Walpole, Radcliffe and Lewis. Susanna Rowson's *Rachel and Reuben* (1789), S.S.K.B. Wood's *Amelia; or, the Influence of Virtue* (1802) and Isaac Mitchell's *The Asylum* (1811) are representative examples of this category. The other

Few critics have observed the inherent similarities between sentimentalism and the Gothic. Papashvily early identifies the latent Gothic qualities of sentimental literature as essential to the genre's popularity. Speaking of E.D.E.N Southworth's bestsellers, she argues that it was, to a large extent, her ability "to combine the shock and suspense of the old Gothic novel with the pathos, sentiment and humor Dickens and his imitators had made fashionable" (114) that catapulted Southworth to fame. Papashvily also claims that sentimentalism "is always a cloak to hide the face of horror, and wherever we perceive sentimentality we may know that beneath it lies some unbearable truth we did not dare to meet facet o face" (195). That is, she understands sentimentalism as essentially uncanny. I agree with Mary Kelley that the "fiction of the sentimentalists is, finally, expressive of a dark vision of nineteenth-century America, and not […] of the redemptive, idyllic, holy land" often associated with them ("Sentimentalists" 446). The idea that "the sentimental and the gothic are interdependent, not essentially different" (Goddu 96) is fundamental to my argument. Once we acknowledge the hauntedness of sentimental texts by a very Gothic awareness of impending evil, we may be less convinced that "[p]opular fiction was designed to soothe the sensibilities of its readers by fulfilling expectations and expressing only received ideas" (Henry Nash Smith 50).

Even critics who do not treat the two genres in tandem reveal significant connections between Female Gothic and sentimental texts. Baym, for one, identifies woman's fiction as a distinctive genre in sentimental fiction (and not a synonym of it) which puts forward the story of "a young woman who has lost the emotional and financial support of her legal guardians—indeed who is often subject to their abuse and neglect—but who nevertheless goes on to win her own way in the world

line Davidson observes is the combination of the reformist novel and the Gothic created under the inspiration of Charlotte Smith, Mary Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, and Elizabeth Inchbald: Brown's *Wieland* (1789), "Adelio's" *A Journey to Philadelphia; or, Memoirs of Charles Coleman Saunders* (1804), Caroline Warren's *The Gamesters* (1805) or Rebecca Rush's *Kelroy* (1812). There have been other critics as well to rely on a more encompassing concept of the Gothic in America: Allan Lloyd-Smith includes Louisa May Alcott, Emma Dawson, Dickinson, Gilman, and Stowe *American Gothic Fiction*); Lawrence Buell discusses Elizabeth Stoddard as equal to Melville, Hawthorne, and Poe (*New England Literary Culture*). Charles L Crow's *American Gothic: American Anthology 1787-1916* includes works by Alice Cary, Alcott, Harriet Prescott Spofford, Dickinson, Sarah Orne Jewett, Freeman, Kate Chopin, and Gilman.

[…] find[ing] within herself the qualities of intelligence, will, resourcefulness, and courage sufficient to overcome [hardships]" (*Woman's* ix, 22). Moers's summary of the Ur-female gothic plot introduced by Radcliffe's romances "in which the central figure is a young woman who is simultaneously victim and courageous heroine" (91) identifies the same trials & triumph plot as Baym's woman's novels. Kahane adds further details: "Within an imprisoning structure, a protagonist, typically a young woman whose mother has died, is compelled to seek out the center of a mystery, while vague and usually sexual threats to her person from some powerful male figure hover on the periphery of her consciousness" (334). Although the presence of the sexual element (associated with the gothic) or the respression of it (associated with the sentimental) seems to introduce a point of divergence, I argue that this is only seemingly so since the sexual advances of the villain in female gothic romances turn out to veil his mercenary obsessions only, his appetite wet for the heroine's fortune rather than her body (quite differently from the male gothic whose pornographic qualities have long been acknowledged). Similarly, the foregorunded social and psychological abuse suffered by the sentimental heroine only downplays but does not deny her sexual vulnerability. Although both the female gothic and sentimentalism deploy devices to defamiliarize contemporary social reality—such as placing the story abroad, in an earlier age or in the figure of the child heroine—these only serve as "objective correlatives for the desires and fears, frustrations and anxieties of women under patriarchy" (Griesinger 386). Although Emily Griesinger's remark is made about the female gothic, its implications hold true for senimentalism as well.

In my view, it is the Radcliffean female gothic romance and not the early sentimental novel that served as the most powerful antecedent of nineteenth-century sentimentalism in America. Heroines of the eigthteenth-century seduction novel are in many respects the opposites of the suffering but victorious heroines of later sentimentalism. I agree with Baym who warns against lumping together the "novel of sensibility" and the "sentimental novel" and identifying the latter (as, for example, Fiedler does) as the direct descendant of the first. In fact, the Richardsonian heroine who is overwhelmed by her own feelings, lacks the common sense and fortitude to prevent her sexual fall, and sacrifices her familial and communal bonds for the obsessive authority of the seducer was resented by both early female gothic writers and nineteenth-century

sentimentalists. In varying degree, depending on the individual author, both camps wish to display heroines who are ready to defy their oppressors, even if their options are often severely limited, and successfully preserve the integrity of their selfhood. Their stories are not "a form of sexual feudalism," as Rachel Blau DuPlessis maintains in regard to the female gothic, or the valorization of "the masochistic powerlessness of the generic female confronted with the no-frills, cruel-but-tender male" (45). DuPlessis's pattern may describe one particular kind of female gothic plot, the modern popular gothic romance, but fails to capture the essence of either the Radcliffean female gothic line or the feminist gothic of Mary Wollstonecraft and her followers. Furthermore, the significance of the female gothic for nineteenth-century sentimentalism lies not only in the direct passing on of narrative patterns but, I believe, gothic sensibility enhances all major forms of sentimental literature. It is the female gothic's notorious investigation of the dangers specifically affecting women in patriarchal society (in their roles of daughter, wife, and mother, single or married) that lurks at the heart of all sentimental texts, it is only in intensity that this presence varies. While Southworth's exuberant and excessive "high-wrought fiction" (to apply Baym's term) flaunts its gothic affinities, Susan Warner's Ellen Montgomery in *The Wide Wide World*, though her story is stripped of obvious Gothic paraphernalia, is no less a gothic heroine striving to fend off assault and relying on her belief in moral integrity (called propriety or sensibility by Radcliffe) to achieve a happy ending.

One cannot ignore that both the Gothic and sentimentalism have been seen as emphatically affective genres. Though the kinds of emotions associated with the two are different—fear for the Gothic and sympathy for the sentimental—the mechanism is similar: both genres work not only to express strong emotions but, more importantly, to transmit these emotions to readers so intensively that they end up sucked in by the fictional world, no longer able to maintain their outsider status in relation to the story. This kind of readerly engagement, bordering on enslavement, addiction, obsession, has been foregrounded (and condemned) as the most distinctive feature of both. Good and bad may have been said about the "lachrymose" stories of sentimental orphans and the terror of heroines trapped in foreboding castles but the power of such stories is undeniable, sometimes much to the frustration of critics. Why is it, they have asked, that "cheap," "sub-literary" works have come to play such a powerful role in our imagination that readers would often turn to them not only to

escape reality (as was previously maintained) but, even worse (some would say), as an epistemological tool to understand reality better.

Recent scholarship on the Enlightenment roots of nineteenth-century sentimentalism has prompted critics to argue that sentiment and sympathy be seen not only as types of emotions but, more complexly, as notions of morality. June Howard points out that philosophers like "Lord Shaftesbury, Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau derive benevolence and, ultimately, morality in general from human faculties that dispose us to sympathize with others. For these thinkers, emotions, whether they are innate or produced by Lockean psychology, assume a central place in moral thought—they both lead to a manifest virtue" (70). It is sympathy, evoked by the power of sentiment that makes possible the transformation of abstract thought into an emotional experience that feels physically real. As Adam Smith explains regarding the power of sympathy: we come to "conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure the same person with him" (qtd. in Howard 71). The habitual opposition of feeling to reason, heart to intellect that permeates much critical discourse in the twentieth century has been challenged by literary critics, philosophers, and cultural anthropologists alike who see the boundaries between feeling and thought more fluid: "feeling is forever given shape through thought and … thought is laden with emotional meaning. [W]hat distinguishes thought and affect, differentiating a 'cold' cognition from 'hot,' is fundamentally a sense of the engagement of the actor's self. Emotions are thoughts somehow 'felt' in flushes, pulses, 'movements' of our lives, minds, hearts, stomachs, skin. They are *embodied* thoughts, thoughts seeped with the apprehension that 'I'm involved'" (Rosaldo qtd. in Howard 66). It is in this vein that Emily Dickinson underlines the primacy of feeling in a letter to her favorite Norcross cousins: "genius is the ignition of affection—not intellect, as is supposed,—the exaltation of devotion, and in proportion to our capacity for that, is our experience of genius" (L691 mid-April 1881).

Both the Female Gothic and nineteenth-century American sentimentalism challenge "the *gender* of American individualism [as well as] the concept of individualism" (Warren 4) that canon makers often rely on. These texts proudly concern themselves with the female experience under patriarchy and focus on a heroine in flight though not *from* society but *back* to it who, unlike the male isolato, privileges interpersonal relationships and amply utilizes them to her benefit. The genius of the

female "scribblers" lies in their ability to walk their readers through the *rites of passage* and dramas of womanhood in a deceptively simple manner, offering abundant food for thought *and* feeling, the two being inseparable in their mind.

Works Cited

Baym, Nina. *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820–70.* Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1993.

——. *Novels, Readers and Reviewers: Responses to Fiction in Antebellum America.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1984.

——. "Melodramas of Beset Manhood: How Theories of American Fiction Exclude Women Authors." *Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature, and Theory.* Ed. Elaine Showalter. New York: Pantheons, 1985. 63–80.

Brodhead, Richard. *Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1993.

Brown, Herbert Ross. *The Sentimental Novel in America, 1789–1860.* New York: Octagon Books, 1972.

Buell, Lawrence. *New England Literary Culture: From Revolution through Renaissance.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986.

Chase, Richard. *The American Novel and Its Tradition.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor, 1957.

Crow, Charles. *American Gothic: An Anthology 1787–1916.* Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999.

Davidson, Cathy N. *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America.* New York: Oxford UP, 1986.

DeLamotte, Eugenia. *Perils of The Night: A Feminsit Study of Nineteenth-Century Gothic.* New York: Oxford UP, 1990.

Dickinson, Emily. *The Poems of Emily Dickinson: The Variorum Edition.* Ed. R.W.Franklin. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1998.

——. *The Letters of Emily Dickinson.* Ed. Thomas H. Johnson. Cambrdidge, MA:Harvard UP, 1986.

Dobson, Joanne. "Reclaiming Sentimental Literature." *American Literature* 69.2 (June 1997): 263–88.

Douglass, Ann. *The Feminization of American Culture.* New York: Doubleday, 1977.

DuPlessis, Rachel Blau. *Writing Beyond the Ending: Strategies of Twentieth-Century Women Writers*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1985.

Ellis, Kate Ferguson. *The Contested Castle*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1989.

Fiedler, Leslie A. *Love and Death in the American Novel*. New York: Delta Books, 1966.

Goddu Teresa A. *Gothic America: Narrative, History, and Nation*. New York: Columbia UP, 1997.

Griesinger, Emily Ann. "Before and After *Jane Eyre*: The Female Gothic and Some Modern Variations." PhD Diss. Nashville, TN: December 1989.

Gross, Louis S. *Redefining the American Gothic: From* Wieland *to* Day of the Dead. Ann Arbor: UMI Research P, 1989.

Habegger, Alfred. *Gender, Fantasy and Realism in American Literature*. New York: Columbia UP, 1982.

Harris, Susan K. *19th-Century American Women's Novels: Interpretive Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992.

Hart, James D. *The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1961.

Howard, June. "What Is Sentimentality?" *American Literary History* 11.1 (Spring 1999): 63–81.

Hubbell, Jay B. *Who Are the Major American Writers? A Study of the Changing Literary Canon*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1972.

Hume, Robert, "Gothic Versus Romantic: A Revaluation of the Gothic Novel." *PMLA* 84 (1969): 282–90.

Jackson, Rosemary. *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion*. London: Routledge, 1981.

Kahane, Claire. "The Gothic Mirror." *The (M)Other Tongue: Essays in Feminist Psychoanalytic Interpretation*. Ed. Shirley Nelson Garner et al. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985. 334–51.

Kelley, Mary. "The Sentimentalists: Promise and Betrayal in the Home." *Signs* 4.3 (Spring 1979): 434–46.

——. *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford UP, 1984.

Lloyd-Smith, Allan. *American Gothic Fiction: An Introduction*. New York: Continuum Publishing Group, 2004.

Malin, Irving. "American Gothic Images." *Mosaic* 6.3 (1973): 165–71.

Milbank, Alison. "The Victorian Gothic in English Novels and Stories, 1830–1880." *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*. Ed. Jerrold E. Hogle. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002. 145–67.

Moers, Ellen. *Literary Women: The Great Writers*. New York: Doubleday, 1976.

Papashvily, Helen Waite. *All the Happy Endings: A Study of the Domestic Novel in America, the Women Who Wrote It, the Woman Who Read It, in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Harper, 1956.

Pattee, Fred Lewis. *The Feminine Fifties*. New York: D.Appleton-Century Company, 1940.

Reynolds, David. *Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1989.

Ringe, Donald A. *American Gothic: Imagination and Reason in Nineteenth-Century Fiction*. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1982.

Samuels, Shirley, ed. *The Cult of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford UP, 1992.

Savoy, Eric. "The Rise of American Gothic." *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*. Ed. Jerrold E. Hogle. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002. 167–89.

Showalter, Elaine. *Sister's Choice: Tradition and Change in American Women's Writing*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1991.

Smith, Adam. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. 1759. Vol. 1 *The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith*. Ed. D.D.Raphael and A.L.Macfie. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1976.

Smith, Henry Nash. "The Scribbling Women and the Cosmic Success Story." *Critical Inquiry* 1.1 (September 1974): 47–70.

Thompson, Gary Richard. *The Gothic Imagination: Essays in Dark Romanticism*. Seattle: Washington State UP, 1974.

Tompkins, Jane. *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860*. New York: Oxford UP, 1986.

Warren, Joyce W., ed. *The (Other) American Traditions: Nineteenth-Century Women Writers*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1993.

Williams, Anne. *Art of Darkness: A Poetics of Gothic*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1995.

American Indian Humor

Judit Szathmári

> *"A lot of people think that Indians are just naturally patient, but that's not true. Before the white 'settlers' arrived there were lots of impatient Indians. It's only in the last two hundred years that Indians have been looking patient whenever there were any white men around"* (Bowering 92).

The above motto was selected as an illustration of the challenge to the long existing stereotype of the stoic, stone-faced Indian. While it plays upon the mode of how literary Indians are expected to conform to mainstream expectations, both fictional and realistic, it also provides the reader with a glimpse into the comic potential in American Indian cultures. The present paper explores the long neglected humor inherent in American Indian cultures and its manifestations over the course of various historic periods and in various media. Possible explanations for the dearth of comedy will be cited in an effort to challenge the prevalent image of the stoic Indian. The structure essentially follows historic chronology, but I also cite contemporary examples to bridge the gap between the ancient and the modern. My intention is to provide, through discussion of poetry, prose, political manifestos, anecdotes, and various genres of visual art, a general overview of the various fields of life in which Indian humor has surfaced.

In his essay titled "Jewish humor" Allen Guttman states: "the greatest of all Jewish books, the *Old Testament* is scarcely typified by elements of comedy" (351). One finds a possible historical analogy in American Indian cultures. While the parallel between the austerity of the narrative of Jewish history as a narrative of exile and the narrative of Indian-white relations as a narrative of conflict, disruption, and

displacement may partly explain the early lack of comic perspective in Indian literature, other factors must be taken into consideration.

Ever since their earliest contacts with Indian peoples, Europeans have attributed them with the quality of stoicism. It seems a difficult task to point out the humor in a historic experience the first four hundred years of which were primarily a history of genocide, assimilation, and acculturation. Neither the bloodthirsty nor the noble savage images allow for the existence of humor in cultures which, within a few decades, underwent a transformation from the barbaric savage to become the historic foundation of the United States. In the attempt to found the "City upon the Hill" and the bloody clashes with various tribes, the Indian had very little chance to display his human qualities. On the other hand, beginning with the mythic Pocahontas story and the Boston Tea Party, the Indian earned his legacy as part of public history. Since December 16, 1773, when settlers disguised as Indians took direct action to counteract British colonial policy, playing Indian has been a "persistent tradition" (Deloria P. 9) in the course of American culture. The very masquerade in close proximity of those imitated was "the beginning of the nation's struggle to assume an essential identity [...] White Americans began a still- unfinished, always-contested effort to find an ideal sense of national Self" (Deloria P. 9). A nation constructing itself on American soil could not afford to stress the comic potential inherent in its "founding fathers and mothers." Pocahontas, "the first Lady of America, the mother of two nations, the mother of us all, the Great Earth Mother of America" (Larson n.pag.) was appointed the very serene role of mothering the future United States.

Early American Indian literature, as pointed out by Vizenor, is shaped by assimilationist principles. The white man's resistance to the comic in early accounts of Indian life are accompanied by the works of authors who themselves are products of the early assimilationist, acculturating American intentions. This may explain why humor is not a characteristic mode of this age. Just as the themes of missionary impulse and religious Eden dominate contemporary American literature, Indian authors of the time also capitalize on the same topics. Two popular genres of the age are the sermon and historical accounts, both explicit manifestations of Western influence on Indian cultures. The first literary production by an Indian is the Mohegan Samson Occum's "Sermon Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul, an Indian" (Larson n.pag.). By definition, the sermon is not likely to allow for a comic perspective, and

530

thematically this 1772 forceful plea for temperance, with its naturalistic details concerning the effects of liquor and its religious tone, does not display instances of humor. Nor does the other typical genre of the age. David Cusick's *Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations* is an example of Indian history writing. Based on the oral tradition, the Tuscarora writer includes Indian creation stories, oral accounts of the origins of the Haudenosaunee, mythic wars against fierce monsters, and realistic ones against hostile tribes (Larson n.pag.). Even though the Tuscarora were among the first to encounter the white man, *Sketches* carefully avoids the description of any conflict with the settlers, expressing implicitly the compulsion to conform to white expectations.

The humor of the literary productions of the age could not surface until oral literature earned its rightful respect in literary histories. From the European ethnocentric perspective, Indian people did not possess any literature upon contact, and the oral tradition came to be accepted only due to salvage ethnographic attempts to recollect artifacts of the pre-contact period. "The story […] has always been but one generation removed from extinction" (Momaday 10), and not until Sequoya introduces the Cherokee syllabary can Indian people claim a "literature" of their own. In the course of history, with many Native languages standing at the verge of extinction, some of the humor inherent in Indian cultures may have been lost. Yet, due to ethnographic and anthropological attempts to record earlier literary productions, representatives of oral literature were preserved in the recorded trickster stories. Even though these explicitly display the comic potential in Indian cultures, at the time of collection many were cast away as obnoxious and indecent for pious mainstream readers.

As Radin says "laughter, humor and irony permeate everything Trickster does. The reaction of the audience in aboriginal societies to both him and his exploits is prevailingly one of laughter tempered by awe" (X). Trickster stories are proof of the fact that American Indian people, in their attempt to come to terms with the state of the universe, utilized humor as an effective tool towards that very goal. Trickster himself is a bridge between traditional and modern, sacred and profane, Indian and non-Indian realities. Traditionally, Trickster stories were intended to shed light on the operation of the universe and answer primordial questions pertaining to human existence. They were told not only to entertain but also to educate the audience on human matters. Titles such as "Trickster and the Laxative Bulb," "Trickster Falls in his own Excrement,"

"Trickster Burns Anus and Eats His Own Intestines" —examples selected from Radin's collection of the Winnebago, now preferably called Hochunk, Trickster cycle—may not have been alluring to the reading public of the age. With the missionary impulse to establish the Kingdom of Christ on earth, such worldly and very often indecent stories could not have been included in the appraisal of the Indian literary tradition.

Despite the lack of Indian humor in literary productions originating in the first phase of white-Indian relations, the age itself is one of the most productive sources of jokes existing today. Taking the freedom of extending the timeline further back into the past, I would place the beginning of this primary contact period at Columbus's arrival in 1492.

There are moments in history when it is very difficult to detect the humor in a given event, with the possibility that it may be offensive to one or the other participant in a conflict. By the same token, the reader may expect very little comic in the recollection of a genocide, and few moments in colonial history promise the fulfillment of the comic potential. Yet, Indians have found a humorous side of nearly every problem, and the experiences of life have generally been so well defined by jokes and stories that they have become a "thing in themselves" (Deloria V. 152). Rumor has it that "Combus didn't know where he was going, didn't know where he had been, and did it all on someone else's money" (Deloria V. 150). The analogy with centuries of white—Indian relations is apparent in the account of the anecdote by Deloria.

Historic moments of the Indian problem—in itself an ironic designation of Indian and federal relations—have gained a special importance through the comic aspect. Beginning with conquest, history offered a wide range of subjects for comic interpretation. While in the political terrain and social interactions bitterness surfaces in the Indian refusal to celebrate Columbus day, believing it to be a commemoration of genocide, cartoons and bumper stickers utilizing the theme have thrived on the covert comic potential. In a cartoon, numerous variations of which have been reprinted in various media, two Indians stand on the American shore. "There goes the neighborhood" remarks one to the other on perceiving the Santa Maria approaching. Or one may "overhear" the following lines by a settler conversing with Indians at Plymouth Rock: "How's this: you teach us to irrigate and plant corn, and we'll decimate your tribe and name a baseball team after you" (*Indian*). Added to the verbal humor is the visual presentation of the Indian, wearning a war

bonnet, characteristic regalia of the Plains cultures, which only came into existence over two centuries after Columbus' arrival.

Even though none of the currently federally recognized tribes had direct contact with Columbus, jokes on discovery provide solid ground for pan-Indian affiliations. Humor in this case constitutes a force of group cohesion, heavily relying at the same time upon the critical distance achieved both by time and place. The same factors explain the lack of similar jokes pertaining to the Cherokee Trail of Tears, the Sand Creek massacre, or either of the Wounded Knee conflicts. Given their tragic outcomes and chronologocial proximity, none of them is viewed as a potential source of satire.

In her 20th century poem "Sure You Can Ask Me a Personal Question" Diane Burns also responds to the the theme of "discovery" and the fate of Indian people entagled in it: "Yeah, it's awful what you guys did to us. It's very decent of you to apologize" (*Braided* 66) says the speaker in the implied dialogue. The irony, if not sarcasm of the futility and indecency of a personal apology for a genocide, cultural and biological, expresses both the Indian point of view and the mainstream insensitivity to the severity of the issue.

Columbus, as we have seen, is a bridge bewteen pre-contact history and current Indian/ US affairs. In a cartoon a Native of the American continent (again, wearing Plains regalia and standing in front of a tipi) cries out to the settlers approaching American shores: "Not so fast! How do we know you are not terrorists with weapons of mass destruction?" (*Indian*). Such visual and verbal humor is an illustration of how the dividing line bewteen humor by and on Indian people is rather slim. While the cartoon may be intended as a comic crticism of the treatment of Indians, its connotation suggests mockery of white-Indian relations. At the same time, with the very explicit overtone of 9/11 it suggests the acceptance, if not justification, of the fate of Indian people.

As mentioned above, the most tragic events of white-Indian relations did not serve as a source of humor. Yet, there are glorious moments in Indian history which were recorded in the form of jokes. *Custer Died for Your Sins* is a best seller among scholars of American Indian cultures. The fact that Vine Deloria, one of the most accomplished—and, for that matter, most radical historians of Indian affairs—chose a bumper sticker title to his book underlines the significance of humor in Indian cultures. The book's 1969 publication sprang from one of the most heated periods of contemporary Indian issues (the takeover of Alcatraz Island, the

preceding federal programs of termination and relocation, and the passage of the 1965 Civil Rights Act). Urban and reservation Indians were facing a time during which a radical change in the handling of Indian affairs was required. Deloria found it essential to include a separate chapter on Indian humor, and it is the prevalence of the aforementioned circumstances that explains his choice. The well-known historian explains Indian people's regret and "great disappointment that the humorous side of Indian life has not been mentioned by professed experts on Indian Affairs" (Deloria V. 148). Deloria's thesis statement also suggests that "irony and satire provide much keener insights into a group's collective psyche and values than do years of research" (148).

I strongly agree with Deloria's statement since ethnic jokes, whether springing within a given community or employing one as a subject, are always formed along ethnocentric principles. To counteract their harmful implications one is compelled to venture on a series of intellectual activities. Larry McNeal's photograph titled "Real Indian" displays a New Mexico trading post with the sign "The most interesting spot! Visit, watch, trade! Where Real Indians trade as featured in life" (McNeal). The sight evoked McNeal's cultural inquiry and interest, and prompted his realization that he was a "real Indian." Similarly, the student of Indian cultures must consciously recall stereotypes prevalent in Indian matters to explain the nature of existing jokes and punch lines. At the same time, the same stereotypes must be deconstructed in order to gain better insight into the nature of Indian humor. Such deconstructive processes also require a revision of one's own cultural preconceptions.

This process imposes an intellectual challenge on the reader. Ethnic jokes, whether originating within or outside of a given community, are an endless source of conflict diagnosis and resolution. The 1970s saw a time when Indians could proudly announce their "regained" social standing in the by then multicultural American society. The evolution of cultural theories and practices enabled Indian people to address the Indian problem with a comic tone. The title of Deloria's book is an expression of pride over the successful pan-Indian victory. *Custer Died for Your Sins* hits a mocking tone when recalling the 1876 defeat of the almost omnipotent U.S. cavalry. The religious allusion is evident, yet in view of the still burning issues of treaty rights conflicts I cannot help but wonder how long it takes before members of the PAR movement (Protection of American Rights) start placing bumper stickers on their pickups announcing *their* awaiting the second coming (of Custer).

Being the Natives of the American continent, Indian people had for a long time been in the privileged position of being the first inhabitants of the Americas. Well organized societies, although seldom acknowledged by the white man, employed teasing, mockery and jokes as a method of group discipline. Parallel to the tendency of Indians having to learn the American policy of "divide and conquer," Indian cultures had to meet new challenges. With pluralism, multiculturalism, and eventually postethnicity, relations among the blocks of the ethno-racial pentagon underwent significant changes. So far isolated cultures had to respond to a number of new cultural phenomena. One of these was the Indian encounter with another nation not yet included in the Indian experience. On first seeing people of African descent, new linguistic designations were required. "Black White Man" is the English translation of the designation of African people. It implies that from the Indian perspective there was no radical difference between the two races: Black and white, their power relations yet unexplained, were ahead in the race of power differences. In an anecdotal conversation between an Indian and an African American, the two speakers are competing about the extent of each other's status as a victim. The Black man remarks "you can't do much, there are so few of you." To which the Indian responds: "Yes, and there would not be very many of YOU if THEY decide to play cowboys and blacks (Deloria V. 163).

Similar antagonisms in a jocular form permeate the era of the Civil Rights Movement. On witnessing peaceful sit-ins, many conservative Indian groups denounced African American efforts for their attempts at integration. Yet, it did not take long before primarily Northern tribes began to stage fish-ins. The ultimate irony lies in the culture-specific implication of such actions. Sit-ins were a direct action-reaction to the 1896 Plessy vs. Fergusson decision and the Supreme Court's acceptance of the practice of separate but equal in education, services, and traveling as constitutional. Fish-ins grew out of treaty rights whereby rights related to ceded lands were not terminated by any treaty. Although as of now there have been no attempts to launch "gather-ins," militant Indian youth soon came up with "hunt-ins," if their declaration of open season on Bureau of Indian Affairs officers can be interpreted as such.

The Civil Rights turmoil of the 1960s is one of the most productive sources of Indian humor in the political terrain. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, supposedly an agency responsible for medating bewteen Indian needs and federal assitance, has been a target of numerous Indian jokes.

Called into life by mainstream political powers, the federal agency is an endless target of criticism. Yet, comic criticism can only be found in the post WWII era. As an administrative unit organized under the Department of War in 1824, it avoided criticism, and the periods of removal and forced assimilation are still infused with the tragic outcomes of these two phases of federal Indian policy. However, the 20th century witnessed changes in approahces to the Indian problem that earned the BIA (in my view rightfully) its position as a prime comic agent. As the Indian minority found its voice to express grievances, the BIA acquired a new status in Indian humor. Much in the tradition of group discipline, the BIA in the 20th century practically plays the role of the misbehaving individual. In case of earth quakes, Indians are told to run for the BIA office as nothing can shake it, or when Indians notice a blazing fire, they are supposed to call the BIA, which will surely know how to handle it because it puts a wet blanket over everything (Deloria V. 149).

Interestingly, instances of humor cited here act upon the intensity of a natural disaster, while the Bureau's most often criticized characteristic is its impotence to act quickly on local matters. Incompetence, corruption and bribery are the most frequently cited reasons. In the 1970s such accusations became so common that the American Indian Movement called for the overall abolishment of the Bureau. AIM's manifesto clearly stated criticims, but it was carried forward by a pamphlet issued by We are Still Here, who announced the establishment of the Bureau of Caucasian Affairs. BCA is modelled on BIA structures and tasks, and also functions as a distorting mirror of the federal agency. BCA advertises its open positions as: "If you are competent enough, you will be able to be a BCA reservation superintendant. Applicants must have less than one year of education, must not speak English, must have an authoritarian personality, proof of dishonesty, and a certificate of incompetence" (We).

Dissatisfaction with the BIA is also expressed in contemporary Indian literature. Alexie's short story "The Trial of Thomas Builds-the-Fire" informs the reader of how the title hero, after long months of silence, "had begun to make small noises, form syllables that contained more emotion and meaning than entire sentences constructed by the BIA" (*Lone* 94). The outcome of such intelligent and informative diction propelled Esther, wife of tribal chairman David WalksAlong, to leave her husband, who referred to his spouse as "a savage in polyester pants" (Alexie, *Lone* 94). The telling name of the major executive officer of the Spokane is a reference to how elected officials may conform to the

expectations of mainstream society even at the price of sacrificing their own Indian affiliations. WalksAlong walked along with BIA policy too willingly and effectively to be considered worthy of his position.

The above mentioned We Are Still Here manifesto also mocks various agencies the operation of which is controlled by the BIA. Indian Health Service being the most problematic of all, BCA promises health care for Caucasians placed on reservations in hospitals which are geographically inaccessible to the people in need, and it offers the following service: "Each hospital will have a staff of two part-time doctors and a part-time chiropractor who have all passed first aid tests. [They] will be equipped with a scalpel, a jack knife, a saw, a modern tourniquet, and a large bottle of aspirin" (We).

Complementing political criticism, the same issue is discussed in Alexie's *Reservation Blues*. Thomas Builds the Fire contemplates how "Indian Health only gave out dental floss and condoms, and Thomas spent his whole life trying to figure out the connection between the two" (6). Symbolism is apparent, and both items suggest that Indian Health Service had no serious problems to handle. Such a statement suggests that if the Indian had defied removal, genocide, relocation and termination, the federal government still would have had means at its disposal eventually to realize the long awaited solution of the Indian problem: the vanishing race by such practices will in no time disappear from mainstream society.

By extension, the operation of IHS is also characteristic of reservation conditions in general. The 19th century definition spread by word of mouth in Indian country claims that "the reservation is a place inhabited by Indians and surrounded by thieves." The treaty making period ended in 1871, and ever since reservations have posed one of the most serious problems in Indian affairs. The Bureau of Caucasian Affairs manifesto states, "The Indians hereby give the whites four large reservations of ten acres each […]. These reservations shall belong to the whites for as long as the sun shines or the grass grows (or until the Indians want it back)" (We). The manifesto mocks actual treaties with regard to the specifications included in them. It also employs historic experience whose tragedy is overcome by contemporary Indian life.

In addition to its geographical capacity, the reservation has become a symbolic sphere of Indian identity, and as such has earned its legacy in contemporary Indian literature, both as setting and as subject. Despite stereotypical imagery, the reservation is still the homeland for Indian existence even though "it's hard to be optimistic on the reservation. When

a glass sits on the table people don't wonder if it's half filled or half empty. They just hope it's good beer" (Alexie, *Lone* 49). At the same time devastating conditions and existence are proof of the fact that "Indians can survive that big stuff. Mass murder, loss of language and land rights. It's the small things that hurt the most" (Alexie, *Lone* 49).

As of today it is only the Dine people (the Navajo, as they are more widely known) who occupy their original tribal homeland. The policy of removal attempted to uproot cultures in order to secure a potentially receptive people to assimilative Indian policies. A common stereotype of reservations today is that of an economically and culturally depleted place with extreme poverty, desperate sanitary conditions and skyrocketing unemployment rates. The literary reservation is inhabited by characters who are a product of Indian and non-Indian cultural interaction. David WalksAlong, the tribal chairman who conforms to federal expectations, has already been mentioned. Another exemplary character is the drunken Indian, Lester FallsApart, who is honored with the designation of being "the most accomplished drunk" (Alexie, *Reservation* 34) on the reservation. By turning the stereotype of the drunken Indian into an honorable position, both mainstream and Indian culture shift their foci. From the non-Indian perspective Lester FallsApart is the typical reservation drunkard, never getting anything right, a permanent target of jokes. His well-deserved last name is a reinforcement of the Indian stock character. As a traditional trickster figure he also lives up to his Indian name: the clumsy and lovable "reservation magician, reservation clown" (Alexie, *Reservation* 34). Yet, undermining his qualities attached to his ancestral heritage and white image, Lester holds the community together. Personally he may be falling apart, but tribally he is a cohesive force. By stumbling in on tribal council meetings, he casts the decisive vote to keep the community together and show more tolerance to the outside world.

Lester FallsApart signifies the transition of the reservation from a tragic lost ground to an endless source of humor. This transition is an essential part of a process through which survival is made easier. Past industrialization and urbanization reservations stand as an example for the future of Indian people. Clyde Warrior, outstanding activist of Indian Affairs, delivered the following speech at a 1970 intertribal conference: "Do you realize that when the United States was founded it was only 5 percent urban and 95 percent rural and now it is 70 percent urban and 30 percent rural? […] It means we are pushing THEM into the cities. Soon we will have the country back again" (Deloria V. 167–68). Warrior's

statement, although not intended as a call for any pan-Indian revolution, demonstrates how the comic potential is realized even in the case of the most painful issues affecting the Indian minority.

Warrior used "them" to refer to mainstream America. It is very common in Indian affairs to equate the mainstream with Caucasian people, just as Indians tend to be viewed as a culturally, socially and politically unified block of the ethno-racial pentagon. Such a fallacy may be prompted by ignorance, comfort and clash of interest. In the instances of humor listed so far white people served as a target. In the tradition of group discipline the 1960s new generation of Indian youngsters, who defied traditional practices of negotiation and compromise, were criticized by more conservative elders. When the radical young men of Minnesota were looking for an expressive name for their political organization the idea of Concerned Indian Americans was also an option. Yet, the acronym could hardly have expressed the political standing of the members. Moccasin telegraph, the informal Indian "news agency," quickly spread the anecdote throughout Indian country.

The eventual name, American Indian Movement, or AIM proved to be a much better solution. The acronym denotes the endeavor to reform prevailing Indian affairs and federal policies to solve the Indian problem. Yet, as soon as intra-Indian clashes between radicals and traditionalists surfaced, AIM gained a new interpretation. After disagreeing on issues of tactics, policies and personnel it was not long before AIM was reinterpreted as "assholes in moccasins," by Indian groups, not mainstream society.

In the previous examples the English language is employed to transmit the Indian sense of humor. In the following, I will cite Native samples of the comic potential. Whenever two cultures encounter each other, a need arises whereby one would try to interpret notions of the other. Such need does not only spring from the wish for a better understanding, but the mere ability to communicate accounts for the following demonstrations of the capacity for humor inherent in Indian cultures. Linguistic borrowing and word formation are manifestations of this process, but few would recognize the comic potential in them unless acquainted with the given language. Indian people were very quick to communicate and interpret white culture. The literal translation of the Ojibwa "gichi ogimaa bakwebijigan" is "big boss says throw away your money" (Treuer n.pag.).This is a demonstration of the Ojibwa

interpretation of income tax, and how they invented a new vocabulary to describe the rapidly changing Indian universe.

The same creative spirit surfaces in the linguistic reaction to social changes. When, due to intermarriage, traditional kinship terminology and paternal ancestry could not suffice to determine one's clan affiliation, the Ojibwa offered a solution. Individuals of white decent were placed in the Pig clan. Less romantic and elegant than membership in the eagle, bear or turtle clan, many found the designation offensive. Yet, it was not the connotations of the word pig so much as the origin of the domesticated animal and its physical appearance that triggered its transformation into a "sacred" being.

Naming also plays a significant role in contemporary American Indian literature. As it has been one of the most sacred rituals in many of the Indian communities, the reader may be appalled by its loss of the mythic quality.

- Rosemary MorningDove gave birth to a boy today and […] named him _____ which is unpronounceable in Indian and in English but it means: *He Who Crawls Silently Through the Grass with a Small Bow and One Bad Arrow Hunting for Enough Deer to Feed the Whole Tribe*. We just called him James. (Alexie, *Lone* 110)

The excerpt demonstrates how Indian literature mixes the mundane and the mythic, and how the two foreground each other's qualities by juxtaposition. As for humor, Alexie's narrator utilizes both cultures and their preconceptions of each other. By exaggeration, the Indian naming ritual acts upon the Indian stereotype and, at the same time, counteracts it with the very explicit hint at the historical practice. Once a ritual reserved for those with special gifts by the Great Spirit, naming acquired new potentials. The same applies to sacred sites as well. John Fire/ Lame Deer titles one of his chapters "Sitting on Top of Teddy Roosevelt's Head" (80). An iconic place in American culture, Mount Rushmore seems to be desecrated by Lame Deer. However, in view of the fact that the site was once a sacred ground for the Lakota, Lame Deer's title earns a new interpretation.

The Anishinabe poet Diane Burns closes her poem "Sure You Can Ask Me a Personal Question" with the following lines: "This ain't no stoic look. This is my face" (*Braided* 66). She reflects the tendency to consider Indian people stone-faced, lethargic, somewhat out of touch with

reality, and constantly peering into some unknown future. One needs more than mere linguistic competence to grasp Indian humor, whether targeting non-Indian entities or groups or Indians themselves. Yet, the exploration of "what makes a people laugh" will provide students of Indian affairs with a better potential for cross-cultural understanding.

Works Cited

Alexie, Sherman. *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven.* New York: Harper, 1993.

——. *Reservation Blues*. New York: Warner, 1995.

Bowering, George. *Burning Water.* Toronto: Penguin, 1994.

Braided Lives. An Anthology of Multicultural American Writing. St. Paul: Minnesota Human Rights Commission, 1991.

Deloria, Philip J. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale U P, 1998.

Deloria, Vine, Jr. *Custer Died for Your Sins. An Indian Manifesto.* New York: Avon, 1969.

Guttman, Allen. "Jewish Humor." *The Comic Imagination.* Ed. Louis D. Rubin, Jr. USIA: Washington, 1974.

Indian Humor. 7 June 2009. http://www.cartoonstock.com/directory/A/American_Indian.asp

Lame Deer, John (Fire) and Richard Erdoes. *Lame Deer. The Seeker of Visions.* Washington: Washington Square, 1976.

Larson, Charles R. *American Indian Fiction*. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1978.

McNeal, Larry. "Real Indians." 1968. Online image. 10 Oct. 2009. http://www.nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/indian_humor/exhibit/26.htm

Momaday, N. Scott. *The Man Made of Words.* New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998.

Radin, Paul. *The Trickster. A Study in American Indian Mythology*. London: Routledge, 1956.

Treuer, Anton. "Elementary Ojibwa." *Class notes*. 2001.

Vizenor, Gerald, ed. *Narrative Chance: Postmodern Discourse on Native American Literatures.* Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1989.

