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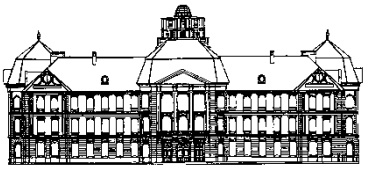

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A note from the editor

The *Eger Journal of American Studies* was established in 1990. Since its very inception it has reflected its founder and editor **Lehel Vadon's** dedication and commitment to this discipline. Throughout this virtual quarter century the *Journal* became an important scholarly forum covering a wide academic panorama spanning over history, literature, civilization, bibliographic and cultural studies by leading scholars of American Studies both at home and abroad. Along with regularly published volumes containing a broad selection of treatises thematic issues were dedicated to William Faulkner (Vol. IV) and Canadian Studies (Vol. X) respectively.

In addition to sharing the latest research results both domestically and internationally, the *Journal* functioned as a chronicler of the life of the American Studies community in Hungary. Accordingly special tributary volumes were published for the 70th birthdays of Prof. Zoltán Abádi-Nagy (Vol. XI–XII) and Prof. Zsolt Virágos (Vol. XIII) along with commemorating the passing of such leading Americanists as Professor Péter Egri (Vol. VIII) and Professor Sarolta Kretzoi (IX) respectively.

Although our fast paced world is characterized by constant change, the *Journal* will not abandon the path blazed by its founder. Consequently, while taking the steadily widening scope of the discipline into consideration the *Journal* continues to accept all manuscripts related to any aspect of American culture. Accordingly, the Department of American Studies at Eszterházy Károly College welcomes original articles, essays, and book reviews in English by scholars in Hungary and abroad. Manuscripts should be sent to the editor of the Eger Journal of American Studies, Eszterházy Károly Főiskola, Amerikanisztika Tanszék, Eger, Egészségház u. 4, 3300, Hungary and should conform to the latest edition of the MLA Handbook in all matters of style. All manuscripts should be sent to ami@ektf.hu.

Treading upon the established path the present issue continues to offer a wide selection of scholarly essays covering history, Hungarian–American connections, literature, translation studies, and media studies. Tibor Frank explores Hungarian travelogues born between the post-Civil War era and the beginning of World War Two. Péter Gaál-Szabó investigates the broadening of Malcolm X's personal and political perspective following his pilgrimage to Mecca, while Jack Judson presents a thought-provoking and critical evaluation of the image of Abraham Lincoln. Zoltán Peterecz retraces the lasting influence of exceptionalism as reflected in presidential speeches, and Shaju Nalkara Ouseph with Ghurmallh Al Ghamdi discuss the challenges arising during the translation process. András Tarnóc via taking a look at one of the early examples of the slave narrative expounds upon the impact of acquiring literacy and Zoltán Vajda identifies the concept of sympathy as one of the formative influences on the Federalist Papers and on the political life of the Early Republic. Finally, last, but not least Renáta Zsámba draws a parallel between the genre of hard-boiled detective fiction and the Linda detective series running on Hungarian television in the late 1980s. The book review section contains entries by Zoltán Peterecz and András Tarnóc offering a critique of the latest works of Eliga Gould and Péter Gaál-Szabó respectively.

It is a tremendous honor and privilege to carry on editor emeritus **Lehel Vadon's** mission as the *Eger Journal of American Studies* continues to strive for being a significant scholarly forum serving the American Studies community in Hungary and worldwide.

András Tarnóc

The America of World's Fairs and Expositions Through Hungarian Eyes 1876–1939

Tibor Frank

Even today, America is known to many only from travel books, and this was particularly the case in the past. A travel book is a store of experiences, a source of information, which offers an opportunity of comparing foreign lands with what we have in our own country; a chance to self-reflect as a nation.[1] Travel books were very much in vogue world-wide; in particular, in the late 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries when travel opportunities were limited. This was especially true of distant lands such as the United States, which a surprisingly large number of Hungarian travelogues were written about already in the 19th century.[2]

[1] Tibor Frank: "'Through the Looking Glass': A Century of Self-Reflecting Hungarian Images of the United States (1834–1941)." Lehel Vadon (ed.), *Multicultural Challenge in American Culture—Hemingway Centennial* (Eger: Eszterházy Károly Teacher Training College, 1999a), 21–36.

[2] Cf. András Vári: „Fenyegetések földje. Amerika a 19. század második felében—magyar szemmel" [Land of Threats. America in the Second Half of the 19th Century—Through Hungarian Eyes], *Korall* 7, 26. November 2006, 153–184; Tibor Glant, „Magyar nyelvű amerikai utazási irodalom a XIX. század második felében: bibliográfiai áttekintés." [19th Century American Travelogues in Hungarian: A Bibliographical Survey]. In: Zoltán Abádi Nagy–Judit Ágnes Kádár–András Tarnóc (eds): *A szavak szépsége, avagy a bibliográfus igazsága. Tisztelgés Vadon Lehel 70. születésnapján* [The Beauty of Words or, the Justice of the Bibliographer. Honoring Lehel Vadon on His 70th Birthday] (Eger: Eszterházy Károly Főiskola, 2012), 630.

Aurél Kecskeméthy at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in **1876**

The first official world exhibition took place in America in the city of Philadelphia in 1876 which was held in honor of the centenary of the independence of the United States. Aurél Kecskeméthy travelled to this event on behalf of the "High Ministry" in order "to make specific inquiries into the Philadelphia exhibition and the phenomena concerning our homeland's best economic interests on the occasion of my travel to America, and to make a thorough report on my observations there […]" (Kecskeméthy 253).

Aurél Kecskeméthy (Buda, 1827—Budapest, 1877), journalist and writer, studied law and obtained a solicitor's degree. After the Hungarian war of independence he left for Vienna in 1849, and became a correspondent for the newspaper *Magyar Hírlap* in 1850. He worked in the press office of the Ministry of the Interior from 1854 on; he performed the duties of a censor in the capacity of a police commissioner (while some claimed he was an agent and informer). As of 1857, he was part of Count István Széchenyi's Döbling circle, and he, too, found himself a suspect of the Habsburg police on account of the publication of Széchenyi's political pamphlet *Ein Blick* in 1859. He was charged in 1860, but the case was dropped after the *Oktoberdiplom* of 1860. He was the editor of the Government's official journal, *Sürgöny*, after 1860, and of *Magyar Hiradó*—a newspaper favoring the Austrian Government—as of 1866. He worked as the editor of *Magyar Politika* and became a supporter of the conservative wing of the Deák Party after 1867 (Kenyeres I, 883–4). He was a colleague of Miksa Falk; they were both staunchly attacked for their loyalty to the Habsburg government. Dávid Angyal published their confiscated correspondence in 1925.[3] Aurél Kecskeméthy was one of the most controversial journalists of his time.

Kecskeméthy decided to insert his account of the "centennial exhibition" before his review of "North-America's political and social conditions" (Kecskeméthy 253).[4] He reflected on the *Weltausstellung 1873 Wien* which was a large world exposition held in 1873 in the Austro–Hungarian capital Vienna. He concluded that

[3] Dávid Angyal (ed.), *Falk Miksa és Kecskeméthy Aurél elkobzott levelezése* [The Confiscated Correspondence of Miksa Falk and Aurél Kecskeméthy] (Budapest: Pesti Lloyd-Társulat–Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1925); reviewed by Ottó B. Kelényi. *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 1926, III–IV. 393–399.

> world exhibitions follow one another in such quick succession that most industrialists find it hard to cope with the costs of the expositions; […] as the number of expositions increases, so declines the likelihood of recovering these expenses directly—that is, by virtue of sales or the acquisition of new markets. Further, […] a period of two to three years is insufficient for any momentum of development to have reached a stable position. Not even the latest machines or new procedures had reached the stage of completed experiments. Finally, the wider public—on the participation of which depends the financial success of a corporation—have also grown somewhat indifferent and weary in consequence of the quick succession of world exhibitions. (Kecskeméthy 255).

Similar to Zsigmond Falk, Jr.'s later views, Kecskeméthy had an unfavorable impression of the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876. Kecskeméthy observed that

> the installation […], general appearance and size of the Philadelphia exposition fell short of the last Paris [1867] or Vienna [1873] exposition. The installation of the exhibits on display did not in the least reflect either the widely reported practicality of the Americans; or the fact that they may have learnt something at the exhibitions in Europe. […] we had more reason to conclude about the Philadelphia exhibition than about any of its predecessors that it was nothing more than a big rag-fair. (254)

He later repeatedly emphasized the "undeniable inferiority" of the Philadelphia exhibition to those held in Paris and Vienna (265). Kecskeméthy regarded the architectural style of the exposition as impractical and lacking in quality. Exhibitors were disappointed when they hoped to be able to sell their products on display or intended for sale. He crushingly remarked that "as regards the financial outcome of the Philadelphia exhibition, it appears to be an utter failure" (265). It is much to Kecskeméthy's credit that he provided a thoroughly detailed account of the contribution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and in particular, of Hungary, to the exposition—and in a highly critical tone, too. The Monarchy exhibited 454 items in total, with Hungary's share amounting to a mere 22, including Herend china, bitter waters, tartar wine stone, prunes, wheat, malt, slivovitz, washed cotton, vinegars—agricultural products in the vast majority (260–2). The Monarchy exhibited far fewer items here than it did in 1851, on the occasion of the "Great Exhibition" in London where Austria showcased some 746 objects, including 34 from

Hungary and 21 from Transylvania.[4] This was Kecskeméthy's last work; he returned ill from the United States and died a year later. His book is regarded today as one of his era's best Hungarian travelogues.[5]

Dr. Zsigmond Falk, Jr.

Zsigmond Falk, Jr.'s travel book *From Budapest to San Francisco* (Falk), which lived to see at least four editions, is highly interesting. Dr. Zsigmond Falk, Jr. was the son of a prominent Pest family. His father, Zsigmond Falk, Sr. [Sigmund Ritter von Falk] (Pest, April 27, 1831—Budapest, March 11, 1913), the owner of a printing press, was the brother of noted journalist and politician Miksa Falk,[6] a young national guard in the war of independence of 1848–49. "He made his way up from printer's apprentice to printing press director, and became the director of the Pesti Könyvnyomda Rt. (The Book Printing Co. of Pest), in 1868. In that capacity, he did a great deal for the development of the local printing industry, and additionally made his name known as a philanthropist. He was the Vice-President of the National Federation of Industrialists, knighted and given the title of Royal Counsellor."
(http://www.zsikipedia.hu/index.php/Falk_Zsigmond;
Lovag Falk Zsigmond; Ujvári, 256).

The establishment of the sheet music printing press under the auspices of the Pesti Könyvnyomda Rt. company during these years was a useful, gap-fill venture. He readily embraced his son young Zsigmond's then novel concept in Hungary, and Falk, Jr. became the founding father of music engraving and sheet music printing in Hungary, and by so doing, the father helped to create another fruitful industry (*Lovag Falk Zsigmond—"Ujabb alapítások—Jubileum* [Latest Foundations—Jubilee]*"* sub-chapter).

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[4] *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations, 1851.* Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue, Vol. III. London: Spicer Brothers; W. Clowes and Sons, 1851. (1005–1044).

[5] http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kecskeméthy_Aurél. — Downloaded June 6, 2014.

[6] Miksa Falk presented himself as a candidate at the parliamentary elections of 1869 competing with his childhood friend Mór Wahrmann in the Leopoldstadt district of the city of Pest. Wahrmann prevailed. This happened just a year before Miksa's nephew Zsigmond Jr. was born. Welker in Frank (2006), 111–153.

Zsigmond Falk, Jr. (Pest, March 30, 1870—Budapest, February 15, 1935) studied law in Budapest. He joined his father's business, *Pesti Könyvnyomda Rt*., where he mastered the trade of printing. Falk, Jr. gradually climbed the company hierarchy, and finally became President and Director General. He visited a number of countries in Europe as well as the United States. He introduced the typesetter in Hungary. He was a trained musician and wrote music reviews. He established and edited the musical journal *Magyar Dal* [Hungarian Song] for ten years. He was also the editor of the weekly *Ország-Világ* [Country and World] as of 1894. He wrote a number of books, from professional treatises (*A sokszorosító ipar Magyarországon* [The Printing Industry in Hungary], 1896), through short stories (*Sok mindenről* [On Many Things], 1902; *Mindennapi történetek* [Everyday Stories], 1903; *Mozgó fényképek* [Motion Pictures], 1904; *A énekesnő* [The Singer], 1905; *Repülünk* [We Are Flying], 1910; *Levelesláda* [Letter Box], no date; *Paula gondjai* [Paula's Troubles], no date), to novels (*A söntéstől a rivaldáig* [From the Bar to the Limelight], 1912) and other travel books (*Budapesttől Lisszabonig. Uti rajzok* [From Budapest to Lisbon. Travel Sketches], 1902) (Kenyeres I, 460; *hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/**Falk_Zsigmond***). He was a wide-ranging commentator of Hungary at the turn of the century with good writing skills and an individual voice.

Arrival in America, 1893

Dr. Zsigmond Falk, Jr.'s study trip to America was connected to the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. While it is obvious that he was sent to the United States to study this event, as well as Chicago, his book makes mention of a number of other cities and regions which Dr. Falk—23 years of age at the time—visited. He arrived in New York on board the German steamer Bismarck, "perhaps, the world's most beautiful ocean liner" (Falk 11). It took him eight days on board this "phenomenal seven-storey vessel" (19) to get from Cuxhaven—then part of Hamburg—in Germany to the port of New York (Falk 11, 19). He was as impressed and overwhelmed by the enormous ocean liner as he was repulsed by New York City and, as we shall see, almost everything else that he saw in the United States. It is this almost all-inclusive negative attitude that places Falk's book above, and more interesting than, other similar reports which typically and generally tended to pay tribute to the United States.

> Upon arriving in New York, I was overwhelmed by such an unpleasant and repulsive sensation which told me that it would be much more desirable and practical to turn back and go home straight away. Already in the port, as we were leaving our boat, the riff-raff and rabble in the hundreds of thousands that came to meet us and offered to carry our suitcases—naturally, in order for us never to see them again –, the repulsive baseness, meanness and evil incarnate that pervaded the faces of these people: we found this alone so disgusting that we would have been quite happy to give up on the glory of seeing the new world. It was only later that we realised that the bright light comes with dark shade. Now, however, the only notion we had was to get away, as far as we can. (Falk 23)

Zsigmond Falk, Jr. was aware that, before his arrival, it was his own dreams that brightened the colors of the mental picture he had of America, an idealized image of the United States. "New people, new air, new customs, new life" (21). Based on his original feelings, and even conviction, America "was the ideal notion of a Paradise on Earth" "where, based on what I have heard so far, it is easier to bear the burden of life; where, based on what I have read so far, everything has reached the highest degree of perfection" (21). His description of his original expectations faithfully reflected contemporary notions of the promised land. He was, however, bound to be disappointed. "We thought—naïve as we were—that we shall find a world where we were only to extend our hand and, lo and behold, it was filled with gold; we were only to open our mouth, and lo and behold, it was filled with delicious food. We thought: people were different there; their customs were different from those we had here, in old Europe." (21) He believed that in a place where there was and there is no feudal oppression or social hierarchy, "in the absence of any notion of a superior power, where all human feelings are allowed to roam free, ideas may emerge and institutions may come into being which are far superior to ours and reach a degree of ideal perfection which we all covet" (21). He believed freedom to be the New World's leading notion:

> As they are all equal here, why would anyone hurt anyone else? As there is no one above them, why would one wish to seek favour with the other? We are free! As free as our imagination allows; as free as even poets have never experienced; as free as those who have always only lived by themselves and only for themselves. (Falk 22)

Juxtaposed with these initial notions, Falk's travel report was the alphabet of disappointment in America. He believed that "the books which recorded observations on America were of a completely different

kind from those by my humble self. But no one can expect me to conceal or even garble that which I experienced—what's more, I suffered—just to bring my notes in concord with other books concerned with similar topics." (26) The author even tolerated American cuisine badly, and is obviously "homesick for home cooking".

> Bearing in mind our own tastes, customs and needs, I must say that nowhere in the world have I found such badly cooked, such shoddily prepared and such ill-chosen fare and lunch as I did in America. Comprised of brews and concoctions, vegetable stews and all other dishes which are not at all nutritional but are all the more heavy on the stomach; in a single lunch, you'd find fifteen of these out of twenty plates. And as for meat, there is hardly any; the piece of meat that we were served at lunch and dinner would not even fill the smallest female fist. (Falk, 26)

The young man's spirits were not even raised by the fact that, on travelling roundtrip from New York to New York, he had the chance to visit Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Saint Louis, Kansas City, Colorado Springs, Manitou, Leadville, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, and Niagara Falls. He finds New York with its traffic on an enormous scale crushing: "People everywhere, carriages in a solid line; they hustle and jostle one another as if the happiness of eternal life were dependent upon the speed of this race" (27). Falk is perplexed and shocked by the flood of advertisements he sees everywhere: "The trickery, the thorough care extending to every facet, and the attention with which these advertisements are not only edited but are prepared in appearance are indeed unsurpassable" (28). At the very end of his book, Falk returned to the overwhelming impact of advertising which "was able to create something big, powerful and earth shattering out of nothing—and to present this creation before the eyes of the people as if it actually existed in real life, and to thereby achieve goals which would be nowhere near attainable without the advertizing" (196).

However, he immediately added his concern to the words of appreciation: "But no one should even consider coming here who has an enervated nervous system to the slightest degree; because such a nervous system would most certainly be destroyed. Neither the eye, nor man himself finds any peace or quiet at all." (Falk 196) Other European visitors, immigrants and refugees, too, complained about and suffered from the destructive effect of the American lifestyle on the nerves (Frank 1999b, 197–207; Frank 2009, 234–241). It greatly contributed to Falk's initial negative impression of New York that the letters of

recommendation he brought with him from Europe did not yield the result he had hoped for, and obtained the worst possible impressions upon their presentation.

> […] I then succeeded in making the acquaintance of an American in his own utmost coldness, his own prodigious reserve, and succeeded in seeing selfishness in its own ideal incarnation, the uppermost cause of which I could not, however, seek in anything other than the simple fact that living is extremely hard, time is expensive, and every man is so occupied with his own affairs, minutest attention to work and keen competition taken to the extreme that no one has time here to be welcoming and friendly. (Falk 30)

Unexpectedly, Zsigmond Falk, Jr. took a particular liking to the capital city, Washington, D.C.

> […] walking down the streets of the city, we may indeed believe that we are in Europe because, in New York as well as in Philadelphia, the filth in the streets makes such a terrifying impression that you would almost like to give advice, or even active assistance, with relieving the streets of the unpleasant dust and dirt that is also bad for the health. (38)

He found asphalt surfacing on the streets, and "the buildings, too, are—more in line with the moderate European taste—not fifteen—to twenty-storey-tall but remain within the normal height of three to four storeys." (Falk 38) As may be observed in the case of the vast majority of European travelers, Falk therefore measured everything by European standards; the way things were done by the Europeans constituted his point of reference, and Europe represented his taste, yardstick and home territory.

Hungarians meeting American Presidents

Zsigmond Falk, Jr.'s account of his visit paid to the President of the United States is edifying in itself but is particularly interesting as it compares well with that of Sándor Bölöni Farkas. In 1831, Bölöni Farkas was able to see President Jackson in the company of just one other person, at one day's prior notice. Falk gained admission to the White House in the company of some 200 to 300 people at 1.00 p.m. on June 28,

1893. His visit paid to President Cleveland[7] was a source of disappointment for the Hungarian visitor. "[…] here, too, we failed to find that which we had presumed to see in the person of the President of the United States. It is a long-standing experience that reality never quite matches your imagination. The President creates in us the impression of a robust Józsefváros[8] petty bourgeois merchant." (Falk 40) The Hungarian witness's description of President Cleveland continues like this: "His kindly face reflects anything but a statesman's erudition and the virtue it takes to lead a country of 65 million inhabitants, which he may very well possess but appears not to flaunt in the least; at least not on the outside." (40) Visitors greet the President one by one with these words: "I am very pleased, Mr. President, to find you in good health". These words could be spoken in English as well as in German as Cleveland also spoke the latter (40).

We know of at least five Hungarians in the 19th century who had the occasion to speak to a President of the United States: Sándor Bölöni Farkas in 1831, Lajos Kossuth in 1851, General Julius H. Stahel (born Gyula Számwald) in 1863, Aurél Kecskeméthy in 1876, and Zsigmond Falk, Jr. in 1893.

In contrast to the disappointed Falk, Sándor Bölöni Farkas even had the chance to conduct a half-an-hour interview with President Jackson,[9] whose "direct statements and polite manners quickly made us forget we conversed with the first elected servant of thirteen million people" (Bölöni Farkas 189). Bölöni Farkas left President Jackson touched and overwhelmed: "I will never forget how happy I felt when we left, knowing I met and talked to this famous man. His handshake made me prouder than any honor in this world, it enriched my memory with a treasure I will forever cherish." (190)

Lajos Kossuth was introduced to President Fillmore[10] on December 31, 1851; on this occasion, Kossuth expressed his gratitude in an eloquent address for his rescue from the Ottoman Empire and the protest directed

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[7] Grover Cleveland (1837−1908), U.S. President 1885−1889, 1893−1897. *The World Almanac 2012*, 503.

[8] "Josephtown": A somewhat shady, commercial district of Budapest with a mixed reputation, named after the Habsburg Emperor Joseph II in 1777.

[9] Andrew Jackson (1767−1845), U.S. President 1829−1837. *The World Almanac 2012*, 500.

[10] Millard Fillmore (1800−1874), U.S. President 1850−1853. *The World Almanac 2012*, 501.

against his country's oppression. Fillmore reassured the former Hungarian Governor-President in a cautious answer of his personal sympathy with which he warmly looked upon Kossuth's "brave struggle for the independence and freedom of [his] native land" (Headley 282–5, quote 284), but promised no political assistance to Hungary. Fillmore was careful to ensure that the Hapsburg Monarchy should not misconstrue his words. Half a year later, Kossuth left the United States, bitterly disappointed (Frank 2002, 97).

We have some information on the personal relations of General Stahel and Lincoln[11] from 1863 when the General of Hungarian origin commanded the saluting troops on the occasion of Lincoln's Gettysburg address (Vida 83–8). President Grant[12] received Aurél Kecskeméthy in 1876, and while the interview was arranged immediately, it was a disappointment on account of the President's clichéd questions (Kecskeméthy 63–5).

Appreciation and disappointment: The World's Columbian Exposition 1893

Zsigmond Falk's book renders an account of a series of further disappointments. "In America, not only is the air different, not only are the institutions and the people different, but habits are different, too, in that they are even more perverse than in our country." (Falk 49) His book is heavily imbued with comparisons and analogies with the Hungarian affairs, mentality and customs. He concluded a distinction between individual heroism and collective glory from the fact that July 4 was celebrated year after year as the day of liberty, rather than as George Washington's personal commemoration: "It is on this day that we may have observed most directly the unbridgeable gap that exists as yet between the peoples of the new and the old worlds." (63)

For Falk in 1893, the World's Columbian Exposition, also known as the Chicago World's Fair itself was the greatest disappointment though it had more than 300,000 visitors but only on a single day:

[11] Abraham Lincoln (1809−1865), U.S. President 1861−1865. *The World Almanac 2012*, 501.

[12] Ulysses S. Grant (1822−1885), U.S. President 1869−1877. *The World Almanac 2012*, 502.

> the only day on which there were as many visitors as the organisers of the fair hoped to have every day. It is thanks to these exaggerated calculations that the exposition ended with a deficit of 36 million because […] the daily number of visitors barely reached one hundred thousand, and therefore the organisers were 200,000 times 5 cents short of covering the costs every day, not even mentioning any profit!! (66)

The World's Fair was a terrible experience for Falk.

> The heat of 97˚ Fahrenheit, the dreadful dust created by the incessant shuffling of the large masses of people and other minor and major inconveniences all contributed to the desire surfacing ever more loudly in our hearts that we wish we had joined those who used the present day for going on a little walk in the countryside, thereby avoiding the numerous trials that we unknowingly exposed ourselves to. (69)

The author listed the causes of his dissatisfaction at length. The enormous, over-sized exhibition halls echoed with emptiness, and the highly publicized, famous American inventions and ideas were nowhere to be found. "This exposition brought to light trite, commonplace objects that we may find in excessive numbers at any other exhibition." (56) Falk criticized the American organizers that their ambitious plans had come to nothing, and that which was on display "did not even teach me to marvel further at the American genius" (57). "We did not find a single nice place where we could have recovered our strength in comfort and with pleasure after the day's toil. There are the same dry, measured, cold American habits, the same old dollar chase everywhere you go, which eventually fills you with disgust." (58) Also somewhat symbolically, there were no trees to provide shade on the premises of the fair.

Upon leaving the exposition, Falk observed with pleasure the populous groups of people opting for a day's excursion instead of the fair, and took the opportunity to comment on relations between men and women. Here, too, he could only see the dark side: "We have no idea of the subordinated relationship with which men approach women in America. There is indeed no more commendable feature than chivalry and courtesy; however, if it goes so far as to become reduced to servitude, it is then terrible". (70) He then continued like this:

> Every American woman is born a princess who looks upon her husband as her servant. The explanation should, I believe, be sought in the simple fact that there were initially few women in America, and women were therefore given all possible privileges such as e.g. the law is on the woman's side under any circumstances—whatever the state of affairs

> may be—and punishes the man and protects only the woman in such disputes even if the woman is clearly guilty. While there are now women in large enough numbers, their privileges continue to survive. (73)

While this observation may have formed part (and may have persisted in minor gestures for a long time) of the American customs and social culture of the middle classes, as regarded the constitutional structure and legal system of the United States, it was a mistaken claim as women were only given equal rights by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868, and the franchise much later, by the Nineteenth Amendment, in 1919 (*Women's Rights*, 1–2).

After Chicago, Dr. Falk thoroughly explored the whole of the United States but only had a good time during his entire stay in America in the romantic areas of Manitou near Colorado Springs and in San Francisco (Falk 91). As he remarked, there were conditions in San Francisco not so long before "which Europe was already unfamiliar with three hundred years ago" (140). But in the city "the situation changed dramatically," and therefore "we leave San Francisco, this end point of our journey, with a sensation which fills us only with fond memories and kindly thoughts" (140–1). In the context of San Francisco, Falk came to a valuable conclusion in connection with European immigrants: "San Francisco is one of the few American cities where even a European may feel comfortable, and due to this circumstance, immigrants who only intended to settle down here for a short while for the purpose of digging for gold and finding treasure decided to stay here definitively without thinking of going back home" (141).

Dr. Falk chose the steamer 'Columbia' for his voyage home. He heard his fellow-travelers mainly complain.

> Everyone that I spoke to on board left America light-heartedly; a world in which people are heartless, which is inhabited by creatures who lost all human feeling and only have some sense left for money and the value inherent therein. Everyone was glad to leave America which we found to be a country where science and arts are in a complete state of stagnation and where, other than trade and industry—the only source of happiness in their opinion –, people do not care about anything else at all. (196)

Yet, all the passengers were happy to have been to America. Falk offered an explanation for the desire of immigration when he concluded: everyone "was nonetheless happy to have acquainted themselves with the

America on which they laid their final hopes in their utmost desperation […]" (196).

Iván Ottlik contradicting

Not all Hungarian visitors to the 1893 Chicago World's Fair agreed with the devastating opinion of Dr. Falk, Jr. The agrarian politician Iván Ottlik travelled to America in July 1893 on an assignment commissioned by Minister of Agriculture Count András Bethlen "[…] for the purpose of studying the American economic conditions which are vital for us […] in so many respects" (Ottlik 1). Iván Ottlik (1858–1940) was Prime Minister Menyhért Lónyay's private secretary at the beginning of his career, and worked in the Ministry of Agriculture since 1881, first as a ministerial counsel from 1901 and then as State Secretary as of 1908. He was one of the supervisors of the agrarian policy initiated by Ignác Darányi, and became a member of the Upper House as of 1915. He was for decades a Board member of the National Central Credit Cooperative (*Országos Központi Hitelszövetkezet*) and the Anglo–Hungarian Bank Co. (*Angol–Magyar Bank Rt.)* (Kenyeres II, 330).

The 35-year-old Ottlik saw the Chicago World's Fair in a different light from that described by Falk. "The Chicago fair was indeed the very height of events of a similar nature. Any nation would find it hard to outbid any time soon that which America created here, in Jackson Park, and to devise something that is in any respect bigger, better, more splendid or grandiose, however great the sacrifice." (Ottlik 23) Just as did Falk, Jr., Ottlik also made mention of the financial failure of the fair but bowed his head before "the shining moral success achieved" which America and its people "may proudly boast as an unparalleled achievement in this department" (23). Ottlik visited the entire fair and concluded that "the other State of our Monarchy organized [in 1873] an indeed beautifully executed display; and the Americans cited Austria as one of their guests in a tone of well-deserved appreciation" (25). Falk, too, visited the 'Old Vienna' exhibition in Chicago as the only suitable place for "comfort and pleasure" (Falk 58). Ottlik was, however, dissatisfied with, and critical of, the Hungarian exhibition pavilion when he reflected on the American reaction to immigration from Hungary: "many people here have absolutely no idea about Hungary, and most of them know it at best as the country of cheap »hungarian« [sic]—meaning

Slovak—day-labourers that even compete with the Chinese—and are as such hateful to the Americans" (Ottlik 25). Ottlik provided a highly detailed and appreciative description of practically all the exhibition spaces, and did not only render an account of the pavilions one by one, but also made mention of the most interesting objects on display.

During his trip to the United States, Ottlik travelled to some of the places visited by Zsigmond Falk, but he also went to see Milwaukee, St. Paul and Minneapolis. Ottlik was greatly appreciative of the beauty of the American scenery and of America's famous natural wonders. He visited and reported thoroughly on the Yellowstone National Park and Grand Canyon. His journey in America terminated in Santa Fé, New Mexico. His 87-page study is one of the most thorough and most appreciative descriptions of the United States of the time.

Back Home Again from the New York World's Fair, 1939

From among female travel writers also concerned with world expositions in America, a book by Mrs. [Dr.] Ferenc Völgyesi entitled *Ujra otthon* (Back Home Again) (Völgyesiné 1939) deserves special attention. It is all the more interesting because female travelers and travel accounts dating from that period are rare and also because the author's book does not place the emphasis in the title on the journey itself but on her return home. The female frame of mind and the choice of title may be connected.

