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Sermons That "Cut Like a Sword": Samuel Blair's Rhetoric During the Great Awakening

Abstract: The article examines the style of Samuel Blair, a revival preacher of the Great Awakening who has often been omitted in the studies on the colonial pulpit tradition. Two texts by Blair, a sermon (*A Perswasive to Repentance*, 1743) and a revival account (*A Short and Faithful Narrative*, 1744) are studied rhetorically and presented as representative of the "rhetoric of the revival," a particular mode of preaching in which the speaker employs a wide array of rhetorical patterns, biblical innuendos and communicative strategies aimed at eliciting emotional responses.

Keywords: Samuel Blair, Great Awakening, colonial preaching

The Great Awakening constituted a critical event in the history of colonial America, arguably the most formative one alongside the French and Indian War. Crowds of thousands of people, the emotional reactions of the audiences which often bordered on mass hysteria, the fervent theological debates and a surplus of publications played a significant role in the shaping of the pre-Revolutionary ecclesiastical order. Similarly, the American rhetorical tradition was strongly informed by revival developments in pulpit oratory. New forms of preaching manifested the power of the spoken word to the colonists, and propelled the dynamics of public debate in a period which was to prove vital for the development of American identity. Alongside such figures as Jonathan Edwards, or George Whitefield, who were at the forefront of the Great Awakening and whose involvement in 1eighteenth-century revivalism has been extensively studied,[1]

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1   Since the publication of Perry Miller's (*Jonathan Edwards*) and Ola Winslow's (*Jonathan Edwards*) pioneering books on Edwards, a number of important studies have dedicated their attention to the significance of the Northampton divine for the Great Awakening. Edwards's employment of figurative speech is discussed by Ralph Turnbull (*Jonathan Edwards*) as well as Wilson Kimnach (*General Introduction*), his sense of revival mission is stressed by Douglas Sweeney (*Jonathan Edwards*), and the importance of his theological thought for the "religion of the heart" is studied by McDermott (*Jonathan Edwards*). George Whitefield's preaching, on the other hand, is claimed to have been impactful not

one could list a number of less well-known ministers who also had a significant impact on the colonial pulpit. This paper aims to discuss the preaching oratory of one such preacher, Samuel Blair (1712–1751), a Presbyterian revivalist from New Londonderry in Pennsylvania, who contributed greatly to the spread of the Awakening. For the purpose of the article, one revival sermon from the corpus of Blair's texts that have survived till this day, *A Perswasive to Repentance* (1743) and one revival account, *A Short and Faithful Narrative, of the Late Remarkable Revival of Religion in the Congregation of New-Londonderry, and Other Parts of Pennsylvania* (1744), have been selected to discuss his use of revival rhetoric—the skill of an emotional appeal in the case of the former text, and the ability to refute the anti-revival criticism through a positive portrayal of the Awakening in the context of the latter. There are relatively few remaining texts by Blair that date back to the times of the Great Awakening, and the two publications selected for analysis here, while moderately short (both of them approximately forty pages long), are most valuable for shedding some light on the preacher's use of revival rhetoric.

Rhetoric of the Revival

In America, revivalism has always played a significant role in the social functioning of religion. As argued by McClymond, "religious revivals are as American as baseball, blues music, and the stars and stripes" (*Encyclopedia of Religious Revivalism*). This strong presence of revivalism in the American religious landscape translates into the considerable significance of revival preaching for the American pulpit practice. One could argue that a certain continuity is discernible in the American revival tradition, and preachers of consecutive "Awakenings," starting with the Great Awakening, have utilized similar communicative strategies, analogous sets of cultural references, as well as persuasive ploys to forward the "New Birth" to their hearers and to spread the revival zeal. Billy Graham, the most celebrated televangelist of the twentieth century, testified to the importance of this tradition when in 1949 in Los Angeles, during the "Canvas Cathedral" Crusade, he delivered to a contemporary audience the most notorious sermon of the Great Awakening[2] (and, perhaps,

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only on colonial public religion (Lambert, *Pedlar*), but also on the theatrical manner of delivery in the colonial pulpit (Stout, *The New England Soul*, Choiński *From Pulpit to Stage*). The key importance of Edwards and Whitefield is also pointed out by Mark Noll (*The Rise of Evangelicalism*) and Thomas Kidd (*The Great Awakening*) in their studies on the roots of American evangelicalism.

2   More on Billy Graham's appropriation of Jonathan Edwards's Enfield sermon can be found in Andrew Finstuen's article available on the website of JEC at Yale Divinity School: http://edwards.yale.edu/files/finstuen-graham.pdf.

America's pulpit oratory[3]), Jonathan Edwards's *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God.* Graham was by no means a pioneer in this respect, as nineteenth-century American revivalists, like Charles Finney, eagerly fell back on the rhetorical heritage of the first Great Awakening sermons.

The Great Awakening was the largest social (and religious) event in the colonial history of America. It followed a few minor religious revivals in Connecticut in the mid-1730s, instigated by Salomon Stoddard, a preacher of Northampton who managed to accumulate a spiritual "harvest" of three hundred people. The arrival of George Whitefield, a young Methodist minister who had become persona non grata in English pulpits and decided to start saving souls in America, galvanized the revival. The theatrical prowess of Whitefield allowed him to take the colonists' hearts by storm, amassing crowds of a few thousand people and eliciting from them powerful emotional responses. Whitefield inspired other preachers like Gilbert Tennent, Andrew Croswell or Samuel Blair, who, captivated by his spectacular success, engaged in itinerant preaching and brought revival enthusiasm further into different colonies, often accusing the ministers who did not support them of a lack of godliness. For that, the revivalist group, labeled as the "New Lights," met with criticism from the "Old Lights," advocates of the "rational" religion, among whom Charles Chauncy from Boston was the most ardent disparager of the awakening. The critics were also concerned by the physical symptoms of the "New Birth" manifested by the converts, like cries, panic attacks, fits, falling down, or spasmodic jerking. Some of these accusations were dismissed by Jonathan Edwards, who became both the advocate of the revival, as well as its active member, having preached in Enfield in 1741 the aforementioned *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*—a symbolic discourse of American "fire and brimstone" revivalism. The delivery of the sermon coincided with the peak of the Great Awakening. Whitefield's farewell address of the 1739–1740 tour, delivered just a few months before the Enfield sermon, gathered more people than the entire population of Boston at that time[4]—and even those who did not seek religious conversion, like Benjamin

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3   The investigation of *The Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God* has in itself become an important part of the studies of the Great Awakening. A few generations of scholars have tried to explain the petrifying impact the sermon had over the Enfield audience. Some attribute it to the power of imagery (Cady, *The Artistry*), the logical structure of the discourse (Hearn, *Form as Argument*), the use of the Newtonian notion of gravity in the portrayal of sinfulness (Lukasik, *Feeling the Force*), the rhetorical "beat" of the sermon (Gallagher, *Sinners*) or the use of the deictic shift (Choiński, *A Cognitive Approach*).

4   It is estimated that in his lifetime, Whitefield preached at least 18,000 times and addressed up to 10,000000 people. Benjamin Franklin calculated that Whitefield's voice was so powerful that he could be heard by more than 30,000 listeners. Interesting statistics concerning Whitefield's pulpit oratory are included in the introduction to *Christian History*, 1993/2.

Franklin, would attend Whitefield's preaching to witness the performance that was on everyone's lips. By 1743 most of the original revival zeal had been worn out and a series of post-awakening debates was initiated in an attempt to judge the outcome of the Great Awakening and overcome the divisions within the colonial ministry that it had caused. The overall impact of the Great Awakening was considerable. Some commentators, like Alan Heimert (*Religion*), believe the Great Awakening was vital for the shaping of the American spirit that later took the form of the American Revolution; others stress its formative influence upon the birth of contemporary evangelicalism (Kidd, *The Great Awakening*) or the evolution of American rhetorical practice (Stout, *The New England Soul*). It is apparent that by studying the roots of American preaching tradition we arrive at a more complete understanding of the present-day language of religion and the mechanisms of persuasion that govern modern revival rhetoric.

The preaching style of the Great Awakening preachers, like Samuel Blair, represents "the rhetoric of the revival" defined elsewhere (Choiński, *Rhetoric*), as a particular mode of preaching in which the speaker employs a wide array of rhetorical patterns, biblical innuendos and communicative strategies aimed at eliciting emotional responses, and, ultimately, spreading the spiritual regeneration among the hearers. It constitutes the "language of American revivalism" (Choiński, *Rhetoric* 51). Expressive verbal ornamentation is perhaps one of its defining features, with the exclamations, rhetorical questions and sets of apostrophes commonly used by, for instance, George Whitefield, or intricate amplification formulas and extended metaphors employed by Jonathan Edwards. Such a mode of appeal firmly sided with the "religion of heart" rather than the "religion of the rational mind." The revival preachers used figurative imagery derived from the Bible or from the colonists' daily experiences, as well as a repertoire of metaphors and references to contextualize their battle for the morality of the colonies. For instance, unconverted preachers were most often portrayed as "wolves in sheep's clothing" and the role of the minister was to be a paragon of virtue, and shine like a "city upon the hill." Similarly, images of hell were commonly used and typical "fire and brimstone" motifs symbolized the orthodox doctrine of Calvinism to, almost literally, scare people into heaven.