We are Still Here. "Bureau of Caucasian Affairs." 7 June 2009. http://www.nativecircle.com/IndianHumor.htm

Ritual and Redemption in the Narrative of Father Isaac Jogues (1643)

András Tarnóc

I

Although captivity narratives are often associated with the Indian frontier of the American colonial period, the confinement experience is not exclusively characteristic of Anglo settlers of the North American contact zone. Reflecting the turbulent history of the Americas, the French presence was also shaped by the Indian encounter.

Following Giovanni da Verrazzano's exploratory travels along the Eastern Seaboard in 1524, Jacques Cartier mapped the Gulf of St. Lawrence and reached present day Quebec in 1542. One of the first episodes of the Anglo-French rivalry was the English attack on French settlements in 1629. Subsequently, the French began to reorganize their commercial interests along the St. Lawrence River. Cardinal Richelieu, chief minister to King Louis XIII formed the Company of New France and the Jesuits were provided monopoly in missionary work, while functioning as negotiators in the fur trade as well. The missionary efforts were primarily directed at the Hurons, a sedentary agricultural people fulfilling an intermediary function in the fur trade.(Pollack in Heath Anthology). Pushed into the region between Lake Erie and Lake Huron by the Iroquois the Huron maintained good relations with the French and were bitter enemies of the Five Iroquis Nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Cayuga, Seneca, and Onondaga). One example of the ongoing intertribal conflict was the "mourning wars "of 1642.

French colonization in North America gained additional impetus when Samuel de Champlain established new colonies in Acadia (Nova Scotia) and Quebec in the early seventeenth century. In 1609 he attempted

to expand the boundaries of New France southward from Quebec. Along with his Huron and Ottawa allies he participated in a skirmish with the Iroquois, and the incident gave rise to inter-tribal hostilities plaguing New France until its end. The primary motivating forces of the French colonial drive included the fur trade and religious conversion assigning Jesuit missionaries and their Indian charges a crucial function. The former, however, not only "deplored the crass exploitation of Indians, but unlike their English counterparts '(they) were not determined to strip their converts of all vestiges of Indian culture" (Tindall 14). Consequently, foregoing Spanish and English designs of economic and cultural de-territorialization, the French Crown mainly regarded the colonies as a source of the much sought-after pelts. While the sparsely populated lands could not compete with the success of the English in North America, in comparison the French maintained friendlier relations with Native Americans.

Documenting the progress of the conversion effort Jesuit missionaries had to fulfill a strict administrative regimen in the form of annually filed reports submitted to their superiors either in Quebec or Montreal. Prior to being forwarded to the Provincial the annual reports handed in between 1632 and 1673 were compiled into a journal or "Relation." The resulting *Jesuit Relations* became a significant source on the history, ethnography, and religious indoctrination of the natives of New France. The documents preserved by the *Jesuit Relations* can be divided into private and public categories, the first including confidential letters, the second consisting of synthetic accounts composed for publication. (Abe71). The purpose of the *Jesuit Relations* was not only to report on the conditions in Huronia, but to secure royal protection for the Huron mission, to gain financial support from the French nobility, and to inform the public about the evangelization process (Abe 77).

One of these reports describes the tribulations of Father Isaac Jogues subsequent to being captured by Mohawks. He was one of the most dedicated missionaries and the document perpetuating his Indian confinement bears the title: "Captivity of Father Isaac Jogues, of the Society of Jesus Among the Mohawks" (1643) [henceforth: "Narrative"]. Father Jogues' report is originally written in Latin and is addressed to Father Jean Filleau, the Provincial of the French Province of the Society of Jesus. The translated version of the Narrative was published in Boston in 1857 by John Gilmary Shea in a collection titled *Perils of the Ocean and Wilderness* ("Held Captive" 4).

Isaac Jogues was born in 1607 and at age 17 he became member of the Society of Jesus. Shortly after being ordained in 1636 he was assigned to the Canadian territory and served in the Huron country of Upper Canada until 1642. Father Jogues was one of the handful Jesuit missionaries in charge of converting the Indians between Cape Breton and the eastern edge of Lake Huron. The Jesuits made a significant spiritual and material investment in the conversion effort as they established five chapels in Huron territory by the late 1630s. (Pollack in Heath Anthology). Working among the Hurons and serving at St.Mary's (Sainte Marie) parish Jogues was tossed into the former's ongoing hostile rivalry with the Iroquois on June 13, 1642. Sailing on a resupply mission for his parish his canoeing party of "twenty-three souls in all" (Jogues 5) including 18 Indians and 5 French was ambushed by Mohawks at the north bank of the St. Lawrence River's North Channel.

While captivity narratives inspire a wide variety of research approaches including the examination of the documents' identity rebuilding capacity, the analysis of the deployed character development strategies, or the evaluation of the texts' culture projection function, the Jogues Narrative's emphasis on Indian rituals calls for a cultural studies influenced examination of said trope. The applied research apparatus among others utilizes René Girard's theory on the connection between religion and violence, Michel Foucault's concept of body politics, and Julia Kristeva's idea of the abject, along with Richard VanDerBeets's cyclical evaluation of the captivity experience.

II

Selected for the resupply mission Father Jogues accepted the assignment "willingly and cheerfully" (6). Captured as a result of the overwhelming Mohawk military dominance, he displays the acquiescent mindset so characteristic of the victims of Indian attacks:"I neither could, nor cared to fly. Where, indeed, could I escape, barefooted as I was? […] could I leave a countryman and the unchristened Hurons already taken or soon to be?"(8) The beginning sense of resignation, however, gives way to a steady resolution to continue his mission amidst the trying new circumstances.

While during his captivity Father Jogues undergoes harrowing physical and psychological tribulations, and suffering from "hunger, and

heat, and menaces, the savage fury of the Indians, the intense pain of (our) untended and now putrefying wounds" (10) unbroken in spirit he continues to perform his priestly duties, baptizing, giving last rites and attempting to spread the Catholic faith. Jogues forced into the position of the Other, is victimized by such objectification techniques as being torn by Indian hands and nails in addition to losing his facial and cranial hair. Nor is he spared from the standard component of captivity experiences, the running of the gauntlet. Moreover, due to the fact that his captors march from village to village he is repeatedly exposed to this "welcoming ritual:" "We had now been for seven days led from village to village, from scaffold to scaffold, become a spectacle to God and to his angels" (19). He is not able to maintain his bodily integrity either as he is mutilated, losing his left thumb to ritual torture. In addition to his own suffering he is forced to witness the brutalization of his Christened Indian friends, and fellow Frenchmen as well. In spite of all troubles Jogues sees his suffering as a sign of being chosen for a function similar to that of the apostles: "The Almighty surely wished us to be somewhat likened in this point to his apostle" (16).

Furthermore, no physical pain or psychological threat can subdue him as "(his) spirit was haughty, even in fetters and death" (12). Moreover, he witnesses the workings of divine providence as he is saved of further mutilation and the ensuing certain death twice as a result of the intervention of a "supernatural power" (12). A potent demonstration of Father Jogues' mental resolve and psychological strength is his refusal to eat Indian food at the beginning of his captivity in order to avoid offering "to their fire and torture, a strong and vigorous frame" (13).

While the fasting, thereby taking his own body out of Indian control reinforces his physical integrity, he cannot escape being perceived the Other as his appearance: "baldness or thin hair, a shaved, or lightly covered head (becomes) an object of their aversion" (13). Although having been subjected to the gauntlet he is mutilated by a Christianized Algonquin woman, Father Jogues reveling in pain and distress considers his severed thumb a worthy sacrifice for ensuring the success of his mission. "Surely it is pleasing to suffer at the hands of those for whom you would die, and for whom you chose to suffer the greatest torment rather than leave them exposed to the cruelty of visible and invisible enemies" (15).

While Father Jogues escapes death his fellow captives among them the Christianized Hurons meet a grisly end. He is especially proud of the

pious resolve and unflinching stance displayed by the Huron chief, Eustace Ahatsistari during his gruesome death, and the "heroic charity" (20) of a Christened Indian, named Paul sacrificing himself to save the Jesuit missionary from further torture. Jogues also reports on the adoption of one of the Frenchmen as corresponding to Indian custom after demonstrating his courage he was allowed to continue his life as a member of a Mohawk family. The nadir of the captivity experience: "After so many a long day spent fasting, after so many sleepless nights […] we sank into a state of helplessness" (20) appears to be a turning point as the physical torture tends to wane and the Indians start to feed their prisoners. Bodily harm is superseded by psychological intimidation as the captives are forced to live in the shadow of imminent death and execution.

The chance for freedom rises when the Dutch intervene on behalf of the prisoners, yet the Indians refuse the offered bargain. One of Jogues' companions, René suffers a martyr's death: "I not only love him as a brother, but revere him as a martyr—martyr to obedience, and still more, a martyr to the faith and to the cross" (24). Rene is killed for introducing the cross and the Christian sign to a Mohawk child. Jogues further risks his life in recovering the mangled and discarded body of his companion in order to give it a Christian burial. Despite all difficulties the missionary is able to locate the earthly remains of his colleague and commits it to earth. At the same time, the protagonist preferring death by his captors is actively seeking martyrdom: "it was a pain to live, a gain to die in such a work of charity" (24). It is reasonable to conclude that Jogues subconsciously envies the martyrdom of René as a highest honor a missionary can achieve. Yet Father Jogues's life is spared the third time when an older Indian prevents another attempt at his life.

Simultaneously with the improvement of his physical condition Jogues is given an opportunity to utilize his professional background. He not only satisfies the curiosity of his captors' regarding the Christian worldview, but "adapting [his] philosophy to their reach" (32) earns their respect demonstrated by an elder's comment: "Indeed, we should have lost a great treasure, had we put this man to death, as we have been so often on the point of doing" (32). Also, he continues to propagate the faith "for the village enabled [him] to make greater progress in the language, and to secure the salvation of infants and adults by baptism" (36). Witnessing the clash between the Indian discourse and the Christian one represented by the Mohawk worship of Aireskoi and the Redeemer

respectively, Jogues reassures his superior of the dominance of the latter:"that if, delighted by its appearance, they believed it to be a God, they should know that the Lord was much more more (sic) beautiful than it (32)". Thus despite displaying a more accommodating attitude to Native American spirituality, Jogues methodically refutes the tenets of Iroquois faith.

The physical torment experienced in captivity is coupled with spiritual and metaphysical anguish undertaken for the salvation of the whole captive community. Consequently, Father Jogues struggling with grief in relation to all of his "children" was elevated to figurative fatherhood of the recently Christianized: "while each of them suffered but his own pain, I suffered that of all; I was afflicted with as intense grief as you can imagine a father's heart to feel at the sight of his children's misery" (16).

Although torn out of the organizational structure of the Catholic Church, by baptizing dying Hurons "with rain-drops gathered from the leaves of a stalk of Indian corn" (17) and by carving a wooden cross Jogues recreates the respective physical setting and liturgical activities in the wilderness. It is noteworthy that while prior to confinement most captives tended to look at nature with aversion, the captivity experience modifies their hostile attitude. Whereas the forest signified danger for a sedentary settler, the continuously mobile captive finds spiritual shelter in the wilderness. Jogues confesses that "the village was a prison for me, I avoided being seen. I loved the wild wood, where I begged the Lord not to disdain to speak to his servant, to give me strength in such fearful trials" (27)

Having found a spiritual and psychological shelter in the forest, while meditating and reading the Imitation of Christ in front of the figurative altar made from "a majestic tree" (29) enables Jogues to make a symbolic identification with the Redeemer as tied up between two poles he appears to perform a literal "imitatio Christi:."I render thee thanks, O Lord Jesus, that I have been allowed to learn, by some slight experience, how much thou didst deign to suffer on the cross for me, when the whole weight of thy most sacred body hung not by ropes, but by thy hands and feet pierced by hardest nails"(18).

Forced in the position of the Other due to his physical appearance, religious conviction, and sorcerer image Father Jogues is blamed for the ill fortune of the tribe. While at the beginning of his captivity he did not display his dedication to his faith publicly, eventually his attitude to

548

religious activities changes as secret prayers are giving way to overt religious commitment earning him an abject-like status: "While thus an object of their enmity, I certainly suffered much from hunger and cold, the contempt of the lowest of the men, the bitter hatred of their women" (29).

Thus while he is figuratively discharged, expelled, rendered Other demonstrated by the invocation of St. Paul's Epistle I Cor. IV.11–13 "we are made as the refuse of this world, the off-scouring of all even until now" (32) , the expulsion process re-establishes his own identity as well. (Butler 375). The captivity experience leads to the reversal of the dynamics of cultural hegemony. As a result of the repulsion, the Mohawk assume hegemonic positions sanctioning themselves as the Subject, and the missionary is relegated into the status of the Object. This is also demonstrated by the prevalence of the Mohawk discourse over the Catholic one signified by the rituals held to honor the tribe's guiding spirit, Aireskoi, or by the blasphemous use of church vestments for clothing purposes: "One of them had made himself leggings of two of the veils used at mass" (31).

Despite all his religious fervor and dedication Jogues cannot help evaluating his captivity as a punishment for past sins and disloyalty to God: "With this came up the remembrance of my past life, stained with so many sins, and so unfaithful to God" (30). Approximately forty years later the same lament emerged in a Puritan captive, Mary Rowlandson's reports: "I then remembered how careless I had been of Gods holy time, how many Sabbaths I had lost and misspent, and how evily I had walked in Gods sight" (440). Throughout his captivity a change of self-image can be discerned as well. While in the first two months of captivity Father Jogues attempts to fulfill an action pattern set by Christ, the subsiding of torture results in the assumption of a new role model, St. Bernard the Hermit (31), also known as "the disciple of the trees of the forest," who through personal example was able to persuade numerous nobles to follow the teachings of the Church. in 12th century France. Father Jogues' disposition to the Indians also changes. After an older woman takes care of him and he becomes convinced of being spared from Death he starts to study the Iroquois language and teach the elders of the tribe. His previous dismissal of Indian spirituality as mere superstition gives way to a reluctant acceptance of his captors' faith. The initial self-imposed starvation is replaced by a somewhat enthusiastic appreciation of Indian fare: "such food, had hunger, custom, and want of better, made, I will not

say tolerable, but even pleasing." (34). In concluding his letter Father Jogues identifies a divine pattern or intervention behind his captivity, as his life was spared in order to spread the faith among the heathen. His dedication and commitment resulted in "baptizing seventy, children, young and old, of five different nations and languages, that of every tribe, and people and tongue" (38).

Rituals and descriptions of violent acts play a crucial role in the Jogues Narrative. While on the one hand virtually all elements of VanDerBeets' ritual image bank including cannibalism, scalping, and graphic brutality can be found in the text, the deployment of such tropes warrants further inquiry. Physically violent action without an overtly religious purpose includes the gauntlet, a procedure Jogues has to undergo repeatedly as his forced march takes him to several Indian villages making him and his fellow captives run deprived of all clothing between the lines of men, women, and children armed with clubs and sticks.

At first glance the denial of garment amounts to a significant humiliation facilitating the reversal of the well-known naked savage stereotype. Consequently, it is the white man, who is forced into the role of the despised ethnic and racial Other. The elimination of clothing at the same time eradicates any sign of purported superiority as well. Furthermore, despite its inherent violence the gauntlet signifies a certain form of acceptance along with implying the possibility of atonement for the crimes of the sufferer.

While one purpose of the gauntlet was to punish a representative of the cultural and geo-political enemy, it also serves as a test of physical and psychological endurance. Even the protagonist himself attempts to justify the cruelty of the captors: "And as it is the custom of the savages, when out on war parties, to initiate themselves as it were by cruelty, under the belief that their success will be greater as they shall have been more cruel, they thus received us"(10). Thus through their unwilling participation in the ritual the prisoners promote the welfare and community interests of the captors in a paradoxical manner.

Susan Mizruchi perceives behind rituals an attempt to overcome "a chasm between what is sought or aspired to and that of the historical present as ritual actors are always at a loss in relation to some prior moment of greater spiritual promise and communal coherence" (56). Thus as a means of coping with the unsatisfactory conditions of the present, rituals are designed to connect two chronological spheres. Moreover, rituals offer a psychological ploy to cajole potentially divine or

550

transcendental assistance in bringing about a solution to current problems. On the whole rituals promote community solidarity as well since the gauntlet provides a compensation for the potential military and war-related disadvantages of the Mohawk.

At this point René Girard's thesis on the connection between violence and the sacred can provide further insight. Accordingly, the scarcity of physical and psychological resources can lead to a mimetic crisis within a given community. One way of dealing with the spreading of unchecked mimetic desire, or "reconciling mimetic oppositions" is the allocation of the status of the "surrogate victim" (307). In the present case, success in war, or victory itself, is an item of contention among the Native American peoples. To assure a greater share of the sought after item or feature a scapegoat, or surrogate victim is selected. Thus the captives are subjected to controlled violence facilitating the relief of intra-tribal tension and the subsequent alleviation of the mimetic crisis. This way the subject of the ritual becomes the outsider victim assuming sacralized status. Consequently, being exposed to the gauntlet, Jogues became a sacralized victim, promoting the military or war-related success and social cohesion of the Mohawk.

Jogues' self-perception and self-description ("sank, born to a stage") (11) invite comparison to Foucault's submissive, or docile body concept as well. In a Foucauldian view submissive or docile bodies are products of power structures. The vulnerability of the individual in the "microphysics of power" intensifies during the seventeenth century setting apart the relationship between the state and the subject both from slavery and serfdom emphasizing the ownership of the body and feudal exposure respectively. The new coercive practices aiming at the processing and manipulation of the human body give rise to a "political anatomy" promoting not as much the capture of bodies by the power machinery but the control of their functioning" (186–190).

The captive missionary and his fellow prisoners deprived of any initiative or individuality virtually cannot be distinguished from the other spoils of war. Jogues reporting on the captives' initial plight "On the eighth day we fell in with a troop of two-hundred Indians going out to fight" (10) implies submission. The passive, submissive status of the captives is further indicated by such expressions as: "they received us, they fell upon us, I […] most exposed to their blows sank" (11).

Father Jogues is certainly physically subordinated and placed under the control of the Indians. The mutilation attempts represent

objectification and corporeal manipulation. The free flow of blood during the rituals not only invokes similar practices of the classic age, but reinvigorates the community and turns it into an integrated entity. The spectacle and shared experience of participating in the gauntlet brought with itself publicity and sensory proximity. Thus in fact the whole tribe became one submissive body cajoled into beating another. In this case, however, it is not the state, but the respective belief system of the Indian tribe that becomes the manipulating force. The dynamics of the ritual: "first rendering thanks to the sun, which they imagine presides over war, they congratulated their countrymen by a joyful volley of musketry. Each than cut off some stout clubs in the neighboring wood in order to receive us. When , therefore, we landed from the canoes, they fell upon us from both sides with their clubs," (10–11) indicates this control. Jogues collapsing under the blows born onto the torture-stage "half dead, and drenched in blood" (11) not only becomes the objectified victim, but his presence intensifies the Indians' willingness to engage in more violence.

According to Mary Douglas rituals implying or transmitting a "restricted code" (qtd. in Wagner 143) of behavior can be further categorized into performative and transformative events. Transformative rituals promoting intergroup solidarity emphasize the moral aspects and the definite outcome of the act, (Wagner 143) while as Victor Turner argues performative rituals "transcend thought's verbal and categorical boundaries by enacting meanings that are interstitial to them" (qtd. in Wagner 145).

Accordingly, the Indian rituals commemorated by Jogues fall into the transformative category. The gauntlet requires the participation of the whole village expressing a community-wide condemnation of the captives. The violent welcoming on the one hand conveys a punishment for all the wrong suffered in the hands of people represented by the captives, on the other, it functions as a test of physical and psychological stamina. During the event the captives are naked, put on display, thus they are subjected to the dominant gaze. Consequently, submissive bodies turn into naked bodies caught between two discourses while embraced by neither one (Ma and Cheng 205).

Jogues' physical nudity is counteracted with a determination to fight against theoretical nakedness as his "Narrative" repeatedly emphasizes his loyalty to European, Catholic discourse. Stranded between two worlds Father Jogues contests the discourse of Indian mythology represented by the animistic belief in Aireskoi with that of Catholicism.

Being torn out of the homogeneous discursive universe of the Jesuit mission, he is forced to adapt to a ruptured discursive space (Ma and Cheng 203). The adaptation requires a new set of vocabulary designed to bring Christianity closer to Indians, even to the Mohawk captors. Furthermore, in a Foucaldian sense, considering the soul the prison of the body Jogues suffers both physical and spiritual confinement.

Albeit with some modification, the Jogues Narrative reflects the stages of VanDerBeets' cyclical interpretation of the captivity narrative. The classic Separation, Transformation, Return structure of the Death-Rebirth archetype can be recognized, yet, with a slight variation. While Jogues and his fellow travelers are ambushed violently, he decides to stay with his Huron charges and does not even attempt to escape. Although most captives lose their identity or die a symbolic death, Jogues continuing his original life and mission even with a greater vigor manages to preserve his own identity. The physical torture and the mental pressure represented by the ordeal stage cannot break him as he considers the experience a divinely ordered test. Reveling in pain he welcomes the opportunity to follow the path of the Savior as not only he re-constitutes the physical aspects of the Catholic Church, but presents himself as the reification of the Christ trope. The Transformation phase encompassing Ordeal, Accommodation, and Adoption is also far from completed as the physical tribulations strengthen Jogues' resolve to maintain his personal integrity and separateness from the captors. It is noteworthy, that he enters the accommodation stage only after his physical conditions improve. His fasting and outright refusal of Indian food gives way to a reluctant acceptance of Indian fare and a condescending view of Indian language and culture is superseded by a somewhat disinclined effort to learn the means of Native American communication. Moreover, foregoing the Adoption phase, the improvement of his treatment notwithstanding he would never consider himself integrated into the Mohawk tribe. Since he never suffered a metaphysical death he was able to protect all aspects of his personality. Likewise, the preservation of his spiritual and professional integrity along with his resolve to continue his mission after gaining his freedom elevates him beyond the status of the "redeemed captive."

III

    As one of the earliest narratives of captivity the Jogues text foreshadows the confinement texts born of the encounter between the two races at the North American frontier. Unlike the staples of the genre, this text is written by a professional, with a clearly determined target audience. While urged by church officials and influential friends Mary Rowlandson and others commemorated their tribulations with a primarily heuristic purpose, the Jogues Narrative was not prepared for wider public use. Being a product of a Catholic missionary a comparison with similar works produced by his Protestant counterparts or church officials is in order. It is noteworthy that while Protestant texts such as Robert Eastburn's "Faithful Narrative" (1758) are preceded by an affidavit reassuring the reader of the identity of the author and contain tirades against the rival denomination, Jogues not only refrains from such comments, but gains his freedom by Dutch Protestant assistance.

    Furthermore, in both cases the notion of sin is singled out as the primary cause of captivity. Eastburn considers sin in a general sense, while Jogues discerns moral and spiritual transgressions as instigators of confinement. Moreover, while Eastburn refrains from spreading his faith, Jogues seizes the opportunity to convert the heathen. Eastburn is caught in a ruptured discursive space as the Indians consider him the racial Other and the French view him the representative of their spiritual and geo-political rival. Whereas Eastburn hurls the charges of superstition at Catholicism, Jogues casts the spiritual life of the Indians in the same light. Eastburn's religious activities compared to the aggressive and assertive conversion efforts undertaken by Jogues. are rather defensive as withdrawing from Catholic mass or resorting to excerpts from Scripture he attempts to preserve spiritual integrity both on the micro and macro level. Also, while both protagonists are subjected to similar rituals, Eastburn escapes mutilation and does not become a sacralized victim, Jogues on the other hand, converts an Indian ritual into another, Christian one as he deems his torture and mutilation equivalent to Christ's Passion.

    Consequently, Father Jogues considers his physical tribulations as the signs of his redemption, and demonstrated by his later return to Canada it provides him with additional motivation and a strengthened resolve. Being part of the *Jesuit Reports,* the Jogues text furthers macro-political considerations. Since the target audience is the royal court and the financially and politically influential nobility the primary goal is not

to warn the public of the consequences of straying from religious commitment, but to justify the material and spiritual investment into the Huron mission and thereby the whole colonization process.

While as a result of the interracial and intercultural encounter Indian captives in the North American frontier often assumed a "creole identity" (Bauer 666). Jogues remained in the position of the participant observer (Bauer 673). Nor is he writing at the margins of "imperial, Eurocentric geo-cultural imagination," (Bauer 667) as he is the representative of that very discourse. Also Father Isaac Jogues' life offers a modified confirmation of Anthony Pagden's interpretation of martyrdom derived from the word's Greek root as witness, signifying "a Christian hero who has 'seen,' but failed to persuade others of the authenticity of his or her vision, a pilgrim who has not returned" (qtd. in Bauer 673). Whereas Father Jogues certainly defended the credibility and veracity of his vision, his return and eventual death at the hands of the Iroquois put a tragic end to his pilgrimage eventually elevating him to the ranks of the saints of the Catholic Church.

Works Cited

Abe, Takao. "What Determined the Content of Missionary Reports? The Jesuit Relations Compared with the Iberian Jesuit Accounts." *French Colonial History*. vol 3. 2003. 69–84.

Bauer, Ralph. "Creole Identities in Colonial Space: The Narratives of Mary White Rowlandson and Francisco Nunez de Pineda y Bascunan." *American Literature*. Vol. 69. No. 4. (December 1997). 665–695.

Butler, Judith. "Subversive Bodily Acts." *The Cultural Studies Reader*. Third Edition. Ed. Simon During. London and New York: Routledge, 2007. 371–382.

Foucault, Michel. *Felügyelet és büntetés*. Gondolat, 1990.

Girard, René. *Violence and the Sacred*. Trans. Patrick Gregory. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1978.

Jogues, Isaac, "Captivity of Father Isaac Jogues, of the Society of Jesus, Among the Mohawks" (1642) *Held Captive by Indians: Selected Narratives*. 1642–1836. Ed. Richard VanDerBeets. Knoxville: U of Tennesse P, 1994. 3–40.

Ma, Eric and Hau Ling 'Helen' Cheng. "Naked Bodies:' Experimenting with Intimate Relations among Migrant Workers in South China." *The Cultural Studies Reader*. Third Edition. Ed. Simon During. London and New York: Routledge, 2007. 202–215.

Mizruchi, Susan L. 'The Place of Ritual in Our Time." *Religion and Cultural Studies*." Ed. Susan L. Mizruchi. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton UP, 2001. 56–79.

Pollack, John. The Jesuit Relations. (c.1635) http://cdollege.cengage.com/englsih/lauter/heath/4e/students/author_pages/colonial/the...

Rowlandson, Mary. "A Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs Mary Rowlandson." *An Early American Reader.* J.A. Leo Lemay. Ed. Washington D.C.: USIS, 1988. 434–467.

Tindall, George B. and David E. Shi. *America: A Narrative History*. New York: Norton, 1989.

VanDerBeets, Richard. *Held Captive by Indians. Selected Narratives. 1642–1836*. Knoxville: U of Tennesse P, 1994.

Wagner, Roy. "Ritual as Communication: Order, Meaning, and Secrecy in Melanesian Initiation Rites." *American Review of Anthropology*. (1984) 13.143–55.

Back to the Age of the Borgias?
Thomas Jefferson on Civilization and Affection in the United States

Zoltán Vajda

In a letter of 1816, part of a series of correspondence with his once political adversary John Adams, Thomas Jefferson gave expression of the enthusiasm that he shared with the former about the previous century as one with the most spectacular degree of advancement ever in human science and civilization: "I agree with you in all [your] eulogies on the 18th. century. It certainly witnessed the sciences and arts, manners and morals, advanced to a higher degree than the world had ever before seen" (Jefferson to John Adams, January 11, 1816, Peterson 1374). In retrospect, the now retired president of the United states regarded the eighteenth century, the age of the Enlightenment as one exhibiting the unquestionable progress of the human mind and civilization. Nonetheless, he also refused to see it as an unbroken process: with the conflicts in Europe, the "close of the century" brought about a setback in this process and "saw the moral world thrown back again to the age of the Borgias, to the point from which it had departed 300. years before" (1375).

This particular instance was also characteristic of Jefferson's view of civilization in America, since, as scholarship has shown, despite his optimism from time to time he also detected tendencies pointing in different directions (See Wood 1993; Shalhope). By, in part, drawing upon this scholarship, my objective in this essay is to pursue an investigation that brings together two different issues in Jefferson's thought: one related to the nature of civilization as well as its role in his envisaging American cultural, economic, and social development and another that concerns Jefferson's understanding American nationhood as one based on affectionate communality. I will argue that despite the claim

that after his retirement from presidency in 1809 Jefferson developed a sense of disaffection between North and South mainly because of the regression that he detected in connection with the American people with the rise of mass democracy, it was rather the different paces and stages of civilization, causing a split between the two regions that induced his pessimism over the possibility of preserving ties of national affection.

***

Most students of Jefferson have claimed that his conception of civilization was intricately linked with a belief in the material and intellectual progress of American society. Despite his occasional anxiety about the setbacks in this process, he was overwhelmingly optimistic about the constant improvement of humankind and America based on the growth of science and knowledge (Ekirch 31–33; Appleby 1993; Appleby 1984; Mennell 27–28; Onuf and Onuf 221–22).

At the same time, it has also been pointed out that when contemplating American society Jefferson saw signs indicating a pattern of development that contradicted his general ideas about civilization and progress as improvement. Whether due to the decline of republican virtue in the North (Shalhope 552) or regression into barbarism because of the excesses of an expanding democracy (Wood 1993, 413). Jefferson viewed the course of American political and cultural development with a significant degree of pessimism.

Such an interest in Jefferson's conception of progress and civilization, however, should be complemented with his idea that the nation, the subject of this development, was held together by ties of communal affection, and the idea of cultural homogeneity. At the time of the Revolution and throughout most of his political career, Jefferson regarded the nation as being based on affectionate ties among its members. Furthermore, in his conception of the nation, the precondition for the sustenance of such bonds was cultural homogeneity. Thus, for instance, his efforts to integrate Native Americans into the American nation involved the imperative of cultural assimilation: only by adopting white ways could Natives become part of Jefferson's republic of affection (Willis 284–92; Wood 1993, 406; Onuf 2000, 53, 77–78, 48, 51–52).

As will be seen below, to Jefferson's mind, exactly these ties were threatened by the different paces of civilization in America becoming evident to him in his late period. In order to see that, however, first it is

necessary to discuss Jefferson's conception of civilization and progress. The fullest treatment of Jefferson's views on civilization in relation to America to date is offered by Stephen Mennell, who adapts Norbert Elias's theory of "civilizing process" in his discussion of the American scene. Thus, it can serve as a useful starting point for my analysis.

Civilization, in Elias's model presumes a shift from "external constraints" imposed on the individual self to the development of "self-restraint" in relation to European medieval and early modern codes of behavior. While in the first stage of the process norms limiting social conduct are conveyed by explicit forms such as books of manners, in the next stage they are acquired and internalized by the individual in an unconscious manner. As a result of this civilizing process, then, original rules are no longer made explicit, and the culture goes silent on them because they have become inherent and natural to members of the community. The breaking of them is prohibited by shame and embarrassment to be expected of the individual. Such an automatic way of self-control was extended to all adults by the nineteenth century and was no longer dependent on social distinctions: all members of adult western society were equally exposed to the norms of civilization (Mennell 6, 8-9).

One of Mennell's fundamental claims about the United States in relation to this civilization process is that Americans "came to forget the *process* of civilization through which they had, over the generations, arrived at where they were," considering their culture as superior over that of Europe (26; original emphasis). They assumed that the "founding conditions of American society" already ensured patterns of behavior that should otherwise be the result of a process taking the time of several generations (26). Jefferson shared this view about the peculiar "founding conditions" of America making external restraints unnecessary from he beginning. The conditions involved the social ideal of the "farmer" plus "widespread … literacy and education." He found all these indispensable to a self-governing people (37). As will be seen below, the argument about those founding conditions will play a crucial role in Jefferson's change of heart with regard to his contemplation of the state of American civilization in his later career.

According to Mennell, such a state of mind, for instance, accounts for a lot of Jefferson's assertions about the American people and is to be seen as a consequence of his insistence on identifying the civilized state already achieved with a presupposed identity taken as give. Hence

Jefferson, according to Mennell, understands the American people as being inherently capable of self-constraint because of their "innate" "sense of justice," and "rationality," thereby having the power of governing themselves by nature (29).

Also, in Jefferson's system, the internalization of restraint on the part of the individual, Mennell argues, reduces the role of state coercion to a minimal degree. Self-governing, "civilized" individuals are capable of guaranteeing social harmony without the active interference of government. Jefferson maintained such a position even in the face of voices demanding a greater degree of control by the state, culminating in the making of the American constitution in the 1780s, because of their distrust of the people's capacity for self-restraint (31–32, 35).

Mennell's understanding of the civilization process in Jefferson's thought, however, is to be complemented with the context of contemporary views of progress. Mennell argues that the type of society that Jefferson posited as the most civilized was one where agriculture and commerce reigned as major forms of economic activity (27). Valid as it may seem at first sight, this contentment requires qualification in the light of the intellectual context that Jefferson's theory of civilization and development fitted in.

Jefferson's ideas about economic and social development were directly derived from the conceptual framework of the stadial theory of social development. Rooted in eighteenth-century French and Scottish Enlightenment philosophies, the theory was centered upon the thesis as its lynchpin that human societies are bound to undergo various stages of development, each defined by the particular mode of subsistence characteristic of it. Varying in detail from thinker to thinker, it was generally held that the initial stage was occupied by hunter-gatherers, followed by the pastoral one, which developed into the agricultural mode of subsistence. The whole process culminated in the commercial one as the last stage represented by the highest degree of civilization in terms of knowledge, manners, and refinement (Meek 68–126; McCoy 18–20; Onuf and Onuf 91–93).

This theory of stadial development articulated in temporal terms was adopted by Jefferson and was complemented by a spatial dimension: in America, the march of civilization became identical with the westward movement. Moving westward clearly indicated for him a movement toward the extreme and least developed stage of "barbarism," represented by native Americans in the Rocky Mountains, a state that once used to

560

characterize Jefferson's own place of residence. Time, however, will bring about the civilization of one place and the next. For Jefferson, this is also a process that defines the evolution of humankind in general, "the process of man from the infancy of creation to the present day" (Jefferson to William Ludlow, September 6, 1824, Peterson 1497-98).

On the whole, Jefferson regarded this process of civilization as "amelioration," general improvement, ultimately resulting in the disappearance of "barbarism." For him, this change from the state of barbarism to more civilized ones was based on the accumulation of knowledge as well as the improvement in morals. He held that the human mind could serve as a basis of the improvement of the "condition of man" (Jefferson to William Green Mumford, June 18, 1799, Peterson 1064). Thus, he believed, human societies of the past, representing barbarism were less developed in reason or morality. Such "Gothic" ages did not offer a pattern for Americans to follow. Instead, they were to be condemned, despised and avoided (1065; Jefferson to Elbridge Gerry, January 26, 1799, Peterson 1057; Jefferson to Joseph Priestly, January 27, 1800, Peterson 1073; Jefferson to Joseph Priestly, March 21, 1801, Peterson 1085).

It was this belief in civilization as a basis of progress, for instance, that made Jefferson think of Native Americans as one people in the stage of barbarism but who, at the same time, could be assimilated into white American society. The means he offered was to make them choose the way of progress and move from the world of hunting to that of "agriculture" and "domestic manufactures" (Jefferson to "Gentlemen of the Senate," January 18, 1803, Lipscomb and Bergh III, 490). In their case, then, progress was possible, denoting change from the past through the present toward the future.

Nonetheless, these were cases then Jefferson's assessment of a particular group of humans implied deterioration, and not improvement. For him, as seen above, events in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century indicated such a state, but more generally, the European urban landscape showed conditions that were far from being to serve as examples of civilization. Characterized by "ignorance" and "vice," the poor of European cities embodied an ideal that was far from the one that Jefferson proposes to follow. In fact, they reproduced the barbarian conditions that Jefferson associated with the past of Europe and thus exhibited regression against the backdrop of civilization (Jefferson to John Adams, October 28, 1813, Peterson 1309). At the same time, as will

be seen, he also detected problems related to the different pace of development within the Union, also having implications for social cohesion.

As historians have claimed, this social cohesion at the time was largely connected to the vision of American culture as one based on sociability and affection. Largely derived from the culture of sensibility characterizing the second half of the eighteenth century, the belief that society was held together through intimate ties of love associated with the social nature of individuals was shared by most Americans at the time. Such ties of affection were, in ideal cases, to cut across social boundaries, ultimately uniting all Americans also in a nationhood based on sensibility (Wood 1993 (1991), 215–25; Wood 1993, 405–6; Knott; Burstein).

And Jefferson was no exception to those affected by the sentimental tendencies of the age: in his vision of American society or nationhood, affection played a pivotal role. For him, national unity and harmony were based on the affective ties that connected Americans with one another. Furthermore, such ties became crucial in defining the others to this nationhood: black slaves or Native Americans formed different and distinct nations with no ties of affection connecting them to whites. Only by developing affectionate feelings could they become part of Jefferson's nation of love, and he found that possible only in the case of Native Americans. The integration of blacks he found impossible (Onuf 2000, 14, 51, 148).

Not only integration was an issue in Jefferson's vision of the affective republic, but also the possibility of disintegration, that is, falling out of the community of affection. This is a case that historians have noted in connection with the period of Jefferson's retirement from presidency in 1809. Yet, it has not been sufficiently explored how moments of disaffection were connected with Jefferson's ideas about progress and civilization. Gordon S. Wood, for one, argues, that the major cause of Jefferson's growing pessimism about the state and future of the nation was related to the democratic changes that he detected in America. In spite of his faith in progress and civilization, burgeoning mass democracy seemed to exhibit symptoms of regression to him. Ironically, Jefferson was "unprepared for the democratic revolution that he himself inspired." He saw Americans sinking into the state of barbarism, less refined, and "not becoming more enlightened," Wood argues (Wood 1993, first quotation on 413, second on 414).

Yet, I contend, the case was, in fact, different and more complicated than it seems. In the first place, not regression but too much civilization was the major cause of Jefferson's worries about America, and, in the second, it also accounted for his detecting the deterioration of conditions for affection tying the nation together.

It may well be the case that Jefferson conceived of the "founding conditions" of America as unified, thus resulting in a relatively homogeneous civilization process, yet by the 1810s he had clearly perceived divergence between the courses of development of North and South, the former having advanced further on the road from agriculture to commerce as the main source of wealth. For him, the North started to represent all the vices associated with commercialization and urbanization, hence cities such as New York, for instance, becoming the "Cloacina" of the nation. Furthermore, the refinement of the North may have superseded that of the South, but the latter exhibited traits making it seem "rational, moral and affectionate" to Jefferson (Jefferson to William Short, September 8, 1823, Lipscomb and Bergh XV, 469).

Jefferson contrasted an America blessed with agriculture and "restricted commerce" to one with commerce unbound. The latter was to be avoided because of its susceptibility to getting involved in war with foreign powers in defense of its expanding commercial interests. It also implied higher taxes for the people compelled to finance such wars (Jefferson to William H. Crawford, June 20, 1816, Ford X, 34–35). All these tendencies, then, indicated that the North was approximating the degree of development that Jefferson found undesirable. In this way, for Jefferson, a "line of division" was developing between North and South, a fact that also resulted in cleavage between the sections in terms of culture and ideology. This was the reason why Jefferson advocated the isolation of Southern youths from Northern institutions. In this way he hoped to prevent their contamination with "different" ideas (Jefferson to James Breckinridge, February 15, 1821, Peterson 1452).

The differences that Jefferson detected in the development of the two sections were ultimately disruptive of the ties of affection because they implied different variations of the moral sense. For Jefferson, it was the moral sense, present in every human being that enabled them to coexist in society peacefully. Ubiquitous as it was, it posited different rules of behavior in different cultures creating the foundations of social stability. Therefore, it was to fit the given cultural context (Jefferson to Thomas Law, June 13, 1814, Peterson 1338). The same moral sense

would not work that same way in a different culture. Hence the different courses of civilization, resulting in different cultural contexts and thus conditions for the moral sense weakened ties between North and South.