Ferenc Völgyesi (1895–1967) was one of Hungary's best-known psychiatrists from the 1920s all the way through the sixties; he made a reputation primarily as a practising hypnotist and a major contributor, recognized even today, to the scientific study of hypnosis (Völgyesi 8–9, 233–47). Mrs. Völgyesi travelled around America in her husband's company in 1939, at the outset of World War II, and recorded her memories in a captivating travelogue. It was during this trip that she visited the 1939–40 New York World's Fair, in the context of which she first made mention of its enormous dimensions, staggering cost and the anticipated number of visitors. However, it was not the sheer numbers that captured her, but the messages of the fair. The New York World's Fair focused on the city of the future and, also, life in the future. One of its symbols was the *Perisphere*, a seventy-meter-tall steel sphere, and the *Trylon*, a pylon towering next to it. "The Perisphere with its enclosed

shape represents the spheres already grasped by human knowledge, the information acquired to date, while the Trylon stands for man's aspiration towards perfection, towards Infinity. The two together, as "Building the World of Tomorrow" symbolise the power of mankind." (Völgyesiné 66) The author perceived and grasped the message and vision of the exhibition, the representation of an attractive future, and this future did not even lie in the far distance but in 1960, which the exhibition brought within reach. "[…] lit-up aircraft and Zeppelins flitting under the starry sky, the light beams of airports below, searchlight signals on mountain tops, or boats gliding on the "ocean" below, aircraft hangar islands built over the sea, and dream fragments of other similar minute details have left their impression on our memories," she remembered. (67) The exhibits of the main building were arranged to symbolize the concept of "Visiting Tomorrow" — meaning 1960. The Fair also accommodated "the 'Futurama' exhibit in GM's 'Highways and Horizons' pavilion at the World's Fair, which looks ahead to the »wonder world of 1960«" (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1cRoaPLvQx0),

> where there are no fewer than 35,000 squares and roads, some half a million free-standing little play houses spread around them, interspersed with a million small trees and more than fifty thousand rushing automobiles. What is truly interesting about this electric toy—the largest in the world—is that everything is in motion here; what's more, everything rushes about to highly accurate and complicated plans. It unfolds to us an "ideal" plan of the future's transport by rail, water, air, and road. The commotion of the "happier" future generation is rushing to the future world of semaphores, moveable bridges and hyper-modern roads. (Völgyesiné, 69)

Cars would no longer crash in America in 1960 because they would pass on separate levels, the Futurama exhibit suggested, and each level will only lead in a single direction. It is a shame, the author wrote, that this would only be accomplished in Europe by 2000. Mrs. Völgyesi introduced several national pavilions as well, including the Russian (Soviet) one where "every exhibit served propaganda purposes" (70). She made mention of Germany's absence for obvious political reasons (65), and was highly critical of the Hungarian pavilion: "We must admit with all sincerity that it did not particularly serve to enhance our reputation. We did it all with very poor imagination; in spite of the fact that we would have been able to present much—even without a major outlay of

expenditure—that would have enabled our Homeland to reap the extreme propaganda benefits inherent in the fair." (71)

This travelogue presented the New York World's Fair most intelligently as a vision of the future: this was no longer a mere fair of sample merchandise, this was not an industrial, agricultural or commercial race course, or a historical illustration but a vision of the American future. We are only two years away from Henry Luce's famous visionary article and prophecy, "The American Century" which was published as an editorial in *Life* magazine on February 17, 1941 and hailed the rest of the 20th century or even more as the century of American domination. The vision of the New York World's Fair is also Henry Luce's vision (cf. Brinkley 267–73).

World's Fairs and travelogue

When comparing Falk, Jr.'s book with Ottlik's extensive series of articles published in a magazine and with Kecskeméthy's and Mrs. Völgyesi's travelogues, the most striking conclusion is that travel description is a highly subjective genre: we may find vastly different accounts of the same country, same event or same period, depending on the traveler's gender, nature, habits, disposition, mood, social background, and frame of mind. A travelogue is not in itself a reliable historical source; it may only provide relative points of reference to form an objective evaluation. A travelogue is, of course, no different from a private letter, a diary, a memoir, each of which may contribute to devising a historical image. Despite all appearances, the travelogue is a highly subjective genre, and offers limited usability. Its value is determined not only by the person of the author but also by the circumstances in which the writing itself was conceived, the factors with an impact on its writing, the person who commissioned it if any, the source of the funding of the journey, the traveler's age and gender, and the persons of any fellow-travelers. It is therefore desirable and reasonable to look into parallel travelogues whose different criteria may, when compared and combined, offer a relatively objective account of a given event, city or region. The description of world fairs is a worthy and informative focus of the American travelogue literature, a topos that lends itself well to both national and international comparison.

The view and perception of world's fairs in Hungarian travelogues reinforce, once again, my thesis[13] that engagements with the United States are in fact "self-perception from a distance," serving national agendas. Talking about world's fairs in the United States the authors of these travelogues are, in fact, addressing domestic issues, comparing contrasting, and critiquing their own country, whether it be Hungary or the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy, in the light of the outside world.[14] Most of the time they speak of the U.S. as if they have something important to say about their homeland. [15]

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[13] Tibor Frank: "'Through the Looking Glass', op. cit.

[14] Mario Del Pero, Tibor Frank, Martin Klimke, Helle Porsdam and Stephen Tuck, "American History and European Identity," AHR Roundtable, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 119, No. 3 June 2014, 780–790. Cp. Sven Beckert's appreciative Comment, "The Travails of Doing History from Abroad," AHR Roundtable, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 119, No. 3 June 2014, 818.

[15] This article is largely based on Tibor Frank, „Világkiállítások Amerikája ─ magyar útirajzokban 1876–1939" [The America of World's Fairs—As Seen by Hungarian Travelogues 1876–1939]. In: Vera Benczik─Tibor Frank─Ildikó Geiger (eds), *Tanulmányok Bollobás Enikő 60. születésnapjára* [Studies in Honor of the 60th Birthday of Enikő Bollobás] (Budapest: ELTE BTK Angol–Amerikai Intézet, 2012), 199–210.

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“Mold[ing] people of all colors into one vast family:” Malcolm X and Interculturation

Péter Gaál-Szabó

El Hajj Malik El-Shabbaz, more widely known as Malcolm X, establishes himself initially as a separationist in the footsteps of Marcus Garvey and Elijah Muhammad. Even as a disciple of the latter he rejects communication across cultures and infamously dismisses whites as “blue-eyed devils.” Relentlessly upgrading his face means uprooting society—or so he seems in contemporary media. The conversion to Sunni Islam following his pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj) in April 1964, however, changes his course of thinking opening up his self to interculturation—reestablishing his self as an intercultural one and envisioning a transnational (religio-)cultural community.

The concept of interculturation initially gained significance in the postcolonial investigations of the West Indies mainly connected to the works by Kamau Brathwaite. Interculturation is regarded by him as the complementary asset of acculturation, which refers to “the process of absorption of one culture by another” (Brathwaite 11), while interculturation pertains to “a more reciprocal activity, a process of intermixture and enrichment” (11). Importantly, Brathwaite thereby envisions that creolization in the West Indies establishes a cultural space in which, instead of the workings of a cultural superstratum to render it as a mere “adjunct of imperialism” (O’Callaghan 80), intercultural exchange ensures the creation of new cultural subjectivities. As Evelyn O’Callaghan points out, “Populated by people from elsewhere, the West Indian colonies had their matrix in ambiguity [...] the region [was] rooted in contradictions, schizophrenic in its political, economic, and social structures” (80). Constant ambivalence stemming from a “condition [...] dangerously unstable and potentially creative” (80) provided for a mould

that could override colonial opposition. Inherently interculturation involves "continuous mutual adjustment processes of sociocultural groups" (Adler 35); thus it foresees change in several cultural groups juxtaposed, not just in the subverted, marginalized ones. Furthermore, as Henry Paget adds regarding the Afro-Caribbean region, apart from reconstructive work "reconstituting aspects of shattered Amerindian, Indian, and African worldviews" (15) and synthetic work "to advance the mixed or hybrid parts of these imploded world-views" (15), transformative work envisions "the projecting of new national communities" (15). The latter puts emphasis on "newness" that invokes novelty, inventiveness, and creativity, instead of on primarily revitalizing "fragments of broken traditions" (15). Cultural osmosis thus works contrary to cultural boundaries: it goes beyond assimilation or mutual face adjustment by overwriting binaries not simply through annulling differences—diminishing or neglecting them—but through merging, i.e., a new cultural whole emerges.

Similarly to concepts of hybridity or thirding, interculturation involves existing cultural forms and segments of identity and, simultaneously, cultural borrowings. This "in-betweenity"—a term popularized by the Caribbean economist Lloyd Best—seeks to incorporate despite difference, antagonism, or trauma. As James Clifford argues regarding travelling cultures, insisting on, what he calls, discrepant cosmopolitanism, "Unresolved historical dialogues between continuity and disruption, essence and positionality, homogeneity and differences (cross-cutting 'us' and 'them') characterize [...] cultures of displacement and transplantation [that] are inseparable from specific, often violent, histories of economic, political, and cultural interaction" (36). In all the cultural juxtaposition interculturation manages "to bring those fragments together to form new, provisional and transnational cultural wholes" (Pollard 28), thereby rendering them culturally salient.

Interculturation proves one significant way of assuring continuity for Malcolm X—both regarding identity negotiation and maintenance. Much as his conversions (from an atheist [with a Baptist background, though] to Black Muslim, and later to Sunni Muslim) may appear as radical turns with disruptions of previous social and institutional ties, his experience of contemporary American racism as the originating cause engendering his conversions remains in focus. In view of Orlando Patterson's "post inception or hysteretic processes" of continuity, which establish that "there has been uninterrupted continuity of the object or

(recurring) event in question, yet no apparent continuity in the set of factors causing it" (76), the different nodes on the string of events in Malcolm X's life are primarily connected through the initiating idea of "Little"-ness, i.e., his apprehension of racism undergirded by the cultural trauma of slavery and not the apparent causal sequence of his transformations from convict to Black Muslim and to Sunni Muslim. The reasoning for his change of names shows an underlying racial dynamics: "The Muslim's 'X' symbolized the true African family name that he never could know. For me, my 'X' replaced the white slavemaster name of 'Little' which some blue-eyed devil named Little had imposed upon my paternal forebears" (Haley 229). Racial thinking provides a constant background for his political action and even his religious conversions.

Malcom X's Muslim identity necessitates referring to the religious aspects of interculturation. It can be a problematic concept for religious interaction as interculturation may be seen as syncretism: as is the case for African Americans, they were often forced to adopt Eurocentric religious peformances in "syncretic and conflictual struggle with the West" (Kanneh 42). In this way, syncretism was a technical solution for spatial juxtaposition of different religious realms by African Americans in a minority or colonized position in an attempt of masking to maintain their own religious belief[1]. Furthermore, interculturation is taken as a methodology of mission to make a new convert culture, however, doctrinal soundness is not ignored—thus cultural boundaries are maintained. Both conceptualizations reflect a superstratum approach to interculturation and neglect the experience of substratum cultures in the vortex of encounter. Just the opposite can be validated as Chibueze Udeani has it, "As a normative idea for the actions of those involved, inculturation is in a position to animate, direct, and innovate the particular cultures in questions" (135). This understanding of intercultural processes supports Paget's idea of an underlying transformative work, which involves moving away from any essentialist conceptualization of one's own culture toward a pluralist one. As Thomas G. Grenham purports from

[1] From another angle, syncretism is regarded as a similar process to interculturation, whereby, as David Carrasco puts it, "rituals, beliefs and symbols from different religions are combined into new meanings" (qtd. in Starkloff 56). Even in this definition, however, the acculturating process (in contrast to interculturation) appears emphasized "in ritual performances that enable people to locate themselves within the new world of meaning" (57).

a Christian point of view, "religious and theological interculturation is an evolutionary process that envisions the viewing of 'truth' as a shared reality in the midst of pluralism and diversity" (71) and "diverse visions of God's self-revelation must be respected and appropriated accordingly" (76). Even though both thinkers make their observations from a Christian point of view and not Muslim; in a cultural discourse, their denial of religious essentialism and insistence on communication between cultures, foreshadows mutual transformation regarding the understanding of revelations and thus the positioning of the religio-cultural self in the in-between. Malcolm X's religious encounters lead thus far beyond simple syncretic masking, undergirding a transformative work that, in his case, indeed envisions a new transnational (Pan-African) religio-cultural community.

Initially, however, as a Nation of Islam convert, he invites criticism from all sides, not just from white and black Christian America identifying him with a sect, but also from international Muslim students accusing him and Black Muslims of doctrinal unsoundness, thus "[taking] a good deal of Muslim heat over his organization's religious teachings" (DeCaro 200). He even receives a copy of Abd-Al-Rahman Azzam's *The Eternal Message of Muhammad* signed by the author himself from Dr. Manmoud Youssef Shawarbi, Director of the Federation of Islamic Associations (Haley 368), to attract Malcolm X to "true Islam." As a potential Islamic leader in America, Malcolm X represents for Muslim religious and political leaders access to American affairs not just from the point of view of mission, but also politically speaking. In this way, helping Malcolm X fulfill his Hajj can be seen as an investment to further Muslim objectives, i.e., to incorporate American Muslims in world Islam without changing the assets of Islam. As Louis DeCaro reasserts, "Malcolm's Hajj was an elite tour entirely underwritten by men with an agenda of their own" (216). Interculturation from the point of view of the transnational Islamic world is presented as acceptance of the hajji Malcolm as an Imam, with generous disregard of his doctrinal ignorance and flows without yielding to any teachings or traditions of Islam.

Malcolm X appears oblivious to his Protestant (Christian) roots and even recurringly attacks religious and other groups, i.e., "labor, the Catholics, the Jews, and liberal Protestants" ("A Message to the Grassroots" 16). He effects identity closure solely by embracing Elijah Muhammad's cosmological reasoning: insisting on the superiority of

Blacks over whites, he claims in a speech of 1962 about Black history that

> *the black man's been here a long time, but the white man has been here a short time. Now the white man only knows about himself, what he's been told, and he hasn't been told anything. He came to himself up in the caves of Europe, and he can't get any information that goes beyond the cave. And since you and I fell into his trap and were made deaf, dumb, and blind by him, we don't have access to any information that the white man doesn't know about. So we think that the beginning of the white man meant the beginning of everything, us too. We're not aware that we were here before he was made.* ("Black Man's History" 43–44)

The self-approving creativity necessary in identity negotiation is employed to facilitate distancing and the rhetorical severance of any cultural ties so much as to equate whites with extremities: "A new tribe, a weak tribe, a wicked tribe, a devilish tribe, a diabolical tribe, a tribe that is devilish by nature" (61). Malcolm X's speeches do not initially reflect multiple cultural embeddedness as he overtly positions himself in contrast to the white race as a leader of the Nation of Islam, always emphasizing racial dichotomy; in fact, until his conversion to Sunni Islam, he denies any cultural exchange except for forced acculturation African Americans were subjected to. As he states during the Harlem Freedom Rally in 1960, the "collective mass of black people [...] have been colonized, enslaved, lynched, exploited, deceived, abused, etc." ("Minister" 414).

Yet, apparent and overt negation of influences does not obliterate them. Alone the fact that Malcolm X's father was a Baptist preacher may account for his Biblical knowledge and its use in his arguments. Furthermore, besides apt reference to Elijah Muhammad's teachings in his nation of Islam phase, the bulk of his theological argumentation is based on the Bible and on his biblical interpretations—not on the Quran. Partly, the employment of Biblical knowledge serves strategic purposes since much of his audience is embedded in the Black Church, as he calls them, "Christian-bred Negroes" (Haley 238), and a prime means to persuade them is to employ knowledge that they are familiar with. Using repeatedly phrases like "as your own Christian bible says" (see, e.g., "Harvard Law School Forum" 131), he performs knowledge, granting him credibility, and attacks from within. While the heavy referencing of the Bible can be validated from a Muslim point of view—as the Bible is seen to contain revelations for the Muslim believer—not even after his Hajj, when he even symbolically receives a translation of the Holy Quran,

does he change his main body of quoted reference to the Quran. The lack of a shift of emphasis in this respect proves the prevalence of the African American cultural heritage in his thought. So while Malcolm X refuses to see his African American identity as "hyphenated identity" (Eriksen 233); it nevertheless cannot but admit to, in Eriksen's footstep of differentiation, a creole one denying "the existence of pure, discrete cultures" (234)—yet, in an intercultural sense, allowing for new mergers and interpretations.

As a letter of his from Mecca testifies, it is his conversion to Sunni Islam that facilitates his interculturation, evolving as he goes through liberation from his own racist ideology:

> *They were of all colors, from blue-eyed blonds to black skin Africans. But we were all participating in the same rituals, displaying a spirit of unity and brotherhood that my experiences in America had lead [sic] me to believe never could exist between the white and non-white […] I have never before seen sincere and true brotherhood practiced by all colors together, irrespective of their color* ("April 20" 59).

Much as he sees Muslims as colorblind, he yet has to face the fact that color does have some differentiating role between people, i.e., it can signify common background and thus perpetuate the feeling of belongingness to people akin:

> *There was a color pattern in the huge crowds. Once I happened to notice this, I closely observed it thereafter. Being from America made me intensely sensitive to matters of color. I saw that people who looked alike drew together and most of the time stayed together. This was entirely voluntary; there being no other reason for it. But Africans were with Africans. Pakistanis were with Pakistanis. And so on. I tucked it into my mind that when I returned home I would tell Americans this observation; that where true brotherhood existed among all colors, where no one felt segregated, where there was no "superiority" complex, no "inferiority" complex-then voluntarily, naturally, people of the same kind felt drawn together by that which they had in common*. (Haley 395)

Intermingling with people of different ethnic and racial background puts him in a condensed situation where, in the course of physical proximity of races during the Hajj, he reinterprets his view of human nature. His break with Elijah Muhammad perpetuated by inconsistencies in Black Muslim conduct and Malcolm X's disobedience to hush over Kennedy's death, finds theological grounding:

> *Then I saw the Ka'ba, a huge black stone house in the middle of the Great Mosque. It was being circumambulated by thousands upon thou-*

> *sands of praying pilgrims, both sexes, and every size, shape, color, and race in the world. I knew the prayer to be uttered when the pilgrim's eyes first perceive the Ka'ba. Translated, it is "O God, You are peace, and peace derives from You. So greet us, O Lord, with peace." [...] Standing on Mount Arafat had concluded the essential rites of being a pilgrim to Mecca. No one who missed it could consider himself a pilgrim. [...] I said, "The brotherhood! The people of all races, colors, from all over the world coming together as one! It has proved to me the power of the One God." [...] The color-blindness of the Muslim world's religious society and the color-blindness of the Muslim world's human society: these two influences had each day been making a greater impact, and an increasing persuasion against my previous way of thinking. [...] I had been blessed by Allah with a new insight into the true religion of Islam, and a better understanding of America's entire racial dilemma.* (Haley 387−89)

Even though Malcolm X dates his Islamic conversion back to his time in prison, it more likely marks the beginning of his journey to Islam resembling, what Massimo Leone calls, the "destabilization of the self" (1) that leads through the "crisis of the self" (53) to "re-stabilization" (79) in Sunni Islam, or as Richard M. Eaton has it, the process of "accreation" in which "existing entities in their cosmology" (111) are retained. His conversion experience shows arrival from a previously neuroticized condition to a safe haven of tranquility, thereby signifying a profound change cosmologically; i.e., "reform" in which the "preexisting cosmological structure [...] is firmly repudiated" (111). Diffusing (see Eller 162) the experience of human unity and unity in one God into his worldview proves an enlightening conversion for him which effects ultimate change in both his religious and political understanding.

From the point of view of social conversion, Malcolm X's social motives are rather similar to how R.W. Bulliet sees it, however, in an inverted way: in his view "who convert for worldly, rather than spiritual reasons, will find life in the new religious community more appealing the more it resembles their life in the previous community [...] no one willingly converts from one religion to another if by virtue of conversion he markedly lowers his social status" (qtd. in Minkov 14–15). For Malcolm X social equality proved an initiating experience as it served as a contrast to contemporary America, especially as during his Hajj he is treated as an equal Muslim even by the sheik Faisal; thus for him social conversion is not about negotiating an identity of previous valence, but about a new gain of a rewarding social identity. This is especially valid in view of E.M. Pye's definition of transplantation, as "an interplay between

what is taken to be the content of the religion and the key factors in the situation which it is entering" (236). Malcolm X's account of his Sunni conversion entails a direct reference to his American background, highlighting his dissatisfaction with America as a primary factor for his conversion as well as the method of Islam as a cure for it. That his is not only personal but social conversion is shown by him connecting the individual with the political when he explains the relevance of Islamic conversion: "the religion of Islam actually restores one's human feelings, human rights, human incentives, human his talent [sic]" ("Warren").

The idea of colorblindness in the Islamic world is naturally emphasized by his hosts since he is seen as a potential political ally "to spread their influence abroad and soften derogatory images of Islam" (Curtis 92). Malcolm X is often treated throughout his journey as a political agent—e.g., he is even invited by a Chinese ambassador who assured him of his sympathies with the oppressed Black people in America. In the Muslim context, however, Muslim racism is acknowledged vaguely as an imported illness of Western influence as, for example, pointed out in a talk with Azzam: "the complexities of color, and the problems of color which exist in the Muslim world, exist only where, and to the extent that, that area of the Muslim world has been influenced by the West" (Haley 385). Whitewashing Muslim history establishes the Muslim self in contrast to the Christian self as morally superior, as well as it serves for Malcolm X to envision a social paradise. Muslim interculturation further evolves when a direct link is emphasized by Azzam between the root of Islam and African American heritage, insisting on "the racial lineage of the descendants of Muhammad the Prophet [i.e.,] they were both black and white" (Haley 385).

The reconsideration of his race theory emanates from such biologically informed interculturation. Even though he continues to dismiss white conduct as guilty of "collective crime" ("Warren"), he detaches the color concept from pigmentation, claiming that "white is actually an attitude more so than it's a color" ("Warren"). The change is significant as it allows for "ambiguity" in Pye's sense, referring to "unresolved coexistence of elements belonging to the transplanting tradition and to the situation which is being entered" (237); i.e., in the new religious discourse Malcolm X accommodates the American social challenges anew in a way that also recoups his newly negotiated identity. For Pye recoupment refers to the "reassertion or reclarification of that which was being transplanted in some adequate way" (237)—as part of

"routinization" to achieve a "New Steady State" (275), in Anthony Wallace's coinage, supported from within and from without especially in the framework of new alliances from the Arab world and Africa. Through the maneuver he retains personal valence, i.e., a "moral posture without total acceptance or total rejection of the world of white people" (DeCaro 220) that sustains cultural and spiritual superiority in his struggle to find liberation in his racist homeland.

After his Hajj Malcolm X seeks to maintain cross-cultural alliances, thereby further interculturating the self. As Louis DeCaro points out, in a radio interview he avoids topics concerning Arab Muslims, thereby defending these acquaintances, to remain faithful "to his evangelistic claims, as well as to his personal Muslim loyalty" (219). His new cross-cultural ties open up new vistas for him: instead of defining the Muslim self in contrast to white America, he incorporates through his multidirectional communication his past stand (e.g., his dubious view of Black history derived from Black Muslim cosmology) and his new understanding—while making use of the same creativity he employed to maintain cultural boundaries. The latter refers to bridging the obvious gap between experiencing conversion to a self-anointed deity, a "*divine* leader [with] no human weaknesses or faults" (Haley 421) in the person of Elijah Muhammad and his turn to Sunni Islam. When asked about his conversion to Islam in an interview by Robert Penn Warren, Malcolm X, then already El Hajj Malik El-Shabbaz, addresses his experience with the Black Muslim belief system, not the enlightening experience of Sunni Islam. As he claims, when "I was in prison and I was an atheist. I didn't believe in anything," but "one of the main things that I read about it that appealed to me was in Islam a man is regarded as a human being" (209). In his reasoning, however, this dichotomy is washed over through the creative linking of past and present, in fact, defending, even if in a sometimes apologetic way, his past adherences and professing his new cultural/religious understanding. As he observes,

> *Since I learned the truth in Mecca, my dearest friends have come to include all kinds—some Christians, Jews, Buddhists, Hindus, agnostics, and even atheists! I have friends who are called capitalists, Socialists, and Communists! Some of my friends are moderates, conservatives, extremists—some are even Uncle Toms! My friends today are black, brown, red, yellow, and white!* (Haley 432).

Interculturation for the Sunni Malcolm X is not a unifocal activity: it involves the creative reworking of his Black Muslim religio-cultural

identity as well as negotiating identity in the international framework of Sunni Islam against a white American social setting. In all this, he ventures on a journey of spiritual rebirth, which serves to authenticate the self spiritually, culturally, and socially. The latter especially renders Malcolm X's interculturation complex, as it illuminates that his conversion, in the fashion of social conversions, inherently positions him as a political subject and consequently, despite seeming simplicity, ultimately an ambiguous one.

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Lincoln: An Alternative View[1]

Jack Judson

I. Introduction

Abraham Lincoln, the 16th President of the United States, is quite possibly the most popular and highly respected of all American presidents. The number of biographies is currently about 16,000 (1). According to numerous polls, he is almost always ranked at or near the top of great presidents (2). He is embraced by both the political Left and the political Right, by both Democrats and Republicans in America. On the Democratic Left, Barack Obama, then U.S. Senator from Illinois, launched his 2008 presidential campaign from Lincoln's home town of Springfield, Illinois (3). That by this choice of venues he meant to compare himself to Lincoln and that this would make him look favorable to the voters is not open to doubt. On the Republican Right, President Dwight Eisenhower said the following at Lincoln's birthplace in Hodgenville, Kentucky in 1954: "Abraham Lincoln has always seemed to me to represent all that is best in America, in terms of its opportunity and the readiness of Americans always to raise up and exalt those people who live by truth, whose lives are examples of integrity and dedication to our country (4)." Moving from politicians to historians we note that Marxist

[1] Concerning the content of the paper, I owe a great debt to many of the writers at Lew Rockwell.com as well as Chronicles Magazine. The single most important writer on this topic (and the one who has influenced me the most) is Professor Thomas DiLorenzo of Loyola University in Baltimore, Maryland. In addition to numerous articles on Lincoln, Professor DiLorenzo wrote two complete books on the 16th president which are titled *The Real Lincoln* and *Lincoln Unmasked.* Both books are excellent but in my view the second book should be read if the reader only has time for one. Some other writers that I am indebted to are Donald Livingston, Murray Rothbard, Joseph Fallon and Patrick Buchanan.

historian Eric Foner has criticized Mikhail Gorbachev's decision to let the Soviet Union dissolve into its member states. According to Foner, Gorbachev should have acted like Lincoln and treated Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Georgia the same way that Lincoln treated the southern states(5). And finally, British Conservative historian Paul Johnson has the following to say about the 16th President: "Lincoln was a case of American exceptionalism because, in his humble, untaught way, he was a kind of moral genius, such as is seldom seen in life and hardly ever at the summit of politics (6)."

Despite this seeming unanimity, there is an alternative view of Lincoln (7) which I will try to outline and defend in this paper. In order to do this effectively, however, I think it is perhaps best to explain the Standard or Received View of Abraham Lincoln. With this Standard View set out, it will then become clear that an examination of the actual history of the Lincoln administration reveals it to be largely mythology.

II. The Standard or Received View of Lincoln

The Standard or Received View (alternatively the "Conventional Wisdom" (8)) is what most people think about a given topic. "Most people" in this context will include intellectuals and academics as well as non-intellectuals. Concerning the Standard View of Lincoln, perhaps it is best to start with a passage from a well-known biography of Lincoln written by Chicago poet and writer Carl Sandburg. In the preface to this book Sandburg approvingly quotes U.S. Representative Homer Koch of Kansas who said the following in 1923:

> *There is no new thing to be said about Lincoln. There is no new thing to be said of the mountains, or of the sea, or of the stars. The years go their way, but the same old mountains lift their granite shoulders above the drifting clouds; the same mysterious sea beats upon the shore; the same silent stars keep holy vigil above a tired world. But to the mountains, sea and stars, men turn forever in unwearied homage. And thus with Lincoln. For he was a mountain in grandeur of soul, he was a deep undervoice of mystic loneliness, he was a star in steadfast purity of purpose and service. And he abides* (9)

Note that if this is not outright idolatry, it at least borders on it. But it is common in Lincoln scholarship. In a recent radio interview, Lincoln revisionist Thomas DiLorenzo noted that many people write about Lincoln as if he were the 4th person in the Holy Trinity (10).

But let me now turn to specifics. Let us look at the Standard View of Lincoln on the topics of Slavery and Race Relations, the Cause of the Civil War (11), the Union, and the Meaning of the Constitution, and the Founding of the United States.

Slavery and Race Relations

The Standard View of Lincoln is that he was perhaps the greatest humanitarian leader in the history of the United States. Because he worked diligently to end the evil of chattel slavery, he is or ought to be a hero to Black Americans, and indeed to all people of good will in America and around the world. By freeing the slaves, he paved the way for future Civil Rights victories for Blacks and other minorities. A recent movie (12) about Lincoln shows that he worked systematically to get the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution passed. This Amendment outlawed slavery in the U.S. forever.

The Cause of the Civil War

The Cause of the Civil War according to the Standard View is slavery, pure and simple. The Racial Egalitarian North opposed slavery while the South supported it. The only way to end it was by force of arms. Hence the Civil War and Lincoln's great role in leading the North to victory, freeing the slaves and accepting the recalcitrant South back into the Union.

The Union

The Union had to be preserved at all costs. The Union was the gift of our Founding Fathers to us and they would have been appalled to see it split into two countries. Therefore the Civil War proved once and for all time that the Union could not be broken. Had a president taken office who wasn't as strong, resolute and courageous as Lincoln, the disaster of a United States split into two parts could well have happened.

The Meaning of the Constitution and the Founding of the United States

On the Standard View Lincoln fulfilled the original intent of the Founding Fathers. In perhaps his most famous speech, "The Gettysburg Address" (1863), Lincoln makes this clear. According to Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence the country was founded on the proposition that all men are created equal. The problem, of course, is that the Constitution of 1788 allowed for slavery. We cannot have equality with the institution of slavery. Hence slavery must be abolished. Thus under the Lincoln administration slavery was abolished by the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and by the actions of the Northern Army in defeating the South and freeing the slaves. This process was finally completed with the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, supported by Lincoln, which was passed after his death in December 1865.