The figurative richness of the rhetoric of the revival conditioned its expressive potential. The majority of the proponents of the Great Awakening professed themselves as converted and sought to articulate their experiences to the hearers, seeking to inspire and motivate them. This, in consequence, led to the increased persuasive force of the Great Awakening sermons which, when delivered to a larger group of people, joined and united them in the revival cause. The successful formation of the community of the converted in a number of cases allowed for the advance of the revival zeal. The rural inhabitants of the colonies were particularly easily swayed by the revival oratory—especially when the preachers attacked the rich and the educated.

The sermons of the Great Awakening were also innovatively dramatic. Their verbal opulence allowed some speakers, such as George Whitefield, to incorporate a number of elements associated with drama into their delivery. This had the effect of captivating the hearts and winning the goodwill of the colonists, many of whom—as argued by Stout—in seeing Whitefield preach "were for the first time in their lives seeing a form of theatre" (94). In terms of structure, the Great Awakening sermons moved away from the traditional scheme popularized at the beginning of the seventeenth century in particular by William Perkins's *The Art of Prophesying*. The design of the sermon described there, consisted of three elements: the explication of a Scriptural quotation, the statement of doctrinal points and the application of these points to the context of the audience. The basic framework of the text-doctrine-application form is oftentimes visible in the revival sermons, but the traditional principle of simplicity and of "plain style" advocated by the former generations of preachers, in the case of Great Awakening revivalists gives way to rich figurative ornamentation aimed at a strong emotional appeal.

The rhetoric of the revival was frequently divisive and antagonistic. The New Lights considered anyone critical of their general enthusiasm to be an enemy of the religious cause and opposed to the advancement of godliness. Even the less ardent Great Awakening proponents were often ostracized by their zealous colleagues. Thus, for instance, in Andrew Croswell's radical sermonic discourses there is little space for compromise or conciliation—whoever was not with the revivalists, was against them, and, as a consequence, against God's will. Such an approach antagonized clergymen and subsequently led to a number of divisions. Gilbert Tennent's *A Danger of Unconverted Ministry* delivered in Nottingham, Pennsylvania in 1739 is perhaps the best example of a revival divisive discourse. Its author, a young Presbyterian minister, warns all the colonists of the threat posed by preachers who only pretend to be fully converted and who, like the Pharisees, described in the New Testament, cultivate sinfulness underneath the pretense of orthodoxy. Gilbert's father, William Tennent, helped to secure the educational platform for the orthodox preachers by co-establishing the "Log College" a dozen years before the Great Awakening. That private teaching seminar did not have an official charter, yet it focused on the education of the orthodox ministers and thus helped in preparing the ground for the revival. Obliviously, a number of representatives of the existing colleges were highly skeptical of such initiatives. When the New Light preachers exercised unsolicited itinerancy, crossing parish borders and encouraging the colonists to abandon preachers who were supposedly unconverted, they also antagonized the local authorities who saw in the crowds a potential hazard to social order—for instance, James Davenport, an agitator notorious for his erratic speeches, sectarian ambitions and book-burnings, was declared *non compos mentis* in the court in 1743.

Samuel Blair's Ministry

When set against this background, Samuel Blair emerges as a dedicated revivalist who was, however, removed from the most radical wing of the New Lights group. He may not be as well-known and researched as Jonathan Edwards, or George Whitefield, yet his contributions to the revival in the Middle Colonies are mentioned in almost all studies of the Great Awakening. Rev. Samuel Blair was born in Ireland in 1712 and arrived in America as a young boy. He began his ministerial education in the Presbyterian Log College and was among its first alumni. He received good ministerial training, including the classics, but Blair also grew impressively competent in matters of divinity. He was said to have manifested "extensive" learning, as "every branch of study taught in the college appeared familiar to him" (Schnittjer, *The Log College* 211). Samuel was not the only member of the Blair family to have graduated from the Log College—his brother John also finished the seminar, and subsequently became a professor of divinity and then a president of the future Princeton College.

The Presbytery of Philadelphia granted Samuel Blair the right to preach in November 1733 and a year later, on the 9th November 1734, he accepted a ministerial offer from Middletown and Shrewsbury in New Jersey. After a period of five years, during which he gained valuable preaching experience, Blair moved to New Londonderry (Pennsylvania), to a traditional Scots-Irish community. Smith points out that the "very naming of the village, after the city of the same name in Ulster, indicated its essentially conservative nature" (78). As Blair describes in detail in his account of the revival, he struggled greatly to bring the revival zeal to the Londonderry community. The account is the most important testimony to his life's mission and his dedication as a Presbyterian revivalist in the Middle Colonies.

According to Alan Heimert and Perry Miller, Blair was the "most gifted intellectual among the Presbyterian partisans of the revival" (*The Great Awakening*, 128). He used some of his skill in language and debate to defend George Whitefield against the accusations of the Old Lights. When the excitement of the Great Awakening diminished, Blair set up his own school at Fagg's Manor, a hamlet of Londonderry, for the education of ministers. The seminar resembled that of William Tennent's. He continued to administer the school until his death in 1751, at the age of thirty-nine. Blair's seminar produced a number of eminent alumni, among others John Rodgers, one of the important Presbyterian leaders of Revolutionary America or James Finley, a minister and a politician, the owner of the house where Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence.

Upon Blair's death, Samuel Davies, a graduate of his school and the fourth rector of the College of New Jersey, wrote an elegy dedicated to his former tutor. The sentimental apostrophe is highly exaggerated, yet it gives an insight into the esteem Blair enjoyed among his fellow clergymen and students: "Oh! Blair! whom all the tenderest names

commend, / My father, tutor, pastor, brother, friend! / While distance, the sad privilege denies, / O'er thy tomb, to vent my bursting eyes, / The Muse erects—the sole return allowed—/ This humble monument of gratitude" (qtd. after Alexander, *Biographical Sketches* 263).

Samuel Blair's Revival Sermon

The sermon *A Perswasive to Repentance* was preached in 1739 as a regular lecture before the Synod of Pennsylvania. The discourse follows the traditional text-doctrine-application formula and in the consecutive fragments of the sermon, the preacher employs a wide array of creative rhetorical means to appeal to the emotions of the audience. The sermon is based upon Jeremiah 8.6: "I hearkened and heard, but they spake not aright: No Man repented him of his wickedness, saying, what have I done? Every one turned to his Course, as the Horse rusheth into the Battle." Blair is very effective in using the implications of certain words and phrases from the passage, especially the question "What have I done?," to construct the persuasive framework for the rest of the sermon.

In the opening of *A Perswasive to Repentance*, Blair declares that the "Reformation" of sinners' ways can only take place thorough the message delivered to them by ministers, who act as God's "Ambassadors" (4). They are to use all the "Instructions, Motives, Arguments, and Expostulations" (6) available in the Bible to help the conversion of the ungodly. These words may be interpreted as Blair's apology for his own pulpit oratory. All the appeals he employs, even those aimed at fear or distress, turn out to be justified, as the success of preaching brings about the salvation of souls and the purification of sin. The preacher uses the journey metaphor to represent the confusion of a sinful life and, through a rhetorical figure *subiectio*, a question and an answer, stresses that the sinners are led astray by their sinfulness: "Can any such demented Person be found, who will not return to his right Road, after he has wandered out of it and gone wrong? Surely no!" (2). The failure to comply with the instructions of morality and warnings they receive leads to the "most terrible dangers and miseries" (6); the sinners are doomed unless they return to the path of righteousness, guided by the words of godly preachers.

Right from the beginning, Blair uses rhetorically balanced sentences. In a number of statements, the even arrangement of figures reinforces the message: "The brutish Unreasonableness, bold Presumption, and Fool-Hardiness of Sinners, who go on in their sinful Courses against all the awful warnings of Heaven, and all the restraints of Reason and Conscience" (8). The use of a tricolon of pejorative nouns highlighted by epithets, as well as a pair of positive nouns, allows the discourse to "flow" consistently. The preacher also incorporates exclamations and rhetorical questions into the text

("Oh! What have I done?")—in effect, the impersonation of a desperate sinner through a series of emotional cries renders the text dynamic and theatrical.