At the same time, divergence between North and South in terms of the civilizing process was not the only tendency that Jefferson found worrying. As we have seen, part of the reason for his support of the civilizing process was that it would result is smaller government. By this time, however, he began to feel frustrated at this issue as well: he developed a belief in a tendency toward a larger government, which may be connected with the course of civilization. To him, the larger "machinery of government" and "too many parasites" connected with that indicated the side effects of growth (Jefferson to William Ludlow, September 6, 1824, Peterson 1496–97). The growing power of government posed a threat to the states and resulted in the appearance of "the plundered ploughman and beggared yeomanry" as well as a monarchical form of government (Jefferson to William B. Giles, December 26, 1825, Ford X, 355, 356; quotation on 356).

Although, from time to time, Jefferson found coercion by the federal government a necessity mainly in order to enforce federal legislation within the states (See Steele) the new tendencies clearly contradicted the principle of people governing themselves as well as the idea of small government. All this was not programmed within the founding conditions of American civilization.

***

It was not no much regression, one can conclude, then, that seems to have characterized Jefferson's understanding of the civilization process in America. The pessimistic view that he articulated in his later years was, instead, connected with his thesis of the excesses of civilization in the North and its consequences. In the first place, the example of the North showed to him that more civilization and refinement did not necessarily result in greater affection. On the contrary, since it ultimately affected the "founding conditions" of America, best preserved in the South, it could no longer serve attachment within the Union. It was not the age of new barbarism that caused the split between North and South, but more civilization in the North.

In the second place, despite Mennell's contention, for Jefferson, this process of civilization also affected the whole of America resulting in

larger government, which was to be more involved with commerce and it protection through wars that, in turn, preconditioned more taxes and a stronger, less frugal state. In such a divided country, the different degrees of civilization also created a condition for the relative significance of the moral sense. What was appropriate from a moral viewpoint in the more civilized North was far from that in the less developed and civilized South: the split in the nation was, in part, because of the split in the civilization process. The difference in the degree of civilization, then, also implied the differences of the two regional versions of the moral sense. The difference, however, frustrated the principle of homogeneity, which was indispensable to a harmonious union based on affectionate ties.

In this way, due to changes in the "founding conditions" of America as a result of commercial development, changes within the civilizing process affected different parts of the nation in different ways. This was the ultimate cause of Jefferson's anxiety over the loss of homogeneity and harmony within the nation, together with civilized affection. Rather than strengthening, civilization, in fact, subverted those vital sentiments of affection.

Works Cited

Appleby, Joyce. *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s*. New York and London: New York University Press, 1984.

Appleby, Joyce. "Introduction. Jefferson and His Complex Legacies." In *Jeffersonian Legacies*, edited by Peter S. Onuf. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1993. 1–16.

Burstein, Andrew. *Sentimental Democracy: The Evolution of America's Romantic Self-Image*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1999.

Ekirch, Jr., Arthur Alphonse. *The Idea of Progress in America, 1815–1860*. New York: Peter Smith, 1951.

Ford, Paul Leicester, ed. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, 10 vols. New York: G. B. Putnam's Sons, 1892–1899.

Knott, Sarah. *Sensibility and the American Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

Lipscomb, Andrew A., and Albert Ellery Bergh, eds. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, 20 vols. Washington: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1903–1904.

McCoy, Drew R. *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Meek, Ronald L. *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Mennell, Stephen. *The American Civilizing Process*. Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007.

Onuf, Peter S., ed. *Jeffersonian Legacies*. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1993.

Onuf, Peter S. *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Onuf, Nicholas, and Peter Onuf. *Nations, Markets, and War: Modern History and the American Civil War*. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2006.

Peterson, Merrill D. ed. *Thomas Jefferson: Writings*. New York: The Library of America, 1984.

Shalhope, Robert E. "Thomas Jefferson's Republicanism and Antebellum Southern Thought." *Journal of Southern History* 42.4 (November 1976): 529–56.

Steele, Brian. "Thomas Jefferson, Coercion, and the Limits of Harmonious Union." *Journal of Southern History* 74.4 (November 2008): 823–54.

Wills, Garry. *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence*. 2nd ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*. New York: Vintage Books, 1993 (1991).

Wood, Gordon S. 'The Trials and Tribulations of Thomas Jefferson.' In *Jeffersonian Legacies*, edited by Peter S. Onuf. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1993. 395–417.

Kurt Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse-Five* at Forty: Billy Pilgrim—Even More a Man of Our Times

David L. Vanderwerken

Since its publication in 1969, *Slaughterhouse-Five* has achieved critical consensus as Kurt Vonnegut's masterpiece. The MLA Bibliography contains 114 articles and book chapters on *Slaughterhouse-Five*, while *Cat's Cradle* is not a close second with 37 entries. A number of critics make the salutary point that the novel's appearance during the apex of the Vietnam War resulted in the "Vietnamizing" of World War II, the novel's ostensible focus. Yet as history rolls on, *Slaughterhouse-Five* has yet to seem topical and "dated," even growing longer legs after the harrowing watershed events of 11 September 2001. Now as America is heading into its ninth year of a two-front War on Terror, the story of Billy Pilgrim, Vonnegut's traumatized, time-travelling "Joe the Plumber" Everyman icon for the Sixties, has accrued even more resonance and relevance for the second decade of the Twenty-First Century.

The central problem in *Slaughterhouse-Five* lies in comprehending the source of Billy Pilgrim's madness. Vonnegut undercuts our willing suspension of disbelief in Billy's time travel by offering multiple choices for the origin of Billy's imbalance: childhood traumas, brain damage from his plane crash, dreams, post-World War II fallout from his shattering war experiences—called "Battle Fatigue" then, "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder" now—and plain old delusional fantasy. Yet if, as F. Scott Fitzgerald once observed, only a "first-rate intelligence" has "ability to hold two opposed ideas in the mind at the same time, and still retain the ability to function" (69), an inquiry into the two opposed philosophies that Pilgrim holds in his mind—Tralfamadorianism and Christianity— may lead us to the fundamental cause of Billy's breakdown. Clearly, Billy is no "first-rate intelligence," and he hardly can be said to "function"; he

simply cracks under the strain of his dilemma. For some critics, however, Vonnegut's juxtaposing two divergent explanatory systems, seemingly without affirming one or the other, becomes a major flaw in the novel. Jerry H. Bryant's comment in his *The Open Decision* is representative: "[*Slaughterhouse-Five*'s] basic weakness is a confusion of attitude, a failure to make clear the author's position" (320). I would argue that, on the contrary, Vonnegut's position is clear: he rejects both Tralfamadorianism and divinely-oriented Christianity, while unambiguously affirming a humanly-centered Christianity in which Jesus is a "nobody" (94), a "bum" (95), a man.

In the autobiographical first chapter, Vonnegut introduces the opposed ideas, which the narrative proper will develop, evolving from his twenty-three-year attempt to come to terms with the horrors of Dresden. The Christmas card sent to Vonnegut's war buddy, Bernard V. O'Hare, by a German cab driver from Dresden the pair of veterans met during a return visit, expressing his hope for a "world of peace and freedom ... if the accident will" (2), expresses, in miniature form, the central tension in the novel. Human history is either divinely planned—Christmas signifies God's entrance into human history—and historical events are meaningful, or human history is a series of random events, non-causal, pure "accident," having no ultimate meaning as the Tralfamadorians claim. Both viewpoints deny free will; humanity is powerless to shape events. By this logic, the fire-bombing of Dresden is/was inevitable, whether God wills Dresden's destruction, as he willed the death of Sodom and Gomorrah (19), or whether, according to the Tralfamadorians, the moment is simply structured this way. Either position allows one to wash his or her hands, so to speak, of Dresden. Billy washes his hands and becomes reconciled to his Dresden experience under the tutelage of the Tralfamadorians: "'[Dresden] was all right,' said Billy. '*Everything* is all right, and everybody has to do exactly what he does. I learned that on Tralfamadore'" (171).

The Tralfamadorians provide Billy with the concept of non-linear time, which becomes the foundation for a mode of living: "'I am a Tralfamadorian, seeing all time as you might see a stretch of the Rocky Mountains. All time is all time. It does not change. It does not lend itself to warnings or explanations. It simply *is*. Take it moment by moment, and you will find that we are all, as I said before [on 66] bugs in amber'" (74). Billy learns that "'There is no why'" (66). In short, Tralfamadorianism is an argument for determinism. Yet, this is determinism without design,

where chance rules. The universe will be destroyed accidently by the Tralfamadorians, and wars on earth are inevitable. However, the tenets of Tralfamadorianism contain the means for evading everyday pain and suffering—"'Ignore the awful times, and concentrate on the good ones'" (102)—as well as these comforting words about "plain old death" (3):

> The most important thing I [Billy] learned on Tralfamadore was that when a person dies he only *appears* to die. He is still very much alive in the past, so it is very silly for people to cry at his funeral. All moments, past, present, and future, always have existed, always will exist ... When a Tralfamadorian sees a corpse, all he thinks is that the dead person is in bad condition in that particular moment, but that same person is just fine in plenty of other moments. (23)

Truly, one may smile through the apocalypse. The upshot of the Tralfamadorian philosophy finds expression in the most banal of clichés: "Everything was beautiful, and nothing hurt" (106).

When Billy, full of revelations, returns to Earth "to comfort so many people with the truth about time" (24), the implications of Tralfamadorianism become apparent. Although Billy's first attempt to "comfort" someone, a Vietnam War widow's son, fails—Billy himself has a Green Beret son serving in Vietnam—Billy blossoms into a charismatic national hero at the time of his assassination in 1976. The public appeal of Tralfamadorianism is obvious: it frees humankind from responsibility and moral action. If all is determined, if there is no why, then no one can be held accountable for anything, neither Dresden nor My Lai nor Lockerbie nor the World Trade Center nor Baghdad. In his personal life, Billy's indifference and apathy toward others are clearly illustrated time and again. Chapter Three offers three consecutive examples of Billy's behavior: he drives away from a black man who seeks to talk with him; he diffidently listens to a vicious tirade by a Vietnam Hawk at his Lions Club meeting; he ignores some cripples selling magazine subscriptions. Yet the Tralfamadorian idea that we can do nothing about anything fully justifies Billy's apathy. When Billy preaches this dogma as part of his "calling" (25), he does a great service for the already apathetic by confirming their attitude and providing a philosophical base for their indifference. If one ignores social injustice or the Vietnam War, neither exists. By exercising one's selective memory, by becoming an ostrich, one may indeed live in a world where everything is beautiful and nothing hurts. Perfect. No wonder Billy has multitudes of followers.

Billy's overwhelming sense of his own helplessness is something contemporary Americans continue to validate. Vast forces assault Americans at every turn—two seemingly endless wars, an economy that seems inexplicable, natural disasters—so much so that the nation is exhibiting the symptoms of clinical depression. The toll on America's all-volunteer armed forces is considerably more acute than in the Vietnam era. Overlong and multiple tours of duty in exasperatingly confusing war zones has resulted in severe upward spikes in suicides, domestic violence, and divorces. The shootings at Texas's Fort Hood prove nobody is safe anywhere. So Billy's advice that we concentrate on the good times and ignore the bad is currently very attractive, and "good times" mean the multiple cultural distractions available to Americans: our vast entertainment industry and our varied electronic devices allowing us to disappear into our own solipsistic nirvanas. Since we can't make a difference and everything seems to be getting worse at warp speed, the sense that civilization is nearly over has become unnervingly popular. The nine years since 11 September 2001 has produced a spate of disaster and apocalypse books and films, both atheistic and evangelically Christian, for example, the film adaptation of Cormac McCarthy's *The Road* and the *Left Behind* series (16 books and 3 films to date) by Tim LaHaye and Jerry B. Jenkins.

In Billy's fractured mind, Tralfamadorian determinism collides head-on with Christian determinism, so very influential in recent days. Very little difference exists in *Slaughterhouse-Five* between God's will and accident's will. For Vonnegut, belief in an omnipotent Creator, involved in directing human history, has resulted in two great evils: the acceptance of war as God's will; the assumption that we carry out God's will and that God is certainly on our side. Sodom, Gomorrah, Dresden, Hiroshima—urbicide is just God's will. Vonnegut directs his rage in *Slaughterhouse-*Five at a murderous supernatural Christianity that creates Children's Crusades, that allows humankind to rationalize butchery in the name of God, or Allah, that absolves people from guilt. Since for Vonnegut, all wars are, finally, "holy," "jihadic," he urges us to rid ourselves of a supernatural concept of God.

While Vonnegut indicts Tralfamadorianism and supernatural Christianity as savage illusions, he argues in *Slaughterhouse-Five* for a humanistic Christianity, which may also be an illusion, but yet a saving one.

Throughout the novel, Vonnegut associates Billy Pilgrim with John Bunyan's Pilgrim and with Christ. A chaplain's assistant in the war with a "meek faith in a loving Jesus" (26), Billy finds the war a vast Slough of Despond. He reaches Dresden, which "looked like a Sunday school picture of heaven to Billy Pilgrim" (129), only to witness the Heavenly City's destruction. Often Vonnegut's Christian shades into Christ Himself. During the war, Billy hears "Golgotha sounds" (119), foresees his own death and resurrection, "'it is time for me to be dead for a little while—and then live again'" (124), and identifies himself fully with Christ: "Now his snoozing became shallower as he heard a man and a woman speaking German in pitying tones. The speakers were commiserating with somebody lyrically. Before Billy opened his eyes, it seemed to him that the tones might have been those used by the friends of Jesus when they took His ruined body down from His cross" (169). After his kidnapping in 1967 by the Tralfamadorians, Billy the optometrist assumes the role of Messiah: "He was doing nothing less now, he thought, than prescribing corrective lenses for earthling souls. So many of those souls were lost and wretched, Billy believed, because they could not see as well as his little green friends on Tralfamadore" (25). Vonnegut has created a parody Christ whose gospel is Tralfamadorian, who redeems no one, who "cried very little although he often saw things worth crying about, and in *that* respect, at least, he resemble the Christ of the carol [the novel's epigraph]" (170). Indeed, Pilgrim's dilemma is that he is a double Savior with two gospels—a weeping and loving Jesus and a Tralfamadorian determinist. His opposed gospels drive him mad, resulting in his crackpot letters to newspapers and in his silent weeping for human suffering. Possibly Billy could have resolved his dilemma if he had paid closer attention to the human Christ in the novels of Billy's favorite writer—Kilgore Trout.

While Vonnegut often mentions Trout's books and stories for satiric purposes, Trout, "this cracked messiah" (143) who has been "'making love to the world'" (145) for years, also serves as Vonnegut's spokesman for a humanistic and naturalistic Christianity. In Trout's *The Gospel from Outer Space*, a planetary visitor concludes that Earthling Christians are cruel because of "slipshod storytelling in the New Tesament" (94), "*which does not teach mercy, compassion, and love, but instead, 'Before you kill somebody, make absolutely sure he isn't well connecte'*" (94). Trout's visitor offers Earth a new Gospel in which Jesus is not so divine, but fully human—a "nobody" (94). When the "nobody" is crucified, "The

voice of God came crashing down. He told the people that he was adopting the bum as his son, giving him the full powers and privileges of The Son of the Creator of the Universe throughout all eternity" (95). What Vonnegut suggests here is that Christ's divinity stands in the way of charity. If the "bum" is Everyman, then we are all adopted children of God; we are all Christs and should treat each other accordingly.

In another Trout work, Jesus and his father do contract carpentry work for the Romans. They build a cross: "Jesus and his father built it. They were glad to have the work. And the rabble-rouser was executed on it" (175). If Jesus is human, then He is imperfect and must necessarily be involved in direct or indirect evil. This Jesus participates fully in the human condition. Later in the same novel, a time-traveler, stethoscope in hand, returns to the day of Christ's crucifixion to verify Christ's death— "There wasn't a sound inside the emaciated chest cavity. The Son of God was dead as a doornail" (176). This validation of Christ's mortality is crucial for Vonnegut's hope for us. While Trout also invents Tralfamadore in his novel, *The Big Board*, Trout is not the "villain" who warped Billy's weak mind as Josh Simpson has suggested: "[Tralfamadore] exists only in Billy's mind, having been placed there by Kilgore Trout's particular brand of literary 'poison' ... [T]he ideas contained in Kilgore Trout's science fiction novels are, ultimately, responsible for [Billy's] complete divorce from reality" (267). Yes and no. Trout's human-centered Christianity restores individual agency precluded by Tralfamadorianism.

As mentioned earlier, both Tralfamadorian determinism and the concept of a Supreme Being calling every shot on Earth nullify human intentions, commitment, and responsibility. But Vonnegut's humanistic Christianity in the face of a naturalistic universe demands moral choice— demands that we revere each other as Christs, since all are sons and daughters of God. Not surprisingly, Vonnegut's position echoes that of the Methodist preacher's kid turned hardcore Naturalist writer, Stephen Crane. In "The Open Boat," the journalist, the correspondent, has an epiphany in which he grasps the indifference of nature:

> It is, perhaps, plausible that a man in this situation, impressed with the unconcern of the universe, should see the innumerable flaws of his life and have them taste wickedly in his mouth, and wish for another chance. A distinction between right and wrong seems absurdly clear to him, then, in this new ignorance of the grave-edge, and he understands that if he were given another opportunity he would mend his conduct and his words. ... (309)

The correspondent's insight that we are all in the same boat adrift in an indifferent sea, and that once we realize we only have each other, moral choice is "absurdly clear," is Kurt Vonnegut's as well. Vonnegut cites *The Red Badge of Courage* (90), and the courage, sacrifice, and selflessness in that humane war novel appear in *Slaughterhouse-Five* also. Several acts of kindness, all of which carry Christian overtones, occur: the rabbi chaplain, "shot through the hand" (48) who lets Billy sleep on his shoulder; the American prisoners who were "quiet and trusting and beautiful. They shared" (61) on Christmas day; the blind German innkeeper who gave succor to the American prisoners who survived Dresden by allowing them to "sleep in his stable" (156). These few and fleeting moments of brotherhood represent, for Vonnegut, the best in humankind.

While Vonnegut offers several versions of ideal communities in his works—the Karass, the Volunteer Fire Department, and, despite Howard W. Campbell, Jr.'s assessment of American prisoners, moments of brotherhood in *Slaughterhouse-Five*—he also suggests an alternative for the individual, a slogan that provides a way of living. On the same page where Vonnegut says "Billy was not moved to protest the bombing of North Vietnam, did not shudder about the hideous things he himself had seen bombing do," appears the Serenity Prayer and Vonnegut's comment:

<div align="center">

GOD GRANT ME

THE SERENITY TO ACCEPT

THE THINGS I CANNOT CHANGE

COURAGE

TO CHANGE THE THINGS I CAN,

AND WISDOM ALWAYS

TO TELL THE

DIFFERENCE

</div>

> Among the things Billy Pilgrim could not change were the past, the present, and the future. (52)

The Serenity Prayer, sandwiched between episodes concerning Vietnam, is Vonnegut's savage indictment of Billy Pilgrim. In short, Billy lacks the "wisdom" to see that Dresden is of the past and cannot be changed, but that the bombing of North Vietnam lies in the present and can be changed. However, to protest the bombing requires moral "courage," a quality obviated by his Tralfamadorian education.

Unlike the massive anti-Vietnam war movement, very little protest activity has occurred over the questionable US invasion of Iraq in 2003, following the less questionable invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, as if Billy's passivity has become contagious in America. So much of current war strategy relies on air supremacy, rockets and bombs released from remote distances by both manned and unmanned aircraft. Eduardo Mendieta claims that air war has a universal numbing effect on military personnel and the home population half a world away: "[T]he US military continues to wage war with the same doctrines and principles that led to the devastation of most German cities, and the killing of over a half a million civilians. 'Shock and Awe' is merely an extension of operation ... Overlord (the firebombing of Berlin and Dresden), as well as the ... carpet bombings in Vietnam" par. 26). Mendieta goes on to argue that since America owns the moral high ground without peer, the "United States does not participate in the International Criminal Court ... [and] flaunts the Geneva Conventions in Guantánamo, Abu Ghraib, and other such places that are lawless by law (as the lawyers for the White House had determined)" (par. 27). "They" make the decisions. "We the people" are not really very interested. President Bush told America to go shopping or the terrorists win.

If the people are "guiltless and dispassionate" as Mendieta claims (par. 2), their defenders in uniform are considerably less so. The general social malaise and depression is nowhere more evident than in America's overextended and overstrained military men and women. An astonishing number of our veterans returning from fifteen-month deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan have psychological and emotional problems that have overwhelmed the United States Department of Veterans Affairs ("Suicide Prevention"). *The New York Times* reported that "[a]t least 128 soldiers killed themselves" in 2008 and that the

> Army suicide rate surpassed that for civilians for the first time since the Vietnam War, according to Army statistics. The suicide count, which includes soldiers in the Army Reserve and the National Guard, is expected to grow; 15 deaths are still being investigated, and the vast majority of them are expected to be ruled suicides, Army officials said. Including the deaths being investigated, roughly 20.2 of every 100,000 soldiers killed themselves. The civilian rate for 2006, the most recent figure available, was 19.2 when adjusted to match the demographics. (Alvarez)

Furthermore, although accurate statistics are nearly impossible to gather, Lisa C. DeLuca offers the astonishing assertion that "As many as one-third of soldiers returning from Iraq and Afghanistan will have troubling psychiatric symptoms or Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. An unprecedented number of Iraq and Afghanistan combat war veterans are seeking PTSD therapy, but so many others will suffer in silence." Finally, the US Department of Veterans Affairs tell us

> About one-third of the adult homeless population have served their country in the Armed Services. Current population estimates suggest that about 131,000 Veterans (male and female) are homeless on any given night and perhaps twice as many experience homelessness at some point during the course of a year. Many other Veterans are considered near homeless or at risk because of their poverty, lack of support from family and friends, and dismal living conditions in cheap hotels or in overcrowded or substandard housing. ("Overview")

Despondent, passive, traumatized, and suicidal Billy Pilgrim could serve as the poster child for our combat and returning fighting forces.

The national mood back home is not exactly one of equanimity and good cheer, either. As Americans go about their quiet business and consume their vast entertainment resources, the National Institute of Mental Health informs us that one out of four of us is sick in the head:

> An estimated 26.2 percent of Americans ages 18 and older—about one in four adults—suffer from a diagnosable mental disorder in a given year. When applied to the 2004 U.S. Census residential population estimate for ages 18 and older, this figure translates to 57.7 million people. Even though mental disorders are widespread in the population, the main burden of illness is concentrated in a much smaller proportion—about 6 percent, or 1 in 17—who suffer from a serious mental illness. In addition, mental disorders are the leading cause of disability in the U.S. ... Many people suffer from more than one mental disorder at a given time. Nearly half (45 percent) of those with any mental disorder meet criteria for 2 or more disorders, with severity strongly related to comorbidity. ("Numbers")

These sobering figures say much about America's current temperament, uncomfortably close to Billy Pilgrim's condition. With so many Billy replicants, it may not be so surprising that America seems preoccupied—or transfixed—by end-time premonitions.

While disaster and apocalypse movies have been a staple of our popular culture for many years, currently we are being veritably bombarded by them (see Keltner; *apocalypticmovies.com*). As well,

academics are churning out corollary critical studies (See Berger; Dixon; Newman; Russell; Shapiro; Thompson). "American optimism" goes in cycles, of course, so wasteland scenarios have ascended right now as verified in such recent films as *I Am Legend* (2007), *The Road* (2009), and *The Book of Eli* (2010). In *I Am Legend*, a virus infects humankind turning them into vampire-like cannibals, while courageous, uninfected medical researcher Robert Neville (Will Smith), the *Legend* of the title, manufactures an antidote to protect a colony of survivors living in a government-barricaded sanctuary somewhere in Vermont. So this saved remnant will "re-do" humanity. *The Road* features a father and son traipsing south through a completely burned dead America. This unspecified apocalypse looks much like what "nuclear winter" is supposed to be like. Again, our fellow Americans have become marauding packs of cannibals and savages. Father dies, boy is adopted by another surrogate father who has managed to retain his humanity and not graze on other people, and that is our slim hope for rebuilding civilization. Finally, *The Book of Eli* provides a destroyed America with a blind superhero named Eli (Denzell Washington), a ninja samurai or video-game-like killing machine. The film is so visually stunning and produced that one forgets the preposterousness of the story. The *Book* of the title is Eli's Braille version of the King James Bible which he must preserve somewhere in the "West," the direction he has been traveling for thirty years since the "Flash" wiped out civilization, presumably a nuclear holocaust. Eli's unspecified destination turns out to be Alcatraz Island, converted from a prison to be a new Alexandria-like library hybridized with a medieval monastery to preserve and restart civilization at the appropriate time. However, Eli's precious Bible was taken by force by Carnegie (Gary Oldman) and his cohort of pillaging, cannibalizing Visigoths. Never fear. Eli has memorized the King James Bible and recites it. The re-foundation of Western Civilization is safe.

What are we to make of all this? In the thematics of these films—plagues, famines, roaming tribes, loss of literacy, chaotic lawlessness—the "future" is really the deep past, the Dark Ages, a second coming of the medieval world. Yet the eerie parallels between the Dark Ages and the futuristic fears expressed in so many recent films (see Price and Blurton) may not be so bleak if we recall that theRenaissance followed the Middle Ages, and these films also posit re-built civilizations. America had its last cycle of depression and apocalypse in the Sixties, and our writers most paying attention like Kurt Vonnegut and Saul Bellow wrote optimistic,

affirmative, and countervailing novels like *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969) and *Herzog* (1964). Bellow's Moses Herzog, in one of his impassioned letters, declaims, "*We must get it out of our heads that this is a doomed time, that we are waiting for the end, and the rest of it, mere junk from fashionable magazines ... We love apocalypses too much, and crisis ethics and florid extremism with its thrilling language*" (344–45). In another, he rails against the "*commonplaces of the Wasteland outlook ... I can't accept this foolish dreariness. We are talking about the whole life of mankind. The subject is too great, too deep for such weakness, cowardice*" (82). Like Bellow, Vonnegut also believes that exercising moral courage is our way to salvation, which brings us back to the Serenity Prayer as Vonnegut's version of a categorical imperative.

The seemingly innocuous Serenity Prayer, the mantra of Alcoholics Anonymous, appears once more in a most significant location—on the last page of Chapter Nine (181). The truth of Raymond M. Olderman's observation that "Vonnegut is a master at getting inside a cliché" (191) is validated when we consider that Vonnegut has transformed the AA scripture into a viable moral philosophy. Vonnegut knows that we have to accept serenely those things that people cannot change—the past, linear time, aging, death, natural forces. Yet the Prayer posits that, through moral courage, there are things that can be changed. War, then, is not a natural force like a glacier, as Harrison Starr would have it. While Billy believes that he cannot change the past, present, or future, Vonnegut affirms that in the arena of the enormous present, we can, with courage, create change: "And I asked myself about the present: how wide it was, how deep it was, how much was mine to keep" (16).

Vonnegut, like his science fictionist Kilgore Trout, "writes about Earthlings all the time and they're all Americans" (95). America has adopted the Tralfamadorian philosophy that justifies apathy. We have lost our sense of individual agency and feel powerless and impotent, the "listless playthings of enormous forces" (140). What Vonnegut would have us do is develop the wisdom to distinguish between what we can or cannot change, while developing the courage to change what we can. We have met Billy Pilgrim, and forty years later, he is still us.

Works Cited

Alvarez, Lizette. "Suicides of Soldiers Reach High of Nearly 3 Decades." *New York Times*. New York Times, 29 Jan. 2009. Web. 5 Feb. 2010.

[*A*]*pocalypticmovies.com*. 30 Jan. 2010. Web. 5 Feb. 2010.

Bellow, Saul. *Herzog*. 1964. New York: Penguin Classics, 2003.

Berger, James. *After The End: Representations of Post-Apocalypse*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1999.

Blurton, Heather. *Cannibalism in High Medieval English Literature*. The New Middle Ages. Houndmills Basingstoke Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

The Book of Eli. Dir. Albert and Allen Hughes. Perf. Denzell Washington and Gary Oldman. Alcon Entertainment, 2010.

Bryant, Jerry H. *The Open Decision*. New York: Free Press, 1970. Print.

Crane, Stephen. "The Open Boat." *The Red Badge of Courage and Other Writings*. Ed. Richard Chase. Boston: Houghton Riverside, 1960. Print.

DeLuca, Lisa C. "Combat PTSD and Iraq War Soldiers: Why Afghanistan & Iraq Combat Veterans Often Don't Seek PTSD Therapy." *Suite101.com*. Suite101.com, 15 May 2009. Web. 5 Feb. 2010.

Dixon, Wheeler Winston. *Visions of the Apocalypse: Spectacles of Destruction in American Cinema*. London: Wallflower P, 2003. Fitzgerald, F. Scott. *The Crack-Up*. Ed. Edmund Wilson. New York: New Directions, 1956. Print.

I Am Legend. Dir. Francis Lawrence. Perf. Will Smith and Alice Braga. Warner, 2007.

Keltner, Kelly. "The Best Apocalyptic Movies: Only in the Movies Can the Apocalypse Be Loads of Fun." *Suite101.com*. Suite101.com, 9 July 2007. Web. 5 Feb. 2010.

McCarthy, Cormac. *The Road*. New York: Knopf, 2006. Print.

Mendieta, Eduardo. "The Literature of Urbicide: Friedrich, Nossack, Sebald, and Vonnegut." *Theory and Event* 10.2 (2007): 27 pars. *Project Muse*. Web. 7 Jan. 2010.

Newman, Kim. *Apocalypse Movies: End of the World Cinema*. New York: St. Martin's, 2000.

"The Numbers Count: Mental Disorders in America." *National Institute of Mental Health*. National Institutes of Health, 10 Aug. 2009. Web. 5 Feb. 2010.

Olderman, Raymond M. *Beyond the Waste Land*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1972. Print.

Price, Merrall Llewelyn. *Consuming Passions: The Uses of Cannibalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Studies in Medieval History and Culture. London: Routledge, 2003.

The Road. Dir. John Hillcoat. Perf. Viggo Mortenson and Robert Duvall. Dimension Films, 2009.

Russell, Jamie. Book of the Dead: *The Complete History of Zombie Cinema*. Surrey, UK: FAB P, 2005.

Shapiro, Jerome Franklin. *Atomic Bomb Cinema: The Apocalyptic Imagination on Film*. New York: London: Routledge, 2001.

Simpson, Josh. "'This Promising of Great Secrets': Literature, Ideas, and the (Re)Invention of Reality in Kurt Vonnegut's *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater*, *Slaughterhouse-Five*, and *Breakfast of Champions*," Or "'Fantasies of an Impossibly Hospitable World': Science Fiction and Madness in Vonnegut's Troutean Trilogy." *Critique* 45.3 (2004): 261–71. Print.

Thompson, Kirsten Moana. *Apocalyptic Dread: American Film at the Turn of the Millen*nium. SUNY Series, Horizons of Cinema. Albany: State U of New York P, 2007.

United States. Dept. of Veterans Affairs. "Overview of Homelessness." *Va.gov*. US Dept. of Veterans Affairs, 31 Aug. 2009. Web. 5 Feb. 2010.

——. "Suicide Prevention." *Mentalhealth.va.gov*. US Dept. of Veterans Affairs, 2 Feb. 2010. Web. 5 Feb. 2010.

Vonnegut, Kurt. *Slaughterhouse-Five*. New York: Delta, 1969. Print.

Real and Imagined Places in the Plays of Tennessee Williams and Sam Shepard

Gabriella Varró

> *"We are wont to imagine rare and delectable places in some remote and more celestial corner of the system, behind the constellation of Cassiopeia's Chair, far from noise and disturbance."*
> —*Henry David Thoreau (1854)*

> *"We still find a certain reverence for myth in the modern as a means of preserving an unknowable (and by transference; a sacred) motive for myth."*
> —*E. Gould (1981)*

The present analysis proposes a comparative study of the plays of two American playwrights, those of Tennessee Williams and Sam Shepard, while contextualizing each author's oeuvre within contemporary theories of space and myth. My contention throughout this essay is that these authors translate two determining global phenomena into the realities of their respective locales: (a) the devaluation of sacred, all-encompassing mythologies, the gradual diminishing of what we could call mythic consciousness and, (b) the cultural, social, artistic relevance of the concept of contact zones. The subsequent analysis will proceed in four steps: [1] define the regionalist leanings of the playwrights selected; [2] describe the mythic underpinnings of the respective regions that recur as leitmotifs and source of iconography in the drama texts of these authors; [3] point out the overlaps between these mythic dimensions and contemporary theories of space as they bear relevance in the dramatizations of clashing myth constructs, [4] and finally, a brief note

about the benefits of the contact zone model in reading drama texts will be added.

[1] Regional Leanings in Williams' and Shepard's Works

Despite the fact that literary modernism tended to be international in its orientation and hypothetically aimed at avoiding reverence for the regional, there are numerous examples to the contrary in 20th-century American drama. This fascination with the most immediate locales rather than with international, exotic settings, the preference for the national and homespun over distant lands, the prioritization of the particular rather than the universal have lingered on in American drama even after the mid-20th century. The two most obvious examples to prove this are Tennessee Williams and Sam Shepard, whose oeuvres are interwoven with typically American regions.

Williams is often-times labeled in the criticism as the dramatist of the American South, the poet-playwright of the land of the cavalier mythology, southern belles and poor whites. Being born in Mississippi, Williams' engagement with the South turned out to be a lasting badge, which he could not, and did not wish to, shake off. In *Conversations with Tennessee Williams* Louise Davis cites the author as saying: "I write out of love for the South […] It is out of regret for a South that no longer exists that I write of the forces that have destroyed it" (43). His more than superficial entanglement with the complex mythologies of the region became apparent with his first great success, *Glass Menagerie,* which won him the New York Drama Critics Circle Award in 1944. From that time onward Williams returned to the conflict between the Old and the New South in several of his plays such as his 1947 *A Streetcar Named Desire*, as well as his Pulitzer Prize winning *Cat On a Hot Tin Roof* (1955), both of which weave the web of myth and history of the region further.

Shepard's dramatic oeuvre alternates between two main geographical regions of the USA, namely the agricultural midlands (the Midwest) filled with grotesque and absurd potentials in most of the author's plays, and the legendary American West with its cowboy heroes, wild horses, and vast desert lands, depicted as at best anachronistic, yet constantly and forever longed for and re-imagined in contemporary America. "No other playwright," contends Leslie Wade, "has so

consistently utilized Western locales, characters, and imagery, for such wide and popular appeal" (285) as Shepard did. Both the Midwest and the American West, especially the desert areas of California, Nevada and Arizona supply landscapes in Shepard's plays that are invariably juxtaposed to the industrial and urban centers of the country. From his surrealistic fantasies like *Mad Dog Blues* (1970)*, Operation Sidewinder* (1971) through the cycle of his family plays: *Buried Child* (1978), *True West* (1978) and *Curse of the Starving Class* (1980), to his mystical *Fool for Love* (1983), and some of his most recent plays like *The God of Hell* (2004) these two landscapes dominate the Shepardian universe.

Beyond the common string of this obviously strong attachment to specific geographical settings the two authors share more than a passing likeness as they create their elaborate fantasy worlds, and elevate the real, physical places out of the context of the particular. When Sacvan Bercovitch describes the inspiration that writers of the American soil draw from the diverse geography of the land he adds: "America as myth or idea supersedes its identity as a geographical reality, whether envisioned as a desert paradise, a purifying wilderness, a theocratic garden of God, or the redemptive West" (186). Whether we consider Williams' dramas or Shepard's plays Bercovitch's assertion appears to ring true as both of these playwrights mould the actual properties of their respective locales and the conjoining iconographies into the myths of their own making. Moreover at the apropos of the landscapes that supply their immediate inspirations they also reflect upon global tendencies, two of which: the decline of the mythic, and the formation and relevance of contact zones with regard to their specific locales will be addressed here in greater detail. These authors then are regionalist with a difference, since they simultaneously act as recorders of regional peculiarities, cultures, histories, and myth-makers, who add their own unique visions to America's regions through the abstractions and mythological filters of their art.

[2] Mythic Underpinnigns

In the history of the United States there were two outstanding regions that generated more mythic stories, legends, iconic heroes than others, namely the American South and the Wild West. Suffice it to consider the extensive popular iconography that one can immediately

evoke at the mere mentioning of these geographical areas: from the iconic figures of the confederate soldier, the southern colonel, the master of the plantation, the stereotype of the dancing and singing darkey to Buffalo Bill, the Malboro Man, and innumerable versions of the American cowboy in Hollywood films. These landscapes accordingly attracted writers from relatively early on (with Cooper and Bret Harte being the best-known 19th-century literary mythographers) not simply because of the vivid imagery these places brought to mind, but also because of the strong ideological and symbolic undercurrents that made these locales fascinating.

The ideologies that readily fed these national mythologies are manifold and complex. It is fair to say that entire books are devoted to explicating each of these mythical constructions individually. Within the confines of this short essay I can volunteer but for a fragmentary elucidation of these ideologies.

To start with the mythic construct that Tennessee Williams was also intricately caught up in, some words about Southern mythology will follow. The myth of the South is far from a unified set of stereotypical constructs. It merges myths as diverse as the Myth of the South as a New Garden of Eden, the Myth of Southern Uniqueness, the Plantation Myth, the Myth of Reconstruction, as well as the Myth of the New South (Virágos 83+), and each of these mythic dimensions of southern history were fed and fuelled by respective ideologies, ideas promoted by the dominant groups of southern society. Contemporary critics of southern mythology see the term "Lost Cause" as the source of southern ideologies of exceptionality and uniqueness. The term itself was coined by Edward Pollard at the end of the Civil War, and his popular book The Lost Cause chronicled the Confederacy's demise (Internet 1). The term quickly caught on, and it came to mean more than the military defeat of the South, to also include a "defeat of the 'Southern way of life'—a phrase that generally referred to the South of the antebellum period, when plantation slavery was still intact" (Internet 1). Since the Civil War the concept of the "Lost Cause" has been combined with additional beliefs of southern distinctiveness, with novel ideologies of "civil religion," "the Confederate Tradition," which in the extreme retrospectively idealized the region as a model for racial, gender and class relations.

Quite interestingly, the ideologies that energized the Myth of the American West were profoundly similar in character, in that both basically supported the underlying theory of "exceptionalism." Yet, while

584

with the mythologies of the South we can talk about the exceptionality of a particular geographical region, the Myth of the West was founded on the belief that the entire American nation was somehow unique, superior, as well as specifically chosen and ordained by God to carry out a specific mission. Virágos, Hungary's leading myth critic asserts that the real ideology behind Manifest Destiny, the myth of the frontier as well as the Myth of the West lay in a very simple need: territorial ambition (109). "This ideology," Virágos further argues, "was bound up with a number of support preference models: geographical predestination, world leadership, the cult of élan, […] the Puritan sense of mission, etc. Even so, however, the ideology was overly selfish, pragmatic, voluntaristic—and blatantly aggressive" (109). Whereas the historical foundation for the Myth of the South was provided by Pollard, the idea of national distinctiveness was substantiated, among others, by Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis. The thesis argued, as is well known, that due to the territorial expansion of the US, at the junction of civilization and savagery the real, unique American national character and temperament were born.

The association of the American South and West with a set of stories, type figures, motifs, and nostalgic imagery is partly a result of histories told, histories witnessed, and histories invented, this latter including the region-specific history that literature makes. Another common thread that connects and relates these very diverse myths to each other is the residue they create in the national consciousness in the form of popular imagery, cliché, and stereotype in sum: a regional iconography. Wiley Lee Umphlett explains our romantic-nostalgic insistence on prolonging these mythologies partly by social reasons: "Perhaps as our society grows increasingly technological and complex as well as more impersonal, we long for simpler, more innocent times when our lifestyles seemed less encumbered with the kinds of doubts and problems that appear to overwhelm us today" (7).

[3] Dramatization of Mythic Confrontations in the Zone

Myths, whether they belong to a group, a nation or shared by the entire human race, have life cycles; they emerge, reach their zenith and then they subside. Modernism, Williams' era, was especially hit by the realities of dissolving stability, lack of firm centers, the disappearance of sacred mythologies. The restorative urge, the yearning for a higher

discourse, a point of stability primarily characterizing the modern, is also, however, true of Shepard the postmodern playwright, since the games played with myths in his plays also come to counter-balance this lost mythic consciousness in a way. Williams and Shepard chart modern and postmodern variations of the survival of the mythic in an age when the overarching mythic stories have lost their currency.