III. The Alternative View

Slavery and Race Relations

Concerning Lincoln's real views on slavery, it is perhaps best to start with Lincoln's own words. While Lincoln was opposed to slavery, he did not really intend to do much about it. This is made evident in his speeches, letters and by his actions. Consider the following passage in his letter to Horace Greeley in 1862:

> *My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause* (13).

On race relations, consider the following statement Lincoln made in the fourth of the Lincoln Douglas debates held at Charleston, Illinois on September 18, 1858:

> *I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black*

> *races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race* (14).

Lincoln was certainly no racial egalitarian who would have marched with Martin Luther King.

It may be objected that while Lincoln was certainly racist by our 21st Century standards he was a man of his time and everybody was racist in that time. This is mostly true but beside the point. For if Lincoln truly was the incredibly great man that many take him to be, why couldn't he have transcended racism? And the second point is that it is not completely true. Many of the Northern abolitionists were clearly not racist. Why would anyone hold such strong anti-slavery views if he believed that blacks were truly an inferior race? Can anybody think that John Brown, insane though he may have been, was a racist? He gave his life in the abolitionist cause. Also note the incredibly touching portrait of Colonel Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain of Maine which is presented in the 1993 movie Gettysburg (15). This was the man who accepted Robert E. Lee's sword of surrender at Appomattox in 1865. And as is made clear in the movie, if it is indeed accurate, he believed in the absolute equality of the races. So if Chamberlain could believe in the equality of the races, then why couldn't Lincoln?

The Cause of the Civil War

While slavery contributed to the Civil War, the main cause was the tariff. This was a Northern cash cow (16). Slavery had very little to do with it. Note that historians Charles and Mary Beard in their classic *The Rise of American Civilization* (1927) had the following to say about slavery and the Civil War:

> *Since, therefore, the abolition of slavery never appeared in the platform of any great political party, since the only appeal ever made to the electorate on that issue was scornfully repulsed, since the spokesman of the Republicans [Lincoln] emphatically declared that his party never intended to interfere with slavery in the states in any shape or form, it seems*

> *reasonable to assume that the institution of slavery was not the fundamental issue during the epoch preceding the bombardment of Fort Sumter* (17).

In a point related to this, Patrick Buchanan asserts:

> *To those who yet contend that Lincoln and the Union went to war to 'make men free,' how do they respond to the fact that when the war began, with the firing on Fort Sumter, there were more slave states inside the Union (eight) than in the Confederacy (seven). Four Southern states, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas, had remained loyal. They did not wish to secede; they did so only after Lincoln put out a call for 75,000 volunteers for an army to invade and subjugate the Deep South* (18).

The Corwin Amendment which Lincoln supported and which would have been the original 13th Amendment to the Constitution was passed by Congress on March 2, 1861. This amendment, if ratified, would have prohibited the federal government from interfering in the domestic institutions of the Southern states. Of course, one of the key domestic institutions of the Southern states was slavery. This did nothing to stop the secessionist movement in those states. And the reason is simple. The preservation of slavery was not what was driving Southern secession. What was driving Southern secession was the tariff and Lincoln's 1860 campaign promise to triple it. And what was driving Lincoln's desire to crush secession was the preservation of the tariff. If the South seceded, the tariff could no longer be collected. This would be an economic catastrophe for many, including Lincoln's crony capitalists, in the North. All this is corroborated by Lincoln's actions and words as well as by many Northern, Southern, and foreign newspaper articles at the time.

Let us first look at some of the newspaper articles. On November 20, 1860 the *Cleveland National Democrat* wrote:

> *Let the States of the South separate, and the cotton, the rice, hemp, sugar and tobacco, now consumed in Northern States, must be purchased (from the) South, subject to a Tariff duty, greatly enhancing their cost. The cotton factories of New England, now, by getting their raw cotton duty free, are enabled to contend with the English in the markets of their own Provinces, and in other parts of the world. A separation would take from us this advantage, and it would take from the vessels owned by the North the carrying trade of the South, now mostly monopolized by them* (19).

On December 10, 1860 the *Daily Chicago Times* wrote: "we have a tariff that protects our manufacturers from thirty to fifty percent, and enables us to consume large quantities of Southern cotton, and to compete

with the skilled labor of Europe. This operates to compel the South to pay an individual bounty to our skilled labor, of millions annually (20)."

Moving from North to South we note that in November 1860, the *Charleston Mercury* declared: "The real causes of dissatisfaction in the South with the North, are in the unjust taxation and expenditure of the taxes by the Government of the United States, and in the revolution the North has effected in this government from a confederated republic to a national sectional despotism (21)." On January 21, 1861, *The New Orleans Daily Crescent* wrote that "the people of the South know that it is their import trade that draws from the people's pockets sixty or seventy millions of dollars per annum, in the shape of duties, to be expended in the North, and in the protection and encouragement of Northern interests…These are the reasons why these people do not wish the South to secede from the Union (22)."

The same things were being written in the English press. *Fraser's Magazine* stated in April, 1861 that "Congress was rapidly passing a new tariff of the most astonishing protectionism to Northern manufacturers! [...] The unseemliness of the measure has filled all England with astonishment. It is a new affront and wrong to the slave states, and raises a wall against the return of the seceders (23)."

Finally, Lincoln himself makes clear his determination to collect the tariff in his First Inaugural Address. "The Power to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property, and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion—no using of force against, or among the people anywhere (24)." Patrick Buchanan offers the following insightful comment on this passage: "Message to the Confederacy from Abraham Lincoln: you may keep your slaves, but you cannot keep your duty free ports (25)!"

The Union

Lincoln and many others in the North believed that the Union was perpetual. But why think such a thing? When the 13 colonies joined together in 1776 to fight for their Independence and when they met later in 1787 to write their Constitution, where was it ever stated that no state could ever withdraw? Would they have ever even have entered into such a compact if they knew they could never leave? The question answers

itself. The country was born in secession from Great Britain. Great Britain actually signed 13 separate peace treaties with the individual colonies after losing the Revolutionary War. It is that simple. If the original American Revolution was just then it certainly was just that any member state could secede if remaining in the Union proved intolerable to it. And this is exactly what the southerners thought. They were fighting a second American Revolution.

The Meaning of the Constitution and the Founding of the United States

Lincoln trashed the Constitution like no one before him. He suspended Habeas Corpus. He arrested Roger Taney, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He shut down hundreds of newspapers. He jailed critics of his War. He deported Ohio Congressman Clement Vallandigham for opposing the War. Lincoln issued paper money dubbed "greenbacks" which violated Article I Section 10 of the Constitution.

According to Lincoln revisionist Joseph Fallon:

> *Lincoln circumscribed the Bill of Rights, suppressing the First ('Freedom of Speech, Press, Religion and Petition'), Fourth ('Right of Search and Seizure regulated'), Fifth ('Provisions Concerning Prosecution'), Sixth ('Right to a Speedy Trial, witnesses, etc.'), Seventh ('Right to a Trial by Jury'), and Eighth ('Excessive bail, cruel punishment') Amendments. He did so by claiming extraordinary powers as commander in chief, establishing extra-constitutional precedents that would be exercised by his successors—launching wars without congressional authorization, ignoring international treaties, targeting civilians, initiating warrantless searches, denying habeas corpus, imposing indefinite detention, fabricating law through executive decisions, and declaring that the courts have no jurisdiction to review or judge presidential acts in 'wartime'. These acts were, and are, done in the name of national security* (26).

IV. Lincoln's Inheritance

When Lincoln took office in 1861, the USA was not terribly different than it was in 1787. The constitution was followed by and large although there were certainly exceptions even here. For example, it can perhaps be argued that President Thomas Jefferson's retaliation against the Barbary Pirates was not based on a Declaration of War by Congress and hence was not constitutional. The states were basically sovereign as

they were intended to be by the Founding Fathers. The Central Government in Washington was a minimalist government of the kind that Libertarians could celebrate. There was no draft. There was no large standing Army. There was no income tax. There was a gold standard for the Dollar and there was no national bank. President Andrew Jackson's greatest achievement, ending the Second National Bank of the United States, was not yet undone.

As the country was born by secession from the British Empire, secession was still considered a right of the sovereign states. Massachusetts considered seceding from the Union in the War of 1812. In 1848 a freshman congressman critic of the Mexican War said the following about secession:

> *Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up, and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable,—a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe, is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government, may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people, that can, may revolutionize, and make their own, of so much of the territory as they inhabit…. It is a quality of revolutions not to go by old lines, or old laws but they break up both, and make new ones.*

This freshman congressman was named Abraham Lincoln (27).

V. Lincoln's Legacy

Fortunately, not all of the measures the Lincoln Administration implemented during his tenure remained permanent. However, the precedent had been set and many of them would return in time. The income tax, for example, was suspended until it reappeared with the passage of the 16th Amendment in 1913. The draft would also return in time, although it was finally eliminated by President Richard Nixon in 1973. But let us look in more detail at some of the most important legacies of Lincoln.

Military Keynesianism

We noted above that the Civil War was actually fought for economic reasons, not to free the slaves. According to Joseph Fallon:

> *Lincoln employed the war of 1861–65 to increase the tariff and restore the repudiated system of internal improvements. Both endeavors transferred public money to private companies with political connections under a pretext of national security. The tariff was declared necessary to ensure political independence by securing economic independence for the United States from foreign suppliers, in particular the British. Internal improvements—the building of roads, railroads, turnpikes, ports and canals by private firms with public funds—were declared essential to enhance commerce and defense, even though the projects were often never completed and the funds frequently embezzled* (28).

This Military Keynesianism continued long after Lincoln's death and even continues today. Fallon notes the following concerning U.S. Wars to advance well connected business interests:

> *The Civil War and Reconstruction were followed by more military adventures on the part of the U.S. government to advance various U.S. business interests. These included the Plains Indians War (1861–90) for the railroads; the Hawaiian Island (1893) for the sugar industry; the Spanish-American War (1898); the Philippine Islands (1899–1913); Cuba, Haiti, Mexico, Panama and Central America (1895–1913) for the banks, the oil industry, and agriculture interests* (29).

Unconstitutional Government

As noted above Lincoln violated the Constitution like no one before him. His successors in office were quick to notice and followed him in this practice. Of course, we all know from the recent revelations of the former Defense Department and CIA Contract worker, Edward Snowden, that the combination of the Patriot Act and the NSA make the Fourth Amendment a dead letter. There is no more Right to Privacy for Americans. Americans are not free from unwarranted searches and seizures. All emails, phone calls and all internet activity are stored and can be accessed by the Federal Government without warrant. And in May of 2014, the U.S. Supreme Court has refused to hear the lawsuit brought by journalist Chris Hedges against the Obama Administration. This suit concerned the National Defense Authorization Act which basically gives the president power to arrest anyone he chooses and detain them indefinitely. This means that Habeas Corpus, one of our Constitutional Rights, is for all intents and purposes, null and void.

Lincoln and Neoconservativism

It is not surprising that the expounders of the ideology of Neoconservativism (30) regard Lincoln as one of their heroes. Rich Lowrey, editor of the former Conservative magazine, now Neoconservative magazine, National Review, recently wrote a book called *Lincoln Unbound: HOW AN AMBITIOUS YOUNG RAILSPLITTER SAVED THE AMERICAN DREAM — AND HOW WE CAN DO IT AGAIN* (2013). Moreover, First Generation Neoconservative Norman Podhoretz praised George W. Bush's Second Inaugural Address which included his Utopian Idea of ending tyranny in the world as being in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. Podhoretz writes: "… it is Abraham Lincoln—the greatest Republican of them all, and the greatest of all American Presidents—whose spirit hovers most brightly over the face of Bush's Second Inaugural (31)." Lowry, Podhoretz, and many other Neoconservatives were instrumental in getting the Bush Administration to start the 2003 war in Iraq. As we now know, the war was based on falsehoods and has been, by any standards, an unmitigated disaster (32). While it is certainly a stretch to say that the Bush Administration's invasion of Iraq was inspired by Lincoln, it does seem consistent with his actions 140 years before.

All Powerful Central Government

After Lincoln, the U.S. was no longer a voluntary confederation of states with strong states rights; it was a nation with a powerful central government held together by military force.

Perhaps the best summary of exactly what Lincoln brought about is given by the great British historian and moralist Lord Acton (33). Acton wrote a letter to Robert E. Lee on November 4, 1866 in which he stated:

> *I saw in State Rights the only availing check upon the absolutism of the sovereign will, and secession filled me with hope, not as the destruction but as the redemption of Democracy…Therefore I deemed that you were fighting the battles of our liberty, our progress, and our civilization; and I mourn for the stake which was lost at Richmond more deeply than I re-joice over that which was saved at Waterloo* (34).

Postscript: A Proper Way to End Slavery

As many have pointed out (35), it was probably not necessary to go to war to end slavery. Slavery was ended all over the western world without recourse to war. This happened in the British Empire, Brazil, Holland, Argentina and many other countries. The U.S. Government could have purchased the slaves from slave owners and then set them free. The process is called "Compensated Emancipation". There is no reason to think that this could not have happened in America. Why was it not tried here? The obvious reason is that slavery was not the cause of the war. Again, Lincoln did not care about slavery.

Notes

(1) http://wiki.answers.com/Q/How_many_books_have_been_written_about_Abraham_Lincon?#slide=2.

(2) A CSPAN poll in 1999 ranks Lincoln first. An ABC poll in 2000 ranks Lincoln first. A Gallup poll in 2011 ranks Lincoln second behind Ronald Reagan. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historical_rankings_of_Presidents_of_the_United_States#2012_Gallup_poll

(3)http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barack_Obama_presidential_primary_campaign,_2008

(4) http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10218

(5) Eric Foner, "Lincoln's Lesson", *Nation Magazine*, February 11, 1991.

(6) Paul Johnson, *A History of the American People*, 1997, p. 435.

(7) This view of Lincoln has been developed by two schools of thought, which are called Libertarianism and Paleoconservativism. Libertarianism has been promoted by thinkers like Murray Rothbard and Lew Rockwell and Rockwell maintains a website named LewRockwell.com dedicated to Libertarian ideas. There is not enough space here for an adequate summary of Libertarianism. Suffice it to say that Libertarians are committed to extremely limited government in both foreign and domestic affairs. They are opposed to what they call the Welfare/Warfare state. Paleoconservativism holds much in common with Libertarianism. The most important Paleoconservative magazine is called *Chronicles* and has been edited for many years by Thomas Fleming.

Other important Paleoconservative writers are the late Samuel Francis and columnist and former presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan. An important area of difference between the two schools is the Tariff on imported goods. Libertarians oppose it while Paleoconservatives tend to support it. They are united in their opposition to the Neoconservatives.

(8) For an interesting discussion of "Conventional Wisdom", see John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*, 1957.

(9) *ABRAHAM LINCOLN:THE PRAIRE YEARS AND THE WAR YEARS*, Carl Sandburg, 1954, p. viii.

(10) DiLorenzo was interviewed by Tom Woods on February 12, 2014. The link is https://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/the-tom-woods-show/id716825890?mt=2

(11) There are many names for the conflict between North and South which began in 1861 and ended in 1865. While "The Civil War" is probably the most commonly used name, some others are "The Great Unpleasantness", "The War Between the States", "The War for Southern Independence" and "The War of Northern Aggression".

(12) *Lincoln,* Directed by Steven Spielberg, 2012.

(13) *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* edited by Roy P. Basler, Volume V, "Letter to Horace Greeley" (August 22, 1862), p. 388.

(14) http://www.dailypaul.com/100173/abe-lincoln-racist-the-lincoln-douglas-debates-1858

(15) *Gettysburg*, Directed by Ronald Maxwell, 1993

(16) Joseph Fallon, "The North's Southern Cash Cow", *Chronicles*, June, 2013, p. 42.

(17) Cited in Patrick J. Buchanan, "Mr. Lincoln's War", *Chronicles*, October, 1997, p.18.

(18) Patrick J. Buchanan, "Mr. Lincoln's War", *Chronicles*, October, 1997, p.18.

(19) Cited in Joseph Fallon, "The North's Southern Cash Cow", *Chronicles*, June, 2013 p. 42.

(20) Cited in Joseph Fallon, "The North's Southern Cash Cow", *Chronicles*, June, 2013 p. 43.

(21) Cited in Joseph Fallon, "The North's Southern Cash Cow", *Chronicles*, June, 2013 p. 43.

(22) Cited in Joseph Fallon, "The North's Southern Cash Cow", *Chronicles*, June, 2013 p. 43.

(23) Cited in Joseph Fallon, "The North's Southern Cash Cow", *Chronicles*, June, 2013 p. 43.
(24) Cited in Patrick J. Buchanan, "Mr. Lincoln's War", *Chronicles*, October, 1997, p. 20.
(25) Patrick J. Buchanan, "Mr. Lincoln's War", *Chronicles*, October, 1997, p. 20.
(26) Joseph Fallon, "Never-Ending War: an Economic Policy", *Chronicles*, March 2014, p. 42.
(27) Cited in Patrick J. Buchanan, "Mr. Lincoln's War", *Chronicles*, October, 1997, p.18.
(28) Joseph Fallon, "Never-Ending War: an Economic Policy", *Chronicles*, March 2014, p. 42.
(29) Joseph Fallon, "Never-Ending War: an Economic Policy", *Chronicles*, March 2014, p. 44.
(30) The literature by and about Neoconservativism is huge. Perhaps it would be best for an interested reader to start with two Neoconservative magazines: *The Weekly Standard* and *Commentary*.
(31) See Norman Podhoretz, "A Masterpiece of American Oratory", *The American Spectator*, November, 2006, p. 31–32.
(32) For an analysis of the Neoconservative role in the lead up to the Iraq War see Thomas Ricks' 2006 book *Fiasco* and many columns in 2003 by Justin Raimondo at AntiWar.com.
(33) Lord Acton is perhaps best known for his famous aphorisms that "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely" and "Great men are almost always bad men." It is not clear whether Acton had Lincoln in mind when he developed these aphorisms.
(34) Cited in Joseph Fallon, "The North's Southern Cash Cow", *Chronicles*, June, 2013, p. 45.
(35) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Compensated_emancipation.

Changing Roles of the Translator as reflected in the Post-modern Discourse on Translation

Dr. Shaju Nalkara Ouseph–Dr. Ghurmallh Al Ghamdi

The development of the Translation Theory

Over the past 40 years, translation studies have materialized as a new discipline not only in the field of Applied Linguistics, but also as an interdisciplinary subject. Luo (1999) identified 30 text book articles between 1949 and 1989 discussing the relationship between Linguistics and Translation. This number as indicated by Luo has increased significantly to 160 publications discussing the relationship between the two disciplines between 1990 and 1994. Nowadays and in view of globalization ample studies on translation are available.

From the late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century translation was seen as a serious activity, with writers like Matthew Arnold, or H.W.Longfellow advocating the curtailing of the translator's freedom and emphasizing that the *translator's duty is only to report* what the original has stated. I.A.Richards in his book *Toward a Theory of Translating* (1953) expressed that the translation process "may very probably be the most complex type of event yet produced in the evolution of the cosmos" (Nair 32). He was of the view that translators can be adequately trained to perceive the means needed *to arrive at a proper understanding of the SL text*.

Translation studies have emerged over the past thirty years as a new international and inter-disciplinary academic field. Between the fifties and the seventies, translation studies formed an integral part of applied and general linguistics, the single source of the discipline. James Holmes (1988) was the first to render a framework for this discipline by dividing it into two principal areas: translation theory as well as descriptive science

of translation and applied translation studies as well as translation criticism.

The Linguistic Approach to Translation Theory

The relevant literature indicates that linguistic theories on translation focused on issues of meaning, and structural equivalence. Grammar Translation as a language teaching methodology emerged powerfully in the 1950s. Students were given sentences and at later stage texts in the SL to translate into the TL. However, when Language was recognized as a tool of communication in various social contexts the trend of focusing on structures and meaning became superfluous. Nonetheless, if the purpose of translation is to achieve equivalence between SL and TL, then meaning and equivalence are the key issues for translation.

Roman Jacobson (1959) identified three types of translation processes, these are 1. Intralingual: rewording or paraphrasing, summarizing, expanding or commenting within language, 2. Interlingual: the concept of translating from SL to TL, translating meaning from one language to the other and, 3. Intersemiotic: Changing written texts into other forms such as art.

According to Jacobson, meaning and equivalence are linked to the Interlingua of translation. This means that two messages which are supposed to be equivalent are interpreted in two different codes. Recently, there was an incredible increase in the number of articles looking at translation from a linguistic point of view. Whether linguistics is a necessary part of translation is a question repeatedly discussed. Some believe that translation is an art and linguistics has nothing to do with it. We believe that this claim is not right as linguistics concerns itself with the language and what is translated is language in various forms: sentences, utterances or texts. Above all, semantics plays a significant role in translation. Ke Wenli (1992) argues that semantics, which in a broad sense includes pragmatics as well, should be studied to help understand, explain, and solve some of the problems encountered in translation. These linguistic advances explicitly show that the criteria of faithfulness, expressiveness, and elegance play significant roles in translation.

Linguistics-based theories dominated translation studies in the 1980s when the prevailing concept was equivalence. An important

theoretical advancement after the 1960s, is a choice between translations cultivating pragmatic equivalence, i.e. sense-for-sense translation (Nida & Thaber, 1969), functional equivalence (De Waard & Nida, 1986), communicative translation (Newmark, 1988), covert translation (House, 1981), semantic translation (Newmark, 1988), and overt translation (House, 1981). What constitutes equivalence to the source text is the decisive factor in judging a translation to be good, bad or indifferent.

Linguistic and cultural differences between languages often cause translations to be short of the equivalence ideal as it is impossible to produce a translation as an exact copy of the original text. In the 1990s, Hatim and Mason (1990) drew on text linguistics, discourse analysis, and pragmatics in conceptualizing translation as communicating a foreign text by working with the target reader according to certain factors such as quantity of information, quality of truthfulness, consistence of context, and clarity. Ernest-August Gutt (1991) explains that faithfulness in translation is a means of communicating an intended interpretation of the foreign text. The extent to which interpretation offers a similarity with the foreign text and the means of expressing that interpretation is based on their relevance to the target readership.

Owing to linguistic and cultural differences, it is impossible to produce a translation to be the exact copy of its original in accordance with the equivalence-based prescriptive/normative theories. A certain amount of subjectivity and reformulation is unavoidable in the translation process. A main drawback of these translation theories is that they neglect those socio-cultural conditions under which translations are produced in order to conform to the demands of communication in the receiving culture.

Machine Translation

Machine translation is an innovative method of translation which is done through computer assistance. It performs simple replacements of key words in to the foreign language that needs to be translated. Software such as Dr. Eye functions in Google and Yahoo! toolbars facilitate this type of translation without difficulty. However, machine translation should not be relied on for one hundred percent accuracy, as it is the individual who has to function both as editor and proofreader.

The following sentences in English and its Arabic equivalent suggested by Google translator illustrate the different word order and the discrepancies in grammar that is obvious in the translation of TL text.

1. The boy is in the zoo
Asabi whoa fi hadikhat alhayawan
(The boy) (he) (in) (the zoo) (animals)
2. He has gone home
Waqad dahaba ila beitihi
(in addition) (he went) (to) (house)
3. Changing Roles of Translator in the Post Modern Discourse on Translation
Tagheer dor almutarjmeen fi alkhetab alhadith musharekua fi altarjama
(Changing) (the role) (the translator) (in the speech of) (modern) (contribution) (in) (translation)
4. What is your title?
Ma whoa al ainwan alkhas bika
(what is) (the title) (that belongs to you)
5. The girl could not come to school because of the heavy rain
Yumkin anna alfatah latati ila almadrassa besebab alamtar alghazeer
(it is possible) (the girl) (does not come to) (school) (because of) (rain) (heavy)

The different word order in sentences for Arabic and English is to an extent causing these sorts of variations in Google translation. However, it is an ideal approach that translation trainers, learners, and professional translators should be familiar with, for learning skills and finding a way to learn and teach through multilingual translating can be facilitated by software.

Translational Process

Different kinds of texts require different translational processes. The translator has to judge the demand of the text and use the most effective approach. Peter Newmark (1981) in *Approaches to Translation,* suggests that there are two types of texts: one, which would

demand semantic translation and would remain as close as possible to the semantic and syntactic structures of the SL and the second set of texts would demand communicative translation and would aim to produce the same effect in the TL as was produced in the SL. He proposes a model to differentiate between Semantic translation and Communicative translation. Newmark states that all translation must be in some degree, communicative and semantic, social and individual. It is a matter of difference of emphasis. In this regard it is the responsibility of the translator to identify the possibilities before him at the functional level.

1. A translator can be a messenger, or a carrier
2. A translator can be an interpreter
3. A translator can be an intruder, or a source modifier
4. A translator can be an invisible entity

These aspects are crucial in *fixing* the translator to the process. The strategy and position adopted by him will affect the dynamics of the Source Language Text to Target Language Text (SLT-TLT) relationship.

The translator as a messenger or a carrier

Significantly the history of the translation process has by and large assigned the translator a role of messenger or carrier of the SLT to TLT. In an 1813 lecture on the different methods of translation, Friedrich Schleiermacher argued, "there are only two. Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him; or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him" (Venuti 19).The translator is in the middle of two demands that seem almost impossible to reconcile. On one side, the author calls out to him: respect my property, don't take anything away from me, and don't attribute anything falsely to me. On the other side, the audience demands: respect our taste; give us only what we like and how we like it. (Schaffner 1994)

The emphasis on structural approach to translation changes toward the end of the 1950s and early 1960s with the work of Vinay, Darbelnet and Catford, and with the emergence of the concept of translation shift, which examines the linguistic changes that take place in the translation between the ST and TT (Munday, 2001). Catford (1965) states that "Translation as a process is always unidirectional; it is always performed in a given direction: from a Source Language (SL) into a Target Language

(TL).” The central problem of translation practice is that of finding TL *translation equivalents*.” Semantic equivalence and structural equivalence are two significant components of the translation process. The following illustration addresses the problem of translation in providing an English language equivalent rendition of an Arabic text. The texts discussed here is the Arabic novel *Banaat Al Riyadh*, written by Raja Alsanea (2005) and its translation *The Girls of Riyadh* by the original author and Marilyn Booth.

1. *Masha Allah! Milh waqublah okht alarous* (BR)

   How nice it is! She is pretty, the sister of the bridegroom (GR)

2. *Alei hi asalatu wasalam* (BR)

   God’s blessings and peace be upon him *Ewallah* (GR)

   [She wanted to show the English reader, the reinforcement of the expression ‘*Éwallah*’. The language she used is culture bound and it needs to be introduced to other readers.]

3. *Bayaduha bayadshawam* (BR)

   Her skin is so fair (GR)

4. *Ya Allah, Ya Allah temsheen Ya Allah Ya Allah tatakalameen Ya Allah, Ya Allah tabtasmeen Ya Allah, Ya Allah tarkuseen* (BR)

   [Repeated expressions of Ya Allah Ya Allah indicates again author’s reinforcement, which means ‘barely’]

   You barely walk. You barely talk, you barely smile, you barely dance. (GR)

As de Beaugrande and Dressler say, “the literal translator decomposes the text into single elements and replaces each into a corresponding element in the goal language, the free translator judges the function of the whole text in discourse and reaches for elements that could fulfil that function in a goal-language situation” (216). Thus, over the years, the form as well as the content of the message is given due prominence. It is this role of the carrier, which the translator has played in the translation process. He has been involved in the transference of meaning from one set of patterned symbols into another, bridge building from one to the other.

Translator an as Interpreter

When part of a text is important to the writer's intention, but insufficiently determined semantically, the translator has to interpret. In fact the cultural history of translation is replete with examples of such interpretation, misinterpretation and distortion, which may be due to the translator's incompetence as much as to the contemporary cultural climate.

Translation is normally written in modern language, which is in itself a form of interpretation, and lexically at least a reflection of the TL culture. One can even say that the use of language itself involves translation. Following Vygotsky's (1896–1934) four-way classification-*thought without language, inner speech, social speech, and language without thought*-one can say that our inner speech is translated into social/outer speech. To scholars like Roman Jacobson, all translation is nothing less than an act of critical interpretation−"an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs in some other language" (Singh 45). Nair (1996) identifies the strategies employed by the translator to overcome the cultural and linguistic differences. The chief techniques used are *borrowing, literal translation, transliteration, omission, addition, substitution, lexical creation and transcreation*. All these point to the fact that such interventionist strategies are only to enhance the credibility and acceptability of the recreated TLT.

Translator as an Intruder or source Modifier

Further, the translator can assume the role of *intruder* into the process, particularly with the theoretical framework provided by structuralism and post-structuralism. Ronald Barthes, dislodging the author from his high pedestal of centrality, states that the moment writing commences the disjunction between the author as a person and text occurs and the author "enters into his death." In the text it is "the language which speaks not the author," for the author fails in mastering the language. In the process of mastering the language he surrenders himself to the language and becomes subservient. The meaning of the text exists in the system of rules and conventions−not in the text itself as believed for long (Singh 1996). Since the textual meaning got diffused and dissipated, the author was decentered and the translator gained, rather elusively,

liberation from the periphery. The translator is a reader-critic who sees the work as he wants to see it and the work becomes what this reader-critic intends it to be. The creation of meaning is often thrust upon the text and this process in which he produces his text is different from the one brought about by the creator/author whose organic living product is creatively and constructively distorted, damaged, and reconstructed. Thus originates a new text and the translator emerges as a producer of a new text in a new linguistic system. For Paul De Man, translation 'disarticulates' the original. That is to say, the translation undoes all the tropes and rhetorical operations of the original, and so demonstrates that the original has always already been falling apart. De Man proposes that translations kill the original by discovering that the original was already dead (De Man 1986).

Derrida says the source text is not an original at all; it is the elaboration of an idea, of a meaning, in short it is in itself a translation. Translation enables a text to continue life in another context, and the translated text becomes an original by virtue of its continued existence in that new context. Derrida suggests translation might better be viewed as one instance in which language can be seen as always in the process of modifying the original texts, of deferring and displacing forever any possibility of grasping that which the original text desired to name. In a similar fashion, translation can be viewed as a lively operator of *différance*, as a necessary process that distorts original meaning while simultaneously revealing a network of texts both enabling and prohibiting interlingual communication. "Translation is a process by which the chain of signifiers that constitutes the source language text is replaced by a chain of signifiers in the target language, which the translator provides on the strength of an interpretation. Because meaning is an effect of relations and differences among signifiers along a potentially endless chain (polysemous, intertextual, subject to infinite linkages), it is always differential and deferred, never present as an original unity" (Venuti 17).