The preacher highlights the imminent and unstoppable peril that awaits the sinner in a powerful apostrophe: "He tells you, O ye rebellious Sinners, that if ye do not Reform and Repent, seek his Mercy with humbled pained Hearts, and turn to his Ways, the Damnation of Hell, will infallibly be your Portion to all Eternity" (10). The address is confrontational, pointing out uncompromisingly in consecutive sentences how erroneous the decisions of the sinful are and just how severe a punishment awaits them. The constant invocation of the inevitable perdition of the wicked implies that the time to reform the hearers' hearts is now or never. Such a message of urgency was one of the important traits of the rhetoric of the revival. The New Light preachers believed in the "New Birth," an instant and powerful conversion instigated with the help of a preacher, thus the imminence of eternal punishment was to mobilize them to embrace the message from the pulpit more willingly.

Having expounded on the doctrine, the preacher discusses the nature of repentance, declaring that it must not be accompanied by "Confession, Shame and Sorrow" (15). The three nouns iconically encapsulate the whole process, and function like an advertising slogan of today. Blair also uses them as rhetorical themes, to structure his discourse and, in his discussion of confession, to provide a daunting image: "And yet, alas, thus it is with Multitudes of perishing Souls who are rotting in the Graves, in the Stench and Pollution of Sin; they are willingly blinded by the Devil to look upon their Sins as very Trifles" (16). Sinfulness and moral decay are presented as physical decay and affliction. At this point, the rhetorical pathos, an appeal to the emotions of the hearers, is aimed at eliciting from them a reaction of disgust and abhorrence.

In the Application of the sermon, the preacher encourages the members of the audience to ask themselves the question: "Have you ever repented?" As the sermon progresses, his words gradually become more audience-focused and accusatory. Through repetitive apostrophes, as well as the argumentative ploys used earlier by the preacher, the addressees are forced to refer all the emotional appeals to themselves. The initial, acrid question is followed by a listing of longer enquires about their state of mind and conscience to accuse the recipients of hypocrisy and laxness: "But you have been always excusing yourselves and lessening your Sins, to still the Clamors and Accusations of your guilty Consciences" (21). The constant redoubling of nouns ("Clamors and Accusations" and "Light and Warning") as well as the reinforcement of epithets ("irreligious, ungodly and vile") help the preacher to emphasize his main points and balance the sermon in terms of style.

The speaker accuses the audience of constant relapses into sinfulness, framing his argument in an antithesis: "You have gone on several Years in the Way of Sin and rebellious Neglect of the Ways of Godliness, and yet have never so much as had your

obstinate Hearts bow'd in true Humiliation before God on that Account; but are still boldly persisting on in the same Course." The antithetical contrasts between the "Way of Sin" and the "Ways of Godliness," as well as between "obstinate Hearts" and "true Humiliation" help Blair to stress that there is no mid-way between salvation and damnation. To him, the members of the audience cannot opt for a compromise, and they have to choose between full orthodoxy and compliance, between continuous disobedience and condemnation. At the same time, the unwillingness to respond to the calling of the "New Birth" is presented as tantamount to exposing oneself to torture and endless misery: "you will be cast into the Prison of Hell, and lash'd to the Wheel of Justice to suffer for all your Sin and Obstinacy against God," where "[T]here shall be weeping, wailing, and gnashing of Teeth to all Eternity" (24). Blair uses the images of earthly anguish to depict the suffering of the soul, and to make the complex theological notion of eternal damnation immediately accessible to the members of the audience, effectively blackmailing them into orthodoxy.

Another contrast used by Blair in the sermon involves the juxtaposition of human reason and base impulses. The distinction is first visible in the very way the preacher defines sin: "Sin is to act without any regard to the just Reason of Things, and so to act like a Beast" (25). To him, all the workings of the rational mind point to embracing the orthodoxy, while animalistic and lustful instincts undercut the natural yearning of the mind towards godliness. Thus moving away from the orthodoxy implies siding with the base, unworthy elements, and acting "like the most senseless and improvident Brutes in the whole Creation" (26). The sinners are called upon to ponder on their fall and hopelessness: "O, sinner, consider what a terrible aggravated Damnation thou deservest and are like to meet with in a little Time, for thy brutishness, and heaven daring Insolence, in paying no Regard to all the Councils, Arguments, and Threatening of the eternal God" (30). Blair again uses a direct address and a tricolon to point out the unconditional and complete moral bankruptcy of those who reject the "New Birth" and, to strengthen his point, provides a long list of misdoings the sinners are most commonly guilty of: "Drunkenness, Quarrelling, Whoredom, profane Sabbath-breaking, Stealing, Defrauding, Revengeing, mocking and scoffing at Piety and Religion, and all such enormous Wickedness" (31). The extended *enumeratio* illustrates the range of their faults and the negativity of every action they undertake. The preacher's message is ultimately pessimistic, as nothing the sinners do or think can remedy them—their only potential chance for salvation lies in embracing the message that is being delivered to them in the sermon.

Towards the end of the text, Blair intensifies the imagery, and pushes it in the direction of "fire and brimstone" pulpit oratory by employing more images of inferno than at the beginning of the sermon. The implications behind the sinner's metaphorical whereabouts play a significant role in this rhetorical strategy, when the preacher explains that "you stand as it were upon the very Brink of the burning Furnace and

how soon you may be cast in and sealed up to Eternity in the dismal Vault of Hell you know not" (37). The sinners' location in the figurative landscape connotes a threat of falling down ("Brink"), as well as confinement ("Vault"), as if the preacher wanted his hearers to associate their present, fallen state with extreme danger. In time, the sinners are bound to "fall into the Gulf of irreparable Ruin" (37), their physical fall symbolically signaling their ultimate moral decline and helplessness.

The final words of the sermon constitute a powerful call to sinners to repent and return to God: "fly to him alone for your Relief, lay the whole Weight of your Salvation upon his Merit and Mediation, and so take him with all your Heart for your only Savior" (39). This strongly motivational apostrophe abounds in active verbs in the imperative form. It seems that the preacher is taking full control over the discourse and uses his rhetorical skill to command the hearers. Contrary to the earlier images of hell, now the imperatives connote liberation, spiritual elevation and freedom. The final apostrophe completes the appeal of the text and concludes it with a metaphorical transition from evil to goodness.

Samuel Blair's Revival Account

Alongside the sermon, *A Short and Faithful Narrative* by Blair, his history of the revival, can be classified as another form of the rhetoric of the revival: the account. Like in the classical speeches of Roman judicial oratory, the preacher presented a narrative of events that was to defend a certain idea and was, necessarily, not objective, but subjective and persuasive. Narratives such as Jonathan Edwards's *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*, as well as *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival in New England* played a key role in the debate over the Great Awakening, and were used by the New Lights to stress its positive impact. Similarly, Blair's goal in the case of the text analyzed below was to portray the events in a constructive way, and to turn his account into an effective encouragement. Thus, the persuasive agenda of the narrative was not that different from the goal of a sermon. As the preacher declares, he seeks to "tend to the Glory of our Redeemer, and the Increase of his Triumphs, carrying on of the Design of said History, containing Accounts of the Revival and Propagation of Religion in this remarkable Day of Grace" (7). Blair's perspective is that of the sacred history—in which the revival is an event that propels the advancement of religion in the period before the second coming of Christ and messianic deliverance. At the same time, the document is a vital historical source of knowledge about the course of the Awakening and about the perception of the event by the pro-revival party.

Blair begins his account of the revival by describing the situation of the Church in his neighborhood. He stresses that prior to 1740, people manifested "lamentable Ignorance" of their religion and, in consequence, the "Nature and Necessity of the New-

Birth was but little known or thought of." The colonists' reluctance to ponder matters of religion caused a general laxness and apathy—"people were very generally thro' the Land careless at Heart, and stupidly indifferent about the great Concerns of Eternity" (10). So, all over the land "religion lay as it were a dying, and ready to expire its last Breath of Life in this Part of the visible Church." Interestingly, most of the phrases Blair employs to describe the state of the church connote idleness, motionlessness and stupor, the opposite of what is implied by the words "revival" and "awakening," which he uses to describe the change in the society he later witnessed. Blair portrays the history of the revival as the history of a positive dynamic reform that allowed for the restoration of lost piety and the saving of a number of souls from damnation.

The account shows that Blair's preaching agenda was primarily to address those who were not converted. He wanted to raise them from their "unregenrate" state and to help "their Conviction" (12), yet, his initial efforts resulted in only five successful conversions. A change to this disappointing result came with the help of a guest minister. For the duration of his journey to New Jersey, Blair invited another preacher to step in his place. The replacement minister was a sympathizer of the revival and delivered a sermon on the "dangerous and awful Case of such as continue unregenerate and unfaithful under the Means of Grace" (13). This discourse had a particularly strong impact on the hearers and "under that Sermon there was a visible Appearance of much Soul-Concern among the Hearers, so that some burst out with an audible Noise into bitter crying" (13). Having seen the influence of the rhetoric of the revival among the members of his flock, Blair decided to make use of its effectiveness and himself began eliciting strong emotional reactions from his listeners, as his words "seem'd to come and cut like a Sword upon several in the Congregation" (14). Those who had earlier manifested religious apathy, now reacted to Blair's words in a strongly emotional manner: "several would be overcome and fainting; others deeply sobbing, hardly able to contain, others crying in a most dolorous Manner, many others more silently Weeping" (15). Some even demonstrated "strange, unusual Bodily Motions" (16). Such physical, emotional reactions caused a sensation among the colonists and, as a result of the general public interest in the revival, the "number of the Awakened increased very fast, frequently under Sermons there were some newly convicted, and brought into deep Distress of Soul about their perishing Estate" (16). It is evident that the physical reactions to the sermons were considered by the preacher as a testimony to the effectiveness of his method and a proof that he had managed to affect them deeply enough to trigger the change of heart necessary for their salvation. Thus, the simile he uses to describe his own preaching, comparing his pulpit oratory to a blade ("cut like a Sword"), a sharp, precise and piercing weapon, is particularly telling of his own perception of his revival mission.