Both Williams and Shepard come to their respective mythologized settings at the point when the myths that made these regions unique are in their stages of decline. It is not simply that the falsehood that the original region-specific myth was built around is exposed (Virágos 91),—a reality that we could analyze in the case of both of my selected examples—; but there is also a challenging new mythology that is springing up in the wake of the earlier, previously privileged one. These regions, to simplify matters to the extreme, become then contact zones for people of disparate belief systems representing the already declining, turned increasingly anachronistic and the novel (emerging), challenging set of ideologemes.

Mary Louise Pratt in her book (*Imperial Eyes*) applied the concept of "contact zone" to describe colonial encounters independently of the center ↔ periphery model to signify "the social spaces in which disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination (…)" (4). Later, James Clifford reinterpreted Pratt's term for the context of the museum as a special place where cross-cultural exchange regularly takes place. As Bernard Scott Lucious explains further, Clifford extends Pratt's concept by "shifting the focus from the periphery (the "frontier") back to the centre ("the nation"), and from foreign to domestic spaces, [thus] he calls attention to the location of contact zones within the nations and empires" (139). In a sense we can see this Cliffordian rephrasing of the "contact zone" model when we consider our respective examples. Which are then the beliefs clashing in the dramas of Williams and Shepard, how do they localize the concept of the "contact zone" in their respective works?

Williams' dramas are metaphorical illustrations of the clash between the Old and the New South, and their conjoining mythologies, iconologies. The Old South, which is typically idealized, nostalgically longed for, breeds fragile, misunderstood, misplaced and neglected characters, who can find no ground in the modern, materialistic, capitalizing world of the once fertile and abundant, agrarian South. Amanda and Laura Wingfield, Blanche DuBois, Brick Pollitt are all brought into contact with the forces of the present only to be baffled by

the recognition that the codes and symbols that they traditionally applied to decipher the world around them no longer work. They all live in a dream manufacturing illusions (Williams 311) as Amanda says in *Menagerie*. Quite tellingly, while Amanda sees clearly the relevance of her utterance with respect to her children, she fails to realize and internalize the import of the same for her own life. The demise of these other-worldly characters, acting most of the time as ghosts of the past haunting the present, is easily predictable. It is a process that is also irreversible simply because the ideals they uphold, the myths they have been hanging on to, have lost validity in the modern world. Their dreams are all shattered to pieces, just like the horn of Laura's unicorn in *Menagerie*, by the pretenders, who come to claim their territory in the present of the dramas. The husband of Amanda, who "fell in love with long distances" (235), Laura's realistic gentleman caller, Jim O'Connor, Stanley Kowalski (from *Streetcar*), Gooper and Mae (from *Cat*), are all true survivals, because they do not let their emotions get in the way, they only mind the main chance, and last but not least are energized by new ideologies and myths of materialism and practicality. As Bigsby notes: "The South that Williams pictures is either disintegrating, its moral foundations having been disturbed, or being taken over by the alienated products of modern capitalism" (44–45). The characters of the Old South, as Bigsby further contends, are situated on a "no-man's land stranded between the real and the imagined, the spiritual and the material, a discordant present and a lyric nostalgia" (45).

Shepard too brings together characters in his special western "contact zones" who have divided sentiments about the once heroic western mythology. Like Austin and Lee, the two brothers of *True West*, or Hoss and Crow, the competing rock stars of *The Tooth of Crime* (1972), or Eddie and May the characters of *Fool for Love,* Shepard's protagonist pairs represent harsh opposites that tie them to disparate histories, myths and ideologies. The forces that jeopardize the sustainability of the Western myth in the present are many and varied. Sometimes the challenge comes from a representative of modern/postmodern culture, like in the case of Crow, whose advantage over Hoss lies in his ability to move between codes, traditions, languages. At other times the author himself parodies the outdated clichés of the western, like in *Fool for Love*, where driving long distances takes the place of real heroism, lassoing the bedposts replaces the herding of cattle and wild horses, and the shoot-out scene is made ridiculous when a former girlfriend of

Eddie's enters the mythic all male encounter by shooting at him from her car. Although Shepard does observe the displacement of the Western myth in contemporary America, his characters, just like the author himself, are engaged in a constant longing for this unattainable yet idealized time of male prowess, the heroic ideals of self-reliance, rugged individualism.

There is a marked difference, however between Williams' universe and that of Shepard. While Williams' characters encapsulated in the old world mythology make no attempt whatsoever to cross over to the other side and mix with the symbolic enemies, Shepard's heroes of the mythic West and their postmodern replicas from popular culture, the metropolis or consumer culture respectively, both try to adapt the tools of survival of the other side. In this sense Shepard's characters who meet in the contact zone of the West do manage to share codes, even trade places for a time. Yet, the ones who are the bearers of outdated cultural codes are either killed off (Hoss's suicide), parodied (Eddie), or forced to adapt to the shape shifting game (both Austin and Lee).

Beyond the comparison of the surface features of the characters in the respective plays (highlighted above) the contact zone concept also lends itself to a more detailed study of the diversity in the cultural codes that come together in the zone areas. An analysis of the complete semiotic, cultural, historic arsenal applied by these dramatists could certainly lead to more refined and complex interrogations into the exchange patterns which transpire in the zone. Here, for the shortage of time, I will enumerate but a few additional layers of these dramas with some selected examples, noting that the examples brought and the analysis ensuing could understandably be substantiated further.

One of the most apparent dimensions that makes the characters' inner properties (as well as their cultural motivations, feelings, mythic imbedded-ness, etc.) obvious in a theatrical setting is costume. The stage directions of Williams' regarding Stanley's (Williams 128) and Blanche's (Williams 117) outer appearance are especially instructive in this respect, since through the protagonists' physical appearance alone we get plenty of hints about the disparity of cultural codes they are bound to represent. Similarly, the dress code differences of *Tooth* make the characters' gestures, beliefs and actions altogether more intelligible. Hoss's rock star attire and Crow's Keith Richard-like, rather surrealistic heavy metal garb are sure indicators that they are to denote different ages, customs, and codes of behavior.

588

There are also numerous possibilities to highlight the differences of codes between characters, character groups meeting in the zone when we turn to language and speech patterns used. Think of the strongly poetic diction of Blanche [e.g. "Don't you love these long rainy afternoons in New Orleans when an hour isn't just an hour—but a little bit of Eternity dropped in your hands—and who knows what to do with it?" (173)] and the coarse and rude verbal and nonverbal language that typifies Stanley. From the Shepardian universe the contrast of the perfectly intelligible and traditional language of Hoss creates a harsh contrast to Crow's unintelligible, super-modern, slang-like speech (e.g. Crow: "Eyes stitched. You can vision what's sittin'. Very razor to cop z's sussin' me to be on the far end of the spectrum" [227].).

Another set of signifiers that might add greatly to the audience's understanding of juxtaposing frames of reference applied in the contact zone are the accessories of the characters. One could indeed construct an independent analysis exclusively devoted to this dimension of the plays, since they speak volumes about cultural and historical coding, and the attached sustaining mythologies. The glass unicorn of Laura with and without the horn (in *Menagerie*), the unlit rooms of Blanche versus the Belle Reve plantation (in *Streetcar*), the Chevy Impala versus the Maserati (in *Tooth*) send crucial messages about the representatives of cultures, who gather in the zone, about the declining or emerging myths they symbolize respectively. The iconic atmospheric repertoire tied to the characters of outdated vs. novel morals is also very telling. The soft musical (the Glass Menagerie, and the Varsoviana) and lighting accompaniment of *Menagerie* and *Streetcar*, for instance, speak of the fragility and fine tapestry of an era gone by.

A similar clashing of cultural and mythic codes could be analyzed on the level of personal histories, cultural backgrounds, mythic layering of the characters and their regions, which, however, was partially mentioned in my subchapter 2. The end result is nonetheless always the same. The patterns established in relation to the general analysis of the characters could be followed up on and repeated with each of the semiotic levels selected. Namely, that the representatives of Williams' New South mythologies overwrite and silence, or annihilate the characters representing the old codes, whereas Shepard's postmodern trickster figures incorporate the mythic patterns of the previous cultural traditions, and thus maintain it somehow in an altered form.

[4] Conclusions: Benefits of the 'Contact Zone-Model'

Why is it significant to know the contact zone model to understand these dramas better? What does it add to our initial interpretation of the texts? The model emphasizes both the polar nature of the myth constructs that are referenced in these plays, as well as adds to a better understanding of the spatial and temporal aspect of the forces (cultural, social, historical, ideological etc.) that lurk in the background and push the characters toward open confrontation. The contact zone concept brings the clashing of cultural codes into the focus of attention.

In Williams as a result of this oppositional structuring, the meeting of the forces of the past and the future brings about a speeded showdown. The encounter serves as a catalyst pushing the figures of old southern aristocracy closer to the edge. The drama, the catharsis occurs only because these contradictory forces are brought together. The moment of contact works as a spark that sets the events off and brings Blanche, Laura and Brick faster to their decline. Blanche is taken away to an asylum, Laura and Amanda are left in their oblivious condition confined to their suburban tenement, and having confronted his Ibsenian life-lies Brick again falls back into his original condition, in essence unchanged. The old myth is surpassed to give way to the soulless myth of capitalism. In Shepard's dramas, on the other hand, the clash of disparate cultures and their representatives in the contact zone stimulates not simply an exchange of cultural codes, but in a way the elements of the mythic past are learnt by the postmodern shape-shifters of Shepard, who survive exactly because they can adapt and recycle the diverse cultural languages. Crow and Lee can especially be regarded as modern day trickster figures, who navigate between the symbols of different cultures easily. The old myth then does not die out completely, but is adapted to fertilize such cultural domains, as popular culture, which in its iconography preserves elements of the earlier "sacred" narrative. In a way the survival of mythic constructs in postmodern texts like Shepard's indicates that although on the level of the real culture the existence of myths like the frontier, or Manifest Destiny is denied, through the filter of popular culture iconology their prolongation and enjoyment is accepted and allowed.

Witnessing the perishing myths of the American South and West, both Williams and Shepard invent strategies to preserve remnants of the regional iconography, to enable these myths to survive in the creative realm of art. That Williams' sentiments are with the outgoing values of

the Old South is well proven, among other things, at the end of his *Menagerie* when Tom's elegy-like sentences beg for a release from the haunting memories of the past, "Blow out your candles, Laura—and so good-bye. …" (313). Shepard, too, is quite unable both as a private person and as a writer to let the candle of remembrance for the West go out. Posing in cowboy hat on the cover of magazines, taking the role of the rugged western hero in numerous films, and populating his dramatic universe with popular cultural icons of the West, Shepard and his art are living mementos of the Western myth. Yet, these authors do not simply erect living monuments to the long-gone mythologies but in a way continue the writing of mythic stories, which in turn feed back into public consciousness. Thus the contours of the real and imagined places blur, giving way to endless yarns of stories and myths, whose reality and created-ness can never be ascertained. The contact zones that once charted clear boundaries between opposing principles, cultures, beliefs, ultimately become sites of intermixture and shared codes. The myths of these physical landscapes are further enriched by contemporary rewritings that are returned and incorporated into the myths and legends of American regions mapping private as much as public geographies.[1]

Works Cited

Bercovitch, Sacvan. The Puritan Origins of the American Self. New Haven, Conn.: Yale UP, 1975.

Bigsby, C.W.E. A Critical Introduction to Twentieth-Century American Drama. Part II. New York: Cambridge, 1989.

Davis, Louise. "That Baby Doll Man. Part I." *Conversations with Tennessee Williams.* Ed. Albert J. Devlin. N.p.: U of Mississippi P, 2000. 43–49.

Internet 1.: "Encyclopedia of Alabama"
http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/face/Article.jsp?id=h-1643

Lucious, Bernard Scott. "In the Black Pacific: Testimonies of Vietnamese Afro-Amerasian Displacements." *Displacements and Diasporas: Asians in the Americas.* Eds. Wanni W. Anderson and Robert G. Lee. Rutgers, NJ: State U, 2005. 122–156.

---

[1] The concept of private geography has been borrowed from Gerri Reaves' book: *Mapping the Private Geography: Autobiography, Identity, and America.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2001.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Shepard, Sam. *The Tooth of Crime. Seven Plays.* New York: Random House, 2005. 201–251.

Umphlett, Wiley Lee. *Mythmakers of the American Dream: The Nostalgic Image in Popular Culture.* New York: Cornwall, 1983.

Virágos, Zsolt. *Myth and Social Consciousness: Literary and Social Myths in American (USA) Culture.* Unpublished Academic Doctoral Thesis. Debrecen, Hungary: 1998.

Wade, Leslie L. "Sam Shepard and the American Sunset: Enchantment of the Mythic West." *Companion to Twentieth-Century American Drama.* Ed. David Krasner. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004. 285–300.

Williams, Tennessee. *Sweet Bird of Youth, A Streetcar Named Desire, The Glass Menagerie.* New York: Penguin, 1959.

"Sustained by Mr. Jefferson": Colonizationism as Jeffersonian Heritage in Abraham Lincoln's Thinking[1]

István Kornél Vida

2009 has been a very special year for scholars in the field of American Studies. The Lincoln Bicentennial offered a series of programs, exhibitions and conferences wordwide, and the celebration of the 'Great Emancipator' gained uniqe significance by the fact that exactly two hundred years after his birth, the first African-American president was inaugurated in the United States. It is no wonder, therefore, that these two events intertwined: comparisons have been frequently drawn between Lincoln and Obama, and the latter himself made extensive use of the invocation of Lincoln's historical figure and posed as the successor of the true Lincolnian heritage, whatever that is, one might add.

For the press and the public, it was obvious that Obama was a "Lincolnian" president, but it is apparent that rarely has he been compared to any of the former residents of the Executive Mansion, including the two "giants": George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. This realization struck me when I was doing research on the influence of Jefferson's political thinking on Abraham Lincoln and I formulated the question: "If Obama is a Lincolnian and not a Jeffersonian president, does this necessarily mean that Lincoln himself was not a Jeffersonian politician?" This twisted logic might sound like entering a house from the basement

593

backdoor, but actually it proved to be a starter for an intriguing line of thought as well as for rather fruitful research, based on which I could arrive at the conclusion that the links between Jefferson and Lincoln are far more numerous than one would anticipate. Of course, giving a thorough analysis of all these would go well beyond the scope of this paper, therefore, I decided to limit my inquiries and focus on a single issue only: 'colonization'. In the context of 19th-century U.S. history this term refers to the movement that supported returning emancipated slaves to their "mother continent", Africa. For many of its advocates, this seemed as a benevolent solution to the race problem, whereas for others, particularly retrospectively, it appeared to be a racist attempt to create a "lily-white" America.[2]

The Colonization movement gained momentum in late 1810's as an antislavery response to the dilemma of what to do with the liberated slaves. In 1815, Paul Cuffe, a wealthy free black from Massachusetts, took thirty-eight Negroes to Africa on his own vessel at an expense to himself of several thousand dollars. In 1816, the American Colonization Society was formed in Washington, D.C. with Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Reverend Robert Finley among its members, and Thomas Jefferson, President James Madison, Francis Scott Key as its supporters. The colonization effort resulted from a wide range of motives including fighting against racial discrimination and the perception of emancipated blacks as a burden on American society.

Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence who penned its probably most frequently-quoted line: "We hold these truths self-evident, that all men are created equal"—and was himself a slave-owner. This made him an easy target of hypocrisy charges, not to mention his sex-scandal with his female slave, Sally Hemings. Instead of sticking to his own ideal of universal freedom, Jefferson believed that the end of slavery must be accompanied by the removal of the black population. In his *Notes on the State of Virginia* he gave an elaborate plan for gradual emancipation and colonization: under this scheme slave children born after a certain date were to be educated at public expense, supplied with everything they needed, and transported to Africa. Simultaneously, from other parts of the world an "equal number of white inhabitants" would be

---

[2] Hungarian-born historian Gabor S. Boritt coined the phrase in his article "Did He Dream of a Lily-White America," in Gabor S. Boritt (ed.) *The Lincoln Enigma*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 1–20.

transported to the US as labor force. This, even he admitted, seemed pointless, but he warned that without colonization slavery would be succeeded by racial warfare, or, what he deemed even worse, racial mixture.

In his *Autobiography* Jefferson pointed out: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people are free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them."[3] He rejected all other schemes outlining a different future for the two races: the very possibility of moving the liberated African Americans to the Western Frontier was out of question for him, as, he pointed out in his letter written to James Monroe in 1801: "[white Americans will] cover the whole northern, if not the southern continent, with a people speaking the same language, governed in similar forms, and by similar laws; nor can we contemplate with satisfaction either blot or mixture on that surface."[4] In contrast, he found the West Indies, where "black sovereignity existed", the most suitable home for expatriated blacks and wished that "these islands became the receptacle of the blacks transplanted into this hemisphere."[5]

The colonization movement gaining a new momentum in the 1820's was undoubtedly guided by these Jeffersonian arguments. An important element of their inventory of pro-colonization arguments was that blacks transported "back" to Africa were presented as missionaries carrying with them "the credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions," as Henry Clay summarized it at the ACS's first meeting.[6] Jefferson himself wrote in 1824: "The establishment of a colony on the coast of Africa[…] may introduce among the aborigines the arts of cultivated life, and the blessings of civilization and science."[7]

---

[3] The Thomas Jefferson Papers are accessible online in a searchable full-text format: http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/mtjquery.html.
This particular quote is from his Autobiography draft fragment dated July 27, 1821.

[4] Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe. November 24, 1801. Accessible online: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mtj:1:./temp/~ammem_e0kQ

[5] Ibid.

[6] Quoted in: http://www.liberianforum.com/Notes-on-Liberia/American-Colonization-Society.html. (Accessed on December 10, 2009.)

[7] *Thomas Jefferson to Jared Sparks. 1824*. In The Writings of Thomas Jefferson. Memorial Edition (Eds. Lipscomb and Bergh) 20 Vols.., Washington, D.C., 1903–04, Vol. XVI, p. 8.

Another prominent member of the slaveowner elite, Henry Clay condemned slavery all his life, as an evil. However, he also insisted that emancipation would create an uncontrollable population of free blacks (whom he called a debased and degraded set).

In 1799 Clay had an unsuccessful attempt to push a plan for gradual emancipation through the Kentucky constitutional convention, based on which he put forward a detailed proposal some 50 year later. According to this, beginning in 1855 or 1860, children born to slaves would become free at the age of 25. Colonization was absolutely indispensable to the plan, otherwise amalgamation was sure to follow—unacceptable to everyone. Gradual emancipation coupled with colonization formed a major part of Clay's plan for regional and national economic development ha called the "American System".[8]

Clay also believed that American blacks in Africa would be transformed into the carriers of modern civilization and Christianity, although, unlike Thomas Jefferson, he did "believe in the mutability of the human character," as historian Eric Foner pointed out, and argued that their status as slaves and unequal free persons was due to slavery and not their innate incapacity to rise, thus they had the capacity for improvement.[9]

He urged emancipation while he believed that slavery was the "deepest stain upon the character of the country," opposition to which could not be repressed except by "blowing out the moral lights around us" and "eradicating from the human soul the light of reason and the law of liberty."[10]

Henry Clay played a major role in establishing the American Colonization Society, and advocated the transportation of emancipated blacks to Monrovia, Liberia on the grounds that " [they are so much] of a different caste, of a different physical, if not moral, constitution […] [that they] never can amalgamate with the great body of […] population."[11]

---

[8] For a detailed study, see Maurice G. Baxter, *Henry Clay and the American System*. (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1995.)

[9] *In Our Lincoln: New Perspectives on Lincoln and His World*. (Ed. Eric Foner) (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 2009) (Hereafter cited as, Foner, *Our Lincoln*), p. 140.

[10] Cited in: http://www.nndb.com/people/813/000049666/ (Accessed on September 20, 2009)

[11] Henry Clay's speech in front of the American Colonization Society. 1827. Quoted in: Robert Morgan, "The Great Emancipator and the Issue of Race," http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v13/v13n5p-4_Morgan.html (Accessed on September 17, 2009.)

Unlike Thomas Jefferson and Henry Clay, Abraham Lincoln had little contact with slavery until the 1840's: in his Illinois hometown, Springfield, in 1851 there were only 171 blacks out of a total population of 10,000 inhabitants. He was, however, directly influenced by the anti-slavery movement—and he proved as much incapable of identifying with abolitionism as he rejected the moral injustice of the peculiar institution. He sat in the audience in 1847, when Clay delivered a lecture in Lexington, Ky summarizing his views about the future of slavery, which he called a "great evil". He opposed the acqusition of new territories, as he feared that this would mean the territorial expansion of slavery, however, he rejected the idea that emancipated African Americans could stay in the country equal with the whites. Lincoln was impressed, and it is apparent that in the next one and a half decades his outlook on slavery closely paralleled that of Clay, whom he called his "beau ideal of statesman."

It is not by chance that Lincoln was asked to deliver the eulogy of Clay. He hailed Clay for occupying a position between the extremes, quoted his procolonization speeches and embraced his idea of gradual emancipation followed by colonization.

Where Lincoln stood in this period of his political career is probably best summarized by Eric Foner: "Lincoln's thought seemed suspended between a 'civic' conception of American nationality, based on the universal principle of equality, and racial nationalism that saw blacks as in some ways not truly American. He found it impossible to imagine the United States as a biracial society."[12] Incompatible as this way of thinking may seem with the traditional "Great Emancipator" image of Lincoln, colonization for him, just like for many proponents of the abolition of slavery, offered a middle ground between the radicalism of the abolitionists and the prospect of the United States existing permanently half slave and half free. He agreed with Clay in the multi-level advantages of colonization for Americans, ex-slaves, and Africans alike, and presented colonization as part of God's Grand Design. Knowing that Lincoln rarely used other than superficial references to God in his speeches, and that his antislavery views had virtually no religious overtones, one cannot escape the impression that this was just a marketing decision on his part simply to make the colonization idea "sell better" and he did not really take an interest in the Christianization of Africa:

---

[12] Foner, *Our Lincoln*, p. 147.

> There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of religion, civilization, law and liberty. May it not be one of the great designs of the Ruler of the universe, (whose ways are often inscrutable by short-sighted mortals,) thus to transform an original crime, into a signal blessing to that most unfortunate portion of the globe?[13]

Lincoln referred to Africa as the slaves' "native soil" in spite of the obvious fact that the overwhelming majority of the African Americans were born in the United States. Moreover, Lincoln's words well demonstrate the difference between his ideas and those of the abolitionists. Although the Democrats did their best to identify him with abolitionism, Lincoln was clear about his intentions: avoid bringing about a biracial society by removing the inferior race and deporting it to Africa.

Following the death of Henry Clay, Lincoln became the major spokesman of colonization parallel to being among the founders of the new Republican Party. When dealing with the more and more apparent sectional conflict between North and South over the issue of the expansion of slavery, Lincoln was ready to admit that, similarly to most thinkers of the founders' and his own generation, he had no idea what to do with the "peculiar institution," therefore, showed sympathy towards Southern people, by all means including slaveholders: "I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself." In this very same and famous speech of his delivered at Peoria, IL in 1854, he said the following about how he saw the future of the post-abolition American society, which clearly excluded the emancipated slaves themselves:

> If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia,—to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me, that whatever of high hope, (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery, at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially, our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great

---

[13] *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. (New Brunswick, N. J. : Rutgers University Press, 1953–1955), (Hereafter cited as, CWAL), Volume II, p. 132.

mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question, if indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, can not be safely disregarded. We can not, then, make them equals.[14]

Lincoln occupied a middle position in his colonization scheme. Unlike Thomas Jefferson, he did not fear a racial war, and his plan did not include compulsory deportation either. By 1860 he and many other moderate supporters of colonization had been so successful in convincing a large number of people that several African-American leaders did not entirely rule it out either. Frederick Douglass himself was flirting with the idea of leaving the United States for Haiti, but the coming of the Civil War changed his plans: [the Civil War] "is a tremendous revolution [...] in the future of the colored race of the United States," he said and concluded, "This is no time for us to leave the country."[15]

Lincoln kept to his colonization scheme as a president, as well. He had no fewer than three advocates of the deportation of blacks to Africa on his cabinet: Attorney General Edward Bates, Secretary of Interior Caleb Smith, and Postmaster General Montgomery Blair. His attempts to find the suitable destination for the colonized ex-slaves came to nothing: his envoys were rejected both in Honduras and Guatemala with the suggestion that Lincoln should look for territories in the American West. Subsequently, Lincoln's agents had talks about the establishment of a colony of blacks in the Yucatán.

In his first annual message to Congress on December 3, 1861 Lincoln requested further funds for the colonization of the blacks emancipated under the first confiscation act. In recognition of the role Lincoln played in colonization, a Washington newspaper even suggested that the proposed black colony be called 'Lincolnia'.

In Congress Lincoln could count on the support of border unionists and moderate republicans, but abolitionists and radical republicans heavily criticized him for standing behind the idea of colonization. It was partly due to their efforts that the subsequent attempts of the Lincoln administration to establish a colony for emancipated slaves at the Amazon River, Costa Rica, or the Danish colony of St. Croix failed.

---

[14] Lincoln's speech at Peoria, IL on October 16, 1854. CWAL, II, p. 255.

[15] Quoted in: http://www.frederickdouglass.org/speeches/ (Accessed on November 14, 2009.)

Besides the radical republicans and abolitionists, colonizationists naturally had to face the resistance of the overwhelming majority of blacks themselves. That is the reason why Lincoln attempted to take the idea of colonization directly to the African Americans. On August 14, 1862 he invited a group of black delegates to the White House—for the first time in history. What he told them, however, made this event probably the most controversial moment of his career:

> You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think your race suffers very greatly, many of them by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason at least why we should be separated.[16]

He managed to convince some of the members of the delegation, but most people of the anti-slavery movement were bitterly disappointed with Lincoln. Especially indignant was Frederick Douglass who said that "this showed all his inconsistences [...] his contempt for Negroes, and his canting hypocrisy."[17]

Making use of the military successes of the Union Army, Lincoln could bring forward his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 23, 1862 in which he referred to colonization and recommended to "adopt, immediate, or gradual abolishment of slavery [so that] the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent, or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the Governments existing there, [can] be continued."[18]

In December 1862 he made his final offer to the border and Confederate states asking for gradual, compensated (the total value of slaves was approximately 3 billion dollars) emancipation coupled with colonization. However, this already showed a considerable change in his approach to the colored race, its future in America, and colonization, since the president refuted the the strongest argument against freed blacks' remaining in the country: blacks overflooding the North, thus creating worse job opportunities for the whites, among many others.

---

[16] Address on Colonization to a Deputation of Negroes. August 14, 1862. CWAL, V, p. 371.

[17] Quoted in: http://www.frederickdouglass.org/speeches/ (Accessed on November 14, 2009.)

[18] Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. September 22, 1862. CWAL, V, p. 434.

Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863 was definitely a turning point in the history of colonization, and was markedly different from his previous statements: this time he called for immediate emancipation without compensation given to slaveholders, and did not say a single word about colonization—just like he never made any public mentioning of colonization afterwards. This was the period when Lincoln seriously started re-evaluating his former standpoint considering the role African Americans' would play in the postslavery American society, just as Frederick Douglass predicted that "the progress of war would educate Mr. Lincoln out of his idea of the deportation of the Negro."[19]

The end of slavery clearly meant the end of colonization, and the Emancipation Proclamation created the depiction of Lincoln as the 'Great Emancipator', although his greatest achievement in bringing about the abolition of slavery was rather his efforts taken to push the 13th Amendment through Congress.

Lincoln's support of colonization is hardly compatible with his Great Emancipator image, and even less is the fact that he reached back to slaveholders like Thomas Jefferson and Henry Clay in order to cope with the more and more acute problem of slavery soon pushing the United States into the bloodiest sectional and fraternal war in her history. However, this probably points into the right direction in the evaluation of Lincoln as well as Jefferson and Clay: colonization offered a way for multiple generations of Americans to escape thinking seriously about the aftermath of slavery and offering a solution to the apparently unavoidable racial tensions arising in the post-emancipation American society: according to Frederick Douglass, it was an "opiate for a troubled conscience." In the historical context of anti-slavery fight in the antebellum era, the support of colonization was less of a racist attempt to get rid of blacks than rather a way of offering a less painful solution to the long-standing problems of the biracial society. This way, instead of accepting the racist stigma on the sixteenth president of the anti-Lincoln tradition in historiography, one is more tempted to go along with historian Gore Vidal who wrote that Lincoln was "the symbol of man's ability to outgrow his prejudices".[20]

---

[19] Quoted in: http://www.mrlincolnandfreedom.org/inside.asp?ID=69&subjectID=4 (Accessed on December 7, 2009.)

[20] Quoted in Richard N. Current and Harold Holzer, "Vidal's Lincoln: An Exchange" *The New York Review of Books*, Volume 35, No. 13, August 18, 1988. Online: http://www.nybooks.com/articles/4341. (Accessed on January 5, 2010)

Reflections on the Epistemology
Of Myth(M1)–and–Literature Transactions

Zsolt Virágos

[1] Preliminary observations

Two prefatory remarks are necessary at the outset. One, there can be no valid discussion of the protocols of the incorporation of M1-type prefigurations in the literary text without problematizing and sorting out the epistemological status of the "received" material, that is, of the "borrowed" constituent element. Indubitably, most of the epistemological noise tends to be generated by uncertainties involving the conceptual instabilities pertaining to the difference-and-likeness polarity between texts.

To some extent, let's face it, these uncertainties are an admission of failure: despite spectacular advances in human thought and speculation, we still find ourselves unable to pin down the precise extent to which the external and internal formal building blocks of two texts should overlap for us to accept the components of comparison as "objectively" similar. Clearly, in inquiries of this nature we cannot avoid looking at analogy as one possible mode of cognition. Indeed, intertextuality and its satellites (interdependence, interlink, influence, the *ad infinitum* "play of texts," source, residue, etc.) and analogy (together with its satellites: resemblance, sameness, difference, anomaly, archetype, paradigm, etc.) are interrelated within the same cluster of networking. However, simply because analogical reasoning can be both "correct" and "incorrect" (likely to be tinged by conative impulses or the simple desire to find meaning that appears to be coherent or simply "satisfying"), in our search for reliable interpretive options the question we ultimately have to ask is this: when can we accept analogical thinking as reliable? Put differently, to

what extent do cognitive operations based on analogy provide new, and preferably verifiable, knowledge? Contrariwise, we are involved in the same kind of game when focusing on the perception of difference. Indeed, it is ultimately legitimate to ask the question whether in borderline negotiations we can indeed separate analogical relationships from anomaly.

Although the above line of reasoning would certainly be convenient to pursue, as indeed it has been elsewhere, this is not what is going to be discussed in the present context. My discussion of "epistemological status," therefore, will be considered in different, and apparently more peripheral, contexts. Status, in the given frame of reference, will include issues of authenticity, authority, authenticated version, meaning and interpretation, the problematic of the intelligibility of the M1-type configuration in the mythical correlation, as well as choosing between variable M1-type paradigmatic models, this last one focusing on what the ultimate prefiguration should be among rival versions.

The common denominator of these well-rehearsed points of entry is the concept of *sense-making*, at least in two basic functional ramifications: (1) in signifying the primordial *generation* of (obvious or latent) meaning; and (2) sense-making in the cognitive, every-day meaning of the cerebral appropriation of existing (even if dormant, because potential) relations, links, and significance. This is to show that in the final analysis I am talking here about *signification* versus *comprehension*. In sum, I see myth(M1)–and/in–literature transactions as manifestations of a special order of communication: a kind of communicative relationship which is essentially intertextual and intergeneric in nature. In order to avoid unnecessary mystification, it will also be necessary to remember the dual nature of sense-making: the *creation* as opposed to the *perception* of meaning. Without these demarcations no interpretation can exist.

My second remark pertains to conceptual delimitations. Throughout the present text I will be using the concept of myth in a special sense: I will be talking about *M1* or *M1-type/coded* myth. What is M1-coded myth? In the present discussion M1 will mean paradigm-generating ancient myth; myth thus will mean here sacred narrative or a high-prestige equivalent.[1] In this logic, throughout the discussion that follows,

---

[1] The rationale behind the "high-prestige equivalent" alternative is that if we accept the extant text of, say, one of Euripides' dramas as the ultimate source of the myth of Medeia,

the M1 code will variably connote the archaic, the primitive, the sacred, the theomorphic, the traditional, the canonized, as well as the time-honored and time-embalmed phenomenon. From the vantage point of the present, M1 is thus a fundamentally premodern, if not preliterary, phenomenon: a treasured relic of man's adolescence, a record of a particular kind of imaginative thought patterning generated at the dawning of human speculation. Consequently, it is legitimate to conceive of M1 as "received/borrowed" material: received/borrowed as a contributory stream for the benefit of—as well as against the background of— subsequent literary cultures. As such, it will connote the shared, the derivative, the "quoted," the rule-governed, the paradigmatic, the archetypal, the foundational, the primordial. It leads to the shared structural forms of common experience, to the larger narrative systems and archetypal forms—archetypal images, characters, and situations—constitutive of human culture. M1 constitutes meaningful links with tradition and convention, thus—emphatically so, for instance, in the modernist sensibility—with the notion of unchangeability, therefore of stability and order. Thus it should come as no surprise that in the modernist aesthetic sensibility M1 came to be radically upgraded as the ultimate target of a new quest for a saving paradigm, for a sort of higher discourse.

[2] "Why are we here?"

M1 is thus important for the present as "memory," as "relic," and as "residue" in the sense that this configuration of cultural continuity, thus of the social consciousness, comprises and conveys what I call the *OI*s: the "Original Inquiries." By these I mean questions, both existential and speculative, queries that no human community can shun. These are questions about the oldest known responses to inquiries about existence (the whys and hows of mankind's ontological roots), about the world and its parts, about men, women, as well as about men *and* women. I am talking of answers in response to inquiries pertaining to the basic human predicament, most typically to the kind of questions summed up in the

---

why not accept a select group of plays by Shakespeare or *The Brothers Karamazov*, or Melville's *Moby-Dick*, or dozens of further classic and classical texts as high-prestige artifacts of mythical rank and magnitude? This is a substantial theoretical issue involving border negotiations of a special kind that will not be addressed here.

title of a painting by Paul Gauguin: *Doú venons-nous? Que sommes-nous? Oú allons-nous?* The questions, as we well know, have multiplied through the ages, the answers have been purified and scientized, but there is no escaping the awe that haunts the modern in the face of the original scrutiny. Indeed, this understanding of myth shows a close affinity with what transpired in the beginning, "in a primordial and non-temporal instant, a moment of sacred time" (Eliade, *Images* 57).

With these restrictions maintained, M1 should be seen as offering a perspective on myth that is very different from what its distant cousins have been called upon to serve: M2 and M3. M2, for instance, is a self-justifying intellectual construct which represents an inquiry into the ideologically attuned and the epistemologically suspect modern, the recent, the contemporaneous. It can appear in a large variety of guises, including propaganda, heroification, artistic schematism, stereotypy, iconography, political priorities and other ideological statements. Thus in the dilemma whether myths (or rather myths of a certain kind) are "interested" or "disinterested" formulations, M2-type thought patterning is clearly of the former type. M2 will be briefly referred to later in this discussion; M3, which in my system primarily denotes present-day responses to well-rehearsed and time-tested inquiries, will not be dealt with at all in the present discussion.

To sum, from the vantage point of literature, one of the main reasons for the relevance of M1 lies in its paradigm-generating potential, its potential for serving as a vast matrix for subsequent myth-using and myth-recycling applications, as well as for its prefigurative and archetypal uses.

[3] Authenticity and Authority

In ascertaining the status of M1-type configurations of different orders of magnitude, it is essential to take a close look at what we have on hand by way of borrowal and/or inheritance. Questions are also in order, and in this probing attempt the apparently simplest questions tend to be the most problematic. Thus: can we reconstruct what the myth *says*; or, more precisely, what an M1-type myth *says*? In other words, can we reconstruct the original meaning of the prefiguration, that is, *can we break the code*?

606

If by M1-type myths we mean "primitive" traditional oral tales of unknown authorship, that is, unsophisticated and non-literary narratives that are told in non-literate cultures, repeated and developed by anonymous storytellers, the answer is bound to be less than tentative, if not negative, for the simple reason that our knowledge of the early myths is vague and meagre. It would be unwise to disregard the implications of G. S. Kirk's sobering observation that "[o]ur understanding of the constitution of these earlier [i.e., preliterary] myths must necessarily be defective, almost non-existent" ("Defining" 53). Or, as Mircea Eliade has remarked, "the mythology that Homer, Hesiod, and the tragic poets tell us about is the result of a selective process and represents an interpretation of an archaic subject which has at times become unintelligible" ("Definition" 3).[2]

Thus, if we want to meet the requirements of philological accuracy, we have to acknowledge that like ancient poetry, traditional myths, because they are not accessible (1) in their original form and (2) their immediate and particular cultural environment, cannot be interpreted reliably. Or, cannot in any *pure* and *primitive* sense, anyway. The explanation of certain features can only be approximated by means of comparative analyses of different myths and different versions. Even then, precise correlations are impossible to establish that would link a given myth to a particular place and time, or to the human conflict that may have given rise to it. And since most myths have been handed down to us through the filter of subsequent interpretations and reworkings, we have to content ourselves with a kind of conventional abstraction or a sort of "working-knowledge" version pieced together from compositions (from the pens of Homer, Hesiod, Hyginus, Stesichorus, Ovid, etc.) produced many centuries *after* the myths themselves had been born. In other words, there is no escaping the fact than in dealing with M1 we have no access to the original narratives: we are bound to deal with retellings, already "quoted" variants. Hesiod in his *Theogonia* (Theogony) and Homer in his epics—or the compilers of these works—were believers in tradition and transmitters of it, but they probably allowed themselves

---

[2] Eliade also claims that "[o]ur best chance of understanding the structure of mythical thought is to study cultures in which myth is a 'living thing,' constituting the very support of religious life—cultures in which myth, far from portraying *fiction,* expresses the *supreme truth,* since it speaks only of realities (3).

some freedom of interpretation or poetic expression. As Róbert Falus has argued, "it was not only Homer who drew upon the tradition of the singers of legends. The lyrical poets and playwrights of later centuries reworked the inherited myths and they competed in how novel and appealing variations on the traditional subjects they were capable of producing"(9).

The sobering fact is that the mythology of antiquity survived the ancient Greeks and Romans *only* in subsequent literary and other artistic renditions, i.e., in "quotations." In this sense, none of the known forms of Greek and Roman mythology has an existence other than the heavily mediated, quoted versions. The myth of Prometheus, for instance, which is in fact the oldest Greek myth we know, survived from preliterary times in three texts: two epic versions by Hesiod and a tragedy from the pen of Aeschylus.[3]

Indeed, all modern texts recycling classical mythology quote quoted versions. Martin S. Day designates this quoted-recreated-mediated form *intermediate myth*, and by way of comment he observes:

> Such myth is founded almost wholly upon archaic myth, but intermediate myth is skillfully shaped by highly conscious writers in a literate era. During the period in which intermediate myth is produced, the populace or the author or both still believe in the sacral nature of the myth. Aeschylus seems a devout worshipper of almighty Zeus, and Lucian of Samosata appears as sceptical as Edward Gibbon or Thomas Henry Huxley. The accomplished Greco–Roman purveyors of myth ranged from the sturdy agriculturist Hesiod to the ultra-sophisticated urbanite Ovid, but scholars agree that uniformly these ancient writers, even the pious Aeschylus, deemed myth a plastic substance that they were free to mold and interpret. (5)

W. Righter is even more specific on this point:

> [A]ny attempt to attribute literal meaning to Greek myth will be shot through with ambiguity, for the tales are so immersed in their own cultural context that any careful study of them shows their un-reliability as a source of intelligible models for any kind of critical purpose. Far from containing any ready intelligibility they are remote, complex, mysterious and opaque. (80)

---

[3] *Prometheus Bound*, which is the first part of a trilogy. Its sequel, *Prometheus Unbound*, exists only in fragments, and the concluding tragedy, *Prometheus the Firebearer*, is completely lost.