Feminist translation theory focuses on the interactive space between the two poles:Source text (male) and Target text (female) and notes that those poles have been interpreted in terms of masculine and feminine. Lori Chamberlain points out the sexualisation of this terminology, i.e. the notion of translation as a betrayal of the original. She says "it has captured a cultural complicity between the issues of fidelity in translation and marriage," wherein "fidelity is defined as an implicit contract between translation (as woman) and original (as husband, father, or

author)" (Bassnett 140). Barbara Godard asserts her right to shape and manipulate the source text and she states "Women handling the text in translation would involve the replacement of the modest, self-effacing translator" (Bassnett 157).

Translators are never 'innocent.' They have the power to create an image of the original, which can be very different from the original's intention insofar as the original textual reality can be distorted and manipulated according to a series of constraints: the translators' own ideology; their feeling of superiority/inferiority towards the language into which they are translating; the prevailing "poetical" rules of the target culture; the expectations of the dominant institutions and ideology; the public for whom the text is intended.

The translator as an invisible entity

The question of the translator's identity emerges when the status of a translator in a translated work is considered. Some of the critics opine that he should disappear in the work and should not stand between the reader and the original author. He should achieve the extinction of his personality. He is perhaps most successful when he is least visible, and hence "most visible too" (Singh, 1996). Translation is like entering another body, which entails its own challenges and ordeals. This feeling is parallel to what Venuti refers to as *simpatico*, i.e., "the translator should not merely get along with the author, not merely find him likeable; there should also be identity between them ...the voice that the reader hears in any translation made on the basis of *simpatico* is always recognized as the author's, never as the translator's, nor even as some hybrid of the two" (274). For him, *simpatico* is a form of "cultural narcissism," identifying only the same culture in foreign writing, the same self in the cultural other.

Conclusion

Translation occurs by way of a series of decisions made by the translator in considering the requirements of the ST and source culture on the one hand, and those of the TL and target culture on the other in view of intercultural communication. A source-oriented translation makes far greater demands on the reader, but is of great value to some of the

readers. Whereas a target-oriented translation helps the first readers in maintaining their enthusiasm throughout their reading, the placement of the translator into the various possible realms of the translation process problematizes the dynamics of SL and TL texts' relations in the discourse of Translation Studies. What is being proposed here are only the possibilities before the translator and the shifting bases on which he tries to reach out to the target culture.

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American Exceptionalism in Presidential Rhetoric

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A recent Gallup poll showed that a huge majority of Americans (80%) agreed with the following statement: "the United States has a unique character because of its history and Constitution that sets it apart from other nations as the greatest in the world." When asked whether the United States has "a special responsibility to be the leading nation in world affairs," two-thirds of the respondents gave a positive answer.[1] Although not termed in the well-known expression, the results of this questionnaire prove that the large majority of the United States still subscribes to the notion of American exceptionalism. In an era when Barack Obama preaches more moderation on part of his country than perhaps any of his predecessors, and the United States is facing serious economic and political questions, both domestic and foreign, this finding might be a bit surprising. Yet, it indicates one thing: that the general American belief, which articulates that this nation has a larger-than-life role in shaping the form of the world because it possesses a special status as God's chosen nation still strongly claims an exceptional place in the national psyche. The overwhelming majority still clings to the "city on the hill" metaphor as the underlying justification for the United States as beacon to the free world, as an example to behold.

American exceptionalism has been in the past few decades a growing field of scholarly literature. It interests different kinds of people such as historians, sociologists, anthropologists, or other observers

[1] Jeffrey M. Jones, "Americans See U.S. as Exceptional; 37% Doubt Obama Does." Gallop Poll Report, December 22, 2010. http://www.gallup.com/poll/145358/Americans-Exceptional-Doubt-Obama.aspx, accessed November 22, 2013.

dealing with some aspect of American culture.[2] In the early twenty-first century the American military involvement in Iraq is basically over, and it is coming to a close in Afghanistan as well. The incumbent American president is advocating modesty, and many predict the rise of China and the subsequent fall, or, at least, decline, of the United States. The consensus seems solid: the American Century is over. The obvious conclusion also appears easy to reach: it is time American exceptionalism took a backseat. But the notion of the United States being a unique, special, or exceptional country is so deeply engraved in the American psyche that it would be a rash prediction to state that this concept will disappear any time soon.

There can be debate about what just American exceptionalism really is, or whether it is one concept, or rather a series of idea(l)s about the United States, or just a bunch of myths so gratifying to believe in.[3] At any rate, it can be safely asserted that this notion of chosenness, being an example to the rest of the world, and some form of mission coming from the previous tenets are part of what one might label American exceptionalism. As one scholar puts it, it is "the notion that the United States has had a unique destiny and history, or more modestly, a history with high distinctive features or an unusual trajectory."[4] As another observer put it, "America marches to a different drummer. Its uniqueness is explained by any or all of a variety of reasons: history, size, geography,

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[2] A few of the main works dealing with the topic are Ernest Lee Tuveson, Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role. University of Chicago Press, 1968, 1980; Byron E. Shafer, ed., *Is America Different: A New Look at American Exceptionalism*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1991; Seymour Martin Lipsett, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword*. New York: Norton, 1996; Deborah L. Madsen. *American Exceptionalism.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh U P, 1998; David W. Noble, *Death of a Nation: American Culture and the End of Exceptionalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002; Nicholas Guyatt, *Providence and the Invention of the United States, 1607–1876*. Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2007; Andrew J. Bacevich, *The Limits of Power. The End of American Exceptionalism*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2008; Godfrey Hodgson's *The Myth of American Exceptionalism*. Yale U P, 2009; Donald E. Pease, *The New American Exceptionalism*. University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

[3] As to the origin of the term see James W. Ceaser, "The Origins and Character of American Exceptionalism," *American Political Thought*: A Journal of Ideas, Institutions, and Culture, vol. 1 (Spring 2012), 1–26.

[4] Michael Kammen, "The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration," *American Quarterly* 45:1 (1993), 6.

political institutions, and culture."[5] According to Tyrell, the concept has three main pillars: a religious; a political, and a material or economic.[6] Everybody agrees on one important thing: American exceptionalism is part of the national identity of the United States, a self-sustaining myth that refuses to lie down.

Since the American colonists founded their own country, and since the first president of the United States, George Washington, the nation's father figure, fulfilled the role of the chief executive, it has been a well-discernible feature that American presidents, irrespective of party and politics, have all subscribed to American exceptionalism in one form or another. Obviously, there have been differences in the emotional charge, and some expressed such feelings more often than others, but it has been a constant feature for well over two centuries now. Given the president's status as the leader of the nation, his words, or proclamations, but even his private letters, amount to a large degree of influence over the thinking of the nation. That is the reason why it is worth investigating the presidential rhetoric concerning American exceptionalism throughout more than two hundred years, and see to what extent these persons have subscribed to the notion, how much they used it, and how important this may have been in their attempts at shaping the politics and everyday life in the United States.

It is important to mention at the outset that this idea that America is somehow different than the rest of the world, which is to a large measure true, and that America represents the best possible form of government and opportunity to freedom, and, therefore, it is unique and better than any other country, which is inherently a false interpretation of history and is a distorted perception of reality, is an ingrained belief. It is in the American DNA, it is a notion they all share, and it is an unquestionable conviction. Although in expressing such a view on part of a politician, there is often a small part of sounding as patriotic as possible for political reasons, still, the two just strengthen each other. A president speaks about his country's special status both because he believes in it and because he wants the populace to like and agree with him. Since American

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[5] Richard Rose, "How Exceptional is the American Political Economy?" *Political Science Quarterly* (1989) 104.1, 91–115.

[6] Ian Tyrrell, "The Myth(s) That Will Not Die: American National Exceptionalism," in Gérard Bouchard, ed., *Constructed Pasts, Contested Presents* (New York: Routledge, 2013),

exceptionalism is a strong belief, it cannot be handled with reason or persuasion. The country's long run of success in basically any set of measurement made it easy to believe that this new country, with its new form of government, was a God-sent "gift" to mankind, and exactly this is why there is the "mission" component of American exceptionalism. In this reading it is not enough to shine as the bright example to follow; the United States has a mission. This is nothing less than to spread freedom all over the world. As will be seen, this understanding showed ebbs and flows depending both on the international scene and events and on the personality and worldview of the president.

George Washington, who laid down so many traditions concerning the president's office, was conspicuous in preaching American exceptionalism as well. Inauguration addresses are a good platform to assert programs and beliefs, therefore it was a good place for the young nation's first president to claim that "Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency." Here, in Washington's rhetoric such a line of thought is expressed that has been always there, before and after winning independence from Great Britain, that "the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered, perhaps, as deeply, as finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people."[7] With these lines Washington gave green light to his close and distant followers in the presidency to assert their belief and approval of America's high destinies.

Of the early presidents it is Thomas Jefferson who expressed his conviction about the aforementioned characteristics and mission of his beloved United States more often than his contemporaries. Although John Adams is known to have claimed that America's cause "is that of all nations and all men," and that the young United States one day would "form the greatest empire in the world," it was the taciturn Jefferson who really kept the fire blazed.[8] True to his nature, Jefferson loved to express

[7] First Inaugural Address of George Washington, April 30, 1789, *The Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents*, Revised and updated, edited and with Introductions by John Gabriel Hunt, New York: Gramercy Books, 6, (hereafter cited as Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*).

[8] John Adams to Francis Dana, early 1781, In David McCullough, *John Adams*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001, 253, and 395.

himself more in writing than in public. Therefore, many of his such expressions come from letters written to others. Together with his few public speeches they give the first full charge of American exceptionalism in presidential vocabulary.

Jefferson well before his ascendance to the highest office of the land expressed his belief about America's moral superiority, especially over Europe. This man, who believed that the American Revolution and the consequences springing from it "will ameliorate the condition of man over a great portion of the globe," thought that if one made a distinction between the Old and the New World, the result would be "like a comparison of heaven and hell."[9] Jefferson's time in France largely added to his antipathy and he did not mince his words on the capabilities of European leaders as he saw them: "I can further say with safety there is not a crowned head in Europe whose talents or merits would entitle him to be elected a vestryman by the people of any parish in America."[10] For Jefferson, the American Revolution and gaining independence from the strongest power in the world were justification of thinking of his nation as different, better, and exemplary. He subscribed to his metaphor based on laws of motion in which he prophesied about the expansion of freedom following the American path: "This ball of liberty, I believe most piously, is now so well in motion that it will roll around the globe."[11]

With his becoming president he felt he had succeeded in two different revolutions: first as member of a nation against Great Britain; second, as leader of the Democratic-Republican party, as an opposing force to the monarchist Federalists led by Alexander Hamilton, his arch enemy. As the first person of the United States, Jefferson felt no restrain about expressing the sentiment that America was "a rising nation" that was "advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye." In his first official communication as president he also set the rhetorical milestone picked up by many of his future followers: "this Government,

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[9] Thomas Jefferson to John Dickinson, without date, In. Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2004, 627, and Jefferson to George Wythe, August 13, 1786, In. Joseph J. Ellis, *American Sphinx. The Character of Thomas Jefferson*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005, 84.

[10] Jefferson to Washington, May 2, 1788, In. Julian P. Boyd et al., eds., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 25 vols. to date, Princeton, 1950-, vol. XIII, 128.

[11] Jefferson to Trench Coxe, June 1, 1796, In. Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, 10 vols. New York, 1892–99. vol. VII, 22.

the world's best hope".[12] Only two days later he gave proof for the exemplary strain of the American mission as well, when he wrote to another Founding Father that "a just and solid republican government maintained here, will be a standing monument and example for the aim and imitation of the people of other countries."[13] A year later he wrote that "We feel that we are acting under obligations not confined to the limits of our own society. It is impossible not to be sensible that we are acting for all mankind."[14] This is an early testament to the conviction that the United States, with its democratic form of government and virtuous morale, supposedly, would be an example to follow for the rest of the world. It is interesting to note that Jefferson with time lost some of his fervent optimism in the future of his "empire," although he never shared this more pessimistic side of his with the people at large, and in the common remembrance his earlier uttered and written words remained the yardstick.

His fellow Virginian presidents did not fall far from the Jeffersonian view. They shared the same social and educational background, they were Founding Fathers of a nation that was to prove its exceptional status to the world. James Monroe, for example, although mainly famous for the doctrine bearing his name, also made a bold statement about the United States' unique status. He saw his country as one that had "flourished beyond example," and which, with perseverance and with the benevolent gaze from God, would "attain the high destiny which seems to await us."[15] Thus the tradition was well established and party formations may have changed, the challenges may have continued rising, the belief in comforting American exceptionalism remained, and, if anything, it kept growing.

Andrew Jackson spoke for many when he thought that the whole world was closely watching what was going on in the United States. This in many ways first modern president, who expanded presidential rights

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[12] First Inaugural Address of Thomas Jefferson, March 4, 1801, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 25.

[13] Thomas Jefferson to John Dickinson, March 6, 1801, In. *The Essential Jefferson*. Edited, and with an Introduction by Albert Fried. New York: Collier Books, 1963, 407.

[14] Thomas Jefferson to Dr. Priestley, 1802, In. Clinton Rossiter, "The American Mission," *The American Scholar*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Winter 1950–51), 22.

[15] First Inaugural Address of James Monroe, March 4, 1817, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 58.

and with this became a precedent to all of his followers in the White House, in his farewell address also left an indelible mark on the mission component: "Providence has showered on this favored land blessings without number, and has chosen you as the guardians of freedom, to preserve it for the benefit of the human race."[16] This is the line that many have taken throughout the times, namely that the United States is not only the bastion of freedom, not only the chosen nation by favor of God, but it also has a responsibility toward the world, which is manifest in spreading freedom. Obviously, as long as the United States was a weak country, this view had to take a backseat. With time and the country becoming more powerful than those in its way, it became a more and more important vision: the United States can defend liberty by expanding it. The first such big test came with the Mexican–American War in 1846, in which American forces easily defeated the Mexicans, and by gaining huge territories on the North American continent they managed to forward freedom's march, or so the majority interpreted the events. This is what President Polk referred to as "the fire of liberty, which warms and animates the hearts of happy millions and invites all the nations of the earth to imitate our example."[17]

With the coming of the Civil War there was a big break in American exceptionalism in the sense that the shining beacon of freedom threw its light at a scene of a bloodbath for years. Interestingly, however, this did not prove to be a fatal blow to the concept. On the contrary, the notion was able to spring even higher than before. Abraham Lincoln, one of the most venerated presidents is mostly remembered as the one who kept the Union together and not as an exponent of American exceptionalism. Still, it has to be noted that he shared such a view, gave examples of harboring it deeply, and he was also responsible for expanding it. Years before becoming president he proudly exclaimed that the United States was "a great empire" which stood "at once the wonder and admiration of the whole world."[18] To him, God's "most chosen

[16] Andrew Jackson, "Farewell Address," March 4, 1837. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=67087 accessed September 12, 2013.

[17] Inaugural Address of James Knox Polk, March 4, 1845, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 144.

[18] Abraham Lincoln, "Frémont, Buchanan, and the Extension of Slavery," Speech delivered at Kalamazoo, Michigan, August 27, 1856, In. Abraham Lincoln, *His Speeches and Writings*, ed. Roy P. Basler, New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1962, 342.

people" had a mission as well. This time it was the saving of the Union, "the last best hope of earth," the only one that could secure freedom and its possible spreading all over the globe.[19] After being elected to the presidency, Lincoln assured some state senators that, in his interpretation, the War of Independence represented more than a birth of a new nation as it amounted to nothing less than "a great promise to all the people of the world for all time to come."[20]

But Abraham Lincoln's true legacy concerning American exceptionalism lies in his elevating the United States from a people to an idea. With his famous Gettysburg Address in the middle of the Civil War he spoke of the United States as "dedicated to a proposition," and "he effected a revolution in America's self-conception."[21] The United States became an idea in which one can live, but also an ideal to which one can strive for, one can try to achieve by imitating. The example of the country had become an unearthly paradigm, a call from God to be followed by everybody, and the United States stepped up as the main agent of it here on earth.

The next three decades were also full of similar references. Basically each president expressed his belief in the United States as special and an example to be followed by the world. Ulysses Grant believed that American republicanism was "destined to be the guiding star to all others," Grover Cleveland echoed the same idea in labeling the American political system "the best form of government ever vouchsafed to man," while Benjamin Harrison claimed that "God has placed upon our head a diadem and has laid at our feet power and wealth beyond definition or calculation."[22] When President William McKinley expressed his belief to the nation that "these years of glorious history have exalted mankind and advanced the cause of freedom throughout the world," he

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[19] Address to the Senate of New Jersey, February 21, 1861, Ibid., 575, and Abraham Lincoln: "Second Annual Message," December 1, 1862. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29503 accessed October 18, 2013.

[20] Address to the Senate of New Jersey, February 21, 1861, Lincoln, *His Speeches and Writings*, 575.

[21] Justin Blake Litke, *American Exceptionalism: From Exemplar to Empire*. PhD Dissertation, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University, 2010, 252.

[22] Second Inaugural Address of Ulysses S. Grant, March 4, 1873, First Inaugural Address of Grover Cleveland, March 4, 1885, and Inaugural Address of Benjamin Harrison, March 4, 1889, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 212, 248, and 263.

actually forecast the next few years' changes.[23] Toward the last decade of the nineteenth century the United States had become the most powerful industrial country and, given the American mission that they are an example to the world and it is their duty to spread civilization and their political form, it was only a question of time before these ideas were put in practice.

There is no denying that the United States became an empire with the events taking place around the turn of the century. By its successful win over Spain in 1898 the country secured various outer lands, and it also managed to annex Hawaii, so it firmly set its feet in the Pacific Ocean, which was crucial to a more successful and expanding trade. But although militarily shining, taking over territories was against the American Creed or ideal.[24] Similarly to the domestic debate at the time of the Mexican–American War, this was again a question whether the true American values and principles were manifest or the opposite was true. One camp was trumpeting that a civilized nation had its duty to spread advanced political and other forms to less civilized nations, a true manifestation of social Darwinism, which was so popular in the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The other camp kept repeating that the United States was to affect the world by showing an example only, and not by exporting its democracy to other regions of the globe. This latter group saw the devaluation of American freedom and the loss of what the nation had been an example for. McKinley, however, could not disagree more with such a view. He exhorted the opposing section to understand that the majority of Americans, "after 125 years of achievement for mankind" obviously "reject as mistaken and unworthy the doctrine that we lose our own liberties by securing the enduring foundations of liberty to others. Our institutions will not deteriorate by extension, and our sense of justice will not abate under tropic suns in distant seas."[25]

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[23] First Inaugural Address of William McKinley, March 4, 1897, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 282.

[24] Lipset included in this notion the following: liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, populism, and laissez-faire. In more detail see, Martin S. Lipset, *American exceptionalism: A double-edged sword*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996.

[25] Second Inaugural Address of William McKinley, March 4, 1897, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 292–3.

His vice president and follower in the long line of presidents was none other than Theodore Roosevelt, still one of the favorite presidents to Americans. He was a phenomenon, who, at least before becoming president, believed in the elevating joy of war. It was not only due to a manly conception of trial, but more of what being an American meant. He absolutely believed that his nation was exceptional, a torchbearer of a higher form of civilization. He had an unshaken faith in America as a force of distinguished example, and the duty and responsibility that came with such a status. The flag of the United States represented to him, and he hoped to everybody else, "liberty and civilization."[26] The United States was nothing less than "the mightiest republic on which the sun ever shone," whose values and moral standing was the admiration of the world.[27]

With his becoming president in the wake of the assassination of McKinley in September 1901, Roosevelt gave his thoughts even a freer and larger outlet than before. In his mind there was no question about his being wrong, and this is all the more marvelous, because he was an educated man, possessing much bigger knowledge about the rest of the world than most of his contemporaries. But, as it was pointed out above, the belief in American exceptionalism is not an intellectual question but mainly an emotional one; there is not a reasonable subscription to it but a quasi-religious faith in it. Roosevelt was convinced that the American example must be taught as far as the other side of the globe. He used a Memorial Day speech to set forth the thought that Americans "can rapidly teach the people of the Philippine Islands…how to make good use of their freedom."[28] This paternalistic attitude toward peoples considered on a lower rung of the ladder of civilization was a distinctive feature of American worldview at this time.

This was a forerunner of his (in)famous thesis, typically referred to as the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. He had already expressed the idea of the duty of civilized powers in the international

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[26] Theodore Roosevelt's campaign speech, October 5, 1898, In. Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*. [1979] New York: The Modern Library, 2001. Revised and updated edition, 715.

[27] Theodore Roosevelt's speech at the opening of the Pan-American Exhibition, Buffalo, May 20, 1901, In. Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, xvii.

[28] Theodore Roosevelt's speech on Memorial Day at Arlington, 1902, In. Morris, *Theodore Rex*. New York: Random House, 2001, 110.

arena, but in his 1904 annual message he clearly advocated the United States as the international police in the Americas. He deemed the American experience one upon which "the welfare of mankind" depended, and, therefore, the responsibility for the whole world was heavy, regarding present and future generations alike.[29] As much as he preached such duties, TR's presidency was more realistic and practical than one would deduct from his utterances. Practical he may have been when it came to dealing with other foreign powers and not lesser states, he was not doubtful that the newly established place of his country among the traditional powers might "without irreverence be called providential," and he saw the duty unfinished on going on a path clearly assigned for the United States.[30] He simply could not fathom that what his country and other great powers, such as Great Britain, did was not for the benefit of mankind at large. He believed that teaching democracy to other peoples was only the beginning. As he explained it to his Anglo-Saxon brethren, "In the long run there can be no justification for one race managing or controlling another unless the management and control are exercised in the interest and for the benefit of that other race. This is what our peoples have in the main done, and must continue in the future in even greater degree to do."[31]

If there ever was such a president who can be identified as the exponent of American exceptionalism, it is Woodrow Wilson. The deeply idealistic president had a firm conviction that the United States had to lead mankind toward a higher status. On the road to dramatic victory in 1912, he made it clear that his nation was "chosen and prominently chosen to show the way to the nations of the world how they shall walk in the paths of liberty".[32] This was a notion he clung to and often reiterated in his professorial style to his constituency that his nation was "destined to set a responsible example to all the world of what free Government is and can do for the maintenance of right standards, both national and

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[29] Inaugural Address of Theodore Roosevelt, March 4, 1905, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 301.

[30] Theodore Roosevelt's speech in California, 1903, In. Morris, *Theodore Rex*, 229.

[31] Theodore Roosevelt, *Biological Analogies in History*, Delivered before the University of Oxford, June 7, 1910. London: Henry Frowde, 1910, 41.

[32] Woodrow Wilson's campaign address in Jersey City, NJ, May 25, 1912. In Nicholas Guyatt, *Providence and the Invention of the United States, 1607–1876*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 319.

international."[33] With the oncoming of World War I he was provided with the chance to make his ideas practical in a peace conference whose outcome should have been a shining victory for American moral leadership; the goal was to make the world safe for democracy. His idealistic worldview was simplified in the sense that the true American principles were fit for the rest of the world, because "they were the principles of a liberated mankind."[34]

The Paris peace conference, however, turned out to be far from a glorious adaptation of American principles by the leading European powers. Wilson may have believed that he was the apostle of peace and his program, the famous Fourteen Points, would bring salvation to the war-torn continent, but his idealistic aspirations were one by one deflated by Old World politicians who were dictated by raw national interests which, in turn, were driven by a thirst for revenge. Wilson's stubborn persistence on the creation of the League of Nations held him hostage, and his dream of a democratic Europe following the American footsteps remained unfulfilled. Moreover, American public opinion refused to be entangled with European or other powers in such a supranational organization, thus Wilson's defeat was absolute. Still, till his very last breath Wilson held onto the notion that his action had ushered the world into a better phase. In his last writing he asserted this distorted analysis of his work. He still claimed that "the world has been made safe for democracy." But the Russian revolution and its consequences made him awake to a new danger against which democratic countries had to fight. "That supreme task, which is nothing less than the salvation of civilization, now faces democracy, insistent, imperative. There is no escaping it, unless everything we have built up is presently to fall in ruin about us." He felt compelled to add, "and the United States, as the greatest of democracies, must undertake it."[35] This last addition was a logical consummation of his belief in America's role as the torchbearer for a more elevated and well-lit path for the rest of mankind to follow. As

[33] "Text of Wilson Appeal for League of Nations," *New York Times*, October 4, 1920.

[34] Second Inaugural Address of Woodrow Wilson, March 4, 1917, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 332.

[35] Woodrow Wilson, "The Road Away from Revolution," *Atlantic Monthly* 132 (August 1923): 146.

he put it elsewhere, "if America goes back upon mankind, mankind has no other place to turn."[36]

The 1920s and 1930s was a period when the United States turned away from Europe to a large degree, at least in the political realm. In other parts of the world, such as Latin America and Asia, it remained and became even more active, but with the onset of the Great Depression, the United States had to focus itself on to a measure perhaps unparalleled in its history. This does not mean, however, that the postwar period's presidents would not utter words relating to American exceptionalism. President Harding, for example, saw "God's intent in the making of this new-world Republic," and he thought of his country as the embodiment of "an inspiring example of freedom and civilization to all mankind."[37] Still, in this decade exceptionalism was not as important an assertion as in earlier times. During the 1920s the large majority of the people enjoyed life and became wealthier; living standards rose and people wanted to be entertained. As a consequence, they experienced all the more harshly the break that the years starting with 1930 brought to them. For many this was a time to hold on to a job, provide for a family, or simply to stay alive. It is understandable that during those years the loud trumpeting of being exceptional as compared to the rest of the world was forced to the background.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the man at the helm throughout the thirties and World War II was a very practical man, not conspicuously driven by high ideals, especially compared to Wilson. He, forced to a large degree by the compelling circumstances, showed a sensitive side to the social welfare of the masses, and when it came to keeping his country out then leading it into World War II, it was all about reaching victory. Only shortly before his death did he express words relating to his belief that his country was more than just any other great power. He let the American people and the world know that God "has given to our country a faith which has become the hope of all peoples in an anguished

[36] Woodrow Wilson, Address at Sioux Falls, September 8, 1919, In. *The Messages and Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Albert Shaw, vol. 2, (New York: Review of Reviews Corporation, 1924), 822.

[37] Inaugural Address of Warren G. Harding, March 4, 1921, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 338.

world."[38] This may have had to do something with his slow realization what an enormous and dangerous challenge the United States would face after the conclusion of the war in the shape of the Soviet Union. Or it might have been his weakened physical health and the wind of coming death. At any rate, with his restricted performance in the field of American exceptionalism but full vigor in the leadership through perilous times in the life of the country, he may have done actually just as much if not more for the notion that the United States was different and better than the rest of the world.

With the end of the World War soon the Cold War had set in and this was a challenge unheard of in the history of the United States, a test for which many Americans were not ready in the beginning, but soon enough the country fought this "war" with all its might. Moreover, the country stood without any close contender in these years. Economically, the United Stated found itself way ahead of the world, with far the highest standard of living, most of the country taking full share of the postwar boom. It was the ideological and military fields where America had to compete with the Soviet Union. While the latter was tested by proxy wars on the other side of the globe, the former gave a perfect ground on which American exceptionalism could surge forward. With the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan the United States became the leader of the free world, the unchallenged first citizen of the West. The history of the country served as a comfortable explanation why the western, or rather, American ideology of free trade, freedom of speech and religion, along with such other facets of the United States as a society deeply imbedded in religion and an exceptionally wealthy citizenry should make their way of living the one to be followed in a sharp contrast to anything and everything the communist dictatorships could offer to, or, rather, demanded of their citizens.

Consequently, during the Cold War it was a rhetorical standard of presidents to invoke their country's special status and exemplary eminence. The mission component of the American Creed and exceptionalism concepts, that is, the fervent wish to expand freedom all over the globe was amplified throughout these decades. The United States could boast of "good will, strength, and wise leadership," bringing "new hope to all mankind" to the ultimate goal that was nothing less than to

[38] Fourth Inaugural Address of Franklin D. Roosevelt, January 20, 1945, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 396–7.

"advance toward a world where man's freedom is secure."[39] Irrespective of whether these presidents were Democrats or Republicans, they all whistled the same tune, despite the fact that when it came to domestic policy they saw things differently. That is the reason why Dwight D. Eisenhower's words echoed those of Harry Truman's. He spoke of destiny laying upon the United States "the responsibility of the free world's leadership," which called for a high degree of willingness to face and undertake "whatever sacrifices may be required of us."[40] This is again the missionary approach to foreign affairs, but this is not so surprising if one hears from the same man that it is important to "recognize and accept our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere."[41]

John Fitzgerald Kennedy elevated American exceptionalism to an even higher level and, in many ways, it was he who brought it to the very front of everyday thinking. Naturally, this again can be attributed to the Cold War background or mentality, but the fact remains that his utterances on this subject appealed to a lot of Americans. Kennedy reached back to Winthrop and his "city upon a hill" metaphor, which by now has gained new meaning, found an expanded interpretation that might not have met the intentions of its author. Kennedy boldly claimed before his inauguration that Americans "do not imitate—for we are a model to others," and echoed the well-known phrase that "the eyes of all people are truly upon us."[42] In his famous inauguration address he elevated the mission concept as the defining thread of American values. He confidently informed the nations, allies and foes alike, "that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty."[43] This time the leader of the free world started to become the

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[39] Inaugural Address of Harry S. Truman, January 20, 1949, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 402, 403, 408.

[40] First Inaugural Address of Dwight D. Eisenhower, January 20, 1953, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 415, 417.

[41] Second Inaugural Address of Dwight D. Eisenhower, January 21, 1957, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 422.

[42] Address of President-Elect John F. Kennedy Delivered to a Joint Convention of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, January 9, 1961, http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/OYhUZE2Qo0-ogdV7ok900A.aspx accessed January 9, 2014.

[43] Inaugural Address of John F. Kennedy, January 20, 1961, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 428.

overarching idea of what the United States stood for. It is central to the whole topic that this is not a conscious choice on the part of Americans. As Kennedy was to put it, but the assassin's bullets stopped him from delivering on the promise expressed in his speech, "we in this country, in this generation, are—by destiny rather than choice—the watchmen on the walls of world freedom."[44]

The void left by Kennedy's death was soon filled by repeated presidential invocations of the exceptionalism concept. As a follower of Kennedy both in the domestic and international arena while being deeply committed to the ideals of American exceptionalism, Lyndon Johnson proved to be a good disciple. He boldly trumpeted that "the American covenant called on us to help show the way for the liberation of man. And that is today our goal."[45] Vietnam became the showcase of American military power and the stand for freedom. Johnson, with most of his compatriots, was absolutely sure that the United States walked the right path of history, and it belonged to it to vindicate others' hope and aspirations. If new circumstances arose, that was all well to America, since, according to Johnson, if a new world was coming, the American response was ready: "We welcome it—and we will bend it to the hopes of man."[46] This unshaken belief in America's infallible choices and decisions about the present, which was deemed nothing less than a destiny-driven march, suffered a rude awakening in South-East Asia.