Blair stresses that the revival experience became perhaps the most popular theme of conversation within a congregation and describes how members of the congregation

reported their own religious experiences to him: "It was very agreeable to hear their Accounts, how that when they were in the deepest Perplexity and Darkness, Distress and Difficulty, seeking God as poor condemned Hell-deserving Sinners the Scene of the recovering Grace, thro' a Redeemer" (20). The preacher's observations reveal the importance of the community for the spreading of the revival. Those that have not yet experienced the "New Birth" were inspired by the converted and encouraged by them to get carried away by the "enthusiasm" of others—"they saw others weeping and fainting, and heard People mourning and lamenting, and they thought if they could be like those it would be very hopeful with them." The effects of the conversion differed between the members of the congregation and, in the case of some, turned out to be only temporary: "They seem to have fallen back again into their former Carelessness and Stupidity: And some that were under pretty great Awakenings, and considerable deep Convictions of their miserable Estate, seem also to have got Peace again to their Consciences without getting it by a true Faith in the Lord Jesus" (26).

The general account of the revival is supplemented by three detailed stories of people who had undergone regeneration. The first convert, a woman, under the influence of a powerful awakening sermon, "saw that she was hereby exposed to the Sin-punishing Justice of God, and so was fill'd with very great Fear and Terror" (30). Blair's story describes the consecutive emotional reactions of the woman over a few years. Her initial fear, caused by the realization of her sinfulness, was replaced by joy at the thought that she was improving her morality. Yet, with time, doubts about the completeness of her conversion caused her to question her own godliness. These dejections over her regeneration lasted a long time, until later, when she was meditating on the sacrament, "her Heart was much taken up with the Beauty and Excellency of Sanctification" (36). Blair stresses that the revival experience ultimately gave her spiritual tranquility and joy, as she "manifestly appear'd to lie under it [the Hand of God] with a peaceful Serenity and divine Sweetness in her whole Soul" (37). Interestingly, he also stresses that the impact of her religious experience was so powerful that "it made her for a while both deaf and blind" (31). The second convert Blair describes was Hans Kirk Patrick, an educated member of the community, who experienced conversion when he was bed-ridden and aware of his pending death. To him the experience of conversion also brought much needed comfort, and "with a great deal of serenity and sweetness of Soul he fell asleep in Jesus" (40). The third account concerns two children, sisters of seven and nine, who experience great "Delight" (41) in prayer and whom religious dedication brought a pleasurable consolation. These three case studies of converts close Blair's account of the revival in New Londonderry. The preacher uses them as the final element of his agenda to create a positive and attractive image of the processes of awakening. By stressing the emotional and religious gains of the revival participants, he seeks to encourage others to join the ranks of the converted and counter the arguments of the Old Lights.

The above discussions of two revival texts by Blair cannot be seen as a complete overview of the preacher's pulpit oratory. Rather than investigate the preacher's corpus in detail, the goal of the article was to illustrate the mechanisms of Samuel Blair's rhetoric of the revival using two examples: an awakening sermon and an account of revival. The pulpit discourse, *A Perswasive to Repentance*, demonstrates Blair's communicative skill of persuasive rhetoric—dense expressive figures, balanced argumentation and dialogic interludes are combined with the appeal of rhetorical pathos. Blair does not rely strongly on logical persuasion or the creation of an authoritative image—his rhetorical ploys are almost exclusively aimed at evoking negative emotions and affecting the audience in this manner. The metaphorical representations of damnation, sinfulness and God's retribution abound in strongly evocative phrases and figurative reinforcements. All these elements prove Blair's talent for persuasive rhetorical appeal. His *Account,* on the other hand, shows how consistent and uncompromising the preacher was in portraying the revival in a positive way, both in terms of the structure and discourse of his narrative, thus effectively dismissing the claims of the Old Lights. In his depiction of the revival, Blair presents it as a critical moment of reformation for the colonies, engineered by God and designed to provide a remedy for the ubiquitous sinfulness and laxness. The revival is portrayed as a breakthrough for the colonies—and, at the same time, for particular converted individuals. By stressing both the communal and particular ramifications of the revival, Blair manages to present the Great Awakening as a historic event, a "New Birth" to the colonies.

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Alicja Piechucka

The Sound of Silence:
Saint Cecilia and Celestial Music in Hart Crane and Stéphane Mallarmé

Abstract: The article examines Hart Crane's and Stéphane Mallarmé's approaches to music as exemplified by two poems: the former's "Sonnet" and the latter's "Saint." Linked by the figure of Saint Cecilia, the patroness of music, the two works do more than just explore similar motifs. In fact, both are aesthetic statements on the role of music in verse, on the poet's predicament and on a certain concept of poetry rooted in the symbolist-modernist continuum, of which Crane's *œuvre* is an example. My analysis takes into account Boethius's and Kepler's theories of music, Platonism, with which symbolist poetry is inextricably linked, the concept of pure poetry and the notion of the music of the spheres, central to both poems.

Keywords: Hart Crane, Stéphane Mallarmé, American modernism, French symbolism, poetry, music, Platonism, pure poetry

In a 1922 letter to Gorham Munson, Hart Crane referred to his friend Matthew Josephson, who had left America for France the year before. The future author of *The Bridge* expressed his skepticism about Josephson's fascination with French avant-garde movements and poets, namely Dadaism and Guillaume Apollinaire:

> The precious rages of dear Matty somehow don't seem to swerve me from this position. He is, it strikes me, altogether unsteady. Of course, since Mallarme [sic] and Huysmans were elegant weepers it is up to the following generation to haw-haw gloriously! Even dear old Bhudda-face de Gourmont is passé. Well, I suppose it is up to one in Paris to do as the Romans do, but it all looks too easy to me from Cleveland, Cuyahoga County, God's Country. (267)

As Langdon Hammer, a Crane scholar and editor of *Hart Crane: Complete Poems and Selected Letters*, notes, "Crane embraced the Elizabethan and metaphysical poets that Josephson encouraged him to read in 1920, but he took issue with his friend's later enthusiasm for Dada and Apollinaire" ("Biographical Notes," 764). This was followed by "[t]ensions between Josephson and Munson [which] led to an acrimonious split in

1923; because Crane took Munson's side, his friendship with Josephson ended" (764). The "position" from which Matthew Josephson was unlikely "to swerve" Crane was that of an "abashed posture of reverence before the statues of Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, Chaucer" (267). In light of the data available, it is also possible to state that Crane's literary allegiance extended to a school of poetry to which Remy de Gourmont devoted his critical attention and of which the "elegant weeper" Mallarmé is a key representative. Reading between the lines, one senses Crane's loyalty to Baudelaire and his followers in the passage *loco citato*. The mention of de Gourmont, whose critical output "disseminated the Symbolist aesthetic doctrines" and who is remembered as "one of the most penetrating contemporary critics of the French Symbolist movement" ("Remy de Gourmont"), seems far from coincidental. In the year from which the letter quoted above dates, Munson had an opportunity to notice certain tendencies in his friend's behavior and attitude to poetry which were associable with the context of French symbolism. As one of Crane's biographers puts it, "in the lives of the great Symbolists he found models of bohemian excess which accommodated his increasing thirst for alcohol, his romantic conception of the poet as pariah and his rejection of Clarence Crane's [the poet's father's] sober virtues" (Fisher 151). Drawing on Munson's observations, Fisher notes that "the lives of Verlaine, Baudelaire, Laforgue, Corbière, Mallarmé and Rimbaud above all, with their chronicles of poverty, riot, sexual unorthodoxy and self-destruction" were particularly "significant" (151). Crane's indebtedness to the French symbolist poets, in particular Arthur Rimbaud, whose American heir he is believed to be, is universally acknowledged, though not necessarily critically explored. The parallels between symbolist poetics and Crane's *œuvre* which a thorough critical reading reveals is substantiated by biographical and epistolary data (Piechucka, *Dream* 99–101).