Most often, therefore, what is borrowed by the modern writer can seldom be thematically "innocent," that is, meaningful in its unadulterated, original purity. To quote Righter again,

> "[M]any modern versions of the classical myth, say Antigone or Theseus, are not exactly simplified models so much as a frame on which to construct an intense and immediate story, which uses its classical source more for its narrative shape than for any particular meaning the myth might be thought to have had" (42).

If, however, the received myth is not only abstracted, but also vague and indeterminate, it is hardly likely that its symbolic language could be adequately translatable. In this case what we have in terms of prefiguration is a nonreferential symbolic pattern with a soft focus of meaning that inevitably produces a kind of problematic residue of sense-making that is difficult to control.[4]

[4] Paradoxes of the Opaque Text

Apparently paradoxical though it may appear, the relative lack of analyzability and familiarity—as well as the open-endedness—of the inherited formula are attributes that can be imaginatively exploited by writer and critic alike. Indeed, once the myth, denuded of its historical reality, stands not for a concrete and single thing with precise delimitations but for a series of related possibilities, authorial expectations are likely to be fanciful, if not transcendentalizing, and the critical attitude to mythical meaning can often be arbitrary. The special alcove reserved for myth among other forms of expressiveness—primarily imagery and symbolism—, the added dimensions of vagueness and suggestiveness deriving from the very notion of mystery and "depth," the portentuous aura of the "mythic significance," of the "deeper forces," can easily lead to the assumption that myth, even when incorporated in subsequent literary (con)texts, is something apart and subject to special rules. It might be remarked parenthetically that mythological fiction, for instance, has even been considered to occupy a special place in terms of the very act of, say, novel-reading. According to J. J. White, "we must

---

[4] For the *soft focus* metaphor I am indebted to Philip Wheelwright, especially as elaborated in his "The Archetypal Symbol." (cf. *Perspectives in Literary Symbolism*, 214–243.)

read [this kind of literature] in a different way from works for which no such classical analogy has been offered" ("Mythological" 75).

What has been outlined above can potentially, though not necessarily, lead to speculative vagaries of interpretation. By saying "not necessarily," I simply mean that, remaining within the bounds of a kind of common-sense approach, one should be aware of the fact that in the continuity of literary history the intertextual dependence of literary works on the formal and thematic properties of their predecessors is inevitable. Literature, in a certain historical sense, has been dependent on the clichés of previous stages of expressiveness, and much of the success of subsequent writing has hinged upon new modes of refreshing the received convention. Or, to put it in more elegant phrasing, the development of literature has been the result of a series of continuities and discontinuities within the dialectic of tradition and innovation, and there is no reason why myth, one of the oldest, thus specially valorized, elements of the human heritage, should be excluded from this sequence.

It is also easy to realize that the individual sensibility, of writer or reader alike, may find a degree of rapport and can be touched emotionally by its confrontation with primitive and archaic presence, with something remote and alien, or even exotic. Indeed, the very sense of remoteness, the presentness of the past, the culturally conditioned attribution of high seriousness and approval can be contributory to affective involvement, a recognition of importance, even a sense of imaginative liberation in the cultural consumer. In spite of the possible lack of familiarity. "The very unfamiliarity of a body of myth or legend may ... be exploited precisely because its distance seems imaginatively useful..." (Righter 30). Not to mention further subjective and subjectivizing factors, such as "receptive snobbery."

Myth motifs as meaningful forms or symbols are abstract in the sense that they are relatively open, not elaborately controlled, are free from localizing restrictions or precise delimitations. It can often be precisely this built-in soft focus of connotative potentials that is likely to make them capable of eliciting a potential richness of imaginative extensions. There are, however, two aspects that should be borne in mind. One, myth for the ancient world may have expressed a conflict, a contradiction, blind alleys, deadlocks and incomprehensible terrible forces. They were born out of conflict, social and private human tensions. As Claude Mettra has noted, "the gods were born from the tears of mankind; men invented myths to console themselves, for the gods were

all silence and opacity" ("Epilogue" 1231). In this special sense I would even risk the claim that at the time of their genesis what we regard today as sacred tale or traditional narrative (M1) was simply M2: in their original meaning-context they must have been as distinct and localized—and ideologized—as modern myths.

As indicated earlier, however, the original literal meaning of most borrowed myths is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct. Further, as Righter claims, "the modern writer chooses something which is inevitably in some degree alien even if it forms a part of an accepted literary tradition" (41). Because of this apparent distance, slight as it may be, and no matter how organic the internal connection between myth and artifact, it is difficult to accept—as some influential spokesmen of Anglo–American Modernism claimed—that myth alone could automatically function as a catalytic agent in creating the universality (or "order," "shape," "significance," "tradition," etc.) of a given work of art. Myth may be used in furthering this aim, but not necessarily by mere presence or even by a kind of topic and comment relationship, but by internal position and the particular aesthetic function it is called upon to serve. In the final analysis, it is reasonable to claim that the presence of myth in a work of art cannot possibly guarantee the quality of the artifact in advance.

In fact, the fallacy of the intrinsic value of mythic paradigm and archetype has contributed to producing a lot of clichéd works. As one critic has remarked, "there is a tendency to regard works using great symbols *ipso facto* as great literary works. Certainly Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Blake, and Goethe are conspicuous for their use of archetypes, but so, unfortunately, are trashy lesser works, best sellers, third-rate movies, and comic books" (Friedman 315). Or, as Ruthven suggests, "archetypal images ... may pop up in a toothpaste advertisement as readily as in an epic poem" (77).

[5] The Intelligibility of M1 in Literature

The cultural situation of the author, any author for that matter, may be substantially qualified by the decisions s/he is called upon to make whenever confronted with the issue of intelligibility. To generate prose, to write a book is to invoke the possibility of a reader. Ideally, the relationship of both novelist and reader to myth is tacitly assumed to be

one of familiarity. However, one does not even have to consult school curricula to come to the realization that the expectations of intelligibility of received M1 material are just not valid. G. Steiner was undoubtedly right in claiming in the 1960s that "the world of classical mythology, of historical reference, of scriptural allusion, on which a preponderant part of European and English poetry is built ... is receding from our natural reach" (*Language* 81). It would seem that prefigurative techniques for this reason should be foredoomed to failure because [1] if the incorporated material is not understood, it cannot convey the weight of evocation, and [2] normally it has not been the aim of literature as a communicative art to deliberately rub the reader's nose into their own ignorance. Paradoxically, however, the very obscurity of a body of myth (consider much of the myth material used by Yeats or by the numerous Native American and Chicano authors emerging for over three decades in formal American prose) may be exploited precisely because its distance seems imaginatively useful. The obscurity of myth may be functional in literature, since myth can draw its strength from its very unanalyzability.

The potential lack of understanding may also have the opposite effect for subjective reasons. It is at this point that the cult of the merely curious and the awe-inspiring has a role to play, not to forget about what I labeled above as "receptive snobbery." Once myth has established itself as the in-thing to go in for, it is not bound to lose its appeal even if the built-in meaning is lost on the recipient. To offer an analogous example, even he who has never heard a symphony in his life will agree that Beethoven was a great composer. Of symphonies.

The problem with a large proportion of myth critical writing is that the correlations established between an aspect of plot or character and its actual or assumed mythical prefiguration are often made to move out of what the literary example demands. The forcing of the mythical dimensions, the "do you see it?" aspect of clue-hunting, the uncanny reverence in which the presence of the ingeniously unearthed resemblances is held has produced so much loose tissue of "obliquely" and "elliptically" meaningful allusions and suggestions that one cannot help feeling the finder often becomes his own creator.

[6] Which Version of the Prefiguration is "Authentic"?

Our test case will be the above-mentioned myth of Medea, a favorite and oft-rehearsed prefigurative dramatic narrative for subsequent recycling transactions. The abstracted summary of the story-of-mad-revenge paradigm (formulated somewhat in the spirit of Stith Thompson's motif-index) would sound something like this: murderous mother gets even with the father of her son(s) when he abandons her for the sake of another woman. Within the European frame of reference, the most influential and memorable objectification of this tragic pattern is a drama first produced in 431 B.C.: *Medea* by Euripides. This ancient text in turn has spawned a large number of more recent incarnations in such diverse areas as literature (L. A. Seneca, P. Corneille, F. Grillparzer, J. Anouilh, etc.), music (e.g. L. Cherubini), the fine arts (from Delacroix to Veronese), the cinema (above all Pasolini's famous film [1969] with Maria Callas acting in the role of Medea), also including numerous more recent adaptations such as one of the dozen or so Chicano dramas by Mexican and Chicano authors. A brief look at a one-act play by Chicano playwright Carlos Morton (1945–) will shed some light on the precarious status of the M1-type text as a fathering/implicating source.

The setting of Morton's *La Malinche* (1983) is part of Mesoamerica which subsequently became Mexico.[5] The plot begins with a scene of preparation: in the ruined Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán—today's Mexico City—the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés is getting ready for his second wedding. His chosen mate this time is Catalina, daughter of the Spanish viceroy. La Malinche, who still loves the conquistador, feels that she has been betrayed and taken advantage of. In her rage, to get even,

---

[5] Like the Virgen de/Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, the golden eagle in the national flag of Mexico, the grandiose mural paintings of Diego Rivera (as well as of J. C. Orozco and D. A. Siqueros), tequila, Frida Kahlo's world-famous canvases, the feared and venerated volcano by the name of Popocatépetl, the sweeping popular music known as mariachi, the indigenous woman of the early 15th century who came to be known as La Malinche is one of the unmistakable iconic signifiers of Mexico. Despite the fact, I should add, that the very mention of her name has elicited both praise and denigrating overtones. Her contradictory, if indelible, role in the early history of Mexico, particularly in the war of conquest led by the conquistador Hernán Cortés against the Aztec Empire is fittingly illustrated by these words: "el personaje ausente presente": someone who is both there and here, equally in the distant past and the accessible present.

she schemes a cruel revenge. She joins forces with two prehispanic women, Cihuacoatl and La Llorona: the names of both women are associated with the rape and murder of children as well as with transitions between life and death. La Malinche schemes to pretend that she will accept the Spaniard's betrayal dispassionately as an inevitable fact and outwardly she acts as if she accepted the imminent marriage as unavoidable. Surreptitiously, however, she concocts a plan of action in which Catalina is to meet her violent death on the day of the wedding. La Malinche prepares two gifts for the would-be bride: a golden headdress and a gownlike ornamental dress. These she douses with poison and she orders the young boy Martín—Cortés and Malinche's own son—to deliver the wedding gifts to the conquistador's fiancée. When Catalina opens the present delivered, she is dazzled by the glittering dress and the splendid quetzal-feathered headpiece. She tries them on and she immediately senses the hidden poison's impact. She screams as her body burns and disintegrates. Expecting help from her uncle, Bishop Lizárraga, she holds on to him who thus also falls victim to the cruel revenge. Infuriated, Cortés goes to find Malinche so as to kill his one-time interpreter, confidante and lover. He soon locates her and finds that the woman is mourning: she is keeping vigil over the inert body of their dead son. As hinted by Martín's own mother, the young mestizo child has been killed by La Llorona—with the conquistador's own sword.

> CORTÉS: It wasn't I who slit his throat.
> MALINCHE: It was your blade, forged in Spain.
> CORTÉS: He died because you did not want him raised a Spaniard?
> MALINCHE: He died because you would not allow him to be raised a Mechica.
> CORTÉS: Give me his little body so that I may bury him in a Christian way.
> MALINCHE: No, you used your religion to deceive us.
> CORTÉS: Have mercy on his soul!
> MALINCHE: We will cleanse him in the lake, where Tlaloc reigns. (55)

Malinche and Cortés blame each other for Martín's death, and the tragic scenes end with mutual vituperation and curses flying both ways.

It is unlikely that to a spectator/reader with a European cultural frame of reference the above plot—the shape of the story—should be unfamiliar. Indeed, as the story of the jilted/abandoned, jealous and revengeful woman is unfolding, the direction of the plot tends to become increasingly more predictable: the events of the play, segment by

segment, come to be dictated and guided by the plot segments of another text embedded in the European literary culture centuries earlier. Morton's text is clearly determined (if not overdetermined), and it is not necessarily an archetypal plot model inherited through the Jungian unconscious that we should have in mind when we look at it but a much earlier objectification of the story dating back to the fifth century B.C., of which the foundational pattern is *Medea*. Foundational, that is, in the sense that each and every subsequent recycling of the theme will, by necessity, return to the play performed in 431 B.C., even if—Trencsényi–Waldaffel claims—"it consciously challenges it either in its motif-structure or solution" (xxxvii).

It would be a waste of time and effort to devote critical ink to considerations of the possibility or justifiability of the comparison of the two dramas: the Euripidesian tragedy versus Carlos Morton's Chicano text. As a critic of John Steinbeck's put it almost three decades ago when this critic commented on the Nobel-awardee's prefigurative technique through which ancient myth was incorporated in modern texts, that the oscillation between the two levels was "blindingly obvious" (Davis 4).[6] We could say the same thing about Morton's myth-and/in-literature transactions: the Chicano version (the Cortés–Malinche paradigm) is clearly prompted by the Greek Jason–Medea model, etc.

However, this is not really the issue here. What is crucial to consider in this particular instance is whether the Greek playwright's version established a normative recycling mode in the literary culture; "normative" in the sense that Euripides's plot would be generally accepted as—with the later versions echoing—the exemplary *myth of Medea.* The drama version of the plot—which thus is also a torso version—concludes with Medea killing the two sons and she escapes Jason's wrath in a sky-borne chariot drawn by dragons. Her fate seems to

---

[6] This "blindingly obvious" aspect is further underscored by the sheer historical and demographic factuality of Latin American reality. The "sensation of orphanhood" that Fuentes is talking about, the need for a sense of parenthood, a father and a mother, became a permanent fixture of post-Columbian Spanish American existence. "Most mestizos," Fuentes explains, "did not know their fathers. They knew only their Indian mothers, the common-law wives of the Spanish. Miscegenation was certainly the rule in the Iberian colonies..." (144). In addition, the contrast between the Christian conquistador of the European Renaissance versus the "barbaric Indian" woman of Nueva Espana offered effective ideological support for philandering behavior without the least consideration of the moral consequences of "practical amalgamation."

be sealed, her luck is running out, and her subsequent life appears to be conforming to a downward spiral. In terms of the logic of dramatical plot construction this is a creditable and satisfying conclusion, and Euripides orchestrates the termination of the sequence of revolting scenes with great mastery.

However, if we look at the "unabridged" myth of Medea, which actually would be the untold sequel of the Euripides story, we find that Medea's fate is far from being linked to an unpromising alternative; indeed her life is off to a fresh start, full of promises and surprising happy endings. In the larger myth of Medea, although she has to suffer the consequences of her conspiratorial disposition (she unsuccessfully plots the death of Theseus), Jason's former enchanting sorceress mistress finds a father (King Aegeus of Athens) to her new son (whom she makes the king of Colchis), becomes a famous woman warrior and the founding mother of the Medes, a people living in Media, south-west Asia. An action-filled life, no doubt. However, the dilemma is not dispelled: which version of the Medea myth should be accepted as genuine and authentic? In one of these Medea rises and falls. In the other one she ultimately triumphs, against formidable odds. Which is a substantial difference.

Works Cited

Davis, Robert Murray. Introduction. *Steinbeck: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Twentieth Century Views. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972. 1–17.

Day, Martin S. *The Many Meanings of Myth*. Lanham, MD: UP of America. 1984.

Eliade, Mircea. *Images and Symbols*. New York: Sheed and Ward. 1952.

——. "Toward a Definition of Myth." Yves Bonnefoy, comp. *Mythologies*. 2 vols. Trans. Wendy Doniges. Chicago: The U of Chicago P, 1991. II: 1231–1236.

Falus, Róbert. *Apollón lantja* [Apollo's Lyre]. Budapest: Móra. 1982.

Friedman, Norman. *Form and Meaning in Fiction*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1975.

Fuentes, Carlos. *The Buried Mirror: Reflections on Spain and the New World*. 1992. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999.

Kirk, G. S. "On Defining Myths." *Sacred Narrative: Readings in the Theory of Myth*. Ed. Alan Dundes. Berkeley: U of California P, 1984. 53–61.

Mettra, Claude. "Epilogue." Yves Bonnefoy, comp. *Mythologies*. 2 vols. Trans. Wendy Doniges. Chicago: The U of Chicago P, 1991. I: 3–5.

Morton, Carlos. *La Malinche*. *Dreaming on a Sunday in the Alameda and Other Plays.* By Carlos Morton. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 2004. 3–56.

——. *The Many Deaths of Danny Rosales and Other Plays*. Houston, TX: Arte Público P, 1983.

Righter, William. *Myth and Literature*. London: Routledge, 1975.

Ruthven, K. K. *Myth*. London: Methuen, 1976.

Schrempp, Gregory, and William Hansen, eds. *Myth: A New Symposium*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2002.

Steiner, George. *Language and Silence: Essays 1958–1966*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968.

Thompson, Stith. *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*. 6 vols. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1955.

Trencsényi–Waldaffel, Imre. "Euripidész" ['Preface to Euripides']. Euripidész: *Médeia*. Euripidész: *Tíz tragédia* [Ten tragedies]. Világirodalom klasszikusai. Trans. Grácia Kerényi. Budapest: Európa, 1964. i–xlviii.

White, John J. "Mythological Fiction and the Reading Process." *Literary Criticism and Myth* (Yearbook of Comparative Criticism, vol. IX). Ed. Joseph P. Strelka. University Park: The Pennsylvania State UP, 1980. 72–92.

"My boys are more care every year": Louisa May Alcott's Notions of Disciplined Masculinity

Gabriella Vöő

Popular late nineteenth-century author of women's and juvenile fiction, Louisa May Alcott had a soft spot for boys. "I was born with a boys [sic] nature & always had more sympathy for & interest in them than in girls," she confessed in her journal (*Journals* 79). Although she wrote for a female readership and addressed issues of marriage, women's rights, and women's careers, she also developed powerful male characters—boys, young men, fathers, grandfathers, and male patrons—in her fiction. Her novel of début, *Little Women* (1868) and its sequel, *Good Wives* (1869) tell the story of the four March sisters who, steered through a lively girlhood by their wise and devoted mother, develop into remarkable young women. The popular and critical success of the books prompted Alcott to continue the story of the March family with two more sequels, *Little Men* (1871) and *Jo's Boys* (1886), also novels of education and development concentrating, this time, on boys. The central character of the series is Jo March, Alcott's autobiographically inspired heroine who, having been a tomboy herself, understands boys and is able to manage them successfully. In the concluding chapter of *Good Wives* Jo, married to the middle-aged German professor Friedrich Bhaer, plans to start a school for poor boys at Plumfield, an estate she just inherited from a spinster aunt. *Little Men* tells the story of a year at this unique utopian educational institution run by the selfless and competent couple. *Jo's Boys* follows the students' passage into young adulthood until they arrive in the safe haven of marriage and start careers that match their talents and aspirations.

The school at Plumfield accommodates and educates the sons and daughters of the March sisters, a couple of local boys, and also two

orphan boys that the members of the extended family stumbled upon. At once family home, school, and charitable institution, Plumfield is Alcott's powerful metaphor of a utopian national space in which representatives of different social, age, gender, and racial groups live and work together with the purpose of creating the blueprint of an ideal community. This community is far from being static and stable. Rather, it is one in process where the relations between the groups are continuously negotiated. As the children grow up and step out into the world of adults, their accomplishments as individuals and members of a community add up to an image of a better society. Louisa May Alcott's family history predestined her to intellectual, if not practical, involvement with education and utopian experiments. Her father, the prominent Transcendentalist Bronson Alcott initiated several educational endeavors, the most famous being the Temple School experiment he conducted together with Elizabeth Peabody in 1834. Another of his projects, that of "Fruitlands" in 1843, was to establish an agrarian utopian community in Harvard, Massachusetts. Both Temple School and Fruitlands failed in less than a year. Her father's powerful reformist ideas as well as failures, in his experiments and as a parent (Strickland 140), prompted Louisa to open-mindedly resume some of Bronson's intellectual engagements. She was interested in educational reform, supported the women's movement, was critical of social definitions of gender roles, and sought to re-evaluate the distribution of gender power in the family. As the titles of two novels in the March family saga—*Little Women* and *Little Men*—suggest, her interest lay less in the intrinsic qualities of childhood than in the emergence of gender roles and social dynamics as a result of early education in the family and at school.

By focusing especially on the portrayal of male characters, in this paper I will explore how *Little Men* and *Jo's Boys* address the dynamics of gender relations in the home and in the public sphere. Since the publication of *Little Women* and *Good Wives*, Alcott's views concerning gender roles and gender economy underwent considerable change. My suggestion is that the shift is towards a more conservative attitude, a defense of Victorian views concerning the woman as moral compass and civilizing agent in the lives of men. In the Gilded Age a new, adverse process in men's social behavior was under way, one that sought to evade the constraints of women's domesticating influence. The incidents taking place, day by day, in Jo and Friedric Bhaer's "small world" (*LM* 298) offer an opportunity for Alcott to address both the cohesive and the

disruptive forces that shaped gender relations in America during the Gilded Age. She sought to affirm some of the transformations in family dynamics, such as the growing importance of the mother's moral guidance of, and the father's increasing emotional bonding with, their sons. There were developments in the cultural dynamics of masculinity in post-Civil War America that Alcott found less desirable, even threatening. Suspicious of emerging scenes of male homosocial bonding, the city and the Frontier, she resented the ruthless competitiveness of economic life in urban centers and dreaded the unleashing of violence and immorality in the West. In agreement with widely held nineteenth-century views about women's inherent moral superiority, Alcott argues that only women are capable of uplifting and saving men from the temptations of the mundane and from the destructive power of their own dangerous impulses. Yet there are, she also suggests, male impulses and acts that are irredeemable and impossible to integrate into the national psyche.

1. Sentimental fatherhood and the domestic ideal

In Plumfield, gender and labor roles correspond to those of the regular, middle-class Victorian home. Professor Bhaer, or "Father" Bhaer, as the children call him, presides over the household as father and mentor. "Mother" Bhaer, Jo, a mother of two small boys, acts as a surrogate mother to twelve other children. She looks after them in their free time, mends their clothes, and offers moral guidance whenever they need it. In both the nuclear family and the school, the division of labor between the father and the mother is the exact replica of Victorian society: the man is in charge of the needs of the intellect, the woman tends to the necessities of the body and the soul. Physical labor, also divided between the genders, falls to the lower classes. A "stout German woman" (*LM* 12), Nursey Hummel bathes the children and takes care of them when sick. The farm is managed by Silas, the gentle giant and Civil War veteran, and the kitchen is in the care of Asia, the elderly black cook. There is, however, a relevant detail that distinguishes Plumfield from a conventional household in Gilded-Age America, one related to how Alcott defines the role and duty of the father in the family.

In *Little Men*, the portrayal of father figures goes against established mid-nineteenth century conventions of masculinity. Without contesting the division of middle-class society into two separate spheres, the

masculine and the feminine, Alcott insists that men assume responsibilities in the domestic one. The requirements she sets for the husband and father almost coincide with those of the mother. Such an image of the nurturing father runs counter to a general trend in both ante- and postbellum American fiction. Fathers are underrepresented in the nineteenth-century American novel, except maybe to display their hopeless inadequacy (Armegnol-Carrera 211). In the fiction of Hawthorne, Melville, and Mark Twain, for example, they are portrayed as tyrannical, inadequate, absent, or debased. *Little Men* and *Jo's Boys* hold up an entirely new type of male parent, one that combines masculine traits with feminine ones and meets the requirements Alcott sets for the nurturing parent. She does not contest the position of the man as head of the family and agent in the national economy. But she also points out that men can be successful influences and role models for their sons only if they understand and value women, moreover, if they share with them character traits that are necessary for good parenting. The model fathers in *Little Men* and *Jo's Boys* exhibit the qualities of domesticity and piety, fundamental virtues which, according to Barbara Welter, characterized the middle-class woman in Victorian America (44). To these, Alcott adds sensitivity and empathy, also considered, in her time, to be essentially feminine qualities. The visible fathers in this utopian community, those who embody Alcott's standard of normative masculinity, are the husbands of the three March sisters. These are the paragons of good parenting: young Mr. Laurence and John Brooke as the fathers of their own children, and Professor Bhaer as a loving father substitute to the boys who live and study in Plumfield. Together, they account for those requisites that Alcott considers necessary for the perfect parent who brings up the new generation of worthy citizens. Other fathers—those of the students, for example—, are dead, absent, or make their brief appearance only to serve as counterexamples.

To be sure, the quintessence of the desirable male parent that Alcott envisages for her fictional utopia is Father Bhaer. The middle-aged Professor's intellectual stature, rationality and firmness underscore his masculinity. His sentimentality and piety, however, pertain to a set of qualities that were considered, in the nineteenth century, to be feminine. Fearing that no such male type is plausible among New England men, Alcott places her character into a wholly different cultural and mind set, the German. The figure of the Professor is, on the one hand, Alcott's tribute to the intellectual roots of English and American Romanticism. On

the other hand, he represents a desirable alternative to American male reticence and primness: "Thank Gott, we Germans believe in sentiment, and keep ourselves young mit it," Professor Bhaer confesses when he proposes to Jo (*GW* 295). Or, he is not ashamed to show his affection when his sons need it: he "opened his arm and embraced his boys like a true German, not ashamed to express by gesture or by word the fatherly emotions an American would have compressed in a slap on the shoulder and a brief 'All right'" (*JB* 113-14). The portrayal of Franz Hoffmann, the Professor's nephew reinforces both the national type and Alcott's ideal of male domesticity: he is "a regular German, […] domestic, amiable, and musical" (*LM* 15). To counterbalance such feminine traits Alcott anchors the masculinity of her German characters in physical solidity: Franz is big and tall (*LM* 15, 75), and his younger brother Emil has "the blood of the old Vikings" in his veins (*LM* 15), and Professor Bhaer is "rather stout, with […] a bushy beard, […] and a splendid big voice" (*GW* 124). Also, the boys in his school are ready to share with "Father Bhaer" little confidences, "hopes and plans" as "man to man" (*LM* 32).

Professor Bhaer fully inhabits his role as a father and masculine gender model. He is an intellectual and an educator who supports his family by teaching. But his workplace is his home, and his profession is a kind of extended parenthood, circumstances that do not exactly situate him in the masculine sphere. But Alcott does not entirely ignore in her novel two essential theaters of manly self-assertion, the capitalist market and politics. There are other relevant father figures connected to Plumfield: Meg and Amy's husbands, John Brooke and Ted Laurence. The careers of these men offer a glimpse into the world outside the utopian Plumfield, although one that is very limited and carefully censored by Alcott. The career of John Brooke was not an outstanding one by Gilded Age standards. He was a man "of strict principles" leading a "busy, quiet, humble life" (*LM* 260). Alcott is not specific about the details of John's occupation: we only know that was an honest and conscientious accountant. He "served" wealthy men "faithfully," and kept a little store for "the poor old women, whom he cherished […] in memory of his dear mother" (*LM* 258). The reader is introduced to John Brooke's many virtues after his unexpected, premature death that does not serve any specific purpose in the plot unless to give Professor Bhaer an opportunity to set him as an example for the boys, contending that "simple, genuine goodness is the best capital to found the business of this life upon. It lasts when fame and money fail, and it is the only riches we

can take out of this world with us" (*LM* 260). The good and honest man's death stirs "a new manliness" in the teenage Franz (*LM* 253), and Demi, John's ten-year-old son bravely "entered into its inheritance" (*LM* 263).

While John Brooke represents, in Alcott's utopian model, the honest middle-class businessman who educates the boys by example, Mr. Laurence stands for the wealthy patron who contributes to the creation of virtue by more tangible means. His financial generosity contributes to the sustenance of the school and some of the individual educational projects, and his political influence oils the machinery of the young men's careers. Like Professor Bhaer, Mr. Laurence combines masculine and feminine traits and virtues. Brought up by his grandfather and nurtured by the loving care of the women in the March family, he has practical wisdom, compassion, good humor, and artistic sensibility. However, the most flamboyant character of Alcott's novel series is also the least substantial as a male role model, a boy rather than an adult. Everybody calls him by his childhood nickname, Mr. "Laurie," and Jo regularly refers to him as "my boy." His role in the school is restricted to performing pleasant services for Jo and the children and paying for the poor students' tuition. Even his helpfulness is sometimes articulated in the form of a joke: "I shouldn't mind investing in a few prairies and cowboys myself" (*JB* 53), he cuts in when Dan Kent, one of the Plumfield students, mentions his plan to start farming in the West. Mr. Laurie is credited with all the responsibilities of the man of wealth, but apparently stays out of the arena where this wealth is produced, the capitalist market.

In fact, Alcott portrays all three father figures—Professor Bhaer, John Brooke, and Mr. Laurie—as characters unaffected by the standards that defined the self-made man, a model of manhood that, throughout the nineteenth century, "deriv[ed] identity entirely from a man's activities in the public sphere, measured by accumulated wealth and status, by geographic and social mobility" (Kimmel 13). In *Little Men* and *Jo's Boys* fatherhood—as well as the authority that accompanies it—does not depend on a man's performance in the public sphere, but rather on the way he fulfills his commitments in the domestic one. However, Alcott's emphatic suggestion that domestic masculinity should be the norm is anachronistic and nostalgic. By the end of the 1860s, significant transformations in the social and economic structure of Gilded-Age America eroded the domestic ideal. The new industrial economy and the development of the national markets lured an increasing number of men into the urban work force. The self-made man and its most frequent

middle-class version, the independent businessman was supplanted by the salaried, nonpropertied white-collar worker (Rotundo 248). The competition for and the constraints of the workplace diverted men's attention from their homes. In the same time, the decreasing number of children in the typical middle-class family released mothers from many of their domestic obligations. By the time the ideology of domesticity gained ground, Margaret Marsh contends, the nation changed (41-42). Also, in the last third of the nineteenth century men started to embrace rather different notions about masculine behavior, and turned towards more "manly," and less "feminized" attitudes and activities. Alcott's investment in a set of values of diminishing social relevance reflects her deep anxiety about the loss of female control over the lives of men.

2. Scenes of homosocial bonding

In antebellum United States the westward expansion and the California Gold Rush pushed men from the increasingly crowded and urbanized east towards new territories and experiences, and into each other's company. The Civil War—in the parlance of the time, the conflict between brothers—mobilized men across the country, and created a cultural discourse that addressed the strife in gendered terms. In the Gilded Age the development of industrial capitalism attracted men to the cities and distanced them further from their homes, producing arenas of homosocial relationships in which men competed for resources and re-negotiated their masculine identities. "If manhood could be proved," Michael Kimmel contends, "it had to be proved in the eyes of other men" (19). Male homosocial bonding had long been a fact in American society, and women—Alcott among them—felt equivocally about it. To begin with, the exclusiveness of the masculine sphere was a threat to the harmony of the home. Men could not be trusted to get along without the moral guidance of women. Competitiveness in the in the emerging urban workplaces could run out of control and endanger men's physical and moral integrity. Homosocial scenes and activities could also mean the infiltration of lower-class influence into sheltered middle-class homes. Nevertheless, Alcott did not downplay the relevance of peer influence as a factor in the education of boys, nor did she rule out its positive potential. In Plumfield homosocial relations are accepted, even encouraged within

certain limits, but these are set in accordance with the moral standards championed by women.

As Anthony Rotundo points out, boys in the nineteenth century inhabited "a distinct world with its own rituals and its own symbols and values" which often disrupted the order of the home and provoked the indignation of adults, male or female (31–32). Some of the droll and seemingly innocent incidents in *Little Men* serve as warnings that a company of boys left without adult guidance can do serious mischief, interfere with the girls' docile activities, and create havoc in the household. Rashly imitating a bullfight, the boys upset Buttercup, the cow (*LM* 79). Under the pretext that "[b]oys always tease their sisters" (*LM* 115), they ruin the tea party that the girls, Daisy and Nan were at great pains to organize. Male competitiveness leads to physical violence, especially when lower-class models of behavior encroach on the stable middle-class environment. Dan, a vagrant boy the Bhaers receive into the school, provokes a fight in the barn which results in more than one bleeding nose. The episode causes Mr. Bhaer to lose his temper and contend that he keeps "a school for boys, not for wild beasts." Dan, the "firebrand" defends his behavior by stating that boys do not wish to be "mollycoddles" (*LM* 77). The younger ones admire Dan's strength and skill, and wish to imitate the bad boy's "manly ways" (*LM* 76, 83). The major objective of the Plumfield school is to tame the violent impulses of the male children by channeling their energies into safe and useful activities and, even more importantly, by the motherly affection of Jo and the gentle influence of the three girls associated with the school, Daisy, Nan, and Beth.

Female efforts to socialize boys and young men are much compromised in the moment when these enter the male sphere, the world outside the home, and pursue further studies or find their vocations. Alcott warns her readers about the dangers young men will face in the homosocial arena of the city. From the case of Dan we have already learnt that lower-class male children are exposed to harmful influences early: as a boy, Dan "now and then had a chance to imitate the low men who surrounded him" (*LM* 83) and acquired habits that were difficult to overwrite. In *Jo's Boys* Alcott dwells at length over the dangers of unwisely selected male company. After leaving Plumfield, George Cole and Dolly Pettingill sow their wild oats at Harvard College, studying little and drinking in abundance. Nat Blake, the gifted musician pursues his studies in Leipzig, but yields to the temptation of showing off and

entertaining friends. He spends extravagantly in the company of well-to-do young men until he almost ruins himself and disappoints his benefactors at Plumfield. Female influence can, however, set right what male company ruined. Jo gives the two erring Harvard students a good and effective chiding. Also, the mental images of "Mother Bhaer" and his beloved Daisy steer Nat back on the right path. Finally, with the practical help of two benevolent elderly "Freuleins" he manages to support himself and finishes his studies honorably. But the idea that the city with its male homosocial environment is essentially harmful persists throughout *Jo's Boys*. Only two Plumfield boys choose careers that tie them the urban sphere, and those pertain to the world of culture, not business: Nat is a musician, and Demi works in an editor's office with the prospect of becoming a partner. Others who stay in the city, stay unmarried, and enter business fail to get on: Dolly is a "society man" until he goes bankrupt, and George becomes an alderman and eats himself into apoplexy (*JB* 284). Although Alcott acknowledges that the city is the place which young adult men depend on for their skills, refinement and livelihood, she maintains that the road to happiness is one that leads away from its temptations. She regards farming as the preferable means of economic subsistence as it strengthens the moral character and fosters the virtues of good citizenship. However, in the Gilded Age, a time when American cities were quickly transforming into vibrant environments of production, commerce and finances, such a view was rather out of touch with the realities of the times.

The setting of Plumfield is a farm in rural New England, a bucolic site situated at safe distance from the corrupting influence of the city. Farm work scaled to the capabilities of young boys supplements classroom study, and provides ample training in housekeeping, planting, and reaping good harvests. Nature was regarded as a restorative agency by the Transcendentalists, and Alcott's mind set is dependent on this tradition. If boys have to leave the protected environment of the home, school and farm, the Bhaers prefer to see them in the forests of South America, the sheep farms in Australia, and on the American Frontier. "I'd rather send my boys off to see the world in that way than leave them alone in the city full of temptations," Mrs. Bhaer voices her recurring concern (*JB* 11). However, the Frontier had an ambivalent place in Alcott's imagination. On the one hand, she regarded it as a site of freedom and worthy physical strife where a boy can rise to manhood and acquire useful skills in the process. On the other hand, though, she was

uneasy about the vastness and lawlessness of the western regions. The Gold Rush of the 1850s and the following decades saw a steady flow of men on the Frontier, and Alcott was aware that the homosocial environment of the West had its dangers. Of the Plumfield boys it is Dan, the restless "firebrand" who chooses to start farming in Montana, then mining silver in California. His bad luck spells out Alcott's deep distrust of certain forms of male companionship. Accidentally mixing with dubious men in "a low place," Dan is provoked into a fistfight and he knocks his opponent dead (*JB* 162). Although the reason for the fight was an honorable one—Dan was protecting a younger man from being done out of his money—, he has to serve a year in prison. After he is set free he wonders in the far regions of the West, still under the effect of the prison experience. He finally redeems himself by risking his own life to save miners trapped in the shaft of a California silver mine. However, he never recovers in his soul, and his life is but "the pale shadow of what, for another, might have been a happy possibility" (*JB* 274). Thus, Alcott warns that the lawlessness of the Frontier, as well as "low" male company can unleash in a young man undesired impulses that threaten his integrity. Only by a generous acts of self-sacrifice, the ultimate act of heroic masculinity, can he atone for the crime he commits.

3. The redemptive power of the woman

If boys and men are prone to go astray when left to themselves, it is women's duty to help them achieve fulfillment as men, persons, and citizens. "It takes three or four women to get each man into, through, and out of the world," remarks Jo Bhaer as she draws the balance of family economy: "You are costly creatures, boys; and it is well that mothers, sisters, wives and daughters love their duty and do it so well, or you would perish off the face of the earth" (*JB* 13). In addition to taking care of, educating—and sometimes taming—young boys and teenagers, women provide men with lifelong assistance and wise management. The notion that the presence of women in men's lives was essential for their moral welfare was widely accepted in mid- and late nineteenth century America. Catherine Beecher, for example, contended that "the formation of the moral and intellectual character of the young is committed mainly to the female hand. The mother forms the character of the future man […], let the women of a country be made virtuous and intelligent and the

men will certainly be the same" (37). Alcott argues for uninterrupted female guidance throughout a man's whole life by way of the coeducation of the young, happy marriage, and true spousal companionship till old age. She makes these suggestions without populating her novels with bland, cardboard illustrations of her ideas about education, vocation and matrimony. Most of her male characters have their complexities. If they succumb to failings they are given the chance to overcome them with determination, and always with the assistance of a woman. A wise and caring wife lends even a weak man solidity and substantiality. For example, without Daisy to strengthen and reinforce his good traits, Nat would be all but lost: "there was a danger of his being one of the amiable and aimless men who fail for want of the right pilot to steer them safely through the world" (*JB* 24). Alcott acknowledges that making an honest living, maybe an outstanding career, is a man's ultimate purpose in life. Yet she also suggests that whether he can make good use of his abilities depends on the woman, the faithful companion who, with her superior sense of duty and resilience, stands by the man and helps him along the way.

Whatever their abilities and careers, Jo wants her boys to be honest men. In the ethos of Plumfield, work has moral significance. Children are allowed to work and earn a penny by regularly performing small tasks, like collecting the eggs from the henhouse and carrying firewood. Excessive attachment to material gain, however, is regarded as character flaws. Little Jack Ford's sharpness in pecuniary matters, his "keenness and love of money" (*LM* 19) is treated as a moral affliction. The noblest form of work is the one that a man dedicates to the women in the family. After the death of his father, ten-year-old Demi's attempts to do odd jobs for small sums of money are heartily encouraged. His enthusiasm for work is given momentum by his desire to serve his mother and sisters. Although but "a little lad" (*LM* 264), Demi grows "manlier" after the death of his father and feels responsible for the welfare of his mother and of "the womenchildren who were left in his care" (*LM* 262, 263). As young men, most Plumfield alumni find their true vocations when they fall seriously in love and consider marriage. They give up hastily made career choices that hold out the promise of adventure but do not offer the security and steadiness a family man needs. When he makes up his mind to propose to Alice, Demi changes his mind about becoming a journalist, an unstable and financially risky profession, and finds work in an editor's office. The only reason Tom Bangs studied medicine was to conquer Nan:

not only a hopeless plan but also an insubstantial motivation for choosing a career. When he finally finds true love in Dora, Tom gives up his medical studies and enters business. Immediately he gains stature as a man, settles down, and lives the life of a well-established businessman. It is only Dolly and George, the Harvard students, who prolong their adolescence by postponing serious considerations. Alcott would not relinquish the grudge she bears for the Ivy League college, a stronghold of American patriarchy.