The Vietnam War proved to be, if not a turning point, but by all means a halt to American exceptionalism. The American military might was not able to secure victory against a small nation, and for the first time ever the United States had suffered a defeat in a military campaign. Parallel to the war in Vietnam, and to a large degree on account of it, dissent grew at home and theretofore unseen violent confrontations became everyday events. On the heels of this internal turmoil came Watergate and with it a never-before-seen doubt as to the exceptional character of the American political system. The economy of the country was hit hard in the wake of the oil crisis during these years, and the

[44] John F. Kennedy's undelivered Trade Mart Speech, November 22, 1963, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/primary-resources/jfk-trademart/ accessed February 14, 2014.

[45] Inaugural Address of Lyndon Baines Johnson, January 20, 1965, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 437.

[46] Ibid., 439.

incoming Democratic president, Jimmy Carter often showed signs of irresoluteness and declared "that even our great nation has its recognized limits," which idea was clearly blasphemy to many Americans.[47] The Vietnam syndrome appeared overwhelming.

It is no wonder that exactly around this time the first serious criticism of American exceptionalism appeared as well. The torchbearer was Daniel Bell, who simply argued that "the belief in American exceptionalism has vanished with the end of empire, the weakening of power, the loss of faith in the nation's future."[48] He was soon followed by such thinkers as Alexander Campbell or Laurence Veysey.[49] These authors very well reflected the feeling in the second half of the 1970s, when many Americans felt compelled to carry out both a self-examination and an imaginary question and answer session with the current leaders of the permanent American system. This legitimate critique did not question that the United States was in many ways different from the world, and several studies since then proved this view right.[50] These scholars simply put to the test whether the mission concept was a valid one under the new circumstances, and whether it was not time to be much more moderate in connection with the international community. But soon the pendulum swung again, and after the miserable years a new champion of American exceptionalism appeared on the scene, who reclaimed the concept's prestige both at home and in the world at large.

Ronald Reagan was a well-known personality on the political scene and, on account of his movie career, he was a familiar face in most older households. Reagan came with not too many ideas but few very firm convictions, one of which was to restore the respect of the United States around the globe, and to prove that the path that America had been

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[47] Inaugural Address of Jimmy Carter, January 20, 1977, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 465.

[48] Daniel Bell, "The End of American Exceptionalism," *The Public Interest*, vol. 41 (Fall 1975), 197.

[49] See Alexander E. Campbell, "The American Past As Destiny," in David H. Burton ed., *American History—British Historians*, (Chicago, Ill., 1978), especially 51–72; and Laurence Veysey, "The Autonomy of American History Reconsidered." *American Quarterly* 31:4 (1979), 455–477, and since then one can see an unbroken line of criticism aimed at American exceptionalism.

[50] See, for example, Michael Kammen, "The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration." *American Quarterly* 45:1 (1993), 19–23.

following was the right one and the ideology that the Soviet Union represented belonged to "the ash-heap of history."[51] Reagan's enthusiasm for his country's elevated role and his belief in the American mission undersigned by God was nothing new. After all, it was he, who in 1964 sounded the memorable call for many: "You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We will preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on Earth, or we will sentence them to take the last step into a thousand years of darkness."[52] This was his deep conviction and it became one of his trademarks that he often returned to. On the other hand, by the late seventies the great masses of Americans were hungry for something positive, and Reagan was the perfect man to ride such a wave. He asserted again and again that the United States had to meet its glorious destiny and fulfill its role as the keeper of liberty, in the wake of which the American nation "will become that shining city on a hill."[53] After a long time it was Reagan who tried to bring back to the forefront the "city on the hill" metaphor, this time adding the adjective "shining" to it. By so frequently citing throughout his presidential years this somewhat changed version of the "city upon a hill" idea, according to a historian, Reagan "had captured the metaphor," which "had become as inseparable from the American identity," and, therefore, "his metaphor became a holy relic of the American civil religion."[54]

He easily defeated Carter in 1980 and a new era started in the sense that Reagan's goal be met. He trumpeted proudly that the United States was the "last and greatest bastion of freedom," and his people were "special among the nations of the Earth." He clearly contrasted himself with Carter's view of America's limited capabilities, eventually leading the country to "abdicate this historical role as the spiritual leader of the

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[51] Ronald Reagan's speech at the British House of Commons, June 8, 1982, http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2002/06/reagans-westminster-speech accessed October 3, 2013.

[52] Ronald Reagan, "A Time for Choosing" speech, October 27, 1964, http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/reference/timechoosing.html accessed November 15, 2013.

[53] Ronald Reagan's official Announcement of being a candidate for U.S. President, November 13, 1979, http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/reference/11.13.79.html accessed November 15, 2013.

[54] Richard M. Gamble, *In Search of the City on a Hill. The making and Unmaking of an American Myth*, New York, London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012, 155.

Free World and its foremost defender of democracy." Holding that Americans were special and it was "time for us to realize that we are too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams," he considered the Carterian perspective a wrong reading of history.[55] He believed in positively and energetically stepping up and trying to curb Soviet influence wherever in the world it must be and could be done. In his view the United States was able to perform the task and was ready for it, the reward of which will be that America would "again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom."[56] For him America's light was "eternal," and the years ahead will see a United States marching "unafraid, unashamed, and unsurpassed."[57] The world was an uncomplicated place in Reagan's mind: light against darkness, good against evil, right against wrong. With such a simplified version of history it was easy to claim that the "nation is poised for greatness" and is "pledged to carry on this last, best hope of man on Earth," which will succeed in turning "the tide of history away from totalitarian darkness and into the warm sunlight of human freedom."[58]

Since throughout the 1980s the United States started to become more and more successful and the Soviet Union was weakening at many points, Reagan seemed to be justified in claiming how exceptional America was. The large majority of Americans happily drank the words that strengthened their own gut belief about their place in the world. They readily agreed with the president that "this blessed land was set apart in a special way, that some divine plan placed this great continent here between the oceans to be found by people from every corner of the Earth who had a special love for freedom."[59] Reagan achieved what he had set

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[55] Peter J. Wallison, *Ronald Reagan. The Power of Conviction and the Success of His Presidency*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2004, 286; First Inaugural Address of Ronald Reagan, January 20, 1981, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 474.

[56] First Inaugural Address of Ronald Reagan, January 20, 1981, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 476.

[57] Ronald Reagan, Remarks Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in Dallas, Texas, August 23, 1984, http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1984/82384f.htm accessed November 20, 2013.

[58] Second Inaugural Address of Ronald Reagan, January 21, 1985, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 484, 481.

[59] Ronald Reagan: "Remarks at a Spirit of America Rally in Atlanta, Georgia," January 26, 1984. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=40294 accessed February 17, 2014.

out to do. America regained confidence and a higher respect, while the Soviet Union and the socialist block en masse showed serious signs of heading toward collapse. Although Reagan could not know, but in a few months after his farewell speech to the nation the archenemy broke and democracy reached Central and Eastern Europe after forty years of socialist rule. Obviously this was further tangible proof of what he and others had been preaching, and Americans claimed it was their country's efforts that paved the way for these peoples for freedom. Again, this is one reading of what really took place, but this was the version that the United States and most of its citizens accepted as reality. To them, American exceptionalism was real and benevolent.

The Cold War was thus over and the new world situation meant new challenges for the United States, which had become, practically overnight, the sole superpower on the globe. This "unipolar moment" provided great possibilities and crucially problematic challenges for the country. Now it was not a tyrannical political system that it had to define itself against, rather it was about fulfilling historical roles and proving western democracy's victory over dark forces. The glorious days of the early 1990s gave proof to the thesis that the United States was special and it was the leading force for freedom loving nations. Containment was replaced by engagement, because the United States had to "continue to lead the world we did so much to make," and not only by actions alone, since, according to Bill Clinton, "our greatest strength is the power of our ideas."[60] The United States could almost do as it pleased, and when there was local strife or war, it was America alone that could decide the outcome or defeat of an opposition to the international will. This made quite a few minds giddy and, next to the cliché that the United States is the "world's greatest democracy," there came voices from the top that made many non-Americans shrink. Clinton was not joking when he stated that "America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation," or when he prophesied a twenty-first century "with America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout all the world."[61] In addition, the

[60] First Inaugural Address of William J. Clinton, January 20, 1993, Hunt, *The Inaugural Addresses*, 503.

[61] Second Inaugural Address of William J. Clinton, January 20, 1997, http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres65.html accessed January 23, 2013. His secretary of state Madeleine Albright echoed Clinton when she asserted that "We are the indispensable nation: If we have to use force, it is because we are America. We are the indispensable nation. We stand tall. We see further into the future." NBC's *Today Show*,

globalizing world benefited the American economy, people lived well on the average, and the world needed American money and assistance. This heightened self-confidence thus was the norm as the country stepped into the new millennium and woke up to some harsh realities.

But the end of history did not come and there was still room for further aspirations, not only on the part of the United States. When George W. Bush assumed the presidency, he did not show signs of being another prophet for American exceptionalism. He expressed the well-known lines about the leading role of the United States and the close relationship of it to freedom spreading on the globe. But 9/11 brought home both the vulnerability of even the United States, at least against a terrorist attack, and the more important point that there was unfinished work in the world out there for Americans. In other words, the safety of the country was again connected to the freedom agenda: that a world full of democracies will be a less hostile place. In this reading American exceptionalism became the benevolent freedom-spreading eagle. America had "lit a fire," Bush proclaimed, and "one day this untamed fire of freedom will reach the darkest corners of our world."[62] The United States does nothing less, according to Bush, than "proclaims liberty throughout all the world."[63] That is still the mission: to teach the world what freedom means. There is nothing cynical in this. This is not a selfish intention. They mean it. How can you doubt someone who believes that "we have a calling from beyond the stars to stand for freedom. This is the everlasting dream of America"?[64] This rhetoric was as high flying as the results of the two successive wars in the wake of 9/11 were low. More and more Americans and foreigners saw not a freedom fight in Uncle Sam's actions but military occupation that led to nowhere: Iraqis were not better off than under Saddam Hussein, although there were token democratic developments. Afghanistan is even a lower success, if that word is applicable at all.

February 19, 1998, http://www.fas.org/news/iraq/1998/02/19/98021907_tpo.html accessed February 17, 2014.

[62] Second Inaugural Address of President George W. Bush, January 20, 2005, http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres67.html accessed March 3, 2012.

[63] Ibid.

[64] George W. Bush's acceptance speech to the Republican National Convention, September 2, 2004, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A57466-2004Sep2.html accessed February 11, 2013.

The election results in 2008 were very much against the Bush-government, so Barack Obama's becoming president was only surprising in the sense that he was the first African–American who had ever won that position. Although many people saw him as an anti-Bush, and some of his steps were leading into that direction, if there was one thing that was common in both men was the belief in American exceptionalism. Actually, that was how Obama got in the limelight. When he announced his intentions to run for the highest office in the land, he boldly paid homage to America being different and better than all the rest of the countries of the world. A he put it, "I reject the notion that the American moment has passed. I dismiss the cynics who say that this new century cannot be another when, in the words of President Franklin Roosevelt, we lead the world in battling immediate evils and promoting the ultimate good. I still believe that America is the last, best hope of Earth."[65] Nevertheless, he made a significant step away from the Bush years in this opening salvo for the White House. Instead of the mission achieved by military might, he emphasized that the United States "must lead the world, by deed and example," and that way the "beacon of freedom and justice for the world" would fulfill its historical role.[66]

Everybody was hungry for a change in US foreign policy, and with Obama becoming the leader of the nation, it seemed a realistic expectation. Although Obama did gestures of good will toward countries that were anathema to the Bush White House, and, due to the economic recession, he was forced to concentrate more on the home front, his belief in America as the exceptional nation remained unshaken. In his first inauguration speech he proudly spoke about "the justness of our cause**,** the force of our example."[67] He made steps to wind down the war in Iraq, and he promised to finish the war in Afghanistan, but this does not mean that the American worldview has changed. On the other hand, his restrained actions are a testimony that the belief in American exceptionalism can live together with realism. The United States is still "the greatest nation on Earth," and, as an echo from the recent past, it

[65] Senator Barack Obama's speech at the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, April 23, 2007, http://my.barackobama.com/page/content/fpccga accessed February 15, 2013.
[66] Ibid.
[67] First inauguration Address of Barack Obama, January 20, 2009, accessed February 22, 2010.

"remains the one indispensable nation in world affairs."[68] And Obama is not timid about being an exceptionalist. Although an image has been created about him as the one who builds bridges rather than destroys them, and in comparison to his predecessor this might be true to some extent, he cannot change what he essentially is. He chose the United Nations General Assembly as the place to clear up any misunderstandings about this subject matter, when he declared to the leaders of all other nations present: "I believe America is exceptional."[69] These and similar utterances by Obama rather strengthen than weaken American exceptionalism as an ongoing "religion" practiced by the overwhelming majority of Americans.

One can safely conclude that there is an unbroken tradition palpable in these utterances of the American presidents. They have always subscribed to and trumpeted, to various degree, the tenet of their country being exceptional. Some of them may have used the idea more vehemently, others with some calculation concerning domestic politics, but one would be a rash observer claiming that it was all for a show, these words being only a veneer that lacked internal substance. On the contrary, these politicians believed in the core philosophy of the United States being the center of the universe and a special place on earth under the watchful gaze and guidance of God. Since the American presidency has the unique tradition of acknowledging this concept, an unbroken path was long ago established. In the words of a historian, "paying homage to, and therefore renewing, this tradition of American exceptionalism has long been one of the presidency's primary extraconstitutional obligations."[70] Indeed, it is hard to imagine anyone gaining the highest office of the land without alluding to at least, if not energetically trumpeting the nation's exemplary status among the countries of the world. This national creed and tradition is unlikely to disappear any time soon.

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[68] Barack Obama's State of the Union Address, January 24, 2012, accessed January 26, 2012.

[69] Barack Obama's speech at the United Nations' General Assembly, September 24, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/transcript-president-obamas-speech-at-the-un-general-assembly/2013/09/24/64d5b386-2522-11e3-ad0d-b7c8d2a594b9_story.html?hpid=zl accessed January 11, 2014.

[70] Andrew J. Bacevich, *The Limits of Power. The End of American Exceptionalism*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2008, 18.

The Narrative of James Albert Gronniosaw: A Study in Reverse Acculturation

András Tarnóc

I

Karen McCarthy Brown asserts "transatlantic slavery is to history as black holes are to the reaches of space: we know their presence only by the warping effect they have on what surrounds them" (Mizruchi 31). Indeed, the slave narrative had proven to be a trusted literary device for an authentic interpretation of the distorting impact of slavery to the general public. While the noted examples of the genre, among them especially the *Narrative of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845) illustrated how the "peculiar institution" dehumanized both the slave and owner, the account of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw titled *A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, an African Prince as Related by Himself* considered the second slave narrative after Briton Hammon, attempts to approach the concept and practice of enslavement from a different angle.

Walter Shirley's introduction noting that "THIS Account of the Life and spiritual Experience of JAMES ALBERT was taken from his own Mouth and committed to Paper by the elegant Pen of a young LADY" creates a contrast between the teller of the tale and the recorder from the very beginning of the text. Moreover, along with an obvious indication that written culture for Gronniosaw remained out of reach, the text is dedicated to the Countess of Huntingdon. Although originally there were no plans for the publication of the memoir, as the text was produced "for […] private Satisfaction," financial and didactic considerations justified the respective release: "But she has now been prevail'd on to commit it to the Press, both with a view to serve ALBERT and his distressed Family

[…] and […] this little History contains Matter well worthy the Notice and Attention of every Christian Reader." [1]

In his study of British Romantic writers Nigel Leask elaborated the concept of reverse acculturation, originally a hegemonic impulse entailing the reinterpretation of the social dynamics in India according to western needs, thus acquiring an understanding of the culture of the oppressed (9). Conversely, Jeffrey Gunn viewing reverse acculturation as a process of learning the literary culture of the oppressor in order to further one's ends (http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_64274_en.pdf) casts the respective scenario in a counter-hegemonic context.

Accordingly, I regard the acquisition of literacy as the keystone component of the reverse acculturation process eventually facilitating the cultural construction of the Self, an impulse, which according to Catherine Belsey encompasses the destruction of stereotypes and the inscription of the reconstructed Self into the dominant culture. The purpose of this essay is to explore the specifics of reverse acculturation focusing on the impact of learning the "word" along with immersion into Christianity as reflected in the Gronniosaw narrative.

II

James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw is the offspring of a royal family from the West African region of Bournou. As the grandson of the king of Bournou and youngest of six children surrounded by a loving family, especially by a mother and grandfather who almost "doated (sic) on him," he became intrigued by the metaphysical aspects of his surroundings in early childhood. Driven by "a curious turn of mind," he began to ponder such questions as the origins of the universe. Feeling a certain intimidation by a yet to be identified "GREAT MAN of power" causing storms and other violent weather phenomena, the young prince's beliefs in an omnipotent transcendental being clashed with the animistic convictions of his people causing him significant emotional distress and mental anguish.

His lengthy spell of melancholy appeared to be broken only when a merchant trading with ivory from the Gold Coast offered to take him away as an apprentice. James Albert's hopes, lured by the promise of

[1] The primary source utilized in this essay is the electronic version of said Narrative as listed in the Works Cited section.

expanding his personal horizons and being shown "houses with wings to them walk upon the water" were soon dashed and repeated threats were made on his life. First a jealous colleague of the merchant attempted to kill him, then considered as a potential spy, the king of the Gold Coast planned to have him executed. Having displayed a similar personal poise to that of John Marrant, a captive of Indians quoting Scripture in front of his indigenous master, James Albert's sheer presence and "undaunted courage" led the king to change his mind.

The young prince's unwitting display of bravery earned him another chance at life, yet in the chains of enslavement. Nevertheless, refused for his small size by a French slave trader, once again he had to face the looming threat of execution. His life was saved only after imploring the captain of a Dutch slave ship to be taken aboard. "I ran to him, and put my arms round him, and said, 'father save me' […] And though he did not understand my language, yet it pleased the ALMIGHTY to influence him in my behalf." One notable aspect of the physical context is that James Albert running to and hugging the captain enacts a traditional parent-child encounter in addition to intimating the potential redemption to be gained from his relationship with the Divine Father. Yet, one can hardly ignore the irony that in this case slavery is presented as a life saving option instead of a threat of social and often physical death. In the same vein it is noteworthy that while both the Indian captive and the young prince allude to divine interference behind their escape, Gronniosaw invokes the Redeemer at the beginning (!) of his slavery experience.

Having been taken on the Dutch slave ship, his physical appearance is changed, as his gold chains and other bodily decorations are removed prior to being "clothed in the Dutch or English manner." It is aboard the slave ship where the famous Talking Book episode takes place. This trope identified by Henry Louis Gates in several Afro-American autobiographical works including the narratives of John Marrant, Olaudah Equiano, and Ottobah Cugoano, mainly refers to an encounter between the non-white person, or in most cases the slave, and the liturgical texts and practices of Christianity. The young slave witnesses the captain reading to his crew from the Bible, but later he is sorely disappointed as he puts his ears on the same pages, but the Book "does not talk" to him. Although he attributes his failure of being understood or accepted by the Book to his blackness, the actual reason for his inability to decode the text is his lack of literacy.

It is at this very point, when Gronniosaw an African slave, is confronted with the literary culture of his oppressor, or by extension in the clash of oral African and written European civilization, the former is defeated. At the same time the captain provides an example of elocution, a common form of public discourse in the 18th century. Dwight Conquergood viewed such process as the verbal equivalent of the enclosures within the domain of speech "sei(zing) the spoken word […] and ma(king) it uncommon, fencing it off with studied rules, regulations, and refinements"(143).The captain reading to his crew, that is by "rerouting literacy through oral communication" created the very bridge between the literate elite and illiterate masses (Conquergood 146) that enabled Gronniosaw to make his first figurative steps toward literacy. Experiencing "the Book's silence as a culminating moment of his exile and excommunication and as a profound rejection of his humanity," (Conquergood 149) provides ample inspiration for seizing the "word."

After arriving in Barbados he is sold for 50 dollars to a "young Gentleman" in New York. Since he becomes a slave in the North, the conditions of his servitude are notably better than that of his counterparts forced to work in southern plantations. While serving as a house servant to a master described as "very good" he begins to learn the English language, if only at first in the form of cursing expressions. At the same time it is demonstrated by a wholehearted acceptance of a fellow slave's identification of blackness with evil that his removal from his original cultural roots and racial identity is intensified. Having been rebuked by Old Ned the elderly house slave for cursing, he is reminded by the latter of the black devil burning those using foul language in hell. He not only accepts the apocalyptic black devil concept, but passes this myth on to his young mistress, when he scolds her for using curse words. Nonetheless, when he reports on Old Ned's punishment Gronniosaw offers an indirect criticism of the inhumanity of slavery. All in all the whipping of the erudite slave functions as a covert condemnation of the institution for its denial of education for and cruelty to the enslaved.

Becoming a slave in the house of a minister brings temporary improvement in his fate as the literacy acquisition process along with a familiarization with the liturgical practices of Christianity begin with Mr. Freelandhouse and his family. Being made to kneel down and witnessing prayers the young slave is indoctrinated into both the physical and ritual aspects of Christianity. Although still a novice at the English language the minister "taking great pains with him" explains the meaning of prayer and

enlightens him on the concept of God. Consequently, Gronniosaw achieves a full understanding of his spiritual crisis experienced in childhood: "I was only glad that I had been told there was a God because I had always thought so."

Gronniosaw's unique and favored treatment continues as he is sent to school eventually acquiring literacy and thus obtaining the "word." While previously a mere encounter with Christian liturgy amused him, now understanding Scripture evokes anguish such as applying the warning from Revelations to his own experience he assumes the potential guilt of those responsible for the Crucifixion: "Behold, He cometh in the clouds and every eye shall see him and they that pierc'd Him." This episode at the same time highlights the faith defending function of the Narrative. The text not only documents the spiritual growth of the African Other from heathen to devout believer, but at the time when overall religious commitment tended to decline in British North America, Gronniosaw taking the sermon to heart demonstrates a depth of personal spiritual conviction George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, and other leading figures of the Great Awakening dared only to hope for. Although his mistress introduces him to other examples of Christian literature including John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) and Richard Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, (1657) severe melancholy based upon a self-perceived wickedness eventually culminates in a suicide attempt. His troubles are further exacerbated by the rejection experienced among his peers as he is falsely accused of stealing tools.

Gronniosaw demonstrates a perspective not unlike that expressed by William Adams in his *Memoirs* (1650): "I was born a sinner into an evil world." His constant battle with a troubled conscience echoes the convictions of such leading figures of colonial culture as John Winthrop and Jonathan Edwards. Accordingly Winthrop laments: "In my youth I was very lewdly disposed, inclining unto and attempting (so far as my yeares enabled mee) all kind of wickednesse" (199), and Edwards offers a similar admission:"I had great and violent inward Struggles: 'till after many Conflicts with wicked Inclinations" (326). His spiritual imbalance is paired with physical and bodily tribulations: "I could find no relief, nor the least shadow of comfort; the extreme distress of my mind so affected my health that I continued very ill for three Days and Nights." Likewise, only a reinforced commitment to the tenets of Christianity can offer any remedy. Immersion into Christianity notwithstanding, Gronniosaw finds

spiritual comfort under an oak-tree anticipating the Black Sacred Cosmos concept.[2]

Moreover, it is under the oak tree that his entry into Christianity becomes permanent as he becomes part of a covenant with God. The reinforcement of one's religious commitment in the wilderness is not unprecedented in colonial culture. Isaac Jogues, a French missionary, captured by Mohawks in the early 1640s found comfort by carving crosses on trees, thereby establishing an altar in the forest. Moreover, Anne Bradstreet in a spiritual narrative in poetry form titled "Contemplations" (1678) also muses under a "stately oak," in fact worshiping the Sun as the "Soul of this world, this universe's eye" (214). However, these texts also differ in a noteworthy aspect, namely Jogues and Bradstreet were aware of their worlds' Creator, while the young Gronniosaw only alluded to it.

Gronniosaw's spiritual and psychological crises reflect the instability of the self, or in other words a lack of inner balance singled out by Steven E. Kagle as the primary trigger behind the life writing process (8). Kagle identifies confessional, revelatory, and directive functions of autobiographical works as well. The confessional aspect included private reflections on the author's self-professed sinfulness, the revelatory side recorded natural and societal events testifying to Divine interference, and the directive function manifested in recommendations helping the reader to become a better follower of God's teachings (30).

Consequently, Gronniosaw deals with spiritual isolation via "writing," or in his case indirect text production. His mental anguish leading to a suicide attempt is triggered by his self-image as a sinner. The Narrative abounds in the revelatory identification of divine intent or the recognition of redemptive suffering, suffice to refer to the protagonist's positive appraisal of his ordeal: "I'm thankful for every trial and trouble that I've met with," or to the identification of Providential will behind the untimely death of a sailor depriving him the consolation of the Bible. While reading Scripture on a pirate ship, an act suggesting or implying the sinner's need for Redemption by itself, a mate tears the Book from his

[2] According to C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya the Black Sacred Cosmos concept describes the religious perspective of the African-American community including the sacred nature of the whole universe, the need for conversion to Christianity along with the inclusion of African deities and spiritual forces in the syncretically formed spiritual sphere (2).

hands and throws it into the sea. Gronniosaw is comforted by the recognition of the working of Divine Providence as his attacker is the first to die in an upcoming ambush. The directive function is palpable in Gronniosaw's self image as a pilgrim striving for salvation and spiritual perfection thereby promoting the internal cohesion of the Christian community as well.

The promise of salvation is innate to experiencing inclusion into the covenant, presently, the covenant of grace, initiated by God. As Jeremiah 32:40 holds the collateral of this "everlasting covenant" is the fear of God, or in other words Gronniosaw constantly questioning himself on his own worthiness for the divine alliance. At the same time the protagonist's liberation by his dying master indicates a correlation between manumission and the acceptance of the tenets of Puritanism. Despite his immersion into Puritan theology his inner stability is short-lived as being periodically thrown into the throes of self-doubt and spiritual crisis serves as a reminder that a true Christian has to earn salvation on a daily basis.

Gronniosaw's spiritual development can be interpreted along Schleiermacher's theological continuum ranging from the Pre-communion state characterized by living in collective sin, via Regeneration entailing either Justification or Conversion, to Sanctification. Regeneration refers to the achievement of a life with God-consciousness and Sanctification is the extension of that life toward holiness. Justification can be interpreted as the establishment of a permanent relation between man and God, or the formation of a covenant. Consequently as a result of communion guilt consciousness disappears while Conversion, involves an admission and regret for the totality of a sinful past life. (1911), http://people.bu.edu/wwildman/schl/cfguide/cfguide_cross2212.htm).

As a young African child Gronniosaw is in the Pre-communion stage, his God consciousness is not constant and subconscious at best, demonstrated by intuiting a "Man of Power" behind natural phenomena. His Regeneration process begins with his self-recognition as a sinner, both on the collective and the individual level partly from being black and for not being able to interpret Scripture respectively: "I was humbled under a sense of my own vileness." In his case both Justification and Conversion are applicable and this is demonstrated by the formation of a covenant and the admission of non-specified past sins in that order. He continually seeks reinforcement and the quote from Hebrew 10.14 literally indicates the last step, that is, the achievement of Sanctification. Gaining consolation from the above mentioned biblical passage on the

one hand intimates a status of chosenness, and refers to the Regeneration process experienced by the protagonist on the other: ”Wherefore He is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by Him seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for them. For by one offering. He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.”

Despite gaining freedom Gronniosaw experiences serious financial difficulties following the death of his master and in order to escape from pressing debts he turns to privateering. Upon his return, all his earnings are taken from him by an unscrupulous creditor, who also meets an untimely fate by dying at sea. Living amidst virtually perpetual financial difficulties his spiritual development reaches a milestone, as he makes the personal acquaintance of George Whitefield, one of the leading figures of the Great Awakening. Inspired by Whitefield’s teachings he decides to settle in England, the country he considers as the ultimate manifestation of Christianity. His expectations of finding “goodness, gentleness, and meekness” are daunted as he is defrauded by a deceitful pub owner. Consequently, inverting his original perspective, a technique attributed to reverse acculturation, he offers a painfully disillusioned appraisal of contemporary British society: “I thought it worse than *Sodom.*” While help received from other Christians reinforces his faith, he decides to travel to the home country of Mr. Freelandhouse.

When in Holland he functions as a reification of God’s Providence, virtually serving as a teaching tool via reporting on his spiritual development to a panel of “38 Calvinist ministers” for seven weeks. Within this context Gronniosaw’s life as the African other demonstrates the basic principles of Christianity at work, thereby promoting and defending Puritanism at the time of respective challenges and a loosening of spiritual devotion both in North America and in Europe. It is also remarkable that his trials and tribulations were committed to paper by his listeners “as (he) spoke it.” Thus once again text production takes center stage in the Narrative, which is created via dictation to another person in the first place.

While reciting his experience Gronniosaw insists on referring to his privileged upbringing and the royal family background eventually presenting the embodiment of the “Noble Afric” stereotype. This image is put forth among others by Aphra Behn in *Oroonoko* (1688), whose protagonist as an African prince sold into slavery via deceit is in fact a prototype of Gronniosaw. Such application of the “Noble Savage” image to blacks is present in Dagoo, the harpoon man in Melville’s *Moby Dick*

(1851), in the figure of Bras-Coupé of George Washington Cable's *The Grandissimes* (1880) and in the title character of Eugene O'Neill's *Emperor Jones* (1920). The Noble Afric image, however, could not be applied across the African–American experience as according to Zsolt Virágos, the Noble Savage, or the "aristocrat of nature" trope was reserved for the Indian, a race not impacted by slavery (92).