    In the present article, I would like to examine some of these parallels by looking at two poems dealing with the same theme: "Sonnet" by Hart Crane and "Saint," a lyric by one of Crane's "elegant weepers," Stéphane Mallarmé. The analysis which I am about to undertake is founded on the conviction that Crane's fascination with the French symbolists goes beyond the unquestionable interest which their destinies, lifestyles and attitudes must have held for him. It is also based on the conviction that, while Rimbaud may have been Crane's principal symbolist idol, the latter's work also bears the traces of Mallarmé's influence. Importantly, it must also be noted that the term *influence* is to be understood very broadly, both in the present article and, I would argue, in the realm of comparative literary studies at large. Influence, as I understand it, should not be limited to what a particular poet or prose writer directly borrowed from his or her predecessors. It should not even be understood as indirect inspiration. The broad understanding of inspiration includes the idea of a certain spiritual, emotional and artistic kinship. Since Crane's "Sonnet" is an early work, it is debatable whether the American poet was fully aware of the intricacies of Mallarmé's poetry when he wrote it.

Nevertheless, what transpires in it is a similarity in purpose and preoccupation linking the French symbolist and his modernist heir.

What marked Mallarmé's work and was to mark Crane's was not just music, though, as this article will show, it was important to both of them. Even more important, however, was an aim which, in the context of Crane's poetry, is defined by Brian M. Reed, one of the poet's monographers, as "transcendental aspirations" (100). Preoccupied with the idea and the ideal, both Mallarmé and Crane produced verse whose nature is often challenging, ambiguous or downright hermetic. Both opted for idiosyncratic lexis, grammatical structures and syntax. Both set themselves unrealistic, larger-than-life poetic goals: the "Book" to end all books in Mallarmé's case, the *über*-epic poem in Crane's case. Both paid a high price for chasing often impossible poetic ideals, for the painful pursuit of the Absolute. Gordon A. Tapper places Crane's desire for linguistic purification in the context of Mallarmé's analogical yearnings (21). In a similar vein, in *Hart Crane and Allen Tate*, Hammer notes the Mallarméan dimension of Crane's concept of the "new *word*" (158). Both claims are relevant to my discussion of the two poems on which the present article focuses, as well as to the notions of music versus silence, self- and non-referentiality, and pure poetry.

Central to both Crane's "Sonnet" and Mallarmé's "Saint" is the figure of Saint Cecilia, "the patron saint of musicians, singers, and poets" (Singer-Towns and all 143). The interrelationship between the art of music and the art of poetry is, of course, axiomatic, as is the musical dimension of Mallarmé's work and French symbolist poetry in general. Elizabeth McCombie reminds us that "Verlaine's calculated rhythmic irregularity was intended to invest poetry with 'musicality', as he proclaims in his 'Art poétique': 'Music above everything else! | And to write it favour the *Impair* | It is more vague and soluble in air" (xv). As McCombie notes, "Mallarmé greatly admired this brand of musical poetry'" (xv) and his fascination was very much in tune with the spirit of the times:

> The move to 'liberate' verse and search for new rhythms of meaning was in large part guided by poets who looked to music to provide a model. Mallarmé's observations about music inform his poetics at the most fundamental level. He lived at a time of heightened mutual awareness between music and literature, and his work represents a particularly fertile moment of crossover in the histories of the two arts. (xv)

McCombie also points out the role Richard Wagner played in this "mutual awareness" and the ensuing competition between composers and poets (xv). In a similar vein, Reed asserts the importance of the German composer not just to Mallarmé, but also to Otto Kahn, the financier and cultural philanthropist who supported the American poet's main creative venture: "Crane's patron—like Baudelaire, Beardsley, D'Annunzio, Huysmans, Kandinsky, Mallarmé, Renoir, Shaw, Wilde, and a host of other influential devotees of

Wagnerism—would have considered the composer's operas an invaluable touchstone for subsequent artistic achievement" (136). Noticing, in his reflections on *The Bridge*, its author's "turn to Wagnerian rhetoric" in his *opus magnum* after "the interview at Kahn's Fifth Avenue home that won him a grant of two thousand dollars" (137), the Crane scholar also observes that "[t]he French symbolist poets found that Wagner's two-tier temporality tallied with their own intuition" (145). Baudelaire, Mallarmé and their followers, who, on the other side of the Atlantic, included Crane, believed "that the phenomenal world is, in Baudelaire's words, 'des forets [sic] de symbols,' merely forests of symbols that, read aright, prove to be 'echos [sic] qui de loin se confondent / Dans une tenebreuse [sic] et profonde unité,' echoes that from afar meld into a dark and profound unity" (145).

The connection between Crane's *œuvre* and Wagner's music may be unarguable, but so is the one between his work and music *tout court*. The fourth chapter of Reed's monograph centers on one of the two factors which were crucial to the American author's creative process: inebriation and his Victrola gramophone. Examining the implications of what he terms "Hart Crane's phonograph fetish" (99), the scholar comes to the conclusion that the poet's "singing machine, the Victrola, left a profound mark on all aspects of his poetry, from the microtexture of his verse to its transcendental aspirations" (99–100). In answer to the question, "What does Hart Crane himself have to say on the subject of music and poetry?," Reed identifies the poet's "desire to model his poetry on the most advanced music of his day" as well as his tendency towards "describing his verse in musical terms" (103). The monographer also retraces the history of Crane's musical tastes and his experience as a classical music, jazz and experimental music listener:

> It is even known where and when he first involved himself seriously in study of the art form. While living in Cleveland after his first stint in New York (1920–23), Crane's chief connection to the international avant-garde was via the Cleveland Orchestra, then under the direction of the world-famous conductor Ernest Bloch. From Bloch, Crane learned to relish the latest in European music. He became an ardent admirer of such composers as Vincent d'Indy, Erik Satie, Aleksandr Scriabin, and Igor Stravinsky. Later in life, wherever he traveled, Crane continued to seek out innovative music of whatever kind, whether it be Times Square jazz or the microtonal, percussive compositions of Edgar Varèse. From his Cleveland days onward—that is, during his poetic maturity, the years in which he wrote the bulk of the poetry for which he is remembered—modern music remained a constant touchstone for Crane's achievements in his own medium, verse. (104)

"Given this background," Reed observes, "one can conclude that Crane had definitive reasons for insisting upon writing with a Victrola's accompaniment" (104). However, Crane's awareness of the importance of music to both his life and poetic craft does

not begin in the 1920s. "Sonnet", the poem I am concerned with in this article, dates from 1915 or 1916, when its author was not more than seventeen years old. Like all juvenilia, it thus runs the risk of being dismissed as immature and undeveloped. I, however, propose to look at it in terms of how it anticipates Crane's later poetic preoccupations, constituting his artistic credo or at least its embryonic form. I also propose to explore it by setting it against Mallarmé's poem because of the theme they share, but also because of Crane's evident predilection for the school of poetry to which the author of "Saint" belongs as well as the preoccupation with music the two poets have in common and their belief in the inextricable link between *ars musica* and *ars poetica*.

     "Saint" predates "Sonnet" by half a century. The original title of the Mallarmé poem in question, "Sainte Cécile jouant sur l'aile d'un chérubin," could be translated as "Saint Cecilia Playing a Cherubine's Wing." As Lagarde and Michard point out, the more "explicit" title was changed to "Sainte"—of which "Saint" is the most accurate English equivalent imaginable—because "Mallarmé wished to make the evocation of the figure in a stained glass window and of the music he heard resonating inside of himself even more immaterial while he contemplated it in his imagination" (538, trans. A. P.). The French scholars' critical comment makes it clear that we have to do with a text which gravitates towards the ethereal and the aleatory, which is unsurprising in view of its author's reputation as an obscure and hermetic poet. Poetry is not only what is, according to Robert Frost's oft-quoted formula, "lost in translation," it is also usually lost in paraphrase, and hardly any poet illustrates this better than Mallarmé. In an attempt to paraphrase the seemingly unparaphraseable, Walter A. Koch offers a matter-of-fact summary of the poem's content: "The poem is supposed to be a description of a stained-glass window portraying Saint Cecilia, the patroness of music. The sonnet appears to be written for an Avignon lady named Cécile with whom Mallarmé had been acquainted" (258). Koch also states that "[w]e obviously have to imagine a Saint playing on [sic] a harp formed by an angel's wing" (258) before capitulating altogether: "This is about all we can make out as to informational structure, since every other reference to the 'universe' is being refuted as soon as it is mentioned" (258). To this, the two French critics quoted above add a few clarifications. First of all, although we have to do with a description of a stained glass window, "the Saint appears as if she were *in a window*" (Lagarde and Michard 538; trans. A. P.). Secondly, "sandalwood" is the material of which Cecilia's "viol" is made (538; trans. A. P.). Thirdly, the poem's closing phrase, "musician of silence," is an "expression applicable to Mallarmé's poetry itself" (538). All three exegetes also agree that the phrases "monstrance glass" and "evening flight" refer to the sun or sunlight and a "wing," respectively (Lagarde and Michard 538; trans. A. P. , Koch 258).