There are, however, serious limitations as to what aspects of male attitudes and life prospects Alcott is willing to integrate in her utopia. Of all the boy characters perhaps Dan, the "firebrand" gets the most of her attention and the least of her authorial generosity in the plot of *Jo's Boys*. Earlier, in *Little Men*, Dan was portrayed as a sharp, lively adolescent, but also an unruly one who was hard to control. He appears to be a creature of the wilderness rather than of civilization. He is repeatedly referred to as an "untamed creature," "colt," "wild hawk," and "berserker" (*LM* 81, 219, 221, 223). Jo finally finds the soft spot in Dan's soul and tames him by love and kindness. And yet, Dan stays an alien among New England boys and girls. He stands out not only by his adventurous nature, but also by his mien, "the alert look of one whose senses were all alive; rough in manner, full of energy, quick with word and blow, eyes full of the old fire, always watchful as if used to keep guard, and a general air of vigor and freshness." Jo often wonders whether he has "Indian blood in him" (*JB* 48). In Dan's figure Alcott captures a vogue emerging among American men in the post-Civil war period, an attitude that Anthony Rotundo coins as "primitive masculinity," and defines as the self-conscious identification with Indians and the imitation of the customs of "savage" peoples as distinguishing marks of manhood (228-29). Alcott does not hesitate to acknowledge the appeal of such romantic and—considering Dan's supposed Indian origin—racialized manliness. For example Nan, the most independent-minded girl at Plumfield, sees Dan as "the handsomest of all the boys" and has high regard for his "strong and independent" character (*JB* 80). Nevertheless, the moral perspective of *Jo's Boys* cannot accommodate those aspects of male sexuality that evade middle-class notions of propriety. Even if Nan and the other girls admire Dan's exotic manliness—they call him "the Spaniard"—, Jo is startled when she catches sight of the young man "eyeing [the girls] as an eagle might a flock of doves" (*JB* 68). This is, however, just a momentary impression on Jo's part, and Alcott never explicitly returns to the issue of

Dan's assertive sexuality in the novel. Rather, she manipulates the plot in such a way that the untamed, racialized young man is ruled out as a potential match to any of the eligible middle-class girls at Plumfield. By having killed a man, and also by his inability to conform to the discipline of marriage and a profession, Dan does not fit into the social fabric of the ideal community the author has in mind.

Alcott, however, takes good care that the redemptive influence which women bear on men does not fade, lest men should lose their moral anchor. The salvation of Dan depends on Jo's unconditional motherly love and on his secret attachment to Bess, the daughter of Amy and Mr. Laurie. Dan's love for Bess must remain platonic, "a sort of dream of all that's sweet and good" (*JB* 272), a spiritual force one that uplifts the unruly young man. Although he remains forlorn and solitary, Dan finally finds a worthy purpose in life and returns to the Frontier. He joins the Montana Indians, lives among them "bravely and usefully" until he is shot in battle, defending his friends. Alcott regarded the Frontier, as most of her Anglo-American contemporaries did, as a safety valve. She relegates to a safe distance and postpones, indefinitely, the integration of those male attitudes, activities and desires that she thought were destabilizing the social order and Victorian standards of gender relations.

Concluding remarks

If middle-class American boys and young teenagers developed from little nuisances into reliable heads of family, respectable members of their community, and worthy citizens, the credit went, according to Louisa May Alcott, to their mothers and other female family members. Bringing up children and socializing males through piety and gentle influence was, in Victorian America, largely the responsibility of mothers. In *Little Men* and *Jo's Boys* mothers, sisters and wives succeeded in their vocations admirably. Why then would Jo, "Mother Bhaer," admit a bit wearily: "My sons are more care every year"? Jo feels the distance increase between herself and the young men who were once in her care. The former students, now young adults, visit frequently, but Jo senses that they "seem to drift farther away from me each time they go. They *will* grow up, and I can only hold them by one little thread, which will snap at any time" (*JB* 58, emphasis in the original). Jo's concern bespeaks the anxiety of the middle-class, reformist, feminist New England woman author. While she tried hard to offer blueprints how to nurture, educate, and socialize boys

with the prospect of training virtuous citizens, Alcott could not help observing those drawbacks in male standards of behavior that kept American men from inhabiting such a utopia: lack discipline, the lure of material gain, inclination to physical violence, and assertive sexuality. *Little Men* and *Jo's Boys* summarize Alcott's earnest suggestions regarding standards and principles of masculine behavior that would sustain a social environment more favorable to women.

Works Cited

Armegnol-Carrera, Joseph M. "Where Are Fathers in American Literature? Re-visiting Fatherhood in U.S. Literary History." *Journal of Men's Studies* 16.2 (Spring 2008). 211–26. Print.

Alcott, Louisa May. *Good Wives*. London: Penguin, 1995. Print.

—. *Jo's Boys*. Mineola, NY: Dover, 2002. Print.

—. *The Journals of Louisa May Alcott*. Ed. Joel Myerson and Daniel Shealy. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1997. Print.

—. *Little Men*. Mineola, NY: Dover, 2001. Print.

—. *Little Women*. London: Penguin, 1994. Print.

Beecher, Catherine E. *Treatise on Domestic Economy*. Boston: T. H. Webb, 1842. Print.

Kimmel, Michael S. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*. New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006. Print.

Marsh, Margaret. *Suburban Lives*. New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers, 1990. Print.

Rotundo, E. Anthony. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*. New York: Basic, 1993. Print.

Strickland, Charles. *Victorian Domesticity: Families in the Life and Art of Louisa May Alcott*. University, AL: U of Alabama P, 1985.

Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860" (1966). *Locating American Studies: The Evolution of a Discipline*. Ed. Lucy Madox. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1999. 43–66. Print.

1956 in the American Mind

Glant, Tibor. *Remember Hungary 1956: Essays on the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence in American Memory*. New York: East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, 2007. 246 pp. Glant, Tibor. *Emlékezzünk Magyarországra – 1956: Tanulmányok a magyar forradalom és szabadságharc amerikai emlékezetéről*. Budapest: Kiss József Könyvkiadó, 2008. 318 pp.

Máté Gergely Balogh

The Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence of 1956 is one of the most important historic events of the 20th century for us, Hungarians. And it is definitely the one that is the most significant if we consider its impact on the public opinion worldwide, including the United States. The Revolution was one of those few occasions when all eyes were set on a small country in the center of Europe, Hungary. For many Americans this was the first major international crisis that they were able to follow on television, and the way the Soviet army crushed the revolution revealed the true nature of Communism for those who had not been aware of it earlier. Until the fall of Communism in Hungary and Eastern Europe the official interpretation of the Revolution was a distorted one, and was used to legitimize the regime. The memory of the Revolution and War of Independence could be put into its proper place only after those who defined themselves in opposition to it were finally out of power. But how did people remember the hot Hungarian October of 1956 in other countries? In his book *Remember Hungary 1956: Essays on the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence in American*

Memory Tibor Glant explores the issue of the American memory of the Hungarian Revolution.

Among all the events of Hungarian history the Revolution and War of Independence of 1956 is the one that made the greatest impact on the collective memory of the United States. Surely this is the most widely researched segment of the history of Hungarian-American relations. But *Remember Hungary 1956* is the first effort to examine the extent to which the Revolution of 1956 is embedded in the American mind. It is a collection of five separate essays, connected by the common subject—the English language memory of the Revolution of 1956. The author of the essays is Tibor Glant, who is associate professor at the University of Debrecen, and the Chair of the North American Department. The subject fits into one of his main research topics, which is Hungarian-American relations in the twentieth century. The foreword to the book was written by István Deák, who is Seth Low Professor Emeritus at Columbia University. Deák is a Hungarian-American himself, a historian who is interested mainly in the history of Central Europe.

The present review discusses both the Hungarian and the English language editions of the book. There are some slight differences between the two, inasmuch as there are certain sections that are missing from the English edition, mainly for obvious chronological reasons. The English version was published first in 2007, by the Columbia University Press. The research was funded by the Remember Hungary 1956 Committee as a commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. The Hungarian edition, *Emlékezzünk Magyarországra, 1956: Tanulmányok a magyar forradalom és szabadságharc emlékezetéről,* was published a year later in 2008 as a modified and revised version. As by this time the celebrations were already over Glant could also recount the events of the fiftieth anniversary of the revolution. There are two other dissimilarities: a short introduction was added to the beginning of each chapter in the Hungarian version, and the appendix was also altered. Apart from the differences listed above the Hungarian and the English editions of the book are basically identical.

The book is not a review of the historiography of the Revolution of 1956, the focus is wider. It examines and discusses various aspects of collective memory. In both the Hungarian and the English language the short preface and the acknowledgements are followed by the introduction. In the preface Glant explains how the idea of writing the book occurred to him, and explains the methods that he used. Each essay deals with a

particular aspect of the main branches of collective memory which, according to Glant, are the media, political memory, academic memory, literature, and fine arts. He acknowledges that because of the limits of the research he had to confine himself to various smaller segments of these larger topics. The introduction is a written version of a lecture held by István Deák in Toronto in September 2006 on the revolutionary tradition in Hungary. While the Hungarian reader is probably aware of this background this short overview of Hungarian history is particularly useful for the non-Hungarian audience. It shows how the Revolution and War of Independence of 1956 fits into the revolutionary trends in Hungarian history and how it compares to previous uprisings and revolts.

The first chapter addresses the question of how the Revolution of 1956, its aftermath and its memory appeared in the American media. Tibor Glant chose to examine the historical database of one of the most widely read and renown American daily newspapers, *The New York Times.* His choice is explained by two facts. On the one hand *The New York Times* is among the five most important American newspapers, and out of these five it published the greatest number of articles about the revolution. On the other hand its approach to the Kádár regime and its representation of the Revolution were criticized by some Hungarian refugees in the United States. This fact in itself demonstrates an interesting aspect of collective memory. First, shortly after after the Revolution, *The New York Times* was hostile towards Kádár, the newly appointed Hungarian leader, and the Soviet occupation. Later, with the coming of *détente* and the normalization of the relations between the United States and Hungary, the tone of the paper also changed. To the dismay of the Hungarian-American community it spoke favorably about the developments in the People's Republic of Hungary and the leader of the country, János Kádár. The anniversaries of the Revolution were exceptions, on these occasions *The New York Times* retained the previous tone. Glant suspects that the editors must have had a dual agenda: they wanted to encourage the Hungarian reforms and to foster the loosening of ties with the Soviet Union on the one hand, and maintain Cold War rhetoric on the other hand.

Glant examined various kinds of articles, such as ones commemorating the Revolution at anniversaries, country profiles, the political coverage, editorials and letters to the editor, the human interest stories, with a special focus on Cardinal Mindszenty, and obituaries, reviews and political advertisements. The duality of the attitude of *The*

New York Times appeared in many of these articles. Sometimes the authors glorified the freedom fighters, some other times, maybe unwillingly, they seemed to accept and echo certain elements of the propaganda of the Kádár regime. These included suggesting that the refugees left Hungary during and after the Revolution only "in hope of a better life and a car" (Glant 2007, 6). Often the *Times* tried to present Kádár in a favorable light, for example by falsely claiming that he stood up against Moscow in opposition to the execution of László Rajk at the time of the purges (Glant 2007, 27). Some other times the revolutionaries were misrepresented. For example the *Times* could never acknowledge the fact that although he led an anti-Soviet revolution Imre Nagy always remained a devout communist (Glant 2007, 24). Besides their content Glant also examined the vocabulary of the articles, the terminology they used. The analisys demonstrates that the choice of words also reflected the duality of the attitude of *The New York Times.*

The next chapter deals with political memory, for which purpose Glant chose to analyze the memoirs of the diplomats who were assigned to Budapest during the period between 1956 and 1989, the Revolution and the fall of communism. Diplomatic relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of Hungary were at the lowest possible level, that of temporary *chargé 'd affaires*, after the revolution was suppressed by the Red Army. They were raised to the ambassadorial level only ten years later, in 1966. From 1966 to 1989 eight American ambassadors succeeded each other in Budapest, out of whom four published their memoirs. Martin J. Hillenbrand, Alfred Puhan, Philip M. Kaiser and Robie Marcus Hooker Palmer were all ambassadors in very different situations, and they all interpreted the Revolution of 1956 and the Kádár regime in their own singular way. Glant chose to review these memoirs because the four ambassadors represent four completely different approaches towards the Revolution and the regime. The closer they were to 1956 chronologically the more emotional they were about the issue. Hillenbrand and Puhan served in Budapest when Cardinal József Mindszenty was still in the embassy. He sought refuge there at the American legation in 1956, and left what would then already be an embassy only fifteen years later, in 1971. It is obvious that his presence in the building as a living symbol of the Revolution made a great impression on those Americans who worked and lived there.

The third chapter of the book is the examination of the academic memory of the Revolution of 1956. This chapter contains the study that

was the initial project of Tibor Glant. It is a survey of information on the Hungarian Revolution in a number of college textbooks and other books that are widely used in history courses in college programs all across the United States. The textbooks that were selected can be grouped into six categories: Western Civilization, twentieth-century world history, twentieth-century European history, Russian and Soviet history, American foreign policy in the Cold War, and East and Central European history in the twentieth century and/or after 1945. There is a great degree of variation between these textbooks. Some attribute a greater importance to the Revolution while some only see it as a minor episode in the Cold War, some have valid information and some others come up with mistakes one would not expect from a college textbook. Obviously, each textbook approaches the topic of the Revolution from its own perspective. Usually the closer the focus of the textbook is to Hungary spatially and to 1956 chronologically the more elaborate and accurate its analysis of the Revolution is.

There were some common misconceptions that Glant encountered in almost every textbook he examined. To give a few examples almost every one of them claimed that the Soviet military intervention came as a response to the announcement of Imre Nagy that Hungary would leave the Warsaw Pact. In fact this happened the other way around, it was the Soviet attack that came first. Another common error is that many of the textbooks attribute the execution of Imre Nagy to the Soviets, while it was Kádár who insisted on it. In general Glant finds that the quality of the coverage of the Revolution in the books he examined was surprisingly low. He makes a valid point when he suggests that it is up to us, Hungarians, and especially Hungarian scholars, to help Americans revise their knowledge about the Revolution, to correct these misconceptions.

The literary genre that is most often associated with the Revolution of 1956 is poetry—still. That nonwithstanding Glant chose to examine the English-language prose related to this historic event. The fact that his is the first attempt to overview this material is remarkable, especially if we consider the magnitude of this literature. He analyzed circa forty books, among them personal accounts of American journalists and Hungarian refugees, memoirs and family histories, novels, mysteries and juvenile fiction. Some of these works had been completely forgotten, but some others had become bestsellers, achieved commercial success and became relatively well-known, such as *The Bridge at Andau* or *In Praise of Older Women* (Glant 2007, 137). As far as the history of East and Central

Europe is concerned the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 seems to be one of the most favorite topics. The majority of these works was published either shortly after the 1956 Revolution, or in the early 1990s. The reasons for the first wave of publications are fairly obvious, while the second wave was the result of an increased interest in the region due to the political changes. It is gratifying to see that the Hungarian Revolution remains an interesting topic for Americans. Unfortunately, very few of these works are available for the Hungarian reader, most of them have not been translated to Hungarian. Also, it would probably be worthwhile to analyze some of these texts as works of literature.

The most interesting essay in the book is probably the one about Vice President Richard M. Nixon's refugee fact-finding trip to the Austrian refugee camps and its memory, the painting titled *Nixon at Andau* (or *Meeting at Andau*) by the Hungarian-American artist, Ferenc Daday. The general topic of this chapter is the representation of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 in fine arts. The essay is an excellent case study. First the actual historical event is introduced then we can read about its artistic representation. We get a real insight into the way the collective consciousness works. Basically it was Daday that brought the trip of Nixon back to public memory. The work of art in question is the reproduction of an event that never happened, at least certainly not in the form that Daday painted it. But through an examination of the painting we can get to know a lot about the artist's perception of the Hungarian Revolution and the revolutionaries, and also about some of the stereotypes about them. We can see how the memory is manipulated through all these various images. A special and very unique feature of this chapter is the interview Glant made with the painter, through which we can gain interesting insight into the way Daday thinks about his work. It would really be appealing to read similar in-depth analysis of other works, too.

In the appendix of the English version of *Remember Hungary 1956* there is a sample of the various commemorative events that took place in the United States the year of the 50th anniversary of the Revolution. This was prepared by Professor Peter Pastor of Montclair State University, New Jersey. He enumerates the academic activities related to the celebrations, governmental proclamations commemorating the Hungarian Revolution and activities by the Hungarian-American communities. As it was already mentioned earlier the Hungarian version has a whole chapter dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary. In this edition the appendix contains

several lists related to the Revolution, including a bibliography of prose works on the subject, a list of North American dissertations in the topic, the academic memory of the 50th anniversary, and a list of statues and commemorative plaques.

The essay that is missing from the English edition, and that is the last chapter of the Hungarian edition, is about the 50th anniversary. It is a discussion of how each of the five branches of the collective memory: the media, politics, academy, literature and fine arts contributed to the celebration. We can conclude that special attention was given to the Revolution, it was commemorated in the press, in film, on billboards, by special political visits and proclamations, by publishing various books, with statues and commemorative plaques, and even with a computer game. We all know that the 50th anniversary had certain political implications in Hungary. This was not different in the United States either, there were many allusions to the contemporary political situation, attempts to link it to the American involvement in the Middle East. Many American politicians compared communist Hungary to Iraq under Saddam Hussein.

The events of the 50th anniversary also show that the memory of the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence is still alive in the American collective memory. It was high time to start exploring the memories of the Revolution, especially as this is probably the most memorable event in Hungarian history for the Americans. Tibor Glant has started the work, but it is far from being over. There are many fields of remembering that have not been covered yet, including television, the Internet, several works of art, not to mention a literary analysis of the texts collected by Tibor Glant. *Remember Hungary 1956* is a reading that can be recommended to everybody who is interested in Hungarian-American relations or the Revolution of 1956.

Tribute to a Great Scholar of American Studies in Hungary

Vadon, Lehel. *To the Memory of Sarolta Kretzoi* Eger: Eszterházy Károly College, Department of American Studies, Líceum Kiadó, 2009. 338 pp.

András Csillag

Sarolta Kretzoi (1928–2008), the distinguished educator and literary historian of international stature, was among the pioneers who introduced American Studies in Hungary. A survey of the rich bibliography of her writings confirms the fact that—apart from a few British topics—the overwhelming majority of her publications was concerned with American Studies, especially literature, history and culture. She was the first scholar in this country to dedicate virtually all of her research and editorial activity to American Studies, and she did so in an era politically unfriendly to such endeavors. As an inspiring teacher and mentor to a new generation of Americanists in the late twentieth century, her memory lives on in former students—most of them teachers today—who graduated from the universities of Debrecen, Szeged and Budapest.

After working briefly as a bibliographer, Kretzoi's career as an educator and literary scholar found its foothold in 1961, when Professor László Országh, the "grand old man" of American Studies in Hungary, invited her to Debrecen University (KLTE). She taught various courses there to students of English, soon focusing on American literature and culture. Under the guidance of Országh, her patron and mentor, she became an eminent scholar and an impressive, highly appreciated member of the English department. Working with Országh as his close associate, her interest and role in laying the foundations of and finding a place for American Studies in the Hungarian higher educational system proved to be truly significant. Kretzoi, a native of Budapest, was married to a renowned paleontologist. Her earliest publications and translations

appeared under the name "Valkay Sarolta," then "Kretzoi Miklósné" (Mrs.), a name she used both in everyday life and as an author. Later, especially after her divorce, she changed her name to "Kretzoi Sarolta" or "Charlotte Kretzoi."

Professor Kretzoi was a remarkable representative of American Studies not only as a scholar but in the lasting impression she left on her students. One of her early disciples at Debrecen's Kossuth University, Zsolt Virágos, had this to say about her in retrospect:

> (She) "was a woman of poise, over thirty, self-possessed, pleasant to look at ... her look was both intelligent and penetrating ... In addition to being a successful teacher, she was also a colorful personality, a devoted colleague, and a sophisticated person whose intellect was always in high gear ... We were particularly impressed with her excellent command of English, not to mention her outstanding pronunciation." (pp. 11–12)

Following a brief period when she was employed by a publishing house, Kretzoi was invited to the University of Szeged (JATE) in the fall of 1972. She soon became head of the English department there. According to Zoltán Vajda, a contributor to the volume here under review, it is perhaps "not an exaggeration to call her the true founder of English and American Studies in Szeged." (p. 13) The present reviewer, who was then a student of English at JATE, can only confirm that the standard of organization, instruction and academic work at the department during her tenure improved remarkably. New curricula were developed according to the requirements of modern academic practice. She taught courses mainly in English and American literature but, as she had first-hand experience with and information about life and society in America, a new survey course on American civilization was also introduced.

Kretzoi, who often quoted and referred to Országh in important organizational matters, was herself well-informed and well-connected, fully aware of recent developments on the international academic scene. British and American guest lecturers and instructors came to Szeged on a regular basis, while limited exchange programs to travel abroad were offered to students for the first time in a gradually more tolerant political atmosphere. Thanks largely to Kretzoi's efforts and motivating spirit, we may observe that the mid-seventies were a time in Szeged when students were able to turn their attention to American Studies as a new and distinct discipline. For those with scholarly ambitions she was always available, ready to give advice and encourage students to involve themselves in

research and conferences. Even after she left Szeged in 1976, she continued to be a mentor to those working toward a doctorate. Her constant inspiration and assistance, occasionally even her use of international connections, proved to be invaluable to her former students in that city.

While still at the University of Szeged, Kretzoi's field of interest and research encompassed various aspects and periods of American literature and culture, from poetry to fiction, essay to translation, biography to history. As Lehel Vadon, the editor of the volume, rightly points out, her translations into Hungarian and her editorial works have played an important role in disseminating American literature in this country. Her pioneering major monograph, *Az amerikai irodalom kezdetei, 1607–1750* (The Beginnings of American Literature), published in 1976, is a comprehensive study of the history of colonial literary culture, in which she discusses the development, flourishing and decline of Puritan literary theory.

In 1977, Sarolta Kretzoi relocated to Budapest, joining the Department of English Language and Literature at Eötvös Loránd University. Thus began the final period of her university career, lasting through 1991, when she retired. In Vadon's assessment, her tenure in Budapest was the culmination of a stellar career indeed: "She was a pivotal professor who brought to the study of American literature and culture a remarkably broad perspective and generated new knowledge in an unusually extensive area, from Puritanism to Modernism, prose and poetry to drama, expanding the canon to include a wide array of diverse voices." (p. 14) At the same time, it should be emphasized that Kretzoi's love of history as a background and a key to understanding social processes was also visible in most of her writings, clearly manifesting itself in such essays on Hungarian–American historical relations as *The American Civil War as Reflected in the Hungarian Press, 1861–1865* (1965) and *United States History in Hungary: Research and Teaching* (1985).

The publication of this commemorative volume, conceived and edited by Professor Lehel Vadon of Eger to pay tribute to Sarolta Kretzoi's oeuvre soon after her death, is an admirable achievement. Vadon, himself a disciple of Kretzoi who felt indebted to her, initiated the project by inviting former students and colleagues to contribute recollections and substantive essays to what must be judged a fitting memorial. In addition to the excellent introductory chapters by the editor

on Kretzoi's biography and scholarly achievements (bibliography), the volume contains nineteen independent essays by Hungarian and American authors. Most of them are renowned scholars in the field of American Studies teaching at Hungarian universities. The contributors celebrate Kretzoi's life and work with essays on subjects ranging from literature, history and gender studies to photography, cinematography, journalism and Hungarian–American relations.

Professor Zoltán Abádi-Nagy's *From Fabula to Story: Cultural Potential and Narrative Technique* is a case study of Toni Morrison's novel *Jazz*. Zsófia Bán, another former student, in her essay *Picture This: Captivity Narratives as Photograph*, gives credit to Kretzoi for her own pursuit of American Studies with these words: "As our academic years went by, she broadened our knowledge in that fascinating, exuberant manner that (was) her very own, opening up a vast, new and exciting territory, a terra incognita, as it were." (p. 77)

Enikő Bollobás, in *Costuming the Body: On Gender Constructions in James, Chopin, and Wharton*, revisits some canonical texts of American literature to show how womanhood is influenced and shaped by the inscriptions of costume on the body. Thomas Cooper writes about translations of Ezra Pound, while András Csillag sheds new light on the relationship of Joseph Pulitzer to his native Hungary and the Hungarians. Éva Federmayer discusses the iconography of the "Negro woman" through the first remaining race movie by Oscar Micheaux. Donald E. Morse provides an analysis of the critical reception of Kurt Vonnegut's "fantastic" novel *Breakfast of Champions*. Zoltán Peterecz describes anti-Semitism in the Hungary of the 1920s in connection with the activities of American banker James Speyer. Judit Szathmári explores the widely used term "Indian country," now meaning virtually any place in North America with an evident Indian presence. András Tarnóc writes about the use and misuse of religion in the historical *Narrative* of Robert Eastburn, held captive by Indians at the time of the French and Indian War. Lehel Vadon studies the reception of Harriet Beecher Stowe and her *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as reflected in the Hungarian press, in the literary history, and in the theatrical life of this country.

In the closing chapters of the volume, Zoltán Vajda contemplates the Federalist and Antifederalist views of national identity in the early American republic, while Gabriella Varró contrasts Sam Shepard's play *Fool For Love* with its movie version. Historian István Kornél Vida analyzes the motives of Hungarian soldiers who fought in the American

Civil War ("*To see this great country united again*"). Zsolt Virágos introduces readers to a consideration of the literary uses of M2-type myths. And finally, Gabriella Vöő is concerned with colonialist representations of the theme of cannibalism in Herman Melville's *Typee* and *Moby-Dick*.

Exploring an Understudied Area in David Mamet

Németh, Lenke Mária. *"All It is, It's a Carnival": Reading David Mamet's Women Characters with Bakhtin.* Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2007. 144 pp.

Mária Kurdi

In 1999 the author of the book reviewed below published an article in which she surveys critical responses to the productions of three of David Mamet's plays in Hungary, from the late 1980s to the early 1990s. That article is rather short, mainly because of the scantiness of the material, yet Németh perceptively remarks in it that the Hungarian critics employ "indigenous" filters in their approach which "best exemplify the possibility of multiple interpretations of Mamet's dramas" ("Critical Response" 315). During the years after the publication of this writing by Németh until today Hungarian critical response to the work of Mamet has not become enriched considerably, unless we regard the commentaries on the internationally successful film-versions of his major plays, so a book-length study about the American playwright is more than welcome in our country. The present monographic work is based on Lenke Mária Németh's PhD dissertation, the writing of which was supervised by Professor Zoltán Abádi Nagy. An elegantly produced and efficiently proof-read volume, it saw the light as the 27th piece in the relevant publication series of the University of Debrecen.

True to her above quoted proposition that the Mametian dramatic world can be interpreted in a multiplicity of ways, Németh embarks on a new territory of research: she devotes the book to Mamet's female characters, deploying Bakhtin's theories as the basic critical underpinning. At first sight, both of these approaches surprise the reader: why to fcous on women in an analysis of the characteristically macho world of the theatre of Mamet, and why to apply, in the interpretation of plays, theory by Bakhtin, who, as the author makes it clear, did not think much of the genre of drama, especially in comparison with the novel.

Németh has included a couple of introductory chapters to answer these questions, which broaden the scope toward a variety of further relevant critical and thematic issues as well as theoretical ramifications. One important consideration of the author is the interface between Mamet's position in contemporary American drama and the postmodern. From the respective trains of thought it can be inferred that Mamet is and is not a postmodern writer at the same time. Németh writes that the "dispersed self," a salient attribute of the postmodern, "is not objectified in any visible manner but manifest in the discourse of the characters, as in Mamet's plays" (47). Even if, she continues later, "[f]rom the perspective of the central thematic concern in postmodern dramatic works, Mamet affiliates with the group of postmodern dramatists ... we cannot label Mamet's drama as postmodern as plot—even if it is rudimentary, ... and character still exist in his plays" (48). The implication is that the playwright's work is characterized by liminality, which corresponds to one of the main principles of Bakhtin's theory of the carnival and reinforces the contention of the author that the Mametian world is a carnivalized one. Regarding trends in American drama Mamet, as an inheritor of Arthur Miller's humanism, while the creator of fragmented discourse and identities in his own plays, can be seen as taking an in-between position.

Another important consideration of the author is to look at the adaptability of Bakhtin's views on the novel to drama, and the possible interpretation of his views on drama in relation to changes in the genre (from modern to postmodern), and to Mamet's drama. Németh confronts a unique complexity of issues here. On the one hand, she concerns herself with the polyphonic structure of character arrangement, which can be "dialogized" or undialogized" in her terminology, depending on the presence of dialogicity between the represented consciousnesses in the Bakhtinian sense. "In contrast with *undialogized polyphonic design* prevalent in postmodern drama, in [Mamet's] plays *dialogized polyphonic structure* operates" (56–57, emphasis in the original), she states. On the other hand, Németh opines that "the subversive and decentering carnival spirit and style have much in common with similar impulses in postmodernism" (70), therefore the carnivalized space of Mamet's drama can be regarded as a postmodern feature. Once again, the paradoxical nature of Mamet's work is implied here. To explore details and nuances against a broader context, it would have been worthwhile to take note of other critics' interpretation of Bakhtin's thoughts on drama in relation to

Anglo-American dramatic works. Feminist scholar Helene Keyssar, for instance, enlists, among others, Ntozake Shange's *for colored girsl who have considered suicide when the rainbow is enuf*, Caryl Churchill's *A Mouthful of Birds*, and Adrienne Kennedy's *The Owl Answers* as plays in which "the spectacle and dialogue of theatre mediate but do not resolve differences; the essential strategies of these plays is to bring together diverse discourses in such a way that they interanimate each other and avoid an overarching authorial point of view" (122). The presence of the carnival spirit and hereroglossia in much of modern drama is evident, according to Keyssar, which calls Bakhtin's convictions about the rigidities of drama as a literary form into question. In spite of Bakhtin, the development of the genre in the twentieth-century displays cross-generic traits which allow for assessment and evaluation through Bakhtinian lens. Németh's study offers a thoughtful example of how a critic can utilise such a multi-dimensional approach.

After the suspense generated by the theoretical chapters that provide the necessary analytical tools, the second half of the book discusses Mametian texts to verify the author's initial claim about the importance of the female characters in the male-dominated world of the dramatist. Németh postulates that "the women characters challenge the authority of the patriarchal society, thereby they shake its foundations and also subvert some of its long-established social and cultural conventions. Concurrently with this transaction, the women characters lay bare the corrupt and debased value system of patriarchy" (16). Drawing on Bakhtin's ideas and terms, it is the specific modes of laying bare that Németh takes account of and evaluates in her discussions. While stressing Mamet's unconventional portrayal of women, she points to the ambiguities of the representational process and convincingly argues that the crowning-decrowning phases of the carnival can be applied to the analysis of the Mametian female characters' subversion of American business values with some caution. She finds that the "crowning" (in fact, self-empowerment) of Carol in *Oleanna* proves to be a highly dubious transaction, while it operates in alternative ways and with different effects in *House of Games* and *Speed-the-Plow*.

The misogyny ascribed to Mamet by several female critics is thoroughly challenged by Németh's analysis of the dramatic space and context in which the women characters learn to emulate male violence and aggressiveness, as it happens in the love relationships the early plays *Sexual Perversity in Chicago* and *The Woods* portray. An especially

thought-provoking part of the study is the section where Németh departs from Bakhtin's formula of self-completion as it appears in the Russian writer's essay "Author and Hero in Aesthetic Activity." Interpreting the implications of the model for her own analytical purpose, the author explores how Mamet, through the women protagonists of the plays entitled *The Cryptogram* and *The Old Neighbourhood*, reveals "the lack of the dialogical self" as a fundamental malaise in contemporary American society (108). The fact that these works embody versions of the family play, a traditional subgenre justifiably prominent in national theatre history, gives even more weight to Mamet's exposure and critique of the said (and sad) lack.

Carefully argued and employing a precise scholarly vocabulary, the study, on the whole, is a credit to the author and her research supervisor as an original contribution to Mamet criticism. The comprehensive bibliography at the end of the book provides a valuable list of core material for other researchers. "Paradoxical," a word which occurs in the text not a few times referring to Mamet's links with the postmodern, is appropriate also for noting that the intellectual curiosity and informed ambition of the author to include such a wide array of theoretical assumptions and possible models entails a weakness; in the given space Németh is not always able to make sufficient connections between the topics she engages with. A more sustained treatment of the issue of women's new roles growing out of the variously experienced female victimization in patriarchal society, for instance, would have necessitated some tightening of the relevant analytical threads. Thus the book itself is not without some postmodern fragmentation, which, however, might work beneficially in inspiring readers to fill in the gaps and revise their former, perhaps unduly fixed judgements of Mamet's world and its concern with gender.

Works Cited

Keyssar, Helene. "Drama and the Dialogic Imagination: *The Heidi Chronicles* and *Fefu and her Friends*." *Feminist Theatre and Theory*. Ed. Helene Keyssar. London: Macmillan, 1996. 109–36.

Németh, Lenke. "Critical Response to David Mamet's Plays in Hungary: A Reflection on Hungarian Sentiments." *Happy Returns: Esssays for Professor István Pálffy*. Ed. Péter Szaffkó and Tamás Bényei. KLTE Debrecen: Institute of English and American Studies, 1999. 310–15.

Collected Tributes to the Memory of László Országh

Vadon, Lehel ed. *In Memoriam Országh László. Születésének 100. évfordulójára* [*On the Centenary of His Birth*]. Eger: Eszterházy Károly Főiskola, Amerikanisztika Tanszék, Líceum Kiadó, 2007. 390 pp.

Mária Kurdi

This uniquely elegant volume was edited and published in memory of László Országh (1907–1984), the eminent scholar, educator, and lexicographer, to mark the centenary of his birth. Its publication was part of the events organized to commemorate the work of Országh at different venues in a highly clebratory spirit. On 25 October 2007, declared the Országh Memorial Day, at the Institute of English and American Studies of the University of Debrecen, where Országh was professor and head of department for years before his retirement in 1968, memorial lectures were delivered by some of his former students and colleagues, well-known representative figures in our profession today. Three books were launched at the same time: the volume reviewed here, *In memoriam Országh László*, edited by Lehel Vadon, *Országh László válogatott írásai* (Selected Writings of László Országh), edited by Zsolt Virágos, and a facsimile edition of *A Concise Dictionary of the English and Hungarian Languages*, the very first of Országh's several dictionaries, by Akadémiai Kiadó in Budapest. The Memorial Day celebrations included the inauguration of the Országh Memorial Lane, a beautiful path shaded by trees between the main building of the University of Debrecen campus and its Botanical Gardens, where Országh used to like to walk. Some days after the above events in Debrecen, respective memorial plaques were placed and unveiled on the wall of the house where Országh lived in Budapest, and on the wall of the house where he was born in Szombathely.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Országh became a legendary figure in the academic world already in his lifetime. When they first met him, students felt intimidated if not benumbed by the dignified yet towering presence and awesome knowledge of this man, who united the ardent scholar and the humanist gentleman in one person. As time passed, Országh revealed more of his uncommonly attentive and energetic personality to his students, modifying their first impression to a considerable extent. There are many who still remember that while he remained demanding though never exacting he could be very kind and understanding to his students, and managed to keep this variety of attitudes in a mysteriously stable balance. The superior elegance of the volume in hand reminds the reader of this inimitable originality coupled with rare modesty in Országh. He was ready to share his knowledge and guide others in respect of their professional needs and human interests: in his company a student was enabled to gain access to a world of intellectual treasures, spiritual and moral values as transmitted through the study of the English language, English-speaking literatures and cultures. Remembering him brings this experience back to mind with the reassuring conviction that quality always has its intrinsic importance, which lends one extra strength to confront and resolve the shortcomings and problems encountered in the profession, the society, or life in general.

Lehel Vadon, a student of Hungarian and English at Lajos Kossuth University in the 1960s, the "Országh-era" there, and now professor of American Studies at Eszterházy Károly College, Eger, is the author or editor of numerous studies and books on American literature, an area he chose for his research under the influence of Országh. His recent work, the three-volume *Az amerikai irodalom és irodalomtudomány bibliográfiája Magyarországon 2000-ig* (A Bibliography of American Literature and Literary Scholarship in Hungary to 2000) is not only of a formidable size but also of a remarkable breadth and comprehensiveness. Having appeared in the centenary year, on several levels it functions as a mirror of the legacy of Országh, the founding father of the discipline of American Studies in Hungary. In the context of Vadon's research activities the present volume is a product well earning the label: a labour of love. The careful selection of the material reflects his appreciation of and admiration for Országh and the heritage he left behind in terms of dictionaries, scholarly publications, textbooks, anthologies and the less visible but penetrating mental transformation of those he taught and worked with. In the editorial work Vadon was assisted by three

outstanding representatives of English and American Studies in Hungary: Zoltán Abádi-Nagy, Miklós Kontra, and Zsolt Virágos, former students, later colleagues and friends of Országh.

The present volume is both celebratory and informative, collecting some of the best earlier published articles about Országh along with studies that were written for the occasion of the centenary. Part one contains writings on Országh's life and career, complete with a bibliography of his works compiled by Vadon, the specific feature of which is that it also includes items published or republished in an unchanged, expanded or amended form after Országh's death in 1984 until today. A highlight of this section of the book is the Hungarian version of the Round Table chaired by Zsolt Virágos with the participation of seven distinguished scholars beside himself at the ESSE Conference that the University of Debrecen hosted in 1997. Enlivened by personal anecdotes and sensitive to professional and human details, the recorded conversation of the paticipants offers a manysided picture of Országh's activities in different fields, including his ardent dedication to the cause of introducing American Studies to the Hungarian academic world. The second part of the volume includes individual studies appreciating Országh's work in linguistics, lexicography and literature. János Balázs writes about him as a linguist, while the contribution of Miklós Kontra discusses aspects of Országh's views on the tasks and duties of a lexicographer. The writing by Péter Egri is a comprehensive guide to Országh's literary scholarship, stressing the broad range that his books and essays covered from Shakespeare to the American modernists. Next to these articles, the paradoxical title of Gyula Kodolányi's piece „Egy magyar gentleman – a Kádár-korszakban" (A Hungarian Gentleman in the Kadar era) has become a telling catchphrase since its first appearance to describe the character of Országh in a period which did not tolerate the idea of a gentleman on ideological grounds. Kodolányi emphasizes not only the anachronism of Országh's figure against the era, but also the sense of reality and truthfulness which radiated from him in stark contrast with the lies and double-dealings governing life in those years (143).

Part three of the book includes recollections, obituaries, as well as reviews, paying tribute to Országh's outstanding achivement and profound humanity by quoting personal experiences and feelings. Peter Sherwood, who worked with him on the revisions of the English-Hungarian, Hungarian-English dicitonaries included some letters by

Országh in the piece entitled „Ugye 'Országh' azt jelenti magyarul, hogy 'szótár'?: emlékeim Országh Lászlóról, néhány levele kapcsán" (Isn't 'Országh' the Hungarian for 'Dictionary'?: Memories and Letters of László Országh). Sherwood's recollections contain the memorable sentence: "I am sad but greatly privileged to have been the addressee of the last letter he wrote, dated Christmas 1983, only a few weeks before his death. It is entirely fitting, and moving, that it should be devoted to another great one-man lexicographer of our time, Eric Partridge" (283). The letter is avalaible for the readers of the volume, a testimony to its author's intellectual energy and curiosity even at the age of 77, near his death. In one of the obituaries Péter Egri laments the fact that with the death of Országh philology as an undivided discipline comprising linguistics and literature in its original sense, ceased to exist in Hungary. On a more persanal note, the obituary mentions the sparkling irony which made Országh so memorable as a human being (213). The humane side is further emphasized by an earlier written review, republished now in Hungarian, in which Csilla Bertha claims that "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" (206). Bertha's words are precise in grasping the spirit of the approach that Országh deserves, which pervades the work of the editors and contributors in the present volume as well.