What can be considered the ultimate impact of Gronniosaw's reverse acculturation, primarily expressed by learning the word? Attending school implying a separation from peers amounts to culture shock and the subsequent anguish in fact reinforces the conclusion of Ecclesiastes 1:18: "For in much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow." While the writing process indicates the achievement of subject status, the subject in question is fully accommodating to mainstream culture. His view of slavery as a means of escape from potential death is a major digression from the primary trope of the slave narrative genre. Moreover, the description of the Middle Passage is scant at best, along with sparse if any references being made to the forsaken home in Africa. Furthermore, Gronniosaw has distanced himself from the black community from early childhood, demonstrated by the contrast between his "beloved sister" Logwy and the rest of his family: "she was quite white, and fair, with fine light hair though my father and mother were black."

While Frederick Douglass, by "extracting meaning from nothingness," (Baker 39) became a public figure, Gronniosaw never reached this status as personally he did not speak up against slavery and his example was used primarily by the clergy to reinforce the tenets of Christianity. He does not escape from slavery as his freedom is given to him by a "kind master." Although he implies the responsibility of African tribal and national leaders in the slave trade, the Narrative does not contain a direct condemnation of commerce in human flesh. The concept of slavery is only a bye-plot at best, as the authorial focus is directed upon spiritual growth, commemorating a journey from "the grossest Darkness and Ignorance to […] the Light of […] Truth." Moreover, the Narrative raises the dilemma of Philip LeJeune's autobiographical pact as Gronniosaw is the narrator and protagonist, but hardly the actual author of the text. Said situation is the reversal of Mary Jemison dictating her life experience to Dr. James Seaver, referring to himself as the author of the given captivity narrative. Certainly Gronniosaw's account also helps the

reader to obtain a 'plan of life' to guide him or her through the world "on paths of morality" as pointed out by Dr. Seaver (49).

III

Gunn identifies reverse acculturation as a tool to alter and improve the position of African slaves in the slave trade. Gronniosaw's attempt at acquiring the literary culture of the oppressor is motivated by a desire for acceptance by the Anglo mainstream complemented by a need to escape from an ongoing spiritual crisis. The Narrative does not write the slave into being via the "creation of a human and liberated self" (Baker 31) as Gronniosaw's subject status is always conveyed through others. The main turns in his life are generated by external sources. It is a spiritual crisis that leads to removal from his home, a place he never returns to. He escapes death not by his own act, but by an unwitting display of courage. Moreover, even when his life is in danger he is waiting for outside help, namely, begging to be taken into slavery. For him blackness connotes evil demonstrated by blaming his skin color for his inability to understand Scripture or by the belief in the black devil snatching those using curse words. He is not shaping his fate, but drifts with the events while testifying to the workings of Divine Providence throughout his life-span. Whereas in slave narratives the quest for freedom is the central trope, Gronniosaw at best attempts to find understanding or knowledge during his life. Nevertheless as Vincent Carretta pointed out the Narrative via demonstrating slaves' capability to acquire literacy made an unwitting, yet significant contribution to the abolition movement. Indeed, as aptly summed up by the concluding section Gronniosaw is truly a pilgrim waiting for the "gracious call," on a quest for the Heavenly City, a destination receding further and further from sight with each passing day.

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Sentimental Ambiguities and the American Founding: The Double Origins of Political Sympathy in *The Federalist* Papers

Zoltán Vajda

In the Fourteenth *Federalist*, attempting to contribute to the project of winning political support for the proposed constitution of 1787, James Madison made a bold statement about "the people of America," who, according to him, were "… knit together … by so many cords of affection."[1] In his reasoning, the document would sanction a national community already based on existing affective ties. Nevertheless, as revealed in other pieces of the *Federalist* Papers, the would-be federal system was, at the same time, in lack of such bonds, and the authors of the collection, in part, offered the document to create other such ties, ones that had not been present before. Thus in *The Federalist* the constitution appears, in a sense, as an ambiguous framework which was for both legitimizing a national community, federal in scope, and was legitimized by it. This ambiguity was, at the same time, intimately linked with a contemporary set of ideas derived from the culture of sensibility and concerned the origins of national bonds circumscribing two different conceptions of those affective ties.

In this essay, I propose to address one particular aspect of the notions of sympathy and affection as they emerged in *The Federalist*. My interest lies in the ways that Publius identified the origins of affectionate social ties in the Union with special regard to the tension between the local and national spheres of power. More particularly, my aim is to

[1] James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers,* ed. Isaac Kramnick (Harmondsworth, 1987) (henceforth cited as *Federalist),* 144.

explore the modes in which, in the Papers, national ties of affection originating in various factors served to bridge the distance between members of the federal political community. How many sources of those "cords of affection" would exist in the federal Union?—one might respond to Madison's claim above. As far as their origins are concerned, I argue, John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison, the three authors of *The Federalist*, utilized two kinds of discourse in the sentimental mode. They, in fact, employed a double discourse of political affection and sympathy suggesting two, diametrically opposed sources of origin for sentimental bonds in the federal republic. The first of these posited the nation-to-be under the new constitution, in part, as a result of development, chiefly related to the Revolution, with emphasis on affectionate bonds connecting members of the nation. Thus it also exploited the power of natural proximity and local affectionate sentiments in an effort to make the federal-national government appeal to the people of the states. Different from, yet closely linked with this, the second discourse posited the same (federal) nation as an already existing one, a sentimental community by nature with bonds of affection naturally derived either from kinship ties or from others already connecting various political actors of the federal system. The first discourse, as will be seen, had its force at the federal level only, whereas the second had the state as well as the federal levels for its scope thereby contributing to an intricate network of bonds of political affection and sympathy in the *Federalist* Papers.

In the past two decades a growing scholarly interest has developed in the philosophy and culture of sensibility and sentimentalism in relation to the political discourse of mid-and late-eighteenth-century America. Groundbreaking research has highlighted the extent to which major political concerns of the era were intertwined with the "culture of feeling." As a result of this work we now have a better sense of the relevance of concepts such as "sympathy," "affection," "benevolence," "consanguinity," or "brotherhood," in a political context each related to the capacity of the individual of sharing the sentiments of fellow human beings. Derived from contemporary western moral philosophy they became stock elements of the American colonists' assessment of their relations to Britain and came to inform their vision of social ties holding

their community together following independence.[2] However, none of the pertaining works pay attention to the origins of political sympathy in the *Federalist*, failing to identify the different stances of Publius on these two discourses.

Examining how affection comes to be in *The Federalist* can also qualify claims about the differences among its contributors. In a recent article, Todd Estes has argued how, in response to anti-Federalist arguments, writers of the Papers framed the issues of debate in different ways, opting for different rhetorical "strategies" and "voices" ranging from an avid support for ratification (Hamilton), through the assertion of "national greatness" (Jay) to a more deliberative, meditating voice (Madison), weighing pros and cons in view of ratification.[3] However, my analysis will hopefully show that because of their use of the ambiguous discourse of political sentimentalism, the three authors of the Papers also had a great deal in common.

Literature on ratification including discussions of the place of the *Federalist* Papers is voluminous and is predominantly concerned with the political ideas, the narrative history or the rhetorical strategies presented in the debate. Recent works have tended to concentrate on the process of framing and ratification in the states, yet with no interest in the influence of the contemporary culture of sensibility. Of works with less narrative and more analytical orientation, Max Edling's treatment of the making of

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[2] For works of broader scope discussing the major features of sensibility and sentimentalism with focus on the English speaking world see Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London, 1986); John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1990); and June Howard, "What is Sentimentality?" *American Literary History* 11 (1999), 63–81. For the American political scene see Garry Wills, *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* (New York, 1979, first ed. 1978); Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800* (Cambridge, 1982); Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1991); David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill, 1997); Andrew Burstein, *Sentimental Democracy: The Evolution of America's Romantic Self-Image* (New York, 1999); Andrew Burstein, "The Political Character of Sympathy," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 21 (2001), 601–32; and Sarah Knott, *Sensibility and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 2009). "Sensibility" and "sentimentalism" were by and large used in the same sense in the contemporary terminology. On this see Todd, *Sensibility*, 6.

[3] Todd Estes, "The Voices of Publius and the Strategies of Persuasion in *The Federalist*", *Journal of the Early Republic*, 28 (2008), 526–7.

the constitution as an attempt to create a nation state, European style, also ignores the culture of sensibility. Similarly, in his widely acclaimed analysis of the drafting, making, and implementing the constitution, Jack Rakove, concerned with the changing meanings and interpretation of the document, also addresses issues with some relevance to sentimentalism yet with no awareness of its influence on the debate.[4]

[4] For studies on the making of the constitution and the ratification debate see Robert L. Utley, Jr., ed., *Principles of the Constitutional Order: The Ratification Debates* (Lanham, 1989); Herman Belz, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *To Form a More Perfect Union: The Critical Ideas of the Constitution* (Charlottesville, 1992); Leonard W. Levy and Dennis J. Mahoney, eds., *The Framing and Ratification of the Constitution* (London, 1987); Michael Lienesch, *New Order of the Ages: Time, the Constitution, and the Making of Modern American Political Thought* (Princeton, 1988); Terence Ball and J. G. A. Pocock, eds., *Conceptual Change and the Constitution* (Lawrence, 1988); Jack N. Rakove, *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution* (New York, 1997); Richard Beeman, Stephen Botein, and Edward C. Carter II, eds., *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity* (Chapel Hill, 1987); Ellen Frankel Paul and Howard Dickman, eds., *Liberty, Property, and the Foundations of the American Constitution* (Albany, 1989); Of two recent works, for instance, Richard Beeman's is primarily a detailed and meticulously constructed narrative account of the Constitutional Convention with a brief gesturing to the ratification process and a survey of the issues discussed by the delegates. Labeling the *Federalist Papers* as "political propaganda," serving the actual political goals of people like Madison, who had previously held different views of the provisions of the document, Beeman, nonetheless, makes no attempt to examine the role of contemporary ideas of sensibility in the debate. Also in a recent narrative history, Pauline Maier provides a magisterial study of the ratification process in the various states, emphasizing how in one state it was influenced by events in another and discusses major political issues as they shaped the debate. Yet, although she does refer to the problem of sympathy between representatives and the people as an issue in the New York ratification debate, the role of sentimental culture in the parties' arguments falls outside her scope. Richard Beeman, *Plain, Honest Men: The Making of the American Constitution* (New York, 2009), 207 (quotation), 207–8; Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787–1788* (New York, 2010), 354. Max M. Edling, *A Revolution in Favor of Government: Origins of the U.S. Constitution and the Making of the American State* (Oxford, 2003); Rakove treats, among others, the issue of representation, pointing out how anti-Federalists employed the argument about the need for sympathy between federal representatives and the people as a guarantee "against the abuse of power." Yet he connects this stance simply to an older political model of representation without addressing the issue in a sentimental context, and like the other cited scholars offers no analysis of either how Publius thought of its philosophical foundations, its nature or the mechanism of its attainment. Rakove, *Original Meanings*, 205 (quotation), 236–7.

Works that have paid some scholarly attention to the *Federalist* Papers from the point of view of sentimentalism nonetheless treat political affection as one homogeneous discourse failing to note its different origins as articulated by Publius.[5] In what is the most comprehensive study to date of the links between the ratification debate and sentimentalism historian Sarah Knott has shown how issues of the controversy were, to a great extent, embedded in the culture of sensibility and, more particularly, how Federalists imagined the American political community as one bound together by ties of sympathy. As part of her argument, she also claims that similarly to their political opponents, yet unrecognized by historians, Federalist writers, including Publius, amply drew upon the language of sensibility the project of the Federalists in order to move beyond localism represented by the anti-Federalists and to identify ties of sympathy within the Union denied by the latter.[6]

Knott's analysis, however, also fails to explore the different origins of political sympathy and affection in the *Federalist* Papers and suggests their homogeneous nature in the documents, whereas it was, as I aim to

[5] Of these, Gary Wills's brief analysis which discusses political sympathy within the context of assessing David Hume's influence on Madison's thought, remains cursory, only treating Madison's adoption of the notion of affection in politics from Hume's writings on parties, simply highlighting the former's concern with the danger of the people's attachments to legislators as an impediment to control over the latter. Garry Wills, *Explaining America: The Federalist* (New York, 1981), 34–7. Similar is the case with historian David Waldstreicher's sweeping analysis of celebratory political practices in the early national period. Briefly addressing the problem of sensibility when examining the sphere of political celebrations as a platform for acting out national feelings, his treatment of textual representation of the boundaries of the federal national community includes no systematic study of *The Federalist* from a sentimental perspective. Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, chapter 2. In another relevant analysis, political scientist Leonard Sorenson has dealt with the document with focus on sentimental issues in discussing Madison's theory of virtue and ambition as well as their role in making a precondition for the existence of a republic like the federal Union. Offering an analysis of sympathy between the people and their representatives as well as addressing the problem of similarity between people and federal magistrates through fear of oppression, or "temporary affection" between them Sorenson nonetheless fails to probe into the origins of such sentiments from the perspective of the culture of sentimentalism. See Leonard R. Sorenson, "Madison on Sympathy, Virtue, and Ambition in the 'Federalist Papers'," *Polity* 27 (1995), 435–7, 437–8, 441 (quotation).

[6] Knott, *Sensibility and the American Revolution*, 241, 244, 255, 242, 254, 250, 260, 257–8.

show here, more diverse, at least as far as its origins are concerned. Her argument treats fellow-feeling in *The Federalist* as a homogeneous concept, ignoring differences in its use and hence cannot account for the strategy of Publius, who suggested the presence of proximity in various segments of the proposed political system offering a more complex system of affection than it seems at first sight.[7]

The eighteenth-century conception of affection was part of a broader intellectual and cultural framework usually described as the "cult of feeling" or the culture of sensibility. Although originating in Lockean perceptional psychology as well as in scientific interest in sense experience, by the mid-eighteenth century it became associated with the concept of sympathy, denoting the capacity of humans to respond to the feelings of fellow human beings and to communicate their own sentiments. Although with significant differences as for the mechanism of sympathy along with other related moral virtues such as benevolence or affection, British moral philosophers from Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Third Earl of Shaftesbury through Frances Hutcheson, Lord Kames (Henry Home), David Hume, and Adam Smith nonetheless unanimously emphasized the primacy of these concepts in establishing and maintaining human society through their function to bridge the gap between individuals, moving them beyond the basic drive of self-interest. This was in sharp contrast to conceptual models such as the ones professed by Thomas Hobbes and Bernard Mandeville which posited self-interest as the exclusive motive of individual conduct.[8]

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[7] Understanding the significance of the ambiguous origins of sympathy in *The Federalist*, at the same time, also allows for a reconsideration of the sharp dividing line that Knott posits between the anti-Federalists and the Federalists as far as sentimental politics are concerned. She argues that while the anti-Federalists advocated a "mimetic" mode of sympathy, which, based on the principle of "resemblance," stressed the possibility of affection between similar, homogeneous entities such as the ones constituting the individual states of the Union, the Federalists promoted a "superlative" version of sympathy asserting affinity beyond localism encompassing the entire federal Union (ibid, 244). The former fit the idea of localism and the ideal of the small republic with a homogeneous population, whereas the latter assumed affection across boundaries of heterogeneity, thereby supporting the idea of the large republic and the federal Union. (ibid, 243–4) Nevertheless, as will be seen below, in fact, Publius also made use of the claim about the power of localism when identifying natural ties of sympathy at the federal level.

[8] See Todd, *Sensibiliy*, esp. 24–7, Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability*, esp. 18–56; Michael Bell, *Sentimentalism, Ethics and the Culture of Feeling* (Houndmills, 2000),

In the North-American colonies of Britain the notion that a political community was to be cemented by bonds of affection developed from a special conception of the family. A fundamental social unit, family was originally seen as being based on patriarchal bonds of mutual affections required from children and parents: while their offspring were expected to show obedient affection to parents, the latter were obliged to reciprocate by showing appropriate parental love. This conception of family relations, however, as historian Jay Fliegelman has shown, underwent a decisive transformation: from the mid-eighteenth century on the parent-child relationship became more and more grounded in the sentimental ethos of affection. Patriarchal authority as a principle governing that relationship came to be replaced by the expectation for parents to guide the moral and intellectual development of their children, leading them toward independent adulthood. As a result, ideological emphasis was shifting from "nature" to "nurture" in the period, meaning that bonds developing as a result of education as nurture could be of the same strength as bonds of consanguinity, that is, the outcome of birth. Therefore, for instance, it became culturally acceptable for surrogate fathers to replace those of nature as long as their sentiments for family members were grounded in affection. Likewise, familial ties by birth, in general, were increasingly seen as accidental and replaceable by ones based on affectionate nurturing. All this, however, also implied that such bonds could be developed as a result of habit through "habituation," that affection could be generated through development, instead of being seen as automatically derived from consanguinal ties.[9]

Ubiquitous as they may have been, moral sentiments including affection, as members of the American political elite could learn from

16–17. For the Scottish thinkers' general influence in the early Republic, see Richard B. Sher, "Introduction: Scottish-American Cultural Studies, Past and Present," in Richard B. Sher and Jeffrey R. Smitten, eds., *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1990), 1–2, 8–10; Samuel Fleischacker, "Adam Smith's Reception among the American Founders, 1776–1790," *William and Mary Quarterly* 59 (2002), 897–924; Samuel Fleischacker, "The Impact on America: Scottish Philosophy and the American Founding", in Alexander Broadie, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 2003), 324–8; Mark G. Spencer, *David Hume and Eighteenth-Century America* (Rochester, 2005).

[9] Melvin Yazawa, *From Colonies to Commonwealth: Familial Ideology and the Beginnings of the American Republic* (Baltimore, 1985), 2, 19–22; Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims*, 29, 51, 194, 229, 181–2; the phrase "habituation" occurs on 51.

Scottish moral philosophers, were also limited in scope and power. The power of affection and benevolence was commonly understood to be inversely proportional to the distance between humans; in other words, the shorter the distance, the stronger the ties of affection among them. Thus the strongest sentiments of affection were claimed to exist within the family but weakened with growing distance from that center. Adam Smith, for instance, in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), argued that love for the self was followed in strength by affection involving family members. More distant kinship relations, however, would result in less affection, since "affection gradually diminishes as the relation grows more and more remote."[10]

Americans also shared the notion about the power of affection as being naturally related to distance. Thomas Jefferson, for instance, articulated the gravitational nature of human affection by describing the affectionate ties connecting members of Indian communities in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1781). He argued that these bonds weakened with growing distance between individuals, being the strongest among members of the family. In an effort to debate the claim about the inferiority of the New World to Europe, he argued that the Native American male showed no difference from his white counterpart in terms of affection, including its decreasing power with growing distance: "he is affectionate to his children," Jefferson claims, "his other connections weakening, as with us, from circle to circle, as they recede from the center."[11]

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[10] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) (Indianapolis, 1982; reprint of the Oxford University Press edition of 1976), 219, 220, 223–4. As Fonna Forman-Barzilai has shown, rewriting the Stoic tradition Smith denied the possibility of developing sympathy in a "cosmopolitan" manner refuting the gravitational model by practicing "apathy," i.e. the refusal to feel greater sympathy for others within the innermost circles of one's world. Fonna Forman-Barzilai, *Adam Smith and the Circles of Sympathy: Cosmopolitanism and Moral Theory* (Cambridge, 2010), 5, 8, 19–20, 120–34. Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* 223–4. For Smith's conception of the limitations on sympathy see also Fleischacker, "Adam Smith's Reception," 918.

[11] In *The Portable Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (Harmondsworth, 1975), 96. Contemporary thinking about sentimental power was also restrictive in a different way. In the public sphere, the adaptation and production of the ideas of sentimentalism as well as their dissemination was confined to those having the power of articulating them. While the power of sensibility was acknowledged in the case of disadvantaged social groups such as women, they were excluded from political sentimentalism. Blacks or native Americans could be felt compassion for, but their sentimental powers were deemed inferior to those of whites. Waldstreicher, *In the*

Nevertheless, the limits of affection were not regarded as absolute. The power of sensibility was seen ideally to extend from the individual through ever expanding social circles, morality becoming associated with a "singular humanity." For eighteenth-century Americans, limiting affection to the local sphere was the subject of disapproval. Instead, they argued, one should be able to have affections reaching over beyond the boundaries of narrow locality. Failure to do so equaled presenting oneself uneducated, lacking refinement and civilized affection. Americans even went so far as to consider themselves cosmopolitans, able to cross boundaries of locality and in Sarah Knott's words, "enter into the hearts of even those who were different." Ultimately, they found themselves being capable of feeling sympathy for all mankind.[12] The understanding that compassion was a fundamental human trait served as a ground for connecting the reform of the political framework of the nation with the burgeoning culture of sensibility.

Hence it is understandable that the debate over the ratification of the constitution in general, as Sarah Knott has argued, could lie "in part on sentimental foundations," with the problem of affection informing both sides of the debate. Sentimentalism represented a significant line of argumentation in the national discussion helping to address issues mainly related to the problem of representation. Anti-Federalists developed their argument centering upon affection in relation to their claim about the viability of the republican order in small republics, i.e. individual states. They posited a difference between people's attitude toward the local governments represented by the states and the federal one having an impact on their understanding of political sympathy. Arguing that local authority had a stronger command for people's loyalty than distant ones they questioned the success of the proposed federal government in winning the support of the people. They also regarded distance as undermining the good relationship between the people and their representatives by making it possible for men unworthy to rise into power ultimately subverting the liberty of the people. "Small republics," such as states, by contrast, in Saul Cornell's words, would secure the representatives' "ties to local communities." Thus Anti-Federalists were

Midst of Perpetual Fetes, 55, 82; Knott, *Sensibility and the American Revolution*, 228, 232–3, 237–8.

[12] Knott, *Sensibility and the American Revolution*, 201, 208 (first quotation); Wood, *Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 221, 222 (second quotation), 223.

aware of the "gravitational model of human relations" (in John Saillant's phrase) and accepted that its force was inversely proportional to the distance between persons, and hence strongest within the domestic sphere, weakening with distance.[13]

Consequently, Anti-Federalists argued that physical proximity between the people and their representatives was an essential condition for confidence and affection to develop within the former. It was only through proximity, they believed, that the people could know their representatives and would accept the laws made by them. Thus their preference for the small republic model translated into sentimental discourse. It was only through proximity, they believed, that the people could take cognizance of their representatives and would accept the laws made by them. Hence it was an essential condition for confidence and affection to develop within the former. According to anti-Federalists, in Cornell's words, the states provided a better chance for "politicians … to demonstrate a capacity for sympathy with those they represented".[14] Anti-

[13] Knott, *Sensibility and the American Revolution*, 238–9, 39 (first quotation); Saul Cornell, *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828* (Chapel Hill and Williamsburg, 1999), 62–64, 72, 73 (second quotation). John Saillant, "Black, White, and 'The Charitable Blessed': Race and Philanthropy in the American Early Republic," in *Essays on Philanthropy*, no. 8. (Indianapolis, 1993), 5, footnote 6 (third quotation). One of the anti-Federalists, publishing under the pseudonym "Cato" of New York, for instance, argued, "The strongest principle of union resides within our domestic walls. … as we depart from home, the next general principle of union is amongst citizens of the same state, whose acquaintance, habits, and fortunes, nourish affection, and attachment…" *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, ed. Herbert Storing (Chicago and London, 1981), 2: 112.

[14] "Brutus" in *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, 2: 369 and "Pennsylvania Farmer" in ibid, 2: 232–3. Cornell, *The Other Founders*, 80 (third quotation). See also Knott, *Sensibility and the American Revolution*, 243. Perhaps the most sophisticated and articulate of all New York anti-Federalists, businessman Melancton Smith made extensive use of the sentimental argument in discussing the problem of representation. As he explored in his speech of 21 June 1788 in the New York convention, the greater number of federal representatives was preferable because in that way people could elect magistrates similar to themselves, otherwise the latter would have no idea of the sentiments that they were also supposed to share with their constituents. "Representatives," Smith claimed are to "resemble those they represent: they should be a true picture of the people; possess the knowledge of their circumstances and wants; *sympathize* in all their distresses, and be disposed to seek their true interests." This was a clear formulation of sentimental proximity as an indispensable basis of compassion that formed the foundations of true representation for Smith, believing knowledge and sympathy being intertwined with each other. This was also why Smith

Federalists thus identified one kind of affection and sympathy as for their origins: the natural one existing at the local level only, between state governments and the people and denied its existence at the federal level, where they perceived magistrates too distant from the people to have their affection and sympathy. Yet, their argument concerning political sympathy was one that Publius had to reckon with and responded to their apprehension also using the same language of sensibility, as will be seen, at the same time managing to integrate it into his own persuasion.

Publius also understood the general role of affection in political affairs as vital, and although being advocates of the new constitution and the large republic as against the small one Hamilton, Jay, and Madison, in fact, counted with the concept of the gravitational model. Such scheme appeared in their application of the discourse of affection by nature in view of the states and the people. Due to the force of proximity, in their argument, state governments would stand a better chance of winning the affection and loyalty of the people than the federal government being at a greater distance from them. As Hamilton explains in the Seventeenth *Federalist* reverberating the teachings of the Scottish school: "Upon the same principle that a man is more attached to his family than to his neighborhood, to his neighborhood than to the community at large, the people of each state would be apt to feel a stronger bias towards their local governments than towards the government of the Union."[15] The force of affection between the people and state governments can be such because of its natural source derived from the gravitational model.

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argued that "the great" or the upper class could not be good representatives of the people. They "do not *feel for* the poor and middling class." They can have no way of sharing feelings of the latter, their material conditions being basically different. In Smith's words, "They feel not the inconveniences arising from the payment of small sums." *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, 6: 157 (first quotation, emphasis added), ibid, 158 (second, third and fourth quotation, emphasis added). In his eyes, this lack of compassion was a basic impediment to their fitness for representing the people at the federal level.

[15] *Federalist*, 157. Jack Rakove makes the claim that in their method of argumentation anti-Federalists tended to be "Newtonians" in the sense that they applied axiomatic claims about government, also being prone to making "generalizations," whereas Federalists were more into "experimenting" with the new system. The gravitational model as accepted and used by Publius, itself based on axioms, however, seems to have been an exception to Rakove's claim and very close to, in fact, mimetic of Newtonian tenets. Rakove, *Original Meanings*, 152 (first quotation), 153 (second quotation), 152 (third quotation).

At the same time, it is not only with regard to the people within the context of the state that Publius asserts the power of affectionate ties rooted in natural circumstances, since for him, the natural force of proximity affects not only the relationship between people and state governments but also the way in which federal representatives relate to local issues. As Madison points out in the Forty-Sixth *Federalist*, given their personal attachment to particular interests within their states the "legislatures of the particular States" will, in fact, be inclined to promote local interests. As he complains, "a great proportion of the errors committed by the State legislatures proceeds from the disposition of the members to sacrifice the comprehensive and permanent interest of the State to the particular and separate views of the counties or districts in which they reside." This natural bias for the local, in turn, makes state legislatures in Madison's eyes incapable of promoting national interests. By the same logic, "the members of the federal legislature will be likely to attach themselves too much to local objects." Policies made on the national level, therefore, will lean toward local concerns, "the prejudices, interests, and pursuits of the governments and people of the individual states."[16] This situation is to be changed for the better by the proposed constitution.

The natural source of affection also takes on a positive tone in the argument of Madison when it comes to the issue of defense through the militia. It is also the loyalty and affection of the people connecting them to their state governments that will prevent the federal one from going tyrannical by relying on military force according to Madison. As he argues in the Forty-Sixth *Federalist*, state militias with "citizens" in "arms" would be ready to protect state governments from such an assault, because these militias would be "fighting for their common liberties and united and conducted by governments possessing their affections and confidence."[17] In this way, the sympathy of citizens for their state governments rooted in the power of natural physical proximity would function as a guarantee against the potential abuse of power by the federal government.

While accepting the power of local sentiments, Publius had to deal with the problem of the tension between the gravitational model and his advocacy of the large republic, also manifest in the issue of affection at the national or federal level: how can loyalty to the Union work if the power of local attachments stemming from the gravitational model exists

[16] *Federalist*, 299.
[17] Ibid, 301.

by nature? He strove to solve this problem by employing the double discourse of the origins of affection to argue that affective ties exist not only at the local but also at the federal level and moreover, not only of artificial but also of natural sources thereby ensuring coherence within the Union. Therefore, despite admitting the natural origins of sympathy at the state level, Publius also distinguished sympathy and affection in relation to the federal government developing an argument that emphasized the artificial origins of the relationship between the people and the federal government.[18]

According to the authors of *The Federalist*, ties of affection are possible and necessary to develop at the federal level by means of the proposed constitution to serve cohesion within the union. Although natural bonds of sympathy and affection constitute an important ground for affection in political units, Publius questions the durability of such ties. Hamilton, for instance, in the Twenty-Fourth *Federalist*, points out that even international relations based on kinship ties are susceptible to deterioration. His example is the great powers of Spain and France in the context of North America, where the "common interest" of Spain and Britain in the West may bring these two rivals together against the American States. This can happen, without disturbance by the French-Spanish alliance, since, although being based on blood ties, it is bound to deteriorate. The reason is the perishable nature of kinship ties: "The increasing remoteness of consanguinity," Hamilton claims, "is every day diminishing the force of the family compact between France and Spain." This for him is in accordance with the view that "the ties of blood" are "feeble and precarious links of political connection."[19] Thus, the gravitational model also works in view of time for Hamilton: with growing temporal distance, even kinship ties may weaken and wear away thereby leading to the end of political alliances.

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[18] In doing so he also hoped to make the latter more visible to the former. Historian Max Edling has argued that the framing was grounded in the American political cultural tradition in the sense that the empowerment of the central government was to happen without jeopardizing citizens' liberties keeping it "*inconspicuous*" to them, having "limited … actual physical presence." Nonetheless, being aware of the sentimental features of the argument of Publius, as will be seen below, it becomes clear that for him the issue was to bring the federal government closer to citizens in several ways, in fact, making it "conspicuous" to them. Edling, *A Revolution in Favor of Government* 9, 10 (first quotation, original emphasis).

[19] *Federalist*, 191.

The perishable feature of natural ties of affection prepares the ground for Publius to argue the possibility of their generation by human effort in an artificial manner. Consequently, for him, the nation is in part held together by bonds of affection that develop through time, largely generated by habit as if they were the result of historical processes, of habitual development affecting the sphere of the whole Union. As for ties connecting citizens of the nation, in the Second *Federalist*, Jay makes the point that Americans are connected by cultural ties such as language or religion, "the same principles of government," "very similar manners, and customs," but more interestingly, the revolutionary experience. In a similar vein, in the Fourteenth *Federalist*, Madison also posits ties among members of the Union other than the ones based on blood, i.e. rooted in nature. For him, the shared revolutionary experience of Americans established strong bonds among them, resting on "the mingled blood which they have shed in defense of their sacred rights…."[20] Thus, for Jay and Madison, the American nation is also connected by bonds of affection that are the result of custom and habit, stemming from cultural ties that have developed through time. In their reasoning, the (federal) nation, in part, becomes the outcome of historical processes: the development of affection is the result of common experience and habit.