     Mallarmé's poetic evocation of Saint Cecilia may serve as an illustration of McCombie's view that in the French poet's *œuvre* "[l]anguage assumes some of the non-ref-

erential quality of music" and "words share music's signifying patterns" because they are "[r]emoved from the world of objects associated with ordinary reference" (xvii):

> In the window concealing
> The old sandalwood losing its gilt
> On the viol sparkling
> Of yore with flute or mandolin,
> Is the pale saint, displaying
> The old book which unfolds
> Of the Magnificat streaming
> Of yore according to vesper and compline:
> On this monstrance glass
> That is brushed by a harp by the Angel
> Formed with his evening flight
> For the delicate joint
> Of the finger, which, without the old sandalwood
> Nor running along the old book, she balances
> On the instrumental plumage,
> Lady—musician of silence. (qtd. in Koch 257)

Koch, one of the poem's many exegetes, sees it primarily as the work of a "flamboyant representative of a more mature type of symbolism, of *poésie pure*" (257), a poetry which is *par excellence* musical and gravitates towards non-referentiality and abstraction (Cuddon 759). Central to it are vagueness, indeterminacy, invisibility and absence: "The informational focus is temporarily forced to linger on the unfolding of quasi-informational segments that turn out to be referentially null and void" (Koch 258). Inconclusiveness and open-endedness also characterize the poem's syntax, style and soundscape (259). Generally, it is "[t]he strange 'music' arising from the overall suggestiveness of rarely-heard words" as well as "from the repetition of words devoid of reference" that "seems to enjoy a privileged structural position" (259). The conclusions Koch draws from his reading of "Saint" are in keeping with the ones McCombie draws about Mallarmé's *œuvre* in its totality:

> Like music, the 'rhythms between the relations' in poems create reflections, connections, silences, and hermeneutic gaps, revealed and concealed but never totally unveiled, according to language's own logic. As patterns of meaning appear and disappear in the reading of a Mallarmé poem, they create their own structure or rhythm. The form of meaning is as prominent a part of the poetry as the phonetic and metrical form. Language freed from conventional modes of denotation assumes material existence independent of what it might signify; yet at the same time the word experienced as word creates an immediate consciousness of the absence of identity between word and sign. The word points at once to a thrilling Nothingness, a refer-

ential failure, at the heart of language, and to the pure generative power of language itself. This musical poetics inevitably draws close attention to its own practice and to the ultimately arbitrary relationship of language to reality. (xvii)

At first glance, the expression "musician of silence," used in Mallarmé's poem, strikes the reader as oxymoronic, since it combines the person who, by definition, produces sound with soundlessness. The seemingly contradictory combination of *ars musica* and silence is in fact deeply ingrained in philosophical thought concerning music. As early as the sixth century BC, Confucius asserted that "great music is in harmony with the universe, restoring order to the physical world through that harmony" ("Music"). A century later, Plato, whose views on music resembled the ancient Chinese philosopher's in several respects, claimed that "[m]usic echoes divine harmony; rhythm and melody imitate the movements of heavenly bodies, thus delineating the music of the spheres and reflecting the moral order of the universe" ("Music"). The music of the spheres, also known as the harmony of the spheres or *musica universalis*, is customarily defined as "an ethereal harmony thought by the Pythagoreans to be produced by the vibration of the celestial spheres" ("Music of the spheres," *Merriam Webster*) or as "[t]he natural harmonic tones supposedly produced by the movement of the celestial spheres or the bodies fixed in them" ("Music of the spheres," *Oxford Dictionary*). By contrast, Plato believed "[e]arthly music" to be "suspect" and its "emotional power" to be unreliable or even dangerous ("Music"). The Greek philosopher's conception of music inscribed itself in his idealist philosophy: "in treating earthly music as a shadow of the ideal, [he] saw a symbolic significance in the art" ("Music"). By associating Cecilia with the time-honored philosophical concept of universal music, which is inaudible to the human ear, the poet of "Saint" therefore elevates her above the earthly and places her in the realm of the ethereal. As William C. Carter observes, "Mallarmé paid homage to Saint Cecilia in a poem entitled *Sainte*. She is a cosmic creature whose music, like that of the spheres, may seem to be silent: 'Musicienne du silence'" (271).

It is also with soundlessness that Crane associates Saint Cecilia in "Sonnet," a seemingly traditional poem whose form is suggested by the title but whose meaning, as is often the case with Crane's verse, eludes clear-cut elucidation and defies simplistic paraphrase, much like Mallarmé's *œuvre*:

> Ere elfish Night shall sift another day
> Hope-broken 'neath her ebon scepter's keep,
> Or the fainting soul's last flames all trembling creep
> White-taper-like, and paler, pulse away,
> Then shalt thou come, O Saint, in magic sway
> Of midnight's purple organ-breath, and sweep
> Brave echoes from the spooming coast to steep,

Blue heights were cone-wood calls near summits spray
Frost-fringes through thine octaves.… And from shades
Of moon-fled valleys, there shall rise a rift,
The supplication of all earth, mute serenades,
Whispering, 'Cecilia, Saint, leave us thy gift.'
And sleep shalt thou bestow, the final song,
And Time shall set the morning stars adrift. (111)

The patroness of music is the addressee of Crane's sonnet as lines five, twelve and thirteen explicitly point out. She is also the addressee of what the poet refers to as "mute serenades." A serenade being a song, the oxymoronic phrase seems to echo Mallarmé's "musician of silence." In fact, Crane goes as far as to construct an oxymoron within an oxymoron: the "serenades" may be "mute," which is itself a contradiction in terms, but muteness does not prevent them from either "Whispering" or being whispered, or at least being a prelude to a whisper. While it is clear who is being serenaded, the identity of the serenader leaves room for doubt. It appears that the earth is the one serenading Saint Cecilia: the mention of "a rift" is suggestive of a tectonic movement and the lines which precede it may imply that all of nature unites in a song of praise and a courtship song addressed to the Saint. However, if we assume that the speaker of the lyric is a poet, which, despite Crane's admiration for T. S. Eliot, the leading modernist exponent of poetic depersonalization, we may, I believe, safely do, the conclusion may also be that the serenader is an artist who joins in nature's song. Addressing—albeit indirectly—Saint Cecilia, the poet thus invokes a muse. In popular consciousness, artists' muses are often also their mistresses. In "Sonnet," Crane may be said to be singing one of the many serenades dedicated to Cecilia, as if he were a lover wooing a woman. The statement, "Cecilia, Saint, leave us thy gift" may thus be read as a loving plea for inspiration. In Crane's poem, Cecilia, the "cosmic creature" of Mallarmé's sonnet, is the poet's beloved and nature's queen, as the regal color "purple" which majestically surrounds her indicates.

Serenades are customarily sung outdoors and by night or at least in the evening. This is also when Saint Cecilia makes her appearance in Crane's poem, which opens "Ere elfish Night shall sift another day." The fainting of the soul simultaneously evoked in the sonnet thus parallels the "death" of the day. "Hope" is "broken" precisely because the day is over. Music is Saint Cecilia's main attribute: she is seemingly carried by it, since she arrives "in magic sway / Of midnight's purple organ-breath." Omnipotent, she seems to be able to gather the music of the earth, as if extracting it from the landscape: Cecilia "sweep[s] / Brave *echoes* from the spooming coast to steep, / Blue heights were cone-wood calls near summits spray / Frost-fringes through thine *octaves*" (italics mine). Music is thus played by nature in Crane's poem, but it is the Saint herself who comes to, so to speak, collect it at the end of the day. The earth implores Cecilia to

let it keep the "gift" of music. In response, the patroness of *ars musica* "bestow[s], the final song," which is "sleep." In art, literature and culture, sleep is, of course, closely associated not only with the night, but also with death, both of which appear earlier in "Sonnet." All three—sleep, night and death—also connote silence, an important theme in both Crane's and Mallarmé's evocation of Saint Cecilia. Like his French symbolist predecessor, the American poet oscillates between sound and stillness. "[T]he final song" and Cecilia's final gift to the earth at the end of the day is silence, which is the culmination of all sounds, the ultimate music. "The supplication of all earth" may be that of all human beings as well, including poets and the poet who is the speaker of Crane's lyric. Heavenly music is inaudible to mortal ears, unlike earthly music, which is more accessible, but is not the ultimate musical form. Mere mortals, however, wish to retain the little they have access to. The poem closes with the mention of "morning stars," celestial bodies, suggestive, perhaps, of the harmony of the spheres, celestial, ethereal, superior to earthly music.

Appropriate as it is in the context of Crane's poem, the term *earthly music*, used in the preceding paragraph and mentioned earlier in this text in relation to Plato, is somewhat imprecise. In order to elaborate on it—as well as on the close reading, analysis and interpretation of "Sonnet" undertaken in the present article—it may be useful to refer to two theoreticians of music, both of them Neoplatonists: the Roman philosopher Boethius and the German astronomer Johannes Kepler. Though eleven centuries apart, the two share certain affinities in their approach to music, which they both understand very broadly. They categorize music, and a survey of the classifications they introduce helps to illuminate the intricacies and obscurities of Crane's poem. In both cases, we have to do with three major categories, which, as musicologists observe, overlap, but also diverge in some respects. Together, they also shed new light on Crane's "Sonnet," enabling its exegete to form a more complete and coherent picture.