After respective interviews with Országh by Ágnes Gergely and Zoltán Szilassy, and Dezső Tandori's playfully wordy poems inspired by Országh as a master of words, the book concludes with three studies coming out of the lectures their authors gave in Debrecen on the Országh Memorial Day. The first, on Országh's role as a professor at Debrecen, by Zoltán Abádi Nagy, is a substantially researched, multichaptered article displaying a set of fascinating details, much of it published here for the first time, about the circumstances in which Országh was working during the two periods (1946–50 and 1957–68) when he chaired the English Department of Kossuth Lajos University. It is a miracle, and can be attributed to his uncommonly strong belief in his mission, that Országh built up such a high-quality deparment with sufficient library facilities despite the fact that he, like many others, was plagued by the senseless demands and often existentially dangerous situations of the communist system. Even then, however, Abádi Nagy writes, merit was noticed and in 1961 the university leadership nominated Országh for the highly prestigeous Kossuth Prize (354). It is a shame that eventually, due to

ideological obstacles, he did not get the prize, and his achievement was duly recognized abroad and not in his home country. For his outstanding work in the field of English Studies and its branches he received the title Commander of the Order of the British Empire (C.B.E.) in 1979. Abádi Nagy mentions that since Országh's funeral was a strictly private event without the paticipation of colleagues and friends, a memorial session was held at the Academy following his death in early 1984. As one of those present I do not remember the contents of the speeches from the distance of so many years, only the solemn atmosphere of this kind of farewell to Országh and, what Abádi Nagy does not write about in the article surveyed here, the moments of his own recital of Országh's favourite poem, "Crossing the Bar" by Tennyson, in a most moving tone.

Closely following, Miklós Kontra's contribution discusses Országh's work in Budapest after education in the English and other Western language departments, including Debrecen, was suspended in 1950 for seven years. Illustrated by copies of letters, the article abounds in telling examples of the problems Országh encountered while editing his monumental, multi-volume enterprise, *A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára* (Explanatory Dictionary of the Hungarian Language). The present book is closed by a piece on the maintenance of Országh's legacy in a variety of ways and forms. The author, Zsolt Virágos, offers an informative account of, for instance, the history of the Országh Prize founded in 1997, and the process during which a highly prestigeous Fulbright grant became named after the great man, and has been called the Országh Chair professorship since then. From Virágos's vivid description the reader learns that at the Institute of English and American Studies at the University of Debrecen a seminar room bears Országh's name, and the class sessions and programs held there day-to-day are presided by a photo of Országh, evoking the spirit in which he developed his one-time English Department, the predecessor of the present-day Institute.

On the whole, *In Memoriam Országh László* is characterized by a richness which makes it not only an exceptional collection but a source of inspiration. With the scope of information and depth of human feeling that the writings it includes present and disclose, it can have a definite role in facilitating that Országh's example remain a direct or indirect influence on the value system of teachers, scholars and students for many more years.

One More Tally of Professor Országh's Impact and Scholarly Achievement

Virágos, Zsolt. ed. *Országh László válogatott írásai* [*The Selected Writings of László Országh*]. Orbis Litterarum 16. Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2007. 585 pp.
Köbölkuti, Katalin and Molnár, Katalin. (eds.) *Országh László emlékezete* [*In Honorem Országh László*]. Szombathely: Savaria UP, 2008. 72 pp.

Gergely Makláry

László Országh (1907–1984), the eminent lexicographer and professor of English at Debrecen's Lajos Kossuth University (now the University of Debrecen), would have been 100 years old in 2007. A household name in Hungary as the creator of English and Hungarian bilingual dictionaries, Országh had an extensive and prolific career that encompassed several specialties within the broad fields of English and American Studies and linguistics. He was an all-rounder: a language teacher, a Shakespeare philologist, a scholar of Anglo-American–Hungarian cultural contacts, an excellent promoter and organizer as head of the English Department at Debrecen, the founder of American Studies in Hungary, the (co-)author, editor and compiler of books, monographs, textbooks, readers and anthologies, the editor-in-chief of the first modern defining dictionary of Hungarian and, to many of his students and colleagues, a trusted mentor and benefactor.

Országh left many tracks in his profession: perhaps his most influential achievement outside lexicography was his monograph *Az amerikai irodalom története* (1967), which was the first comprehensive survey in Hungarian of the history of American literature. Although Országh received little recognition in the politically hostile climate of communist Hungary, he was compensated by being awarded the honorary title of Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) in 1979 for

his role as a bridge-builder and cultural mediator, and by being the only non-US scholar to have a Fulbright Visiting Professorship, the László Országh Chair in American Studies, named after him.

In October and November 2007, several commemorative events were held to mark the centenary of Országh's birth: in Debrecen, a László Országh Memorial Day was held, lectures were given on his life and works, books by and about him were exhibited, and a walkway on the woodland campus was named after him; in Budapest, a bronze relief was unveiled on the facade of the house where Országh lived; and in Szombathely, his birthplace, a conference was organized in his honor and a memorial plaque was placed on the outside wall of his one-time home.

An important contribution to the commemoration was the publication of *Országh László válogatott írásai* (= Selected Works of László Országh), a collection of Országh's scholarly writings spanning the entire breadth of his career. Edited by Zsolt Virágos, a professor at the University of Debrecen's Institute of English and American Studies and a former student of Országh's, this volume brings together selected writings and extracts from Országh's major fields of academic pursuit. (Not incidentally, the book came out at the same time as another important publication, the memorial volume *In Memoriam Országh László*, edited by Lehel Vadon and published by the Eszterházy Károly College in Eger.)

The impressively hefty volume is structured as follows (the numbers in parentheses represent the number of pieces in each section): Foreword; I. American Studies: theory, program and practice (5); II. American Studies: the literary culture (9); III. English Studies: British literary culture and renaissance studies (7); IV. Studies in lexicography (7); V. Writings on language pedagogy (4); VI. Cultural history and etymology (6). The first two sections comprise over one-third of the book; the chapter on English Studies roughly another third; the writings on lexicography twenty percent; and the remaining two shorter sections make up the rest. One cannot but applaud the editor's decision to append to the volume Országh's acceptance speech, delivered in English at the British Embassy in Budapest in January 1979, on the occasion of receiving his CBE. The majority of the 38 + 1 selected writings were written in the 1960s and 1970s; eight of them are in English. As Zsolt Virágos informs us in his introductory essay, Péter Dávidházi (chapter III) and Miklós Kontra (chapters IV–VI) provided assistance in the selection of the material. The book offers a representative selection and cross-section of Országh's scholarly output, including writings that are hard, if

not impossible, to come by, even in second-hand bookshops. This was in fact a stated aim of the volume: to fulfill the important cultural mission of preserving these writings and making them available to new audiences.

In view of the sheer bulk of Országh's lifework, the selection of what to include must have been a laborious task. As we learn from the foreword, not counting the more than 20,000 pages that he edited, Országh authored nearly 6,000 pages, of which the present volume contains about ten percent. In addition to showcasing Országh's formidable erudition, the selections also demonstrate the author's vivid and captivating style and the lucidity of his argumentation. The only quibble that can be made about the book is the lack of an index, which would have facilitated cross-referencing for students and scholars. However, besides scholars and English majors, the book is an enlightening reading for anyone interested in literary history, renaissance studies, lexicography, language history, and English and American Studies.

The most fascinating chapters of the book, at least for this reviewer, are the first two on American Studies. A highlight of Chapter I is Országh's "Az amerikanisztika feladatai Magyarországon," in which he draws up a program for American Studies in Hungary—a bold move in 1965, in the midst of the Cold War and at the height of the Kádár era. (Only a few years had passed since the 1957 reopening of the Debrecen English Department after seven years of forced interruption brought about by a political decision of the hard-line communist regime!) In particular, Országh argued for the need to produce a comprehensive standard work on American Studies and an American literary history in Hungarian; the study of Hungarian-American cultural ties and contacts; the establishment of an American Studies department in Hungary; and the exchange of scholars between the two countries. Also included in this chapter is Országh's preface to his ground-breaking handbook *Bevezetés az amerikanisztikába* (= Introduction to American Studies) (1972), in which he mapped out the main tasks involved in promoting research in the then-nascent field of American Studies in Hungary. Other highlights from Chapter II are an abridged version of Országh's doctoral dissertation, from 1935, on the development of American literary historiography (researched during his post-graduate scholarship at Florida's Rollins College in 1930-31, where he studied under renowned American literary historian Fred Lewis Pattee); an excerpt from *Az amerikai irodalom története*; and Országh's studies on Sinclair Lewis and John Steinbeck.

Chapter III contains writings on the gentleman ethos, the social and cultural role of the higher gentry in the development of English literature; a treatise on British Modernist poetry, in which readers may get a glimpse of Országh's wry, witty sense of humor when he sums up his assessment of Ezra Pound's disconcertingly abstruse cantos as "Vödörszám nem lehet likőrt inni" ("You can't drink liqueur by the bucketload"; p. 247); essays on English renaissance literature and on the influence of social class on the rise of the English novel; Országh's monograph on Shakespeare (reproduced in its entirety); and an exacting review of Miklós Szenczi, Tibor Szobotka and Anna Katona's English literary history (written in Hungarian and published in 1972). These writings all date from the 1930s and 1940s, with the exception of the book review.

After the Debrecen English Department was closed down and his tenure was suspended in 1950, Országh self-confessedly took refuge in what Samuel Johnson once described as the "harmless drudgery" of dictionary-making (p. 585). In the first study in Chapter IV, Országh presents an expert analysis of Dr. Johnson's lexicographical method. Two studies in this section deal with the complexities involved in the editing of the seven-volume monolingual dictionary of the Hungarian language, *A Magyar Nyelv Értelmező Szótára* (1959–62), which is heralded as the greatest accomplishment in modern synchronic Hungarian lexicography. A welcome addition to this chapter is Országh's eloquent English-language study "A Plea for a Dictionary of Modern Idiomatic English" (1967), in which he highlights the principal deficiencies of monolingual English dictionaries and argues for a new type of English dictionary which, rather than aiming at comprehensiveness and including a plethora of quotations and etymological information, should put more emphasis on the clear indication of the semantic, syntactic and stylistic applicability of its entry-words. For, as Országh writes in a later essay on the same subject, "This is the only way to turn the herbarium-like dictionary with its *hortus siccus* of words into a linguistic diorama showing the natural habitat of English words in depth" (p. 531).

A sampling of Országh's writings on language pedagogy and cultural history/etymology comprise the last two chapters of the volume. Országh's tireless and active involvement in English language teaching is particularly evident from his "Ups and Downs in the Teaching of English" (1972), which traces the evolution of English language teaching in Hungary. Many of Országh's observations, such as his comment on the

need to tackle the shortage of well-qualified teachers, most of whom seek out other, more lucrative, jobs after graduation, are still relevant and should be well heeded by educational policy-makers in Hungary today. The writings on etymology concern the absorption of English loanwords into Hungarian (included is Országh's delightful piece on *csendilla*).

Országh's 1938 article, reprinted in *Országh László válogatott írásai*, on the travels of an 18th-century Anglican clergyman in Trans-danubian Hungary in search of remains of the Roman domination has been duplicated in *Országh László emlékezete*, the other book under review here. This slim volume contains five papers (in addition to the laudatory opening remarks) read at the conference held in Országh's honor in Szombathely on 8 November 2007 and is supplemented with a short biographical sketch and a series of photographs taken at the event. The entire booklet is printed on semi-glossy paper, which makes for crisp text and images.

The papers illuminate both personal and professional aspects of the late professor's life: Zsolt Virágos gives an overview of Országh's career and of the various commemorative events and publications and calls attention to the importance of continuing his legacy; Nándor Papp offers an appreciation of Országh as a caring and compassionate teacher, citing pieces of personal correspondence; Tamás Magay traces the publication history of Országh's 1948 *Concise English-Hungarian Dictionary* and enumerates the innovations introduced in multiple editions over the years (e.g. in the selection of vocabulary, the use of IPA phonetic symbols, meaning discrimination, phraseology, equivalents, culture-bound elements, and the use of illustrations and a visually appealing, user-friendly layout); Éva Ruzsicky highlights Országh's achievements in monolingual lexicography by recalling the meticulous preparatory work that went into the production of the explanatory dictionary; and Péter Hahner provides an assessment of Országh's work in American literary historiography from a historian's perspective, commending Országh for his wide-ranging historical and cultural knowledge.

While the booklet on the Szombathely conference is a valuable contribution to a fuller appreciation of Országh's outstanding lifework, the real treat here is Országh László válogatott írásai—a major publishing event that not only cements Országh's reputation as an erudite philologist among those who were already familiar with his oeuvre, but also serves a far more important purpose: by bringing together previously uncollected

or inaccessible writings, the volume presents an unmatched portrait of the "grand old man" of English and American Studies in Hungary to the oncoming younger generation of students and scholars.

"Comfortable disinterestedness": How the United States Looked at Hungary during World War I

Glant, Tibor. *Kettős tükörben: Magyarország helye az amerikai közvéleményben és külpolitikában az első világháború idején.* [*Through a Double Prism: Hungary's Place in American Public Opinion and Diplomacy during World War I*] **Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2008. 307 pp.**

Zoltán Peterecz

Some things never change. 90 years after the Treaty of Trianon the trauma it caused still lives on and may be seen as the seed of animosity and new confrontations among the countries living in the Central European area. Since post-Trianon Hungary has been the subject of most scholarly work in recent years, it is all the more important to learn about the historic period prior to it, so that we might gain some further perspective on issues involved. Gaining added knowledge about World War I can bring us to a closer understanding of Trianon as well. Tibor Glant's book, as he formulates it in the foreword, wishes to "dismantle myths," of which there are quite a few. (23) His work, based on twenty years of research, deals with one of the outright distorted versions of socialist history in Hungary after World War II: the relations between Hungary and the United States during World War I. His purpose with the extended Hungarian version of his book is to fill the vacuum that exists between the documented history and the analyses of relations of the two countries.[1]

---

[1] The original of the book came out ten years before the Hungarian version. Tibor Glant, *Through the Prism of the Habsburg Monarchy: Hungary in American Diplomacy and Public Opinion During the First World War* (Social Science Monographs: War and Society in East Central Europe vol. XXXVI. Highland Lakes, NJ: Atlantic Studies on Society in Change, Atlantic Research and Publications Inc., 1998. xx + 372 p.)

The social upheavals in Hungary following the armistice in the fall of 1918 and the infamous Treaty of Trianon of 1920 have served as the usual focal point for studies on relations between the two countries, of which Hungary did not exist as a single entity up until the conclusion of the World War. But the antecedents are just as important. The book deals with a score of prominent figures, including not only the usual suspects such as Woodrow Wilson, Colonel House, George Creel, Count Albert Apponyi (Glant's favorite Hungarian politician of the period), or Mihály Károlyi, but some lesser known persons that make the picture a whole, including Alexander (Sándor) Konta, Róza Bédy-Schwimmer, Jenő Bagger-Szekeres, or Mór Cukor. Through these people the author amply illustrates the importance of personality in diplomacy.

In the beginning of the book he summarizes the history of the views the two nations held about the other on the eve of the war: Americans thought of Hungarians as the land of hussars and nobles with a conspicuous vein of romanticism, and also as the land of Kossuth: whereas Hungarians held the view that the United States was the land of (economic) opportunity. As the author sums up, the four main factors in shaping the view about Hungarians were "the Kossuth myth, contemporary Hungarian politics, the American view of the immigrants, and the opinions of those Americans who had been to Hungary," but "romantic stereotypes" defined these views, which Glant calls "comfortable disinterestedness." (55, 58, 59) One of the main strengths of this (and other) chapters is the depth of sources provided about the emerging subjects, a trait that can be seen in Glant's other works as well.

The chapter called "Diplomacy" casts an important light on the issue of relations. Up to the very last weeks of the war, there were no explicit American-Hungarian affairs, and not much afterward either. This should come as no surprise, since Hungary was part of the Monarchy; therefore, it had no possibility to act as a sovereign nation. As it turns out, nor did it really want to. The tragedy was that by the time it almost decided to take such a course, nearly everybody had turned against it and the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the mutilation of Hungary became a foregone conclusion. As Glant points out, the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was a concept that only gradually gained shape and, in many ways, was an outgrowth of the events on the battlefield. The Slavic and Romanian minorities carried out ever-more effective propaganda warfare and through antipathy, the belief in self-determination, and secret treaties,

Britain and France accepted the idea that the Monarchy had to disappear and the losers must be punished.

Although the United States did not wish to see Hungary shorn of its ethnic blocs, because it understood the possible long-term repercussions, the successor states had a clear advantage over their old foe. President Wilson just could not go back on his main principle, self-determination. The new Czechoslovak, Romanian, and Yugoslav (Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom) states were all beneficiaries of policies that only sowed the seeds of future conflicts, conflicts that are still present. Thus, it is no wonder that Károlyi or Apponyi were rendered to an insignificant and unsuccessful role in the unfolding drama. In 1918 the anti-Hungarian voices gained ground, largely thanks to the successful work of the Slavic minorities working on propaganda in the United States. The chapter on propaganda shows that the strongest such activity was carried out by the British, often for the Slavic minorities, but Hungary was only a target in the last year of the war for territory. Wilson stated on October 18, 1918, that his tenth point, "The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development," was not valid anymore.

Another chapter of particular interest deals with the picture the American press painted about the Monarchy, in general, and about Hungary, in particular. This is the first such study with which Glant wishes to pay off "the old debt of our historiography." (103) He warns, however, that the sources are limited in numbers, their influence on public opinion and, in consequence, on foreign policy decision making was limited, and that the views of Hungary were often inextricably mixed with that of the Monarchy. Despite this fact, the main conclusion holds true that "the pre-war romantic and idealized view on Hungary went through a complete change and by 1918 it had become openly anti-Hungarian." (104) The biggest positive influence, from the Hungarian point of view, was due to Apponyi's five articles that were published in *The New York Times*. As the author puts it, "Apponyi single-handedly did more to win over the American public opinion than all the rest of the politicians and propagandists of the Central Powers together." (107) The first two articles appeared in the Sunday edition, which was important because this edition held an exclusive place in the newspaper market with huge circulations, sometimes close to a million copies. His fervent anti-Russian views might have found receptive ears, but his attack on American pseudo-neutrality

put an end to the possibility to publish widely and to his friendship with Theodore Roosevelt. In the end, Apponyi's articles provided only a meager positive influence on American public opinion.

Although "Wilson did not make a single concrete step to ensure de facto American neutrality," it is important to note that the American–British relations up until late 1916 were strained. (82) In March 1915, the British issued the Reprisals Order of March, which basically ordered all ships of presumed enemy destination to be subject to seizure. The tug-of-war of differing opinions went on and by 1916 the relations had worsened. The reason for the tension was mainly economic. On July 18, 1916, the British government issued a blacklist of eighty-seven American firms (the list also contained roughly 350 Latin American firms). These firms were accused or suspected of trading with the Central Powers. It was forbidden for British subjects to have any dealings with these firms. Fury swept across the United States. As Acting Secretary of State Frank Polk wrote to Colonel House, "This blacklisting order of the English […] is causing tremendous irritation and we will have to do something." Wilson was perhaps the angriest, and his anger stemmed in part from the British rejection of the House-Grey Memorandum in 1915, which would have insured a possible cooperation between the two nations toward a peace favorable to Great Britain. On July 23rd, he wrote to House, "I am, I must admit, about at the end of my patience with Great Britain and the Allies. This black list business is the last straw… I am seriously considering asking Congress to authorize me to prohibit loans and restrict exportations to the Allies… Can we any longer endure their intolerable course?" A strong protest was sent to Britain on July 26th to which no answer arrived for months. To embitter things further, despite a Senate resolution for clemency, Britain hanged Sir Roger Casement, who had planned an Irish revolution against England. The Irish-Americans, in particular, were angry and their large numbers insured that public opinion of the British was negative.[2]

---

[2] The quotations are from Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: Campaigns for Progressivism and Peace, 1916–1917* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965) 65, 66, and 67. Freshly reelected In November 1916, Wilson was at the end of his patience with the British. If they wanted to fight the US, he said to House, "they could do this country no serious hurt." May, Ernest R. *The World War and American Isolation, 1914–1917* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959) 362. The black list issue remained a serious issue until the U.S. had declared war on Germany. On April 27, 1917, the *London Gazette* announced that the American firms were dropped from

Going back to Hungary, American newspapermen sometimes referred to Hungarians as "clear thinking" and once it was written, "the typical Hungarian thinks of the Balkan nations as Europeans think of Africans." (114, 112) It is of importance and gives a very useful tool in analyzing contemporary American public opinion that the three newspapermen that traveled to Budapest in 1916, the most famous of them was William Bullitt, who also met with the most important people, Tisza, Andrássy, and Apponyi, did nothing to disperse the clichés about Hungarians. If anything, they rather strengthened it.

The George Creel-led Committee on Public Information (CPI) also comes into the limelight, but we learn that, similarly to the general press, concentrated almost exclusively on Germany. It did have a Hungarian office, which was headed by Sándor (Alexander) Konta, who was the president of the American Hungarian Loyalty League, but it played no role whatsoever in the relations between the two countries. The biggest problem for the Hungarians in the States was the question of loyalty to their new country. At the end of 1915, many Hungarian-Americans were subject to different atrocities in the wake of the Konstantin Theodore Dumba incident. When the ambassador of the Monarchy reported that Secretary of State William Jennings Bryant thought that the strong language in the *Lusitania* notes was an effort to calm down American public opinion in the wake of the *Lusitania*'s deliberate sinking by a German U-boat. The content of the report got back to the United States and caused both the resignation of Bryant and the expulsion of Dumba.[3] After the incident, most Hungarians living in their new country tried to prove their loyalty. The CPI also tried to influence the immigrants through their own newspapers and tried, successfully, to make them buy war bonds, which was seen as a way of demonstrating loyalty. What is important about Wilson and the CPI is, as Glant rightly concludes, that "it was not the separatist campaign that convinced the president, but it was the president who made the decision when and under what circumstances separatist views might be practiced in the United States." (177) Thus, it was the President that controlled the situation.

Glant sets out to dethrone another myth, that of the political importance of the Inquiry, Wilson's special group of experts who were to

---

it (Thomas A. Bailey, "The United States and the Black List During the Great War," *The Journal of Modern History*, 6.1 (March, 1934): 32.)

[3] The best book on the *Lusitania* is Colin Simpson, *Lusitania* (London: Longman, 1972).

plan the postwar map of Europe. As it turns out, the body was following Wilson's ideas and although it came up with numerous suggestions, it had no policy making mandate. Still, its influence and significance cannot be avoided. The Inquiry's last report was the most important from the Hungarian point of view, and we learn that the new borders of Hungary were basically already written in May 1918. Therefore, another popular fallacy, the one that the Americans were "defenders" of Hungary and its territory at the Paris Peace Conference, is proved false. Instead, the report in May 1918, contemplated the loss of two million Hungarians to the successor states and a Hungary of 112,000 square kilometers, only somewhat larger than the Treaty of Trianon ruled in the end. To be fair with the authors of that report, it states that such a plan "to place a large proportion of them [the Magyars] (nearly 25 percent) under the control of nationalistic groups whom they have regarded as serfs and inferiors would start violent irredentism and create future dissension and war." (193) Since the Inquiry, and within it the Austro-Hungarian section, did not deem it important to have an expert on hand who would be intimate with the Hungarian point of view, Glant rightly concludes that "the work of the committee was biased from the start." (196) The lack of comprehensive and practical plans for the territory of the Monarchy meant the failure of the American "scientific peace" even before the war ended. (197) There was simply no chance to resolve the deep-seated ethnic problems by the stroke of a pen.

We also learn that the work of the State Department, the War Department, and the Army and Navy Intelligence had no real effect on Wilson's foreign policy decisions concerning the Monarchy either, and not even Colonel House had as much influence in this question as it is widely believed, not to mention the fact that Wilson's alter ego was indifferent to this region. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and especially Hungary, stayed in the background, aside from the drive to see it dismembered. Neither the American minister in Vienna, Frederick C. Penfield, nor William Coffin, Consul-General in Budapest, dealt with or sent valuable reports about Hungary to the State Department.

The most interesting chapters, especially in light of the rest, are the ones that deal with Woodrow Wilson and his relation with Hungary and Hungarians. Glant tries to dismiss the old myth that Wilson did not like the Hungarians. Although he had negative statements about Hungarian immigrants before he became president, and he saw in Hungary a nation that thwarted the freedom of the Slavic minorities, it would be an

overstatement that he was inimical to Hungary before or through World War I. Simply put, he was not that interested in Hungary. The country did not deserve a distinct place on Wilson's political map. For the political scientist, the semi-theologian, or the believer in Anglo-Saxon institutional, and other type of, superiority, other countries were much more important. Even if Wilson was more familiar with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and its characteristics than most of his "experts" around him, it did not qualify him as an authority on Hungary, another household opinion Glant tries to disprove. It is crucial that Wilson made his foreign policy decisions on his own. The author, after immaculately summarizing Wilson's worldview, points out that the President's policy toward the Habsburg Empire was in a state of flux till the spring of 1918. Until April 1918, he had been, although in a dubious form, against the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. However, by then the Russian Revolution had taken place, and the new and threatening ideology of Bolshevism with its implications for the war against Germany created a new situation. According to Glant, it was the Czechoslovak Legion and the question of an independent Czechoslovak state that gave the turn-around for Wilson, who had become convinced that his moral views and strategies for a regional cooperation could be met in only this way. At the end of June, the dismemberment of the Habsburg Empire and the creation of small nation states were irrevocably decided by Wilson, thus joining his French and British counterparts. Unfortunately for Hungary, the image of Hungary after this time became plainly negative. Wilson's Central and East European policy was "unbalanced" and his handling of the Hungarian situation was "black and white." (248)

Double Prism is an important book. It examines a period in the relations between Americans and Hungarians that so far has not been examined thoroughly. Tibor Glant's conclusions are convincing and the rich documentation of sources gives credence to these conclusions. What is particularly pleasing is the appendix in which one can see all the material concerning Hungary and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the period: pamphlets and books issued and spread in the United States, the reports of the Inquiry concerning Hungary, and the State Department's and the Inquiry's final plan of settlement, which clearly shows a lack of substantial knowledge but ample reverberation of anti-Hungarian propaganda.

As Glant says in his afterword, the relations between the two countries reached a new phase with the Versailles Peace Conference and

the Treaty of Trianon, which period lasted till the summer of 1921, when the separate Peace Treaty between Washington and Budapest was signed. He promises to write a book on that period soon. If he can keep up this clear-sighted approach, buttressed with rich archival material, and reaches similarly important conclusions concerning the relations of the two nations, another important book will have been added to the growing literature of Hungarian–American relations.

Homeless but not Hopeless: Jewish-Hungarians' Migration to the United States, 1919–1945

Frank, Tibor. Double *Exile. Migrations of Jewish-Hungarian Professionals through Germany to the United States, 1919–1945*. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009.

Zoltán Peterecz

Tibor Frank's latest book adds another chapter to the ever-growing volume of Hungarian-American relations, of which the author is a regular provider. In this work, which is the result of twenty years of research, Frank reveals a curious trend in Hungarian history in the interwar years. He identifies and traces the mass exodus of many Hungarian intellectuals of Jewish origin. These people, most of them scientists, led by instinct, worsening conditions starting right after World War I, and later by legal enforcement, found a route to possible existence and freedom, both in the political and scientific senses. This route led from Budapest to Germany as the initial step, first of all to Berlin, and then to the big cities of the United States. Both these people's origin and path give the bases for the title of the book, *Double Exile*. It is not the first book touching upon this subject. Some of the scientists also appear in other books. For example, Györyg Marx's *The Voice of the Martians* (Budapest: Loránd Eötvös Phyisical Society, 1994)[1], dealt with twenty the prominent Hungarians, many of whom were scientists Marx knew personally. Kati Marton's recent book, *The Great Escape: Nine Jews Who Fled Hitler and Changed the World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007) also deals with Leo Szilárd, Edward Teller, Eugene Wigner, and John von Neumann, from a somewhat different angle and perspective. While Marton's book is following the journalistic genre of writing, Frank's book is that of a

---

[1] The book was published in Hungarian as *A marslakók érkezése* [The Arrival of the Martians] (Budapest: Akadémiaia Kiadó, 2000).

historian and delves most deeply into the combined relations of politics, culture, education, social and immigration studies.

In Hungary, by the early years of the twentieth century, the level of education started to achieve a high standard. On the highest level of education, the proportion of Jewish students was way over their ethnic ratio compared to the whole of Hungary. Despite earlier trends of assimilation, the Jews were often seen as different and un-Hungarian. In the wake of the Trianon Treaty in 1920, in which Hungary was rendered a small country shorn of crucial territories and population, many well-educated people found no possibility for work. Also, as a backlash to the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic, in which many participant were Jews, the anti-Semitic sentiment was manifest in the infamous *Numerus Clausus* Act, which regulated the percentage of Jewish students that were allowed into the highest educational facilities. But as Frank notes, it was not only the political events that evoked such sentiment, since the "Jewish question [was] deeply embedded in early twentieth-century Hungarian society." (97) In any case, the ruling legal and common environment made many Jewish intellectuals decide in favor of leaving Hungary, simply because "there was no choice left to them but emigration." (103) Among such scientists who later became world famous were Theodore von Kármán, John von Neumann, Leo Szilard, Eugene Wigner, and Edward Teller. Although they all started their studies in Hungary and came from the upper middle class, in order to fulfill their scientific hunger and eschew repression at home, they needed to leave their home country.

As the book explores, Germany, and first and foremost Berlin, was a logical first destination for all these people. First of all, a very strong tie had been in existence between the German/Austrian culture and Hungary. Hungarian educational institutions, to give perhaps one of the most important aspects in the fist third of the book, were a close replica of those in Germany and Austria, and it ensured that all these persons spoke fluent German and had a high level of education in various fields. On the other hand, in the first third of the century, Germany seemed to be the place where, at least for the time being, these intellectuals could freely practice their profession and thrive in their chosen fields. This was especially true for post-World War I Weimar Germany. In the first two decades, it was mainly musicians and men of letter that went there, after that it was the scientists' turn. From Germany then, especially later when Hitler's rise changed the situation fundamentally, most of these people followed their journey to the United States. This "Berlin Juncture" (a

670

whole chapter of the book) was even more important during the 1920s, since with the quota laws in the United States after 1921, there were only precious few who could get entry visa to the US, so Germany served even more as a magnet. Hundreds of Hungarians arrived here and a small Hungarian community was established. Count Kuno Klebelsberg, Hungarian minister of religion and education, made an effort to lure back many of those intellectuals in Germany, but to little avail (140–142). The only group that showed real inclination of returning to Hungary was that of the painters, but this phenomenon had more to do with their lack of success in Germany than real homesickness (153–154). However, from 1933 the atmosphere in Germany made it impossible for Jews to stay, and the second phase of this step-immigration started, this time from Germany to the United States.

The second half of *Double Exile* concentrates on the United States. First, it introduces the short history of the two Quota Acts of 1921 and 1924, and their effect on Central European, and more precisely, on Hungarian immigration. Hungary, which contributed about 100,000 immigrants per year before World War I, was now restricted to 5,747 in 1921, then to 473 in 1924, a figure that was equal to 2% of their representation based upon the 1890 US Bureau Census, and even a two-fold increase in 1924 did not alter this situation significantly (181–182). Obviously, the Great Depression did not favor any more lenient sentiment in the US. The high rate of unemployment made everybody abhorred of large masses coming form other countries to take possibly their jobs. Interestingly, however, just when the Nazi persecution of the Jews started in Germany, anti-Semitism rose higher in the United States as well (192–194). Later this movement to restrict immigrants found itself opposed by the nation's need for talented people under oppression in other countries in the world. An interesting feature of the book is the picture of New York in the turbulent years of the 1930s in terms of the attitude toward the high number of immigrants. Since New York was almost exclusively the place immigrants arrived in, it is important to understand how the city's population related to them. Here, the anti-foreignism met anti-Semitism and created a rather hostile atmosphere for the many thousands of immigrants arriving in the US (204–209).

The majority of immigrants coming from Hungary turned out to be Jews, thus adding a special flavor to Hungarian immigration. Although they had not problem in Germany on account of their near-native knowledge of German, in the United States they had to face the difficulty

of having to learn another language at middle age. Among the so-called new Hungarian immigrants the lack of the ability to learn adequate English was conspicuous as contemporaries such as Ferenc Molnár or Géza Zsoldos noted (238–240). Also, Hungary's situation was understandably affected by the country's satellite status to Germany, thus immigration basically came to a standstill after November 1940. Again, next to wealth, what helped a Hungarian to get the right to immigrate to the US was "the combination of financial stability, good character, young age, and some class." (199)

In the last two chapters we learn individual stories of famous Hungarian-born scientists. These short biographies are unique in the sense that they concentrate on the process of the men's journey to the United States and their careers are investigated in light of that fact. Through the prism of their immigrating to the United States, the reader becomes familiar of the underlying process of how one could manage to travel from troubled Europe to the US after 1933. Therefore, the five chosen men's story strengthens the overall thesis of the book: well-educated and thriving Hungarian scientists, who were considered useful for American purposes in the academic and scientific field, could make it to the promised-land and avoided the fate of hundred of thousands of Jews in Europe.

The physicist Leo Szilárd (243–263), who left Hungary in late 1919 partly because of the reigning White Terror, settled in Berlin first. Here he had quite a career in his chosen field where he worked with, among others, Albert Einstein. After the Nazi victory in Germany he moved to Vienna in 1933. He described the situation in Germany as "nothing crazier has happened in human history since the days of the French Terror." (262) He was also in active, similarly to John von Neumann and Theodore von Kármán, to help organize relief efforts for other scientists like him to get the possibility to move to the United States. Michael Polanyi (264–269) left Germany, after much hesitation, for Great Britain in 1932. Getting into the United States, however, was not easy in the 1930s. On the one hand, high rate of unemployment made many Americans reluctant to see waves of foreigners come and take the jobs, on the other hand, anti-foreignism and anti-Semitism went hand in hand for many Americans (279–286). Although there were many organizations for relief purposes, this fact alone could not help most of the Hungarians who wanted to immigrate to the United States. Securing visa was almost impossible.

The Rockefeller Foundation was the largest relief organization during the discussed period, which by the end of the War, aided 295 scholars and spent $1,410,000 on relief (330). Despite other organizations adding to these figures, such as the New School for Social Research or the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, this was obviously a low figure in light of the great number of scientists that would have needed help in relocation from Nazi Germany or its vassal countries such as Hungary.

The closing chapter is uncovering a so far untouched subject: the Jewish-Hungarian immigrants as essential contributors to the US war effort against Nazi Germany. As the author sums it up: "The Jewish-Hungarian group was of paramount importance for the U.S. in the War years: they fought against Hitler enthusiastically, embraced American values and became devoted Americans in this effort." (351) So, in the end, when these people had found their new home after so much trouble, they used their talent against the very countries they had lived earlier in, that is, Hungary and most of all Germany. The traditional American pragmatism met with Hungarian brains and the result was a high level of "problem solving," a key term for Frank. One of the emblematic figures in this filed was George Pólya (353–364), while another was Theodore von Kármán (367–382). The latter's interest and knowledge in aeronautical engineering and aerodynamic research was very welcome in the United States, where these fields got in the limelight with the coming and then the raging of the war, and later in the Cold War period as well. He was also one of the few who returned to Germany after the war to help reorganize German science there, all this under the auspices of the US government, which had a great stake in rebuilding Germany for political reasons. Perhaps the most well-known name is that of John von Neumann (382–400), who achieved so much in the pioneering age of computer science, which again, in a larger measure, was attributed first to the war efforts, then the Cold War situation. Leo Szilárd was another Hungarian born scientist, who emigrated to the United States after a Berlin, then a Great Britain stop, and just like von Neumann, he also took part in the Manhattan Project to build the first atomic bomb (400–429). Indeed, it was a joint Hungarian effort to convince Albert Einstein to sign the paper that would persuade Franklin Roosevelt about the need of building the devastating new weapon. Later Szilárd turned against the usage of the bomb, and after the war he was a fierce advocate of trying to secure the control of atomic energy in civilian hands instead that of the government.

To simplify the issue, American financial means and a history of pragmatism was infused with the best brains, not only from Hungary, but indeed from all over Europe. Hungary seems to stand out if one breaks down the numbers proportionally. The late nineteenth-century innovations in the Hungarian educational system were one of the reasons why these Jewish-Hungarian young men could possess the basics of their immense knowledge that ensured that they would ultimately survive and escape the institutionalized and deadly anti-Semitism in Europe. Naturally, the surrounding economic, social, political, and cultural factors were just as important. One of the highest acknowledgments of these people in their new home country came on Kármán's 80th birthday, when Senator Henry M. Jackson praised their effort in building up the modern science of the United States: "The vigor of science in the United States today is due in large part to the contributions of brilliant and dedicated men who came to our shores from Europe […] It is an interesting bit of history that five of the greatest of these men should have been born, and spent their childhood, in the same district of one city, Budapest, Hungary. I am, of course, thinking of Dr. Leo Szilard, Dr. John von Neumann, Dr. Edward Teller, Dr. Eugene Wigner, and finally, Dr. Theodore von Karman." (379) By the same token, the book's group biography presents Hungary's gradual loss of some of its most talented people (many of which lived well over the average life span) while first Germany and Western Europe, then the United States gaining the special and very useful qualities of these scientists. This was also one of the intentions of the author (433). In the same vein, the book is a warning that today Hungary is facing a similar situation as far as its talented few are concerned. They are often employed outside Hungary, most typically in the United States, and rarely do they return to their native country, adding to the historical continuum of loss of talent.

Double Exile is an interdisciplinary undertaking in the sense that it deals not only with history per se. Much of its content falls under the heading of cultural, educational, sociological, and ethnic studies. An additional curiosity is the list at the end of the book. It contains a thorough, although confessedly not finalized list of Hungarians who left Hungary through Germany to the United States. The list gives the date of arrival both in Germany and the United States of about 300 hundred notable émigrés who all became successful in their own right. Through the almost fantastic journey of these people, the reader gets a glimpse not into Hungarian political and cultural issues then in being, but also into the larger political questions of the era, namely the attitude of the United

States toward emigration in the 1920s and 1930s and the channeling of intellectual emigration into the American war effort during World War II and the Cold War confrontation with the Soviet Union.

A Unique Achievement that Cannot Be Repeated

Vadon, Lehel. *Az amerikai irodalom és irodalomtudomány bibliográfiája Magyarországon 2000-ig*. [*American Literature and Literary Scholarship in Hungary: A Bibliography to 2000*] **Eger: Eszterházy Károly Főiskola, Amerikanisztika Tanszék, Líceum Kiadó, 2007. 3 vols. 1275 +1118 +1243 pp.**

Gabriella Varró

Professor Lehel Vadon's bibliography of American literature and literary studies in Hungary up to 2000 is a unique achievement that has been long awaited and anticipated, and is also very much welcome. Although relatively few responses came to greet the publication of this three-volume avalanche of bibliographic facts and figures that pays fitting tribute to the width and depth of American literary scholarship in Hungary, scholars, students and lovers of American literature across Hungary and around the world should all stand in awe and certainly bow to this superb accomplishment. The gigantic work that encompasses more than 3600 pages reflects both the enormous effort and the faithful devotion of its author that have gone into the making of this superb bibliography. The large span of time spent on its compilation (Professor Vadon dedicated over 25 years of his life just to gather the materials and conduct the research for the volumes), the scale of the study (there have been over 2,270 periodicals consulted [Vol. III: 1113–1173 lists all of these by the title], close to 20,000 omnibus volumes researched and several million library card catalogues reviewed) and the clear arrangement and structure of the volumes, all attest to the meticulous care and attention with which this work was brought to life.

The immense material contained in these three lexicon-size publications also throws light on the scale and degree of development American literary studies as a scholarly discipline and field of research has gone through in this country over the past half century. In the introduction to the massive bibliography the compiler situates his work

within the context of an ambitious and grandiose program set forward by Professor László Országh back in 1965. Országh, whose name has been intertwined with the foundation of American Studies in Hungary (among other things), in a programmatic tract of his entitled "The Objectives of American Studies in Hungary" delineated the tasks that Hungarian universities had to face and confront in the mid-1960s. It is certainly illuminating to take Országh's essay into hand especially for scholars involved in American Studies scholarship in Hungary, since it highlights the enormous step forward this field of study has undergone up to the end of the millennium. Back in 1965 Országh called attention to the scarcity of American Studies-related research in the country and pinpointed the areas where immediate action was necessary. He expressed impatience, among other things, over our lagging behind other European countries respecting the knowledge and scientific research of American literature, culture, civilization, history, etc. The legendary professor listed the existence of two anthologies of American literary history and one volume of essays (most probably a reference to the book edited by László Kardos and Mihály Sükösd with an introduction by Országh himself entitled: *Az amerikai irodalom a huszadik században* [*American Literature in the twentieth century*] Budapest: Gondolat, 1962.), plus nearly a dozen essays on American literature published in several Hungarian journals that English major university students or other devotees to American letters could consult if they wanted to look at American literature through the lens of Hungarian scholars. Yet, even these rudimentary results were significant compared to the sheer lack of American Studies scholarship or the suppression of American literature due, as Országh revealed, mostly to an anti-American bias in earlier historical periods (24).