Another artificial source of political affection and sympathy for Publius is the federal legal system expected to create bonds of sympathy between representatives and the people. In the first place, these get generated through the system of laws. Since the same laws would apply to the former as much as to the latter, legislators would refuse to make laws that would harm themselves, consequently, such laws would not harm the people, the electorate. As Hamilton claims in the Thirty-Sixth *Federalist*, "dependence, and the necessity of being bound, himself and his posterity, by the laws to which he gives his assent are the true and they are the strong cords of sympathy between the representative and the constituent." Hence physical distance on the scale of the federal Union otherwise serving as a natural barrier between federal representatives and their electorate can be compensated for by laws as artificial means of generating sympathy, since they will equally affect law-makers and other citizens. The laws that federal representatives will make, as Hamilton confirms in the Fifty-Seventh *Federalist,* will be effective for them like for the people. As a result, a "communion of interests and sympathy of

[20] Ibid, 91, 144.

sentiments" will develop between them forming a strong basis for political stability.[21] Thus the sympathy that is to bind "rulers" and "people" into one federal political "communion" can in part be created by artificial means, by the principle of equality before law.

According to Publius, a similar kind of political mechanism bound to create artificial bonds of sympathy within the federal union lies in the system of elections. As Madison explains in the Fifty-Second *Federalist*, federal representatives are required to "have an immediate dependence on and intimate sympathy with, the people"—a condition to be ensured by regularly sending the representatives back to the electorate: "Frequent elections are unquestionably the only policy by which this dependence and sympathy can be effectually secured," Madison claims. He confirms this role of the election adding that the process is also bound to generate apprehension in federal magistrates. In the Fifty-Seventh *Federalist* he details the psychological mechanism that representatives are exposed to as a result of elections. According to him, the latter would trigger a process of cognition through which magistrates will remember that they are only temporarily raised from among the people and with the next election will "descend" back unless being re-elected.[22]

In the Fifty-Seventh *Federalist* Madison further explores the discourse of affection between federal representatives and the electorate as a result of gratitude through the artificial means of election in their relationship. He claims that the former are attached to the latter because of gratitude derived from the fact of their being elected, having received the favors of the people. In this way, representatives "will enter into the public service under circumstances which cannot fail to produce a temporary affection at least to their constituents." It is the ubiquitous "sensibility" of humans that, also being an attribute of federal representatives, is the condition of the working of such an emotional transaction that will result in their "affection" felt toward the electorate: "There is in every breast a sensibility to marks of honor, of favor, of esteem, and of confidence," Madison points out, "which, apart from all considerations of interests, is some pledge for grateful and benevolent returns."[23]

[21] Ibid, 235 (first quotation), 345 (second quotation).
[22] Ibid, 323–4 (first quotation), 324 (second quotation), 344–5 (third quotation)
[23] Ibid, 344.

The dependence of representatives on the electorate through the process of elections, at the same time, promotes the generation of sympathy in another sense. As Hamilton argues in the Thirty-Sixth *Federalist*, magistrates are to be well informed about the sentiments of the people in order to be able to win their votes. "Is it not natural," he asks, "that a man who is a candidate for the favor of the people, and who is dependent on the suffrages of his fellow-citizens for the continuance of his public honors, should take care to inform himself of their dispositions and inclinations and should be willing to allow them their proper degree of influence upon his conduct?"[24] In other words, Hamilton here strives to refute the anti-Federalist argument about the ignorance of federal representatives attributed to their distance from constituents. Through increasing their knowledge of distant voters magistrates can, in fact, bridge the gap. Such an urge to acquire intimate knowledge of the sentiment of the people, according to Hamilton, can in turn develop in representatives as a result of the system of election, a further mechanical way of establishing proximity at the federal level.

Federal representatives, then, by the institutional means of the legal system and elections will have the tendency under the proposed constitution to develop affective ties with the people, temporary or permanent. These will supposedly come into being under the proposed constitution despite the physical distance that separates magistrates from their constituencies.

Finally, the most complex means of achieving the generation of sympathy and affection in the people felt for their representatives is through "better administration" by the federal government as both Hamilton and Madison claim. This is an argument that Hamilton first offers in the Sixteenth *Federalist*, where he claims that the federal government, as opposed to the contrary desire of the Anti-Federalists, "must carry its agency to the persons of the citizens." In that way, it can reach the innermost sentiments of the people, derived from the human heart. In fact, it is to compete with state governments to be able to control those passions. In Hamilton's words, "The government of the Union, like that of each State, must be able to address itself immediately to the hopes and fears of individuals; and to attract to its support those passions which have the strongest influence upon the human heart." According to him, this can be best done by the presence of the federal government through

[24] Ibid, 235.

the "courts of justice."[25] He provides a detailed exploration of the mechanism of achieving this development of positive sentiments for the federal government in the people in the Twenty-Seventh *Federalist*. He argues on the basis of the principle of proximity and frequency that the more directly and frequently the people are affected by direct sense impressions the deeper and more lasting effect those will leave on the former. "A thing that rarely strikes [man's] senses will generally have but a transient influence on his mind," Hamilton claims. "A government continually at a distance and out of sight can hardly be expected to interest the sensations of the people." By the frequent and proximate presence of the government, in turn, people can be made to develop affection for it because of their increasing familiarity with it within their own local spheres. As he argues, "the more the citizens are accustomed to meet with it in the common occurrences of their political life, the more it is familiarized to their sight and to their feelings, the further it enters into those objects which touch the most sensible chords and put in motion the most active springs of the human heart, the greater will be the probability that it will conciliate the respect and attachment of the community." Furthermore, all this can best be done if, in order to reduce distance between the people and the federal government, the latter is given more power to regulate "matters of internal concern," achieving more familiarity with the people and win their affection.[26]

The observation that affection for the federal government can thus be generated on the basis of its more frequent presence in the local sphere of citizens rests on Hamilton's premise that "Man is very much a creature of habit." Consequently, people can be made to get accustomed to the presence of the federal government in their political lives, moreover, they can also develop affection for it because of its frequent effect on their sensations. Affection hence can develop in the people without their having to move beyond their local spheres. In this way, the federal government will gain greater legitimacy among them ultimately grounding its force in the natural bases of human sentiments and can

[25] Ibid, 298, 157 (first quotation, respectively), 154 (second and third quotation).

[26] Ibid, 203 (first quotation), 202 (second quotation), 203 (third and fourth quotation). Hamilton provides no definition of "matters of internal concern," a fact to be explained by his claim about the uncertainty of "distinction between internal and external." (ibid, 202) Nonetheless, it seems viable to suppose that for him the areas designated as "internal" would include ones where he advocated a stronger presence of the national government (taxation, commerce or defense).

avoid the use of force in its interaction with the people: "The more it [i.e. the federal government] circulates through those channels and currents in which the passions of mankind naturally flow," Hamilton argues, "the less it will require the aid of the violent and perilous expedients of compulsion."[27] Affection, then, according to him, can develop between the people and the federal government in a way that builds on natural propensities of the former. Thus, although being at a greater distance from the people than the state governments are, by building a habitual presence among them, by regulating their affairs, the federal government would have the power to evoke their confidence and affection.

That Publius employed the argument about the artificial origins of affection and sympathy at the federal level was a logical consequence of his accepting its natural ones at the local one, based on the gravitational model. Even so, peculiarly, the three authors of the Papers, in fact, did detect bonds of sympathy and affection among the people of the Union that they considered natural in origin.

A crucial point made by Publius about the natural sources of affection at the federal level is that there is already a federal nation of affection the boundaries of which would merely be sanctioned by the proposed constitution. According to this argument, the union is not yet a political but already an affective community whose bonds of affection are derived from natural proximity rooted in kinship relations: the nation under the new constitution appears to be a natural entity of affectionate relationships. Hence the federal system would offer an adequate political framework for securing already existing affectionate ties among members of the Union as a nation.

This is a claim in the Papers first made by Jay, who, in the Fifth *Federalist* refers to the American nation as one held together by bonds of "confidence" and "affection." He, in part, grounds this statement in the natural argument maintaining that Americans are "one united people … descended from the same ancestors," as he points out in the Second *Federalist*. In the Fourteenth *Federalist*, Madison develops a similar argument about sentimental affection among members of the Union, at the same time being more definite about the roots of such sentiments in blood ties, more precisely, the expansion of natural family ties. Americans, he contends, are connected through bonds of kinship: they are "members of the same family … [and] the kindred blood which flows in

[27] Ibid, 203.

the veins of American citizens" ensures their belonging together. This is also the reason why Madison can maintain, as we saw above, that "the people of America" are "knit together as they are by so many cords of affection."[28] These bonds are, then, in part rooted in natural proximity based on consanguinity derived from the kinship ties that constitute the nation. Consequently, the Americans' refusal to support the union under the proposed constitution, therefore, would equal the denial of the existence and effects of such natural bonds as well as the existence of the federal nation. Opposition to the latter would imply the rejection of not something new but, on the contrary, the destruction of something that has already been in existence.

The natural arguments about political sympathy at the federal level, at the same time, go beyond the assertion of kinship ties cementing the people into a nation. If one considers relations at the federal level other than those among individual citizens, in *The Federalist* a strong line of argument about affection by nature concerns the relationship between federal political leaders and the people. For instance, according to Jay, the force of affection rooted in natural blood ties also applies to federal politicians of the nation once their loyalty to nation is tested against the destructive power of external forces: their sentiments tie them to family and nation first and foremost, excluding loyalty to foreign interests. As he argues in the Sixty-Fourth *Federalist*, familial ties and national sentiments, among others, will prevent any disloyalty on the part of the president and senators. "Every consideration that can influence the human mind," he points out, "such as honor, oaths … the love of country, and family affections and attachments, afford security for their fidelity."[29] This, for instance, is the guarantee for treaties serving the national interest. The federal executive as well as senators, that is, figures of the federal system feared by anti-Federalists to be too far from the people and hence disloyal to them are thus defended by Jay through the natural argument. For him, local as well as national affective sentiments have the tendency to reinforce loyalty to nation as against foreign interests.

The discourse of affection by nature connecting federal representatives to their constitutencies also informs the claim that Madison makes in connection with the balance among the various branches of the federal government in the Forty-Ninth *Federalist*, where

[28] Ibid, 101 (first quotation), 91 (second quotation), 144 (third and fourth quotation).
[29] Ibid, 380.

he points out that of them it is the legislative one that is closest to the people of the states. Within the federal government it is this branch that has more influence on the people, largely because of the natural attachment of the latter to their representatives. The reason is that legislators' immediate contact with them ensures the existence of affective ties between them. In addition, representatives have political weight on account of such ties connecting them to the people. In Madison's words, "Their connections of blood, of friendship, and of acquaintance embrace a great proportion of the most influential part of the society." Also, they are considered "more immediately the confidential guardians of the rights and liberties of the people."[30] In Madison's argument, then, it is the natural proximity to the people that provides the legislative branch with a powerful position within the federal government.

Another important discussion of this natural conception of sympathy and affection pertaining to the people and their magistrates in the *Federalist* Papers is offered by Hamilton. He, in the Thirty-Fifth *Federalist*, strives to refute the anti-Federalists' charge that the proposed federal system of representation will be restrictive, excluding several interests; in other words, that will not meet the desirable criterion of "an actual representation of all classes of the people by persons of each class."[31] In his reasoning, although being true, this should not be seen as a problem. The various classes that do not have actual representation in Congress will be represented by others under the proposed constitution. The key to this, at the same time, is the natural affinity that he assumes to exist between the various classes that are to be represented and the ones that are to represent them.

"Mechanics" and "manufacturers," for instance, in Hamilton's argument, are classes that can best be represented by "merchants." Common interests serve as a ground for such an alliance, forming the basis of natural sympathy and affection between them. The former "know that the merchant is their *natural* patron and friend; and they are aware that however great the confidence they may justly feel in their own good sense, their interests can be more effectively promoted by the merchant than by themselves." Furthermore, according to Hamilton, mechanics and manufacturers lack the skills that would qualify them to defend their own

[30] Ibid, 315.
[31] Ibid, 233.

interests in Congress, thus they are happy to leave the duty with merchants who are competent enough to argue for them. No wonder, then, that he calls the latter the "natural representatives" of the former. Sympathy by nature also informs Hamilton's discussion of people of "the learned profession," who are by nature capable of representing the interests of any other classes, having no equivalent interest among the people. Such a peculiar feature of this class qualifies it to represent any interest as long as it fits in with the good of the whole.[32] Representatives of the learned profession, then, are by nature capable of promoting the public good and any interest of the people. Their sympathy is, in fact, rooted in their natural condition of not being part of any particular class and thus are naturally fit to represent the whole.

Like the classes mentioned so far, the landed one also represents sympathy based on natural affinity and is perhaps the most homogeneous one in Hamilton's assessment. It is to encompass each member of society connected to land, ranging from "landlord to the poorest tenant." The basis of the commonality of their interests is that taxes connected to land will affect these people equally, according to Hamilton. As he argues, "Every landholder will therefore have a common interest to keep the taxes on land as low as possible; and common interest may always be reckoned upon the surest bond of sympathy."[33] Hamilton, then, posits the landed interest as one homogeneous class, held together by affective ties rooted in sympathy in a natural manner. Once a man becomes a landholder, he also becomes a member of a class of similar men, thus connected to them by natural bonds of affection. Hamilton, in fact, naturalizes, that is, homogenizes social classes into groups of fellow-feeling that have common interests by nature and thus affection promoting federal representation.

Madison also appeals to affinity naturally derived from proximity in relation to representation when, in the Fifty-Sixth *Federalist*, he argues in connection with the same matter of taxation that federal representatives also gain knowledge of local matters because of their connection with state legislatures. They "will probably in all cases have been members, and may even at the very time be members, of the State legislature, where all the local information and interests of the State are assembled."[34] In other words, Madison assigns two identities to representatives here: while

[32] Ibid, 233 (first quotation, emphasis added), 234–5, 234 (second quotation).
[33] Ibid, 234.
[34] Ibid, 341.

being part of the federal structure of government, they also have knowledge of local affairs on account of their ties with state legislatures. This, however, is also to suggest that through this second identity they have natural bonds with their own state districts. This argument was obviously in response to anti-Federalist charges concerning the distance between federal legislators and the people.

Finally, when deliberating on the question of regulating the militia Publius also employs the discourse of sentimental affection by nature with regard to the federal level of affection. As Hamilton explores in the Twenty-Ninth *Federalist*, the militia under the control of the federal government would be a perfect substitute for a standing army without jeopardizing the people's liberty. The reason is that members of such a citizens' army would have close ties of affection with the rest of the nation. These bonds are, on the other hand, rooted in natural kinship ties. In Hamilton's words, "Where in the name of common sense are our fears to end if we may not trust our sons, our brothers, our neighbors, our fellow-citizens?"[35] Such natural ties of affection, then, are to ensure the natural proximity between the militia under federal control and the people, whose liberty it is to protect.

Having examined the state as well as federal levels of government in the sentimental mode offered by Publius one can conclude that the persuasion of *The Federalist* Papers was thus far from being homogeneous as far as the origins of political sympathy and affection were concerned and was, to a great extent, based on the simultaneous presence of the two discourses of affection facilitating a vision of the federal nation rooted in both natural ties of affection and in ones that were the result of human effort. The natural and artificial sources of affection at the federal level became viable and not excluding options in *The Federalist*, offered to deal with the "weight" of the gravitational model of affection accepted by anti-Federalists and Federalists alike. As far as the state governments were concerned, they equivocally argued for the

[35] Ibid, 210. For anti-Federalist concerns about standing armies see Cato in *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, 2: 118. On the contemporary concept of standing armies as a threat to the people's liberty and republican order in general see J. G. A. Pocock, *Politics, Language, and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* (Chicago, 1989 (1960), 104–146; idem, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, 1975), 426–7, and passim; Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, 1992 (1967)), 61–2.

natural affection that citizens, state legislators or others were bound to feel for their own state governments. By contrast, when referring to the same problem in connection with the federal legislature Publius argued for the artificial origins of affection between the people and the federal government claiming the need to develop such ties. He regarded artificial bonds of affection as ones to be created by the constitution, which thus functioned to him as a means to exploit the gravitational model and the sentimental power of proximity to be created in artificial ways. Furthermore, the natural affective ties that anti-Federalists identified at the state level only Hamilton, Jay, and Madison also claimed to detect in the federal union as far as relations among the people themselves and between the people and federal representatives were concerned: the citizens of the country, a citizens' army or even federal office-holders were to be connected to the people of the states by natural bonds of affection.[36]

The natural and cultural ways of defining affection in the federal republic hence also indicated varieties of its meaning through its origin in relation to nationhood in an ambiguous way. For Publius, the federal nation was to be regarded not only as a result of artificial, man-made ties of affection but also, in several ways, as a natural community based on ties already in place.[37] In other words, the notion of associating the state

[36] The two discourses of sympathy and affection as employed in the *Federalist Papers* should be seen as part of a larger project aimed at constructing a national community within the framework of the federal constitution. As historian Trish Loughran has shown, a homogeneous national print culture with a unified audience as a material prerequisite for nation formation did not exist in America at the time of ratification. Pluralism, fragmentation, disconnectedness in print culture, inadequate means of communication among disparate localities were impediments to the development of a unified national community at the federal level. Nonetheless, by means of various rhetorical strategies, Publius suggested the existence of a national community, thereby proposing coherence and unity at the textual level before the material world of a federal community took shape. This community, however, is to be seen as "fantasy," or desire at the time of the ratification debate. Through his strategies Publius managed to position his anti-Federalist adversaries as representatives of particular locality and confusion, promoting "chaos" and disconnectedness undermining national coherence represented by the newly proposed system of government, which offered, by contrast, ideological and "geographical coherence" through union. Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation-Building 1770–1870* (New York, 2007), 322, 323, 141, 3–4, 111, 139, 26, 120, 121 (first quoted phrase), 124–5, 125 (second quoted phrase), 126 (third quoted phrase).

[37] The simultaneous presence of the natural and the artificial in the argumentation of *The Federalist* can be accounted for by a peculiar feature of the contemporary culture of

with a community given by nature survived and hence the application of the ambiguous discourses of political sentimentalism by Publius fit in with this general tendency of political thought despite, as has been seen above, the general shift that had occured in sentimental culture.

The two discourses together thus served for the authors of the Papers to define a national community that was, in fact, yet to be constructed. Either imagined as being held together by already given bonds such as natural kinship ties and others derived from proximity, or affectionate bonds possible to generate through institutional means under the new constitution, the three authors of the *Federalist* Papers identified a political community that was also a national one based on sentimental affection. The complex web of affective ties as they already existed or were yet to be formed by the new constitution were offered, ambiguously, to show coherence in the would-be federal nation. In this way, despite their obvious differences identifed by scholars like Todd Estes, Madison, Hamilton, and Jay also shared significant ideas about the sentimental origins of the Constitution. In the first place, as has been seen, Madison and Hamilton emphasized both the natural and artificial origins of political affection and sympathy within the Union. In the second place, Madison, with his emphasis on the natural origins of a federal nation was far closer to Jay's rhetorical strategy hinting at "national greatness" than one may assume on the basis of Estes's analysis.

By employing the two discourses, presuming affection within the union either as a result of natural links or artificial ones, Publius thus, in the final analysis, glossed over the nature-culture dichotomy, implying the power of the constitution to both sanction and create ties of sentimental affection.

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the constitution. As historian Eric Slauter points out, a conceptual shift from an organic to an architectural understanding of statehood had taken place in America by the 1780s. This dichotomy expressed the fundamental tension between the state as a natural entity and as a "state of art," the result of human design and construction. Nevertheless, as Slauter suggests, the natural or organic conception of the state and the "body metaphor had not been abandoned" with the making of the constitution. Eric Slauter, *The State as a Work of Art: The Cultural Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, 2009), chapter 1, 85.

Transforming the American Hard-Boiled Hero: Linda, the Tough Female Sleuth in Socialist Hungary

Renáta Zsámba

In 1983, Hungary was shocked by a completely new phenomenon, a crime television series starring an amateur female sleuth called Linda. Detective series were not entirely new to TV spectators in the late 70s and the early 80s, who—apart from serial adaptations of Agatha Christie and Georges Simenon—were familiar with Western series with a more or less contemporary setting like *Charlie's Angels, Petrocelli, Starsky and Hutch, Columbo, Kojak*, *The Saint*, as well as German series like *Derrick*. It should not be surprising then that with the regime becoming more permissive and a growing variety of films from the West, the Hungarian copies of western heroes could be created. In 1980 Kojak reappeared in *Kojak in Budapest* (1980), and *Piedone* (Bud Spencer) in *Ötvös Csöpi* (1982) detective television series. The popularity of these copies might point to the fact that Hungarians were already open for their own heroes as well who, despite their Eastern European roots, possessed Western competence. However, a crime production with a female detective in a socialist country seemed not only daring but ideologically problematic too. One could say that it was daring because of the main character being a woman with an unlikely expertise in taekwondo and problematic because of the prevailing ideology and its influence on the genre.

When it comes to a detective story in a socialist context, several questions arise. Is there such a thing as socialist crime fiction at all and if there is, according to what factors do we categorize works born in the context of state socialism? Do we refer to them as socialist crime fiction because they were written or made during that particular period or are there any other possibilities to approach them from a different

perspective? These are the questions which Csaba Horváth and Zsófia Szilágyi bring up in a discussion, entitled "Crime comes from outside", in the 2009 thematic issue of the journal *Kalligram*. Horváth attempts to give an overall definition for the sub-genre in question saying that "any work can be labelled as socialist crime fiction if any of the values of the dominant ideology is embodied in it" (Horváth–Szilágyi 112). If we accept this umbrella term definition of 'socialist crime fiction,' we might come up against the fact that it narrows down the prospects of analysing certain productions and characters, especially the more problematic ones. The tradition of classic crime fiction demands that the detective stand out from the crowd for his extraordinary qualities, which is a difficult proposition to implement in a socialist context as collectivism always prevailed over individualism, severely restricting space for individual ambitions. For this reason, the possibilities to be different were almost non-existent, and even if difference was seen positively in the genre the creation of an individual hero found only ironic, humorous ways of representations, such as Kántor, the alsatian[1], or Linda, the karate detective, says Zsófia Szilágyi in the above mentioned interview of the *Kalligram* magazine (113). Finally, Horváth and Szilágyi conclude that Kántor (and his master) and Linda are only slightly different from the others since they are also part of the socialist system of crime investigation, and they go on to identify this as the basic problem with socialist crime fiction. The core feature of socialist crime films and TV series is reflected in the ideological interpretation of crime implying that "there is no big difference between burglars, swindlers or killers, since anybody committing a crime is deviant" (113). This claim is undoubtedly true if socialist crime fiction has to be defined only in terms of the characters' attitude to crime.

However, if further aspects of the sub-genre were to be analysed, a wider scope of approaches could be provided, as I hope to show through an analysis of the *Linda* television series. Linda's figure and the series too—a typical product of the late socialist culture of the 80s—became a box office hit not only in Hungary but in other socialist countries too. I propose that Linda would not have been so successful if she had been an authentically socialist character type. Today, however, the series and its heroine—the objects of ideological debates at the time of their first

[1] Kántor and his master were the heroes of a successful 1970s book series by ex-policeman Rudolf Szamos and went on to become a popular television series in 1975–6.

appearance—are an inextricable part of society's collective memory of late socialism. This collective memory is embodied in certain iconic objects, such as Linda's moped or her clogs, which are inseparable from the objectified representations of that particular cultural context. Sándor Horváth claims in *Kádár Gyermekei* that communities that remember the socialist era form their identities based on their past habits of consumption and its cultic objects (Horváth 124). This embodied collective memory, however, appears to be an obstacle in the way of investigating Linda as a non-integrated socialist character.

If we recall the circumstances among which the first episodes were made, we may get to see Linda from a different point of view. When György Gát, the producer of the *Linda* series, approached the Hungarian Television with the first synopsis in 1983, he found no support and was even told what follows: "…a karate film in socialism! What kind of capitalist folly is this? Forget all about this stupidity!" ("Moziban" Index.hu). Finally, after trying for a long time, he was given permission to shoot the first three episodes. *Linda* was an overnight success and several further episodes were shot until 1989, seventeen in total. The capitalist folly made quite a splash and the *Linda* films enjoyed an uninterrupted presence on the screen throughout the decade and well after.

The huge success cannot be explained by a single reason. The present essay focuses on Linda, the female detective of the crime series, arguing that one cannot (unproblematically) absorb the first Hungarian female detective into the collective memory of late socialism without any difficulties. Although the producer, György Gát, has said several times that he created Linda on the basis of Jackie Chan and Bruce Lee, I suggest that Linda's character could also be examined as a female hard-boiled detective. Such a comparison will justify my assumption that Linda, the karate detective owed much of her success to the fact that the series imported a western ideal into Eastern Europe, which problematized rather than intensified her conformity to socialist ideology.

To understand the eccentricities of the hard-boiled female figure as well as the transformation of the traditional elements of the genre, one might begin by summarising some of the relevant features of hard-boiled crime fiction. Besides being authentically American, hard-boiled crime fiction has another remarkable characteristic, which is that the process of detection is also "the very determination of the hero's identity as a unified subject: as a man" who goes through "an emphatic process of masculinisation", says Frank Krutnik in his book *In a Lonely Street* (42).

The masculine presence manifests itself in the macho language use, called 'tough talk,' and for this reason "there tends to be established a closed circuit of male-male communication" (Krutnik 43), physical violence, the valuation of male bonding over heterosexual relationships, and unquestioned male superiority over women. Women are usually treated either as *femme fatale* which is the threatening, dangerous, predatory type or simply as erotic objects (as in the two founding classics, Chandler's *The Big Sleep* or Hammett's *The Maltese Falcon* as well as their film adaptations). Although the representation of women is ridiculously schematic, the female (or feminist) reaction was rather late to come. The first author to create a female private-eye was P. D. James, who wrote *An Unsuitable Job For a Woman* in 1972, featuring London private detective Cordelia Gray. According to the critics James's book, which did not intend to subvert or invert the hard-boiled pattern, is significant because what she "does is adapt a pre-existing, distinctively female pattern to a revised version of the imported hard-boiled detective novel, laying the groundwork for future women writers" (Reddy 101). Reddy also explains that one can recognize the influence of "Jane Austen's compelling depictions of intelligent, resourceful young women coming to maturity in a society that asserted the only suitable destiny for a woman to be marriage and motherhood" (101).

The young Cordelia encounters only negative examples and is told several times what not to be. This is a recurring element in female private-eye stories regardless of the characters' geographical location, and female sleuths did not make their appearance until the 1980s when the best known literary representatives of the profession (the private eyes of Sara Paretsky, Sue Grafton, and Gillian Slovo) established their reputation. Paretsky's V.I. Warshawsky, Grafton's Kinsey Millhone, and Slovo's Kate Baeier appeared almost at the same time occupying a fairly masculine position through their profession and endowed with what can be called masculine qualities. Although in Hungary, where both of P. D. James's Cordelia novels appeared in translation as early as in the 1970s, Paretsky's and Grafton's more radical books (more radical in terms of gender politics) were not published until well after the millennium, and even now only a handful of their books are available in Hungary (a fact probably not unrelated to the conservative retrenchment in gender politics that Hungary has witnessed after the political transition). It is, thus, an unexpected and rather interesting coincidence that the *Linda* series came out only one year after Paretsky and Grafton created their respective

detectives. Despite all of her ridiculous characteristics, the appearance of the first socialist police detective was as revolutionary as that of her western colleagues.

This revolutionary advent of the socialist female sleuth is all the more interesting because, as Éva Bánki says in her 2009 essay *"*A meghalni nem tudó bűn" (Evil cannot die) that in Hungary the crime genre could not become successful because "there was no tradition of individualist ethics" (87). Not denying this, we must not forget two facts: one is that women, regardless of the ideological background, and despite the false socialist rhetoric of emancipation, encountered more or less the same obstacles, which the feminist movement was fighting against in the West. The other reason for the similarity can undoubtedly be found in the social, cultural process of westernization going on mainly in the field of consumption and entertainment in the 80s. Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to describe the changes in consumption, it has to be noted that western lifestyle and material environment, which were familiar from television, (not the least from popular American and German crime series), as well as the easing of restrictions on traveling to non-socialist countries, made the West more tangible and real. These two motives are interrelated in each *Linda* episode; in fact, the series seems to work its way through the dangerous and at the same time attractive scenes of popular culture: night bars, the pop music industry, sex-tourism etc., all of them originating in the West.

As I have already suggested, the female detective was also problematic for inherently generic reasons: in the Chandleresque tradition, women are always vicious and immoral, not much more than a slightly updated variant of the *femme fatale*. In *Rethinking the Femme Fatale in Film Noir*, Julie Grossman deals with the term and its inflexible use. Although she does not study female sleuths in her book, her suggestion to use "*femme moderne*" instead of *femme fatale* is worth considering as the former term could extend the scope of analysis with view to female roles (Grossman 23). For our purposes, this is especially intriguing since in some episodes of *Linda*, such as *Erotic Show* (1989) or *Haunting Spirit* (Hazajáró lélek, 1989), Linda has to play the role of a typical *femme fatale*, an effort which, if only as a result of physical features of the actress taking Linda's role ends up as a rather lame caricature. This phenomenon is reflected on in the second episode, *The Photo Model* (A fotómodell, 1983), when Linda says: "With my looks I cannot be a prostitute!" If this option is out of the question, there is

always crime investigation as a way of self-realization. Nevertheless, because the female detective cannot become a sexual object, similarly to her western counterparts, Linda has to fight not criminals in the first place but her male colleagues. Although all the men in the series are very far from the masculine ideal of the tough, hard-boiled type and would seem to belong to a comic tradition (for example the two police officers, Kő and Handel, who cannot stop eating), they do try to assert their masculinity by deprecating women and labelling Linda unsuitable for the job. When Linda starts her career as a trainee at the Homicide Investigations Unit, where the policemen are all incapable of solving any kind of crime, she finds herself in the crossfire of sexist discourse and masculine oppression. In *The 18-Carat Goldfish* (A tizennyolc karátos aranyhal, 1986) for example, they intentionally hide a serious case from her; in *Oscar Knows* (Oszkár tudja, 1983), her boss, Gábor Eősze, sends her to work with the following words: "If you ever get into trouble, I will remove your knickers and spank you!"; in *Angels in Soccer Shoes* (Stoplis angyalok, 1989) Handel says that "witches really do exist," referring to Linda and in *Haunting Spirit* (Hazajáró lélek) her boss sends her to the disco adding that this is a task that suits her well. These examples illustrate how much Linda's male colleagues reject her involvement in criminal investigation. This feature reminds us of P. D. James's *An Unsuitable Job for a Woman* where Cordelia Gray, the private eye is told many times that the destiny of a woman is to be fulfilled elsewhere. According to Maureen T. Reddy, "the unsuitability of the job lies in its requirement of action and decision making and in its placement for a man, but not for a woman" (102). Linda resolves this issue in the third episode, *Oscar Knows* (Oszkár tudja), reversing the whole problem for her own benefit: "I have extraordinary qualities. I am a woman!"