Elizabeth Eva Leach thus summarizes Boethius's theory:

> As is well known, Boethius divides music into three species: *musica mundana*, *musica humana*, and *musica instrumentalis. Musica mundana*, cosmic or heavenly music, is made by the rapid motions of heavenly bodies, giving the proportions of the seasons and other subdivisions of time. *Musica humana*, human music, is the uniting of the various parts of the soul and incorporeal reason with the body so that they work harmoniously as one. Only *musica instrumentalis* is something that we would classify as music at all, being the music of instruments[.] (12)

In a somewhat similar vein, the Renaissance astronomer distinguishes "the harmonic ratios in the motions of the heavens" as well as "of nature" and "of the human voice" (Dickreiter 183). "This classification of existing harmonies in the world reveals clear parallels with the ancient-medieval one of *musica mundana*, *humana*, *instrumentalis*,

which goes back to the Pythagoreans and was passed over [sic] by Boethius" (183). If we superimpose Boethius's and Kepler's ideas on Crane's poetic tribute to Saint Cecilia, we discover that the superimposition results in certain hermeneutic gaps being filled in. "*Musica mundana*," as Kügle points out, "is the 'harmony of the world' which humans can experience in a limited way and indirectly only, for example by marveling at the ordering and proportions of the celestial bodies that can be observed in the night sky" (1188). This precondition appears to be in tune with the nocturnal setting of Crane's poem. Sunset seems to be a borderline beyond which the power of earthly music ends, giving way to celestial music, of which Saint Cecilia is a guardian. Her taking earthly music away may be symbolic of its imperfection and impermanence, of its being, in Platonic terms, merely "a shadow of the ideal." More tangible and accessible, earthly music is, on the one hand, the music of nature, strongly present in Crane's lyric, and, on the other, that of the human body. The importance of what Tapper terms "Crane's corporeal poetics" (5) surfaces in "Sonnet" as well. Somatic references appear in the poem: the phrase "paler, pulse away" seems to apply to "the fainting soul's last flames," suggesting a link between the spiritual and the bodily. Similarly, the mention of "midnight's purple organ-breath" evokes a musical instrument as well as the human body, indicative, perhaps, of a connection between musicality and physicality. The image may imply that music is something organic—as is the landscape. Along with the aforementioned phrase, it also sends the reader back to the concept of *musica humana*, which is, in the words of Kügle, "the order of and within our bodies and souls (Boethius sees the two as a unit)" (1188). As the scholar explains, "[l]ike *musica mundana*, we constantly experience this *musica humana* indirectly, in the form of various bodily and psychological states, but it is not a sonic phenomenon" (1188). What is indeed "a sonic phenomenon" is *musica instrumentalis*, "real, perceptible music" (Dickreiter 186), the sister of poetry, whose roots are melic. The "purple organ-breath," associable, as I have argued, with *musica humana*, ushers in Saint Cecilia in Crane's poem, thus constituting—as it does in the aforementioned tripartite classifications—a link between heavenly music and what is commonly understood as the art of music proper.

In Crane's poem, the "[t]ime [which] shall set the morning stars adrift" could be read as an evocation of "the harmony of the cosmos… i.e. the most perfect harmony of celestial motions" which "Kepler discusses" (Dickreiter 183). However, what the German astronomer also does is "explicitly write[] about perceived music as an imitation of the 'celestial music'" (184). As Dickreiter further notes, "[a]ccording to Kepler, with their music men imitate the movements of the heavens and experience the same satisfaction God experienced when looking upon his work of Creation" (184). Humans also experience a "very sweet sense of delight elicited from this music which imitates God" (185). This sense of delight is, however, inevitably illusory and temporary: "man, the imitator of his Creator" (185)—or, to be precise, a man who is an artist—can "taste the satisfaction of God the Workmaster with His own works" but only "to some extent"

(185). The fact that, in "Sonnet," the gift of music is impermanent, borrowed rather than obtained for good, and ultimately taken away at dusk by Saint Cecilia has rich symbolic implications. "The supplication of all earth" turns out to be more than just a plea for inspiration. It is expressive of the dissatisfaction, insatiability and sense of incompleteness which are inherent in the artist's condition. The lyric Crane devoted to the patroness of music is permeated by a sense of separation and longing, by a disheartenment which unavoidably marks artists and artistic endeavors. The phrase "[h]ope-broken," employed at the beginning of the poem, may, all things considered, refer to more than just the "death" of the day or even death *tout court*. "Sonnet" may, at its deepest level, be a poem about the drama of suffering and imploration immanent in human creation, which strives, in vain, to outstrip divine Creation.

Earlier in this article, Plato's belief that earthly music is not to be trusted, but is endowed with "symbolic significance" has been mentioned. It is also worth remembering that "we notice a substantial influence of Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy on Kepler's concept of *harmonia*" (Dickreiter 182). In his study of Kepler's views on the notion of harmony, Dickreiter reminds us of the distinction between the spiritual and the real:

> The pair of the concepts *intellectualis—sensilis* is introduced into the sphere of harmony and is the basis of the disposition of Kepler's principle [sic] work. *Mundus intellectualis* is the spiritual world which can only be conceived by reason, it corresponds to Plato's world of Ideas. Opposed to it is *mundus sensilis*, the real world of our sensory experience. It is the image of the intelligible world. What is multifarious and divided there, is combined to a unity here. (182)

Importantly, Platonic idealism forms the basis of not only Kepler's musical theories, but also of the theory of the symbol and of symbolist poetics. It is commonly identified as one of the cornerstones of the symbolist school of poetry, which "created the image of the poet as a kind of seer" who "was to create this [ideal] 'other world' by suggestion and symbolism; by transforming reality into a greater and more permanent reality" (Cuddon 941). The symbolist poet was therefore the one "who could see through and beyond the real world to the world of ideal forms and essences" (941). In poetic practice, "[t]he attainment, in transcendental [Platonic] symbolism, of the vision of the essential Idea was to be achieved by a kind of deliberate obfuscation or blurring of reality so that the ideal becomes clearer" (941). At this point, music, the subject of the present article, comes into play: "This, according to symbolist theory, could be best conveyed by the fusion of images and by the musical quality of the verse; by, in short, a form of so-called pure poetry" (941). Among the symbolist poets who believed that "[t]he music of the words provided the requisite element of suggestiveness" are Verlaine, Rimbaud and Mallarmé (941). "Saint," the Mallarmé poem discussed in this article, is exemplary of the

French poet's torturous striving after this poetic ideal of impossible purity. I have written abundantly about Hart Crane's indebtedness to and connections with French symbolism. On one occasion, I also pointed out that Crane's preoccupation with it is far from solipsistic, because he is careful not to allow the triumph of the symbol over truth, or of the image over the idea (Piechucka, "Images and Ideas" 5–16). A transcendental visionary, the American poet is determined to go beyond "the temporal and approach the timeless" and to play "the role of artists and poets" which is that of "self-sacrificing and unselfish sufferers" (15).

In American letters, Hart Crane is arguably the most perfect incarnation of the tortured poet since Edgar Allan Poe. Torment marks both his life story and the scale of his creative aspirations. As has been noted,

> [t]he French phrase *poète maudit* ('cursed poet') expresses a concept of the poet consumed by his vision and doomed in life because of his total commitment. The tortured life of Hart Crane—his bitter relationships with his parents, uncontrollable drinking, homosexual promiscuity, and suicide at the age of thirty-three—together with his ambition to create the 'Great American Poem' have long been seen as fitting this familiar pattern. (Baym 1647)

Hagiographic accounts make it clear that Saint Cecilia's name connotes not only music and mysticism, but also purity and suffering. "Her association with music comes from a line in her biography, which said that at her wedding, 'Cecilia sung [in her heart] to the Lord, saying: may my heart remain unsullied, so that I be not confounded'" (Singer-Towns 143). "[H]a[ving] taken a vow of virginity," the Saint "refused to consummate her marriage" prior to "d[ying] a martyr… during one of the persecutions of Christians" (143). None of these dramatic circumstances are directly mentioned in either Mallarmé's "Saint" or Crane's "Sonnet." Nevertheless, in both the French symbolist's and the American poet's case, choosing Saint Cecilia as, so to speak, the patroness of their respective poems, may be motivated by more than just the inextricable link between the art of music which she represents and the art of poetry which is rooted in music and which they both devoted their lives to. Saint Cecilia may be the archetype of not only the musician, but also the artist in general because of her martyrdom. The suffering inscribed in her fate is evocative of that inscribed in all artists' condition. Crane may have been aware of that—and of the need to defend oneself, with varying degrees of success, against that—when he wrote to Gorham Munson apropos of the latter's play in 1920, four or five years after "Sonnet" had been written:

> You're too damned serious. You victimize your hero. Your aristocrat is much more vital and admirable than the polyphonic God, chosen to symbolize the artist. And anyway,—it's sentimentality to talk the way he does. The modern artist has got to

harden himself, and the walls of an ivory tower are too delicate and brittle a coat of mail for substitute. The keen and most sensitive edges will result from this 'hardening' process. If you will pardon a more personal approach, I think that you would do better to think less about aesthetics in the abstract,—in fact, forget all about aesthetics, and apply yourself closely to a conscious observation of the details of existence, plain psychology, etc. If you ARE an artist then, you will create spontaneously. But I pray for both of us,—let us be keen and humorous scientists anyway. And I would rather act my little tradgedy [sic] without tears. Although I would insist upon a tortured countenance and all sleekness pared off the muscles. (224)

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Małgorzata Rutkowska

"A Dog's Life": Pet-Keeping in Canadian and American Animal Autobiographies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Abstract: The article focuses on generic conventions of sentimental "animal autobiographies" published by Canadian and American authors at the turn of the twentieth century. *Beautiful Joe* (1893) by M. M. Saunders and *Pussy Meow: The Autobiography of a Cat* (1903) by S. L. Patteson were first-person accounts of animal lives propagating humane treatment of domestic animals. By presenting dogs and cats as sentient, intelligent and articulate, such works aimed to evoke the young readers' interest in animals' inner lives and stress their emotional kinship with humans. In these books pet-keeping was presented as a socially meaningful practice as it provided daily exercise in "the domestic ethic of kindness" teaching empathy and responsibility for creatures dependent on humans. At the same time, abuse and cruelty towards animals indicated lack of moral principles. However, in some early twentieth-century stories, which explored darker side of pet-keeping ("A Dog's Tale" by Mark Twain [1903] and "Memoirs of the Yellow Dog" by O'Henry [1906]), certain conventions of sentimental animal autobiographies were modified and Victorian ideals of domesticity questioned.

Keywords: animal autobiography, sentimentality, domesticity, Margaret Marshall Saunders, Sarah Louise Patteson, Mark Twain, O'Henry

"I don't suppose it will knock any of you people off your perch to read a contribution from an animal. Mr. Kipling and a good many others have demonstrated the fact that animals can express themselves in remunerative English, and no magazine goes to press nowadays without an animal story in it"—so said the dog-narrator of O'Henry's "Memoirs of a Yellow Dog" and he was essentially right (55). By the turn of the twentieth century, animal stories had become a stock feature of American magazines. Realistic wild animal stories—a new genre, developed by two Canadian writers, Ernest Thompson Seton and Charles G. D. Roberts and later on continued by Jack London—enjoyed great popularity. Such stories combined fiction and natural history in order to present animals in their natural environment, living independently of humans (Lutts ix). Their authors emphasized fidelity to natural history and assured the readers that they described lives of real animals they themselves have known or

observed. This, as they believed, set their stories apart from works narrated by heavily anthropomorphized "talking animals" also widely read at that time. As Roberts asserted:

> The real psychology of animals, as far as we are able to grope our way toward it by deduction and induction combined, is a very different thing from the psychology of certain stories of animals which paved the way for the present vogue. Of these, such books as *Beautiful Joe* and *Black Beauty* are deservedly conspicuous examples. (qtd. in Lutts 28)

The books mentioned and dismissed by Roberts were sentimental animal autobiographies, i.e. stories in which domestic animals gave first-person accounts of their lives among humans (Cosslett 63). Although Roberts saw such works as a necessary stage in the evolution of prose about animals and appreciated their role in awakening "a sympathetic understanding of the animals and sharpening our sense of kinship with all that breathe" he simultaneously criticized their authors for relying on human psychology in descriptions of animal mental processes and motivations (qtd. in Lutts 28).

The best known work of the genre was certainly Anne Sewell's *Black Beauty: The Autobiography of a Horse* (1877). Though now classified as a classic of children's fiction, Sewell's book was originally addressed to professionals who took care of horses in Victorian England: grooms, carriage drivers, cab horse owners and jockeys. Its aim was to propagate proper handling of working animals, evoke sympathy for their hard lot, instill ethics of kindness to animals in the readers. The author's narrative strategy—to tell the story of the horse's life from his own point of view—proved very effective as the book immediately became a bestseller and was instrumental in abolishing a fashionable but painful practice of bearing rein in England.[1] The success of *Black Beauty* confirmed that fiction can be an effective tool for changing human attitudes towards domestic animals, which was not lost on activists engaged in the anti-cruelty movement on both sides of the Atlantic.[2]

Popular success of *Black Beauty* inspired Margaret Marshall Saunders, a Canadian, to write a similar autobiography of a dog. Her *Beautiful Joe* (1893) was in turn followed by *Pussy Meow: The Autobiography of a Cat* (1901) by an American author and activist Sarah Louise Patteson. Both books played a significant role in populariz-

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1   Bearing reins or checkreins were a type of horse tack commonly used on stylish carriage horses in England in the 1800s. Their function was to keep a horse's head up, the practice that was not only uncomfortable and painful for the horse but also caused chronic problems with breathing and spine.

2   George T. Angell, the founder of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, who called *Black Beauty* "the equine Uncle Tom's Cabin" ordered ten thousand copies to be published and distributed among the people who worked with horses (Beierl 214).

ing the tenets of American humanitarian movement, which was gaining momentum after the Civil War. *Beautiful Joe* won a competition organized by *American Humane Education Society* for a book which "shall *teach* the reader *how* to live in sympathy with the animal world; how to understand the languages of the creatures that we have long been accustomed to call 'dumb'" (qtd. in Saunders v). The idea to write a cat's life story was born during the National Convention of the S.P.C.A in 1895 in Cleveland when Patteson was encouraged by other participants to speak for a creature "misunderstood and much maligned," which deserved a "public hearing" after the horse and the dog had had a chance to speak about their misery (Patteson 3). It is noteworthy that both Saunders and Patteson openly acknowledged their debt to Sewell and expressed hope that their books would be as effective in promoting humane treatment of animals in North America as *Black Beauty* was in Great Britain.[3]

In their works, Saunders and Patteson obeyed the conventions of animal representation developed by Sewell's sentimental autobiography, modifying them but slightly for the sake of the more egalitarian American audience. In the Victorian culture, which influenced the worldview of the middle class on both sides of the Atlantic, domestic animals were valued for their beauty, good character and utility for humans. Working animals were expected to be strong and obedient, eager to help humans in their daily toil, whereas the role of pets was to serve their masters as objects of aesthetic admiration, pleasurable companions, playmates for children and guardians of property.

On the one hand, human relationship with pets resembled the bond between parents and children. The analogy was appropriate, since pets, like children, occupied the lowest position in the patriarchal family and could not control their lives, so their welfare depended wholly on responsible, caring adults. On the other, the human-animal relationship was also perceived in terms of master-servant dependence (Cosslett 91). Having a competent and benevolent master, dogs, cats and horses prospered but in the hands of a brute they pined and suffered. Thus, animal narrators often emphasize the importance of proper human stewardship. The old dog in *Beautiful Joe* ends his life story with the words addressed directly to young readers: "If in my feeble way I have been able to impress you with the fact that dogs and many other animals love their masters and mistresses, and live only to please them, my story will not have been written in vain" (Saunders 303). Animals live to please their good masters, the dog asserts, yet it is not in their power to rebel against the bad ones.

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3   Transatlantic success of Sewell's and Saunders's books testifies to the existence of global market for literary production in English in the late nineteenth century. Soon after its publication in Canada and the United Sates, *Beautiful Joe* was also issued as a companion piece to *Black Beauty* by the London publisher Jarrold's (Gerson 15). Like *Black Beauty*, *Beautiful Joe* quickly became a bestseller and is now recognized as the first English-Canadian novel "to sell more than a million copies in the author's lifetime" (Devereux 165).

In nineteenth-century animal autobiographies a dog, a horse or a cat tells his individual life story but, at the same time, acts as a representative of his species. Thus, animal experiences described in these narratives are quite typical even though the story's narrator is frequently represented as special, because of his origins, appearance or character. For example, the main protagonist of *Black Beauty* is a "well-bred and well-born" horse whose ancestors have been prized for speed, stamina, and temper. As a prospective racing champion he enjoys a privileged position among ordinary working animals and for that reason should avoid playing with "cart-horse colts [who] have not learned manners," as his mother reminds him early in the story (Sewell 10). Obviously, a social hierarchy among the horses reflects class divisions in Victorian England. To Sewell's readers, Beauty's story must have seemed all the more poignant because adverse circumstances forced the well-born horse to live and work below his status, though in the end his true nobility was recognized and he was spared the dreary lot of an old cab horse.

In contrast