Needless to say, in the 1960s it was not only a heroic but also a politically charged deed to promote the study of American literature, culture or history, and thus it was no surprise that Országh and the cause of American Studies did not find numerous followers, or that the very establishment of the field ran into considerable difficulties. Yet, implicitly defying the political climate in the context of which he had to work Országh laid down a complex program that had three important foci pertaining to American literature. (1) The composition of new literary histories of the United States by Hungarian scholars; (2) the systematic and programmatic development of American Studies scholarship, research and education in Hungary; and (3) the compilation of a bibliography of American literature similar to the work Albert Tezla had

performed in order to popularize Hungarian literature in the United States. Professor Ország's call for this concerted action for the maintenance and corroboration of this discipline (at the time relegated into the tasks of the English Departments of universities across the country) was not only listened to but also duly answered. As Zsolt Virágos writes in his foreword to Ország's selected works, from the vantage point of the present we can state that all of Ország's propositions have been realized (10).

Professor Vadon, who himself was originally a student of Ország (which in Hungary in our scientific area has evolved to be a shorthand for "outstanding scholarly worth") and certainly a continuer of Ország's legacy in his own special area, did not only hear but understood clearly the relevance of this calling. Although there is really no comparing the unenviable state of affairs Professor Ország delineated and the current situation of American literature and literary scholarship in Hungary, without Professor Vadon's magnificent study we would hardly be able to assess the gap between the 1960s and the 2000s.

In the age of digital technology it is not only surprising but also unbelievable that anyone would be willing to flip through paper catalogues by the million, page through thousands of magazines or travel around to neighboring countries to do more of the same on the former territories of historic Hungary. But Professor Vadon did exactly this for the simple reason that he was dedicated to fulfilling a dream and a promise, and secondly because the sources he was working from were not available digitally. Neither is it possible that they would ever be. We simply have to admit that it is highly doubtful that anyone else would have been willing or able to carry out the task the objectified result of which we can literally hold in our hands today. For many of us who still believe in the power of the printed word these volumes are awe-inspiring, they are like delicacies that we are allowed to taste only rarely and on special occasions. Yet, hopefully, the three books will not sit idly on the library shelves of Hungarian universities, but they will be regularly consulted and researched by college students, scholars, or the general public, people interested in American literature. Now that this great work is done it is mainly the responsibility of teachers and educators in higher education to call attention to the wealth of information that lies within these volumes.

On a somewhat sadder note it is also my persuasion that with the increasing growth of digitalization and the spread of digital technology

the production of hand-made, manually researched materials is rapidly drawing to a close. In the age of the scanner, the pendrive, the internet the scholar holding a book in hand, or sitting in a library thumbing through a journal is also becoming a rarity, just like this printed bibliography. Whether this is something to applaud or feel sad about is another thing, since I am also one of those who are captivated by an old journal, and are fascinated by the unique smell of old paper, the special buzz of libraries.

In 2007 Ingrid Parent, current president-elect for the International Federation of Library Association, discussing the potential worth and future of national bibliographies against the background of the technological revolution and the rise of the global village contended:

> Major reference works appear only online; it is becoming increasingly difficult to find national bibliographies on CD-Rom, never mind on microfiche or in print; most electronic publications are searchable in full-text; the publishing world is shrinking through consolidation and mergers, yet self-publishers are growing in numbers; the content strategy of Google Scholar has sparked fierce debate while continuing to attract the collections of major libraries ... the list goes on. (2)

Clearly Parent's focus is the compilation of national bibliographies that have been formalized by international rules and guidelines, and have been gradually compiled by teams specialized in the task. The difference between the two undertakings under scrutiny (that examined by Parent and the one by Professor Vadon) is striking for Professor Vadon was pretty much a lone ranger in the field of bibliography-making in Hungary when he started his several decade-long work, and the rules and format of the future work he himself had to determine and establish. Yet, the realities Vadon's 2007 publication is competing against is much the same as those described by Parent. As I see it, the realities and challenges of the digital age would be relatively easy to meet simply by the digitalization of the *Bibliography*, which in one strike could also solve the problem presented by the need for constant updating. To put it differently, Professor Vadon's magnificent bibliography indeed calls for digitalization to serve the altered needs of the new age library users, and the accelerated lifestyle of the present.

Even though we can safely state that there will never come another scholar who would make bibliographies the way Lehel Vadon has done here, the need for bibliographies remains unquestionable. Here are a couple of reasons why we have to take these volumes into hand: (1) The volumes present an exhaustive list of American literary masters, who

themselves featured in interviews, articles, book chapters written by Hungarians. The work might give apropos to discover forgotten voices and figures of American literature, and to extend our attention to those realms. (2) This bibliography offers a full list of the works of the listed authors if partial or full translations were published in journals, literary or cultural magazines or in separate publications. People studying these volumes can get a glimpse at the translation history of these literary pieces, and may even immerse themselves in comparative analyses of these translations across various time periods. (3) Interesting data on the production history of some of these literary works can be followed up on by means of bibliographical data on stage, television and radio adaptation of the literary masters. These allow a peep into a special history of Hungarian popular culture as well as an indirect look into the workings of political decision-making and propaganda. (4) The detailed study of these bibliographical entries might direct students and scholars to topics that have been lurking buried even in a single bibliographical note: possible research topics for comparative literary analysis, complexities and alternatives in translation, the history of critical literature pertaining to a single American author from Hungarian scholars or foreign scholars published in our country. The bibliography in its present form is also a thought-provoking asset for a study of the sociology of reading, reading habits, taste, etc. The volumes are suggestive in multiple ways of long-forgotten research perspectives that have once been initiated but never came to fruition. (5) The publication is also doing a great favor to those, who aim to research the translation history of a single literary piece, or simply wish to find out about the existence of an American literary work in Hungarian. (6) Turning the pages of this bibliography presents excellent opportunity for isolated researchers involved in similar fields to find out about each other's works, and thus broaden their horizon. Cross-cultural research, relations, exchange are really the central yield of this work, which gives a wonderful illustration to the principle of interculturality in each and every entry.

Yet, the uses and possible benefits of these volumes do not stop here. Prompted by whichever of the above and further motivations even, I hope that these volumes would inspire many both within and outside of our borders.

A word of praise about the structuring of the volumes is also due here. The standard bibliographical section of the three volumes enumerate American authors in alphabetical order. Names are followed by dates of

birth and death (if known), and a photo of the author, where such was available. Within each entry then Vadon distinguishes the primary and secondary sources related. The primary sources listed first are arranged alphabetically again, plus are separated from each other according to literary genres. Various Hungarian translations of a given work are also arranged in the chronology of Hungarian publications, or the original English language publications come first set in chronology, to be followed by the available Hungarian translations also arranged in chronology. Secondary sources (critical literature on authors and works) also follow thematic classifications and are grouped around bibliographical categories of: bibliography, books, monographs, essays, articles, news, review essays of books, drama criticism, review, etc. Secondary works by the same author are chronologically listed. If this clear arrangement would not do for some reason, the index at the end of each volume offers further help for users in navigating in the ocean of data.

Lehel Vadon's new bibliography should indeed fill us with pride over the great work that has been accomplished in the field of American Studies and American literature specifically. The 58 items that provide a list of doctoral dissertations, Ph.D.s, habilitation theses, candidacies, and academic doctorates written in Hungary (III: 1050–1054) pertaining to American literature and culture, as well as the 96 item enumeration of the works of Hungarian authors on American literature published abroad attest to the excellence associated with American literary scholarship and American Studies scholarship conducted in Hungary both at home and around the world.

I wish to emphasize, however, that these three volumes are not devoted exclusively to the reception of American literature in Hungary. The standard bibliographical entries also include writings on science, American culture and civilization that though can be closely tied to American literature are not literary works *per se*. There is moreover an Appendix attached to Volume III itemizing the books on American history, culture, society, economy, military politics, politics, travel, as well as on American minorities written by Hungarian scholars supplemented by the Hungarian translations of books by foreign authors on the same, and at times including further disciplines. Volume III also gives a full list of the writings related to Hungarian-American relations produced in the country in the period under scrutiny starting on page 901. We can safely say then that the scope of these volumes extends well beyond the reception study of American literature and literary studies,

covering the entire spectrum of writing and scholarship related to the United States available in our country.

It was indeed fitting that the publication of the grand bibliography of Professor Vadon was scheduled to the one hundredth anniversary of Országh's birth, thus giving a proper tribute to and honoring the mentor with the completion of a project he himself initiated originally. Vadon's *Bibliography* did not merely complete the task but took the originally foreseen agenda to a much higher level. For the service that has been done to the discipline of American Studies in Hungary I hereby express my gratitude to Professor Lehel Vadon on behalf of all committed to the field.

Works Cited

Országh, László. "The Objectives of American Studies in Hungary." Reprinted in *Országh László válogatott írásai.* [*Selected Writings of László Országh.*] Ed. Virágos Zsolt. Debrecen: Orbis, 2007.22–28.

Parent, Ingrid. "The Importance of National Bibliographies in the Digital Age." Internet: *archive.ifla.org/IV/ifla73/papers/089-Parent-en.pdf*

Virágos, Zsolt. Előszó. in. *Országh László válogatott írásai.* [*Selected Writings of László Országh.*] Ed. Virágos Zsolt. Debrecen: Orbis, 2007. 7–13.

A New Approach to the Study of Minstrelsy

Varró, Gabriella. *Signifying in Blackface: The Pursuit of Minstrel Signs in American Literature*. **Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2008. 238 pp.**

Balázs Venkovits

In the book version of her dissertation, Dr. Gabriella Varró provides the reader not only with valuable critical insights into the genre of minstrelsy and the cultural survival of minstrel signs but also shows that theory is not simply an "arbitrary exercise, but indeed should be put to practical uses" (5). Why and how did the cultural heritage of minstrelsy outlive its original cultural context? How can its signs be identified and interpreted in contemporary and later literary works? How can these cultural codes be understood in and translated into "foreign" cultural contexts? In the process of answering these questions the author also presents a general critical method with which one can pursue and discover the survival and presence of various other cultural signs in literary works. With the description of a new type of methodology the author lays the foundation for other critical studies while also touching upon issues of a more general interest in the field of American Studies.

I was first introduced to minstrelsy as a student of the author several years ago and it was fascinating to read a detailed study now as a colleague. The style of the author and the focus of the present study make this area of research attractive both for students looking for information on the history and characteristics of minstrelsy as well as for scholars interested in a novel form of analysis. Dr. Gabriella Varró, currently Assistant Professor of the Institute of English and American Studies at the University of Debrecen, has already published book length studies and essays in the field, investigating minstrelsy criticism and the presence of minstrel signs in the works of Mark Twain, Herman Melville and John

Berryman. The present work complements and builds upon her earlier writings and successfully fulfills a dual objective: it supplies "the outlines of a new theory by producing the semiotics of blackface minstrelsy" and applies "this semiotic framework as a critical tool in the analysis of selected texts from American literature" (5). Throughout the book the author emphasizes the interrelationship between the study of popular culture, popular theatre and that of its historical, social and cultural context, making the work a study of an age and not only that of a genre.

In order to provide a basis for fulfilling the goals of the dissertation Chapter I specifies the theoretical background of the study building on two critical traditions, minstrelsy studies and theatre and drama semiotics. However, the section moves beyond simple theoretical investigation and emphasizes the practical use of such critical analysis. The focus of this use is to prepare cultural consumers for the reception of minstrel icons and in order to do this to define and classify the minstrel sign. The writer identifies five semiotic classes of minstrel signs (structural, literary or generic, aesthetic, linguistic and bodily or physical) and lists numerous individual signs within these blocks.

Based on the previous section, Chapter II presents the most significant and characteristic signs of each category. This is essential in order to help readers in identifying and understanding minstrel signs in different cultural contexts (that may be foreign to them either because they encounter these signs in a completely different genre or because the signs have lost their "active denotative (as well as connotative) sign functions over time" (12)). This type of classification might facilitate the translation of these cultural signs in any context they might appear in. As I have already mentioned before, the book and the analysis presented in it can prove to be useful not only for scholars interested in a detailed study of a special aspect of minstrelsy but also for students looking for an introduction to the genre. Chapter II (together with other parts discussing the relevant terminology) could very well serve the aims of the latter group (as well as those of their professors). The description of the different categories and the numerous individual signs belonging to them (the street parade, semicircular stage format, minstrel songs, jokes, clichés, etc.) could be used as part of a course dealing with popular culture in the United States in general or with the cultural heritage of minstrelsy in particular.

Chapter III, "Commodification of the Minstrel Sign", offers an interesting analysis of the commercialization of minstrelsy. This chapter

presents it perfectly how popular theatre cannot be separated from its historical, cultural and economic context and through her analysis the author provides us with valuable insights into the ideological and racial processes of the era. The chapter highlights those factors that resulted in the rise and proliferation of minstrelsy as an institution, a commercial enterprise and those processes that contributed to the spreading of minstrel signs. The chapter investigates the "product" and "examines the rhetorical, marketing and promotional strategies that contributed to the popularization of this new 'produce' as well as assisted the promulgation of minstrel signs in the larger culture" (103). Although it may be said about other sections of the work as well, the fact that the dissertation is very thoroughly researched can be witnessed here perfectly: the author considers historical events and tendencies, facts coming from various documents, playbills and files in presenting her analysis.

The following two chapters study minstrelsy's influence on "high literature" both in its own time, the 19th century (Chapter IV) and during the 20th century (Chapter V) in various forms. The presented analysis of the selected works (*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, "Benito Cereno", *Confidence-Man, The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, Invisible Man*, *Dream Songs*, *spell #7*) shows that the cultural signs of minstrelsy are not only transplanted into high literature but they "retain their meanings even when removed from their original contexts" (140). While focusing on the selected writings the chapters also point to and lay the foundations of further research by offering this critical tool in reading and interpreting other literary texts.

Besides specific minstrelsy related topics detailed in the chapters introduced above, the writer touches upon issues that are of primary importance in the field of American Studies in general, particularly in the field of American Studies in (Central) Europe. Scholars working in Central Europe and studying the culture of the United States can always feel to be outsiders to a certain extent and many formulate similar ideas as the author of this book who claims that she "was very much aware of [her] precarious position as an outsider of the field, being both white and European" (1). In many cases this feeling is coupled with an often heard and experienced concern that our research and findings are rarely discussed in the United States while at home they are read mostly by those working in the same or similar area of research. This does not mean that the studies published in this region would not provide new insights into US culture or would not be interesting for a more general public in

Hungary for example. This book, among several others, proves that "outsiders" can certainly contribute to the field of American Studies and could also appeal to a broader audience if certain changes were initiated (e.g. the studies would be available in Hungarian as well).

This outside position of scholars should be seen not as a hindering force but rather as a position that can provide them with a unique view that is more receptive to various aspects of American Studies and the changes involved in its development through time than native authors. With an international approach, aspects of cultural texts not visible for native people could come to the surface and could reveal new knowledge about American culture. As a result of the need to translate culture into a new context, as in the case of understanding minstrel signs and symbols in Hungary, a new system can be developed that could be useful for American "cultural consumers" as well, who need a type of decoding assistance not because of cultural or geographical distances but simply because the meaning of certain cultural signs is not obvious any more when reemerging in a different time period or context. It is in this respect, in providing assistance for decoding minstrel signs in various other texts, that the present book offers a new approach towards American Studies and opens up new possibilities for reaching readers of a broader spectrum. As it is emphasized by the author throughout the study, this investigation into the cultural survival of minstrel signs is only one possible focus of research and a similar approach could result in opening up new layers of meaning in well known texts, members of "high literature" or could make the understanding of references in popular culture (television, movies, advertising, etc.) easier.

A major task of scholars working in the field of American Studies in Central Europe, and Hungary in particular, would be to let their findings be known for more people, even for those who do not speak English or are not interested in scholarship in general. A major step in this process would be to publish more books and studies in Hungarian, this way contributing to the "great mission of cultural translation" (that the author discusses in detail in the "Afterword") and changing the very often negative (and widely misunderstood) image of the United States of America. In order to understand cultural texts it is not enough to understand the language of a foreign culture but one also needs to learn about a "cultural alphabet" in order to decode the numerous levels of meaning in literature and popular culture. Dr. Varró offers one possible approach to provide readers with such a cultural alphabet by presenting

the semiotic system of minstrelsy. Now it is the task of other scholars to take these or other techniques and explore the cultural alphabet of other areas presenting special aspects of the American experience and share it with cultural consumers who may be at a great distance from the original work both geographically and culturally.

The book version of Dr. Gabriella Varró's dissertation, *Signifying in Blackface: The Pursuit of Minstrel Signs in American Literature*, offers new critical insights into the study of minstrelsy and fulfils its aim of presenting more than just arbitrary theoretical formulations. It produces a practical use of theory in decoding signs of minstrelsy in foreign contexts and also contributes to the debate over the translatability of cultures. It is just as important that the author points to possibilities of further research by establishing the basis of a new type of critical analysis. For all these reasons I would recommend this book to scholars and students alike who would like to gain new insights into the world of minstrelsy as well as into its influence on high culture.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Irén Annus

Irén Annus, Associate Professor of American Studies at the University of Szeged, with fields of interest including American Art, Identity Studies, Religious Studies, and Gender Studies. She has published a number of studies in these areas as well as a book *Social Realities in the Making: The Structuration and the Constitution of American Identity* (2005).

Máté Gergely Balogh

Máté Gergely Balogh is a Ph.D. student at the North American Department of the Institute of English and American Studies, University of Debrecen

Robert E. Bieder

Robert E. Bieder (Indiana University) holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Minnesota. He has published in American Indian history, history of science and environmental history. Bieder is an award winning author of six books including: *Science Encounters the Indian: The Early Years of American Ethnology*, (1986, 1989); *A Brief Historical Survey of the Expropriation of American Indian Remains*, (1990); *Native American Communities in Wisconsin, 1600–1960: A Study of Tradition and Change*, (1995); and numerous articles. His book, Bear (2005) is translated into five languages. He has taught at Grinnel College (Iowa), University of Minnesota, University of Illinois-Chicago, and Indiana University. A recipient of five Senior Fulbright Lectureships, at the Universities of Mainz (Germany), Debrecen, Tampere (Finland) and the Free-University Berlin. He has held two postdoctoral fellowships: one at The Newberry Library (Chicago) and the other at the Smithsonian Institution, and has also received a National Endowment of the

Humanities Grant (1985–86) and a Senior Finnish Academy Research Grant (2001).

Katalin Bíróné-Nagy

Katalin Bíróné-Nagy is Assistant Professor at the North American Department of the Institute of English and American Studies, University of Debrecen. Her teaching and research areas include theory of fiction and narrative, 19th – and 20th-century American literature, cultural anthropology, Indian-White relations, and contemporary Native American fiction.

István Bitskey

István Bitskey, Professor of the Hungarian Literary and Cultural History at the Department of Old Hungarian Literature, University Debrecen, and corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, former visiting professor at the Vienna University. His areas of research are literary and cultural history in the Early Modern Age, spiritual life in the Renaissance and Baroque Age, the Reformation and the types of Confessional Identity in Early Modern Central Europe, the international relations of Hungarian Culture in the Early Modern Age. On these topics he has published numerous essays in Hungarian, German, Italian, English and French languages and 15 books, his main works are as follows:

Hitviták tüzében, Budapest, 1978; *Humanista erudició és barokk világkép*, Budapest, 1979; *Pázmány Péter*, Budapest, 1986; *Eszmék, művek, hagyományok.* Tanulmányok a magyar reneszánsz és barokk irodalomról (Ideas, Works, Traditions. Studies on Hungarian Renaissance and Baroque Literature), Debrecen, 1996; *Il Collegio Germanico-Ungarico di Roma.* Contributo alla storia della cultura ungherese in etá barocca, Roma, 1996; *Püspökök, írók, könyvtárak* (Bishops, Writers, Libraries), Eger, 1997; *Konfessionen und literarische Gattungen der frühen Neuzeit in Ungarn*, Frankfurt am Main, 1999; *Virtus és religió*. Tanulmányok a kora újkori magyar irodalmi műveltségről (Virtus and Religion. Studies on the Early Modern Hungarian Literary Culture), Miskolc, 1999; *Spiritual life in the Early Modern Age*, in: A Cultural History of Hungary, ed. by L. Kósa, Budapest, 1999; *Mars és Pallas között*. Múltszemlélet és sorsértelmezés a régi magyarországi irodalomban (Between Mars and

Pallas. Wiew of the Past and Interpretation of Fate in the Old Hungarian Literature), Debrecen, 2006; *Lebensgemeinschaft und nationale Identität*, Wien, 2007; Petrus Cardinalis Pázmány, Trnava, 2010.

Enikő Bollobás

Enikő Bollobás is Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of American Studies of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. Her main teaching and research areas include American poetry, gender studies, feminist literary theory, and women's literature. Her publications include two books on American poetry: *Tradition and Innovation in American Free Verse: Whitman to Duncan* (1986), *Charles Olson* (1992), and numerous essays on American literature and culture in Hungarian and international scholarly journals. In 2005 she published her monumental work Az amerikai irodalom története (The History of American Literature).

Benjamin Chaffin Brooks

Ben Brooks is currently a Teaching Assistant Professor in Leadership Studies and Multidisciplinary Studies at West Virginia University, and recently served as Fulbright Fellow at *Eszterházy Károly College* in Eger, Hungary. His teaching and research background is in education theory and education policy, English language development and leadership theory. He will receive his PhD from the University of Cincinnati later this year.

Huba Brückner

Huba Brückner is the founding Director of the Fulbright Commission in Hungary. He has been in this position since 1992. He holds an MA in Electric Engineering (Telecommunications and Information Technology) and in Education from the Budapest University of Technology (BME). His Ph.D. is also from BME. His main professional interest is the use of (information) technology for education. He was the head of the Department of Methodology and Educational Development at the Computer Education Center (SZÁMOK – SZÁMALK) where he also directed the courseware development projects

of the UNDP (United Nations Development Project) affiliated institution. He served also as the founding chief editor of PCWorld (an IT related magazine) and deputy chief editor of ComputerWorld – Számítás-technika. He has taught at the Budapest University of Technology, the Eötvös Loránd University of Science, the University of Miskolc, and the Eszterházy Károly College. He is the author or co-author of 12 books.

Thomas Cooper

Thomas Cooper, Associate Professor at the Department of American Studies at the Eszterházy Károly College in Eger, received his dual-doctorate in Comparative Literature and Central Eurasian Studies at Indiana University. He has taught at colleges and universities in Europe and the United States and has held positions as a research and teaching fellow at Columbia University and the University of Vienna. His research interests include translation theory, cross cultural comparative concepts, American and European Romanticism, national and international canon formation, and genre theory. He has published on an array of subjects, ranging from the modernist aesthetic and theory of translation to the works of 19th century Hungarian novelist Zsigmond Kemény, and has translated prose and poetry from Hungarian, German, and Romanian. He is currently completing an English translation of Zsuzsa Rakovszky's novel *A kígyó árnyéka* (The Serpent's Shadow). He serves as assistant editor of the Journal of Hungarian Studies and a member of the executive board of the International Association of Hungarian Studies. Currently he teaches courses on 19th and 20th century American literature, the history of American English, communication theory, and American culture and politics.

Péter Csató

Péter Csató is Assistant Professor at the North-American Department of the Institute of English and American Studies, University of Debrecen. He holds Ph.D. in literature. His academic interests include comparative studies in the fields of literature, music, and philosophy, with particular emphasis on the parallel examination of certain artistic and philosophical (epistemological or ethnical) paradigm-shifts. He is the author of essays on a variety of these topics.

András Csillag

András Csillag is Professor at the Department of Modern Languages and Cultures (English Section), School of Education, University of Szeged. He has a teacher's degree in English and history, and a Ph.D. in U.S. history. His main academic interest are United States history, contemporary American society and culture, the American media, Hungarian–American relations. He spent longer periods of time in the USA as a Fulbright research scholar: at Columbia University (1987–89) and the American Hungarian Foundation (1999–2000). He is the author of numerous publications in American Studies; his major work is the book *Joseph Pulitzer and American Journalism* (2000).

Tibor Glant

Tibor Glant is Associate Professor and Chair of the North American Department at the University of Debrecen, Hungary. He majored in English and history at Debrecen (1986–91), holds an MA (1992) and Ph.D. (1996) from the University of Warwick (UK) in American history, and completed his Habilitation at Debrecen in 2008. His main interests lie in American history, culture, and film in the 20th century and in US–Hungarian relations. His books include *Through the Prism of the Habsburg Monarchy: Hungary in American Diplomacy and Public Opinion during World War I* (1998, in Hungarian: 2008), *Remember Hungary 1956: Essays on the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence in American Memory* (2007, in Hungarian: 2008) and *A Szent Korona amerikai kalandja, 1945–78* (1997). His most recent work analyzes Hungarian travel writing on the US in the second half of the 19th century.

John Jablonski

John Jablonski is Professor of Languages and Literature at Ferris State University, Big Rapids, Michigan, USA. He received his BA English from the U of Michigan and MA and Ph.D. in English from Wayne State U, Detroit, Michigan. Additionally he holds an MS in Business Administration from Boston U. His research interests include

rhetoric and composition theory, linguistics and grammars, Medieval English literature, technical and professional communication.

Judit Ágnes Kádár

Judit Ágnes Kádár, Associate Professor at the Department of American Studies at Eszterházy Károly College in Eger, received her Ph.D. in Comparative Literature from Eötvös Loránd University. She teaches courses on ethnic and multicultural studies. Her research interests include alternative histories, epistemological relativism in recent western Canadian fiction, and epistemological, psychological, sociolocal implications of the gone indigenous passage rites (Othering) in Canadian and American literature and culture. She published a textbook (*Critical Perspectives on English-Canadian Literature,* 1996.). She has received some research grants (FEFA, FEP, FRP/CEACS, JFK).

Miklós Kontra

Miklós Kontra is Professor and Chair of the Department of English Language Teacher Education and Applied Linguistics, University of Szeged, and Head of the Research Group of Sociolinguistics in the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest. He has been a Fulbright Scholar at Indiana University, Bloomington (1992-93) and at Michigan State University (2003). In 1995-96 he was an ACLS fellow at Michigan State. His publications include *Fejezetek a South Bend-i magyar nyelvhasználatból* [Chapters on Hungarian as Spoken in South Bend, IN], 1990; *Beyond Castle Garden: An American Hungarian Dictionary of the Calumet Region* (Collected and compiled by Andrew Vázsonyi, edited by Kontra), 1995; *Hungarian Sociolinguistics* [=*International Journal of the Sociology of Language* # 111] co-edited with Csaba Pléh, 1995; *Language Contact in East-Central Europe* [= *Multilingua* 19-1/2], guest-editor, 2000; *Nyelv és társadalom a rendszer-váltáskori Magyarországon* [Language and society in Hungary at the fall of communism], editor, 2003; and *Hasznos nyelvészet* [Socially useful linguistics], 2010.

Ágnes Zsófia Kovács

Ágnes Kovács received her PhD in literary studies in 2004 from the University of Szeged, Hungary. She is currently senior Assistant Professor at the Department of American Studies at the same university. Her research interests involve discourses of the American novel, Henry James' project of the American novel, multiculturalism and American Studies, travel writing, hybridity.

Zoltán Kövecses

Zoltán Kövecses is Professor of linguistics at the Department of American Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. His main research areas are metaphor theory, the cognitive structure of emotions, English and Hungarian slang, American English. His major publications include American English: *An Introduction* (1995), *Emotion Concepts* (1999), *Metaphor and Emotion* (2000), *British and American English Differences for Learners of English* (2000), *Metaphor. A Practical Introduction* (2002), *Kognitív nyelvészet* (2010). He edited *New Approaches to American English* (1995).

Mária Kurdi

Mária Kurdi is Professor in the Institute of English Studies at the University of Pécs, Hungary. Her main fields of research are modern Irish literature and English-speaking drama. Her books include a survey of contemporary Irish drama in Hungarian (1999), a volume of essays entitled *Codes and Masks: Aspects of Identity in Contemporary Irish Plays in an Intercultural Context* published by Peter Lang in 2000, and a collection of interviews made with Irish playwrights (2004). She is editor-in-chief of the journal *Focus: Papers in English Literary and Cultural Studies*, and has guest-edited special issues on Brian Friel and Arthur Miller for the *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies.* With Donald E. Morse and Csilla Bertha she co-edited the book *Brian Friel's Dramatic Artistry: "The Work Has Value",* published by Carysfort Press, Dublin, in 2006. In 2009 also Carysfort Press published her edited volume *Literary and Cultural Relations: Ireland, Hungary, and Central and*

Eastern Europe. Her book on strategies in contemporary Irish drama by women is forthcoming.

Katalin Kürtösi

Kürtösi Katalin is Associate Professor at the Department of Comparative Literature, University of Szeged. Her research areas include twentieth century Western European and North American drama and theatre, Canadian culture, Modernism, and interculturalism. She published two monographs ("*'Valóság, vagy illúzió?': Metadramatikus elemek észak-amerikai színdarabokban*", 2007, and "*Világok találkoznak – a 'másik' irodalmi ábrázolása Kanadában*", 2010) and several papers in German, Canadian and Central European journals and books. She is recipient of the 'Certificate of Merit' of the International Council for Canadian Studies.

Tamás Magyarics

Tamás Magyarics is currently the Director of the Hungarian Institute of International Affairs and Associate Professor at the School of English and American Studies at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. His main fields of research include the history of the U.S., with special reference to the foreign affairs of the U.S. in the 20th century, the Cold War, the transatlantic relations, and the theory of international relations. His current research is centered around the role of the hegemon in the international system, with a view to the U.S. after World War II. His major publications are as follows: *Az Egyesült Államok külpolitikájának története* (2000) and *Az Egyesült Államok története* (2008). His latest article is „A kapcsolatok 'normalizálása' vagy jóindulatú közömbösség: Az Egyesült Államok Közép-Európa politikája" (2010).

Gergely Makláry

Gergely Makláry graduated with honors from the University of Debrecen as an English major specializing in American Studies. He is a qualified translator and consecutive interpreter is currently employed as a full-time translator.

Éva Mathey

Éva Mathey is a Research Assistant at the North American Department at the Institute of English and American Studies, the University of Debrecen. Since her graduation at Lajos Kossuth University, Debrecen she has been teaching courses on American history, politics, society and culture. Her special area of research includes Hungarian-American links and contacts, with special focus on diplomatic relations between the United States and Hungary between the world wars.

She has just submitted her PhD dissertation titled *Attempts at the Revision of the Treaty of Trianon in Light of American-Hungarian Relations between the wars*.

Judit Molnár

Judit Molnár is Associate Professor (PhD, Habil, CSc) at the North American Department, University of Debrecen, Hungary, where she is also the Director of the Canadian Studies Centre. She teaches courses on the various aspects of Canadian literature and culture. She has published wildly on Canadian literature, organized conferences in the same field, and has edited books related to Canada. Her main fields of interest are multicultural literatures in Canada and English-language writing in Québec.

Lenke Németh

Lenke Németh, Assistant Professor at the North American Department of University of Debrecen, teaches courses in American drama history, American literary history, Transnational Studies, and courses on the methodology of teaching American culture and literature. Her academic interests include postmodernism in American drama, drama theory, women playwrights, and post-multicultural drama. She has published several articles on these topics as well as a book, "*All It Is, It's a Carnival": Reading David Mamet's Female Characters with Bakthin*" (2007). She is the guest co-editor of *HJEAS* 15.1 (2009) on Edward Albee's "Late-Middle" Period.

Zoltán Peterecz

Zoltán Peterecz, Assistant Professor in the American Studies Department at the Eszterházy Károly College, Eger, Hungary, where he teaches American history and English. He does research on Hungarian–American relations in the twentieth century in the diplomatic and economic spheres. He has published articles on various subjects concerning the aforementioned research areas. He received his PhD from Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest, in 2010. Currently he works on Royall Tyler and his relations to Hungary.

Zoltán Simon

Zoltán Simon is an Assistant Professor at the North American Department of the University of Debrecen. He received his Ph.D. from Texas Christian University in 2001. His dissertation was published in a book form in 2004 by the Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, under the title *The Double-Edged Sword: The Technological Sublime in American Novels between 1900 and 1940.* He was a Fulbright Visiting Lecturer at the Department of English of Michigan State University in the Spring 2010 semester. His academic interests include American literature and civilization, the relationship between technology and culture, literacy and electronic textuality, English for special purposes (law, library and information science), as well as translation and interpreting studies.

Péter Szaffkó

Péter Szaffkó, PhD, Associate Professor, the Institute of English and American Studies, University of Debrecen, Director of Debrecen Summer School. He teaches British literature, Canadian and Australian theatre and drama, communication skills and theatre history courses. Research interests: Hungarian-Canadian theatre relations, Canadian theatre and drama as well as Hungarian-Anglo-Saxon theatre relations. He published two monographs on historical drama and a number of essays on Canadian and postcolonial theatre. He also translated novels and plays from English to Hungarian.

Edina Szalay

Edina Szalay is Assistant Professor at the North American Department of the Institute of English and American Studies, University of Debrecen. She gained her Ph.D. from the U of Debrecen in 2000. Her academic interests include the Gothic, Canadian women's literature, nineteenth-century American women's literature, and Emily Dickinson's poetry. Her publication include a book titled *A nő többször: Neogótika és női identitás az észak-amerikai regényben* (2002), and articles on Canadian and American women authors (Margaret Atwood, Alice Munro, Joyce Carol Oates, Joy William, Gail Godwin, Kate Chopin), and the Gothic.

Judit Szathmári

Judit Szathmári, Assistant Professor at the Department of American Studies at Károly Eszterházy College in Eger, received her doctorate in literature at Debrecen University. She has held a Soros Foundation and a USIS scholarship to the United States. As a Fulbright visiting researcher she did research at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee and the Anthropology Department of the Milwaukee Public Museum. Her research interests include American Indian literature and culture, multiculturalism and post ethnicity, and Indian policy. She is working on a larger project on 20th century Indian policy. Currently she teaches courses on 19th and 20th century American literature, ethnic studies, and American Indian culture and literature.

András Tarnóc

András Tarnóc has taught at the Department of American Studies of Eszterházy Károly College since 1993. He received his PhD degree from Debrecen University in 2001. Presently he is the Head of the Department of American Studies. He is the author of the book: *Diagnosing American Culture: Centripetality and Centrifugality in Minoritiy Aesthetics, a Model-based Study*. (2005). His numerous scholarly writings cover such fields as nineteenth century American history, various aspects of multiculturalism, and settler-Indian relations. Currently he is working on a research project examining the Indian captivity narrative from a variety

of vantage points including myth studies, philology, cultural studies, and cognitive psychology.

Lehel Vadon

Lehel Vadon is a literary historian, filologist, bibliographer. Professor of American Studies, founder and former Chair of the Department of American Studies, and former Director of the Institute of English and American Studies at Eszterházy Károly College, Eger, Hungary, and founder and editor of Eger Journal of American Studies. He is President of the Hungarian Association for American Studies, Board Member of the European Association for American Studies, Deputy Director General of the International Biographical Centre (Cambridge, UK), Deputy Governor of the American Biographical Institute (USA). His major fields of interest and research cover American literature and culture with special regard to the Hungarian reception of American Literature. His books include two volumes on Upton Sinclair, one on László Országh, two volumes on American drama, as well as textbooks, anthologies, and volumes of bibliographies of American literature in Hungary. He has also published articles on the Hungarian reception of American literature and edited several volumes of essays on American Studies.

Zoltán Vajda

Zoltán Vajda received his PhD degree from the University of Szeged, Hungary in 2000. He is currently Head of the Department of American Studies and Vice Dean for Academic Affairs at the Faculty of Arts, University of Szeged. His main areas of research and teaching are early American intellectual and cultural history, antebellum Southern history, Thomas Jefferson and his times, and Cultural Studies and US popular culture. He serves on the editorial board of *Americana*, an electronic journal of American Studies and *Aetas*, a historical journal, both edited in Szeged.

David L. Vanderwerken

David L. Vanderwerken is Professor of English at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth, Texas, where he teaches courses in twentieth-

century American literature. He has published articles on Faulkner, Hemingway, Dos Passos, Vonnegut, Dickey, and Wiesel, among others. Other research interests include sport-centered literature, American-Jewish literature, and the literature of the American 1920s. He is author of a book, *Faulkner's Literary Children: Patterns of Development*. He has co-edited an anthology of sport-centered work, *Sport Inside Out: Readings in Literature and Philosophy*, and has edited *Sport in the Classroom: Essays on Teaching Sport-Related Courses in the Humanities*.

Gabriella Varró

Gabriella Varró is currently Assistant Professor at the North-American Department of the University of Debrecen, Hungary. She teaches courses in American drama history, comparative drama studies, American popular culture, and American literary history. Her research pertains to contemporary American drama with a special emphasis on the relevance of Sam Shepard for American drama and theater history, and is currently working on a monograph related to the field. She has published widely on American blackface minstrelsy, and on modern American drama from a comparative perspective. She is author or co-author of two monographs: *Signifying in Blackface: The Pursuit of the Minstrel Sign in American Literature* (2008), and *Jim Crow örökösei: Mítosz és sztereotípia az amerikai társadalmi tudatban és kultúrában* [The Legacy of Jim Crow: Myth and Stereotype in the Social Consciousness and Culture of the U.S.A; with Zsolt Virágos.] (2002).

Balázs Venkovits

Balázs Venkovits is a Ph.D. student and part-time Instructor at the North American Department of the Institute of English and American Studies, University of Debrecen. Currently, he is doing research for this dissertation as a Fulbright Visiting Student Researcher at Texas Christian University. His research interests include Hungarian travel writings on Mexico and the United States, the representations of the Americans in the nineteenth century Hungary, and US-Hungarian relations.

István Kornél Vida

István Kornél Vida (born in 1977) has research interests in the 19th-century history of the United States, in migration history and Transatlantic Studies. He earned his Ph.D. in 2008 from the University of Debrecen, Hungary, where he is an Assistant Professor at the North American Department of the Institute of English and American Studies. He is currently affiliated with the John F. Kennedy Institute of the Freie Universitaet in Berlin, Germany as postdoctoral research fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.

Zsolt Virágos

Zsolt Virágos is Professor of English at the North American Department of the Institute of English and American Studies, University of Debrecen. He began his teaching career at the Uralic and Altaic Studies Program of Indiana University, U.S.A., where for two years he was employed as a Teaching Associate. Besides his home institution he has also taught at the University of Minnesota, Joensuu University, Finland, Partium University, Romania, and the College of Eger. For over three decades he has taught various aspects of American Studies, with particular emphasis on literary history, myth-and-literature studies, myth criticism, black studies, U.S. culture and civilization, stereotypy in the American consciousness, American ideologies, iconicity, the iconography of U.S. culture, and Hungarian–American contacts. His nine book-size publications include *A négerség és az amerikai irodalom* [1975, Blacks in U.S. Literature], *Az amerikai irodalom története* [1997, History of U.S. Literature; with László Országh], *Jim Crow örökösei: mítosz és sztereotípia az amerikai társadalmi tudatban és kultúrában* [2002, The Legacy of Jim Crow: Myth and Stereotype in the Social Consciousness and Culture of the U.S.A.; with Gabriella Varró], *Portraits and Landmarks: The American Literary Culture in the 19th Century* (2003, 2010), *The Modernists and Others: The American Literary Culture in the Age of the Modernist Revolution* (2006, 2008). For years he has served as department head, institute director, deputy dean, etc.

Gabriella Vöő

Gabriella Vöő, Assistant Professor at the Department of English Literatures and Cultures at the University of Pécs, holds a Ph.D. from Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest and has published essays on Herman Melville as well as eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English and American literature. She edited and co-edited two issues of *Focus: Papers in Literary and Cultural Studies* at the University of Pécs.