Apparently, she can be much more useful for the police as a woman, as is obvious from all the false identities she assumes when she goes undercover, as a ballet dancer, a scuba-diver, a chambermaid, or a journalist. The fact that she is a woman cannot be doubted, although recalling what the female ideal of the 80s looked like, the choice of the actress is not at all obvious. Linda (Nóra Görbe) with her skinny body and short hair looks rather asexual or epicene; she is not masculine enough to be a man (though in her relationship she is obviously the dominant party), but she is too boyish-looking to be a woman. This characteristic, however, distinguishes her from the western heroines. Paretsky's Warshawsky, for example, is very conscious of her appearance, she likes

to wear fashionable clothes and shoes. Linda's clothes can also be described as non-feminine: when one thinks about the yellow raincoat, the colourful skirts or the white socks worn with the clogs; these added up to a unique and bizarre combination which no one used to wear in the 80s, certainly not in Hungary.

The uncertainty of the representation of the female body may be a half-conscious nod towards a Western trend in fashion and consumption. In the episode of *Dolls on Fire* (Tüzes babák, 1989), which is also one of the most exciting, Linda plays the role of a manikin in a shop-window. In the film Linda's body and doll-like face wonderfully fit in the line of the lifeless, skinny figures. We could also conclude that in this episode—in this fetishistic, yet asexual context—Linda's body comes to occupy a symbolic position associated with consumer culture: Linda as an object embodies one of the iconic objects of the consumer culture and becomes herself a potential victim as well—the culprit who is setting shop-windows on fire may also be regarded as a psychopathic socialist monster fighting a rearguard action. Linda transformed into a manikin also displays the spreading fashion trend as Jean Baudrillard points out in *The Consumer Society*, "The modern woman is both the vestal guardian and the manager of her own body; she is careful to keep it beautiful and competitive, however, beauty as such can only be slim and slender. It even tends...towards the scrawny and emaciated on the lines of the models and mannequins" (140–141).

In *Dolls on Fire* (Tüzes babák), downtown Budapest has gone through a spectacular change (the Linda-series always shows Budapest as a busy, modern city), the shop-windows are all aglitter and the stores attract the customers with fashionable, elegant clothes. This episode, then, not only brings the body-centered western type consumption into its focus, but also positions Linda ambiguously both as a representative fetishistic object of the society of consumption and—given her idiosyncratic no-nonsense style—as its critic.

In *Sisters in Crime*, Maureen T. Reddy reveals several similarities between hard-boiled heroines. "All the women detectives are urban dwellers, like Hammett's or Chandler's detectives" (95), none of them "ever needs rescuing; each rescues herself from danger" (113), and seeks to be independent: "the detective sees her work as more important than a social engagement" (106). City life and self-protection are tightly connected in hard-boiled crime fiction, but Linda unlike her western equivalents, does not carry a gun. Her taekwondo skills do not only

protect her from any danger, but by having this skill she proves to be much smarter and more successful than anyone else. Almost all of the episodes start with an action scene in which Linda eliminates some bad guys. This is the exceptional quality, which also makes it possible for her to loiter in the dark streets of Budapest or ride her moped. The moped, along with her skill in martial arts, suggests a symbolic potential too, as both might signify liberty and independence which are so important for hard-boiled heroes. Being in possession of these two attributes, Linda does not only ignore the restrictions imposed on her own mobility, but she can be free of the other police officers too. As Reddy claims, "the […] heroes of the hard-boiled detective novels always act in accordance with their own moral codes, which may be far from the dominant ideology or from legality" (116).

I have already mentioned that the female detective sees her relationship with men as an obstacle to her career and independence as Reddy describes it in the following passage:

> *Unsurprisingly, each of the heroes experiences the greatest difficulty in breaking free of the codes governing heterosexual relationships, with sexual involvement with a man always posing a threat to her independence, as the man eventually either perceives the detective's commitment to her job as an obstacle to be overcome or asserts his need to protect her in some fashion.* (Reddy 105)

Western female sleuths do not seek long-standing bonds with men. Although Linda has such a relationship with Tamás Emődi, which is inconsistent with the tradition, the connection (an everlasting engagement) is highly ironic and does not prevent Linda from demonstrating the kind of individualistic ambitions and lifestyle typical of hard-boiled heroines. I have alluded to a number of features that serve to ridicule the male characters in the series or subvert the symbolic hierarchy. We often see Emődi preparing for the night ahead, romantically sprinkling rose petals on the bed (*The Photo Model*, A fotómodell) while Linda is giving the treatment to some bad guys out in the street; in the *The 18-Carat Goldfish* (A tizennyolc karátos aranyhal) she threatens him with physical violence if he should ever try and contradict her again; in *Angels in Soccer Shoes* (Stoplis angyalok) the symbolic order is completely reversed as Linda protects her boyfriend from two attackers. It seems that the only beneficiary of their relationship is Linda, as she obviously uses her boyfriend for her own purposes, which always means work and solving the puzzle. Since Emődi is a taxi driver,

he usually has to drive Linda to places, but it also happens that he helps her as a secretary, or a photographer. One thing is sure though: her emotional needs are not met by sexual "relationships with men" (Reddy 109). In *Rebeka* (1986) Emődi explains to Linda that he wants a loving woman, a partner, children and a family when Linda responds, "Me too, but let me catch the bad guys first." Her answer can be seen as the socialist counterpart of her western female 'colleagues,' who also realize that "for the cherished independence to be preserved, the connection must fall outside the boundaries of those socially sanctioned relationships that have defined and oppressed women" (Reddy 105).

In hard-boiled detective fiction anything can happen to anybody anywhere; there is no safety, a fact that could also be attributed to the incompetent and corrupt police force. In a socialist country it was clearly impossible to suggest police corruption—that is one ideological boundary the series never crossed. At the same time, it is worthwhile to remark that unlike traditional hard-boiled narratives, *Linda* is basically a comic series which, however, does not only imply the absence of the metaphysical undercurrent of urban angst, but also hides a satirical potential: the police are not corrupt, yet it is gently but constantly mocked for its inefficiency. Generally, Linda does not co-operate with her colleagues and acts at her own convenience, a feature which takes us back to the starting point of this essay. I began by referring to the fact that the categorization of the *Linda* series as a typical example of socialist crime fiction becomes problematic not only if we view the series from a gender perspective, but also in terms of the relationship between the police and the detective. In the interview referred to above, Zsófia Szilágyi claims that the individualist detective cannot afford to distance herself from the police in socialist crime fiction because "it was not a wise thing to ridicule state institutions" (Horváth–Szilágyi 113). Linda's relationship with the police is quite a controversial issue because she seemingly co-operates with her anti-heroic comrades, but at the same time she does not obey her boss's orders. She does whatever she thinks is the right thing to do. In most episodes, the policemen are represented as floppy, incompetent figures, answering Sándor Horváth's description in *Kádár Gyermekei*, which characterizes the typical members of the socialist police force as officials "who, unlike the well-known stereotypes in western crime stories, do not work out on the streets, but sit in the office building" (Horváth 89). Even when they are not in the offices, they are usually eating and drinking beer. We might conclude that the representation of the professional police force

consisting of ridiculous and incompetent employees suggests a weakening of the ideological discipline.

By all accounts, if the police force could be portrayed in an ironic way, the persecution of crime was still going on within strict regulations. Despite all her eccentricities and individualism, Linda chases the same type of criminals as the state does. In the series, just like in the other popular 80s Hungarian crime series, the Ötvös Csöpi movies modelled on Bud Spencer's Piedone character, these criminal offenders are primarily foreigners, mainly Germans, Hungarian dissidents and rich people from the villas of the Buda side of the capital city, Budapest. The episodes create the illusion that the arrest of these kinds of people brings general satisfaction, and probably this is the greatest difference between *Linda* and the other female hard-boiled texts. The solution of the crime and the elimination of the criminals signify a reassuring denouement, the promising image of a sustainable egalitarianism and a just society that is re-established with every arrest made by the police.

All of these features can be noticed in the use of spaces. According to Sándor Horváth, "the police reports described the social spaces as those of a collision between chaos and order where the honest people fight with the hooligans" (Horváth 95). This is also reflected in *Linda*. At the beginning of each episode she usually walks in the street and encounters some bad guys who either want to mug or harass her. And then, the fight starts. It looks as if Linda's presence in the series gave an opportunity for the state to show the people what is the right way of using spaces and what is not. After beating up all the attackers, peace and order will be duly restored. Even though this detail might contradict my supposition that Linda is very much different from other socialist characters, in the present analysis my focus was her relationship to patriarchal socialist ideology and I also wanted to see whether she could be re-considered as a non-integrated socialist character.

The unexpected success of the *Linda* series shows that Hungary was already open for carefully curtailed and rewritten western type characters in the 80s. The independence and individualism of the female hard-boiled heroes as well as their fight against some politically less sensitive conventions (for instance, gender stereotypes) brought the coveted West a bit closer. Nonconformist characters were already tolerated, but we had to wait a long time for the traditional western type hard-boiled stories (in fact, ironically, in terms of gender politics, the 1980s was probably more welcoming to this kind of subversion than contemporary Hungary).

Although Linda will always remain part of the cultural memory of the Kádár era, she was never so obviously a product of socialism. The living conditions which are shown in the scenes of crime, in the fashionable districts of Budapest and in the western milieu of the capital city as well as Linda's confident, feminist presence and use of these spaces along with her taekwondo skills all contributed to the creation of a future image of Hungary. In *Linda* one witnesses the unique combination of the clichés of the socialist crime fiction and a gentle mockery of dominant political ideologies.

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2. Rebeka

Season 3, (1989)

1. Stoplis angyalok
2. Erotic Show
3. Tüzes babák
4. Hazajáró lélek

"Staying away from Europe by Playing Its Rules of Conduct"

Eliga H. Gould: *Among the Powers of the Earth: The American Revolution and the Making of a New World Empire.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012. pp. 344. ISBN: 9780674046085

Zoltán Peterecz

It is well known and understood that the once British colonists in becoming Americans and creating a new country had to struggle through various phases in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. One such phase was the War of Independence itself, in which the scattered new states had to prove they were military equal of the mighty British Empire. Another question was the domestic situation that for long remained chaotic once independence was achieved, and by being in such a fluid state, it endangered the whole independent status of the Union for a while. The third factor was the diplomatic arena in which the young United States had to make a stand and maneuver among more and less hostile European powers in order to be recognized not as an accident in history but a new chapter that came to stay.

Eliga Gould' new book, *Among the Powers of the Earth*, picks up this latter stream from a somewhat uncommon point of view. He does not deal with the intriguing and very important foreign diplomatic issues in detail, although these stay throughout in the background. Rather, he investigates how the United States rode an overall scheme in its relationship to European powers. That was, according to the author, the recognition of the importance of the treaties concluded between equal

partners and their trust that the other side would faithfully carry out the stipulations laid down in those treaties. As a newcomer, and often seen in terms of rebellious and not worthy of taking its place in the family of nations, let alone powers, the United States had to find the way to be seen as a country that deserved to sign a treaty with. On the other hand, as the book convincingly shows, the American administrations used this outer veneer of diplomatic recognition to make maximum use of freedom in dealing with others closer to home, such as Indians, African Americans, and other European subjects in America.

The author maintains throughout the book, which covers the period between the French and Indian War (1756–1763) and the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, in a convincing fashion how much the United States was dependent on the European question of war and peace. In Gould's thesis, the more the United States wanted to pry itself free of European entanglements, the more it took a very similar internationalist legal point of view. He emphasizes that for the new-born United States one of the most important things was to become an accepted partner, first and foremost, to the European powers. In order to do that, the United States had to become a treaty-worthy nation, the most often recurring term of the book, which, in the author's view, was just as equally important as the liberal and republican ideologies that have so prominently appeared in the post-World War II historiography. It is important that the struggle to attain this prominent level in the international arena, and, therefore, the future of the United States, was to a large degree dependent upon how the European powers related to it, or as Gould puts it, "the history they made was often the history that others were willing to let them make" (2).

In the wake of the defining peace treaties of Westphalia (1648) and Utrecht (1713), a law of nations slowly became the norm in Europe, which was not the reality, however, outside the European continent, for example, in America. There, Spanish or French privateers and Indians did not heed to the accustomed law of nations of Europe, and the plurality of the colonies did not help this matter either. The French and Indian War in the middle of the eighteenth century was a war between European powers reacting to trouble outside Europe. As a result of Britain's effort to extend the law of nations to America, the British became better "friends" of the Natives then the colonists. Still the origins of the Revolution, according to the author, did not lie simply in resentment to taxes by Britain "but in the bonds that tied them as never before to Europe's diplomatic republic" (42).

Britain tried to clamp down on any effort that seemed to endanger the peace on the high seas, as they saw it, so they doubled their effort during and after the French and Indian War to strike down on any type of smuggling. This, however, in the end was a major source of contention in the American colonies and, therefore, can be seen as another significant source of the Revolution. After the Seven Years' War, Britain maintained a 10,000-troop contingent in America to uphold the treaty against any violations from either France or Spain. The triple threat to Britain's effort to keep the treaty-bound peace on the North American continent came from other nations (France and Spain prominently), the Natives, and, mainly, the colonists. British colonists, who would become later Americans, took to a narrow interpretation of the British laws and peace efforts on the North American continent. Strangely, the would-be Americans wished to achieve as a nation the very same level, which they resented when their mother country earlier had tried to make them recognize it.

So, Gould states, "Americans recognized that independence was a condition that required the consent of other governments, not something that they could achieve unilaterally" (114). Two things especially complicated this issue. One such thing was that Americans were seen by many simply as rebels, or even criminals. The second was, largely stemming from the first, that "neither Britain nor Europe's other powers accepted them as treaty-worthy equals" (119). This was particularly true in the relationship with London, which after the War of Independence refused to grant Americans full commercial privileges. Britain opposed the young United States on the seas and on land, where it did not empty stations and provided materiel to the Indians. Low-grade hostilities characterized the relationship with Spain as well, and France also created some problems. The chaotic situation under the Articles of Confederation did not help either: on the one hand, Europeans did not see a unified country[1], on the other, the sovereign state made it difficult to carry out the provisions of the Treaty of Paris (1783), for example, such questions as the Loyalist compensation or claims of British creditors remained

[1] John Adams, on his proposal to enter into a commercial treaty with the former foe, Great Britain, was met with the cynical question, "Would you like one treaty or thirteen, Mr. Adams?'' quoted in Janda, Kenneth, Jeffrey M. Berry, and Jerry Goldman. *The Challenge of Democracy. American Government in Global Politics*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2012, 71.

unresolved for years. Therefore, it further strengthened the view that the Americans were not treaty-worthy as a nation. That is why the Constitution of 1787 was so crucial. Not only did it create a strong central government and paved the way for a more unified country, but, as a consequence, with the ratification of the new Constitution, the United States managed to reach such a status that satisfied the European powers that it could be counted among their ranks.

The first real watershed from this vantage point was Jay's Treaty in 1794. It helped to avert the possibility of a future war against Great Britain, at least for the time being. Despite the almost unanimous clamor with which the treaty was greeted in the United States, because it was seen as subservient to British will, the treaty ensured that trade relations were further cultivated with the strongest empire in the world in the time of the French revolutionary wars. Also, the British at long last commenced the evacuation of various military posts on the territory of the United States. Perhaps more importantly, "the ceremonies" that accompanied the handing over of these garrisons, "confirmed that the United States now had a government worthy of Europe's respect" (139).

Gould expands the picture to minorities as well, which is a welcome novelty to the era in question. One such outstanding issue was naturally slavery. Although on paper slave trade was illegal, slaveholding was not. The nation's most important founding documents all embraced the legality of slavery, even if not by name, and the aforementioned Jay Treaty, an international treaty, only strengthened this feature. This duality, together with Britain's sometimes trepid enforcement of the law on the high seas, and Americans doing everything in their power not to submit themselves to such law enforcement by Britain, slave trade, illegal on paper after 1807, and slavery remained lucrative and essential in the south of the United States. This was the duality that characterized America so much until the Civil War: no slave trade but slavery, slavery-free states together with slave states, becoming party to the international treaty-bound community, but picking selectively the ones that referred to slavery. As a result, by the mid-1810s, "the United States enjoyed all the rights of a treaty-worthy nation, and those rights worked almost entirely to the advantage of the Union's slaveholding citizens" (177).

The other large group that was affected by the appearance of the new country in North America was the Native Americans. The British maintained good and, from the United States' point of view, detrimental relations with the Indian tribes. The First Seminole War in the Floridas

(1814–1819) then proved how much had changed in a few decades. The United States emerged as "not only a treaty-worthy nation in its own right but was increasingly able to impose its views on others" (179). The United States, after all, took this territory by the force of treaty, although the tangible force of Andrew Jackson played a crucial part in provoking those culminating treaties. Great Britain left the place for good, basically together with Spain, and both concluded treaties with the United States that established clear borders. The Indians, however, were deemed in Florida as extralegal, since they refused to acquiesce to the treaty made between the U.S. government and the Creek National Council. The Indians fell victim to the will of the United States, and the runaway slaves lost all hope to remain free in the Floridas. As Gould states, one of the main reasons for such events becoming possible was that "for the first time in the Union's brief history, Europe was at peace, and, as a result, Americans were free to claim all the rights of a great treaty-worthy nation, including the right to make whatever peace they chose with their neighbors who lacked that status" (180).

The ensuing peaceful period had three major consequences for Gould. The American government had the right to decide over peoples' faith within its sphere; it helped slavery to be maintained in the South; and it enabled "the United States to assume the role of a great nation in the lands and waters in its immediate vicinity" (215). However deeply entrenched the notion is that the United States sought absolute non-entanglement with Europe, Gould calls attention to the fact that the United States "remained entangled in deep and profound ways with the history of Europe, including, especially, Britain, and the same was true of the nations and peoples in the Union's immediate vicinity" (218).

Gould's book merits praise on at least two accounts. One is that his approach is not a narrow one readers are usually accustomed to. Largely relying on primary sources, he does not take only the "American" point of view, but deliberately takes into consideration that of the British and the Spanish, the Indians, and the African Americans. By doing so, he arrives at a more holistic picture of the discussed period. The other is that all this is done with a fluidity that does not render the reading heavy. With the small stories that are nonetheless very relevant to the larger topics being discussed, he manages to render the sometimes more abstract topics very tangible. The reader can be sure that their knowledge will be largely expanded by this new book, and it is only a question of time before it becomes a standard textbook at colleges.

”Voices from Sorrow’s Kitchen”

Péter-Gaál Szabó: *“Ah done been tuh de horizon and back” Zora Neale Hurston’s Cultural Spaces in Their Eyes Were Watching God and Jonah’s Gourd Vine.* Peter Lang GmbH 2011, 134 pp. ISBN: 9783631616499

András Tarnóc

Zora Neale Hurston’s famous lament: “I have been in Sorrow’s kitchen and licked out all the pots. Than I have stood on the peaky mountain wrapped in rainbows, with a harp and sword in my hands” (*Dust Tracks* 227) establishes the thematic context for the scholarly inquiry alluded to in the title of this review study. Ever since Alice Walker’s unearthing of Hurston’s literary and cultural heritage, the latter has been incorporated into the American canon. The unique anthropological aspect of her literary focus primarily influenced by her studies with the famed anthropologist, Franz Boas enabled her to function as an insider novelist.

Hurston is also known for her dispute with Richard Wright and other leaders of the Harlem Renaissance regarding their respective portrayal of the African-American experience. Her famous refusal of a “tragically colored” (“How It Feels” 1942) perspective along with her anthropological training resulted in a unique, yet credible depiction of black life coupled with a leading role in the womanist movement, a branch of Black feminism eschewing essentialism in favor of a more inclusive view of gender relations. Alice Walker’s view on the function of writing: “It is in the end, the saving of lives we writers are about” (76) substantiates the struggle against the triple bind of oppression, a class, race, and gender based system of subordination confronting the African-American female.

While paying homage to a wide variety of Hurston critique including the "Speakerly Text" and "Blues Matrix" models elaborated by Henry Louis Gates and Houston Baker respectively, Gaál-Szabó has placed spatiality into the focus of his scholarly interest.

II

The author's inquiry rests on a solid theoretical foundation displaying thorough familiarity with the milestones of spatiality studies. Gaál-Szabó's eventual research methodology is moored between two opposing schools, the phenomenological and the post-Marxist approaches. In both cases the main issue is space construction and the role of the human being in the respective process, in other words how the human subject is produced by space and conversely how the human subject produces space.

Space's impact on the subject is highlighted by a continuum ranging from the Heideggerian *dasein* through Sartre's notion of the embodied experience to Bachelard's concept of the felicitious space. Gaál-Szabó's exploration is also assisted by the habitus concept, a leading trope of phenomenology establishing a link between the self and the "lived place" primarily expressed by Bachelard's model of the oneiric house.

On the other hand post-Marxists believe that space production is derived from power relations. Gaál-Szabó shows an appreciation of the main achievements of this school as well. Sartre's practico-inert ensemble model explains the spatial aspects of group dynamics, Foucault posits power relations behind space formation and Lefebvre's conceptual triad distinguishes between spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces.

The research apparatus in question makes use of both theoretical approaches. Homi Bhabha's notion of *third space* and Edward Soja's *thirding* entail a "negation and building upon of the given socio-spatial paradigm" (Gaál-Szabó 33). Moreover, following Marc Augée, Hurston's universe can be considered a non-place, while deriving female creativity from an independent female space located at the intersection of male and female subcultures, Elaine Showalter's notion of the wild zone can provide further insight into the question of spatiality. It is in this terrain, in the black female wild zone where Gaál-Szabó locates and analyzes his subject, the African-American female struggling against the "triple bind

of oppression," that is, race, gender, and class-based subordination. Naturally at first, these concepts reflect the role of power behind space production. A spatial paradigm, either in the literal form expressed by the public sphere/private sphere dyad, or by the figurative division of the cultural arena into hegemonic and non-hegemonic segments is a result of current power relations. Conversely, the oneiric house, the felicitious space, or even De Certeau's poetic space is achieved by the way of *thirding* or hybridization, thereby enabling the subject to improve his or her position in a conative manner or by an escape into imagined geography.

The above discussed theoretical background creates the foundation for the author's inquiry, the examination of the interplay of space and place in Hurston's two major novels: *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1935) and *Jonah's Gourd Vine* (1937). Hurston places both herself and her primarily female protagonists into the Third Space. Her resentment of the "sobbing school of Negrohood" ("How It Feels" 1942) alienated her from the African-American literary establishment, but at the same time she contributed to the revitalization of the black cultural landscape. Moreover, Hurston's women (Janie Crawford, Lucy Pearson) are located in male space and build their identity within that context.

While Hurston's use of the "anthropological spyglass" facilitates a credible and authoritative first-hand look at the internal dynamics of the African-American community, the simultaneous maintenance of the researcher's distance promotes the exploration of female space potentials and the respective identity building process. In addition to Doris Bachmann-Medick and Janet Tallman's emphasis on the anthropological turn in Hurston's case Arjun Appadurai's view of ethnography: "a practice of representation that illuminates the power of large scale imagined life possibilities over specific life projectories" (Zwi xv) appears to have relevance. Hurston's ethnographic authority is further reinforced by Boas' preface to *Mules and Men* (1935) praising her disciple for "entering into the homely life of the Southern Negro." Indeed, both novels span over specific life projectories describing the personal growth of the given protagonists through various personal relationships along with providing a reliable, yet at the same time celebratory rendering of black life.

While the author presents and analyzes numerous examples of *thirding* in both novels, I would like to expand upon the verbal exchange between Janie and Starks, a crucial episode of identity formation

commemorated in *Their Eyes Were Watching God*. Accordingly Janie, already alienated from her husband, is rebuked and humiliated in front of an audience of black men at the porch of Starks' store for her perceived inability to slice a piece of tobacco: "I god almighty! A woman stay round uh store till she get old as Methusalem and still can't cut a little thing like a plug of tobacco! Don't stand dere rollin' yo' pop eyes at me wid yo' rump hangin' nearly to yo' knees!" (*Their Eyes* 121)

At this point the attack is not only a simple marital bicker over a mishap, but a sign that both parties transgressed a certain boundary, and what is at stake here is more than domestic peace, it is human pride and dignity. After all the whole exchange takes place in public.

Janie's response is significant from several aspects as "[s]he took the middle of the floor to talk right into Jody's face, and that was something that hadn't been done before. Talkin' any such language as dat […] You de one started talkin' under people's clothes. Not me" (*Their Eyes* 121).

Joe retorts: "'T' aint't no use in getting' all mad, Janie, 'cause Ah mention you ain't no young gal no mo'. Nobody in heah ain't lookin' for no wife outa yuh. Old as you is" (*Their Eyes122*). She counters Joe's words by the following devastating statement: "Naw, Ah aint'no young gal no mo' but den Ah aint' no old woman neither. Ah reckon Ah looks mah age too. But Ah'm uh woman every inch of me, and Ah know it. Dat's uh whole lot more'n you kin say. You big-bellies round here and put out a lot of brag, but ' tain't nothin' to it but yo' big voice. Humph! Talkin''bout me lookin' old! When you pull down yo' britches, you look lak de change uh life!" (*Their Eyes* 122–23)

Apart from the commemoration of the protagonist's self-awakening under the pear tree in her grandmother's yard the abovementioned dialogue is the best known element of the novel and symbolizes the achievement of subject status through speech. At the same time it provides a microcosm of Hurston's politics of space. As Gaál-Szabó expands upon a private and public space/sphere and the male/female binary he places the black female in the male transparent social space. Janie "trapped in a concerted interaction with male oppression (12)" initially occupies a space-off position. Although desiring to be more than a home base for her husband's struggles in politics and business, Joe denies access to the public sphere for her. Male oppression in this case is signified by spatial and verbal politics illustrated by his comments comparing women to chicken and cows. Apart from the offensive content

implying a peculiar view of romantic paternalism, the spatial references are noteworthy as well. Recalling Bachelard's notion of the oneiric house, "engraved with the various functions of inhabiting" the chicken coop or the barn both occupy a secondary if not tertiary space within a given residence. As the black male transparent place signifies hegemony over the black female primarily via verbal, but in some cases physical abuse, Janie's response is to develop her own individual space. It is from this space-off, that is, from the literal and figurative "elsewhere," that Janie steps forth while imposing a physical and metaphysical challenge. Although she invades the male space and uses the master's tools to dismantle the master's house, thereby returning the devastating sexist attack with a cataclysmic reprisal, Janie appears to heed Audre Lorde's warning as well: "Survival is learning […] how to take our differences and make them strengths."
http://radicalprofeminist.blogspot.hu/2010/03/radical-feminist-audre-lordes-famous.html

Thus, forced into a space off position in the master's house, Janie accepts her difference, namely being an aging woman and by emphasizing gender pride uses words, the tools employed by Joe to keep her in secondary position, to turn the tables and eventually destroy her husband. At the same time Janie's response to Joe is an excellent example of thirding, as humiliated, ridiculed, and attacked in her femininity she not only accepts the given spatio-temporal paradigm, but builds upon it and completes Catherine Belsey's cultural self construction process. Thus following Houston Baker's assertion of the slave narrative's capability of "writing the slave into being," Janie's subject status is achieved by "talkin' under people's clothes."

The eventually fatal verbal exchange carries typological implications as well. Janie's retort forms a parallel with the acts of Michal, Saul's daughter publicly criticizing her husband David for dancing half naked in a procession greeting the arrival of the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem (2 Samuel 6 14–22). "How did the king of Israel get him honour to-day, who uncovered himself to-day in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself!" David's response was: 'Before the LORD, who chose me above thy father, and above all his house, to appoint me prince over the people of the LORD, over Israel, before the LORD will I make merry. And I will be yet more vile than thus, and will be base in mine

own sight; and with the handmaids whom thou hast spoken of, with them will I get me honour."

The words exchanged at Starks' store and in biblical Israel offer a fertile ground for further comparison. In both cases the encounter takes place in public and the underlying cause of the verbal warfare is located in the mythical realm of sexuality. In both instances the pretext is served by the physical appearance of a spouse. Despite the obvious parallels, the circumstances and the outcome of the quarrel are different. Janie responded to Starks while Michal was first to rebuke David upon the lack of his apparel and partial nudity. Starks also in an exaggerated way compares Janie to Methusalem and makes derisive comments about her body. Whereas Michal resents the fact that the scantily clad David might reveal his manhood to handmaids, thereby dishonoring his royal wife, Janie questions the very manhood of her husband. In both cases unrequited love plays a decisive role. Michal's feelings for David are not returned and in case of Joe and Janie "the bed was no longer a daisy field to play in" (111) either. Consequently, while Michal feels offended by the potential nakedness of her husband, Janie figuratively disrobes Starks. The impact of verbal abuse is similar as despite Janie's short lived tryst with Tea Cake both characters lose love in their lives.

III

One of the greatest merits of Gaál-Szabó's work is that unfazed by the availability of an intimidating Hurston scholarship, he is capable of forging a wide variety of research results into a unique critical apparatus. The fact that he is able to maintain the comparative focus throughout the book is also remarkable. Certainly Gaál-Szabó not only hears the voices coming from Sorrow's Kitchen, but offers a thorough interpretation eventually facilitating an invaluable insight into Hurston's climb on the peaky mountain. The trope of a female figure holding a harp in one hand and sword in the other appropriately symbolizes the very *Third Space* the African-American female struggling against the triple bind of oppression occupies. Hurston indeed found the middle ground between the militant resistance of the sword and the accommodating attitude of the harp, the assertion of the personal, psychological, and sexual integrity of the Janie Crawfords and Lucy Pearsons living then and now. It is to the exploration of this tenuous, yet fascinating cultural position the author provides

immense help through his thoroughly researched, thoughtful, and informative book.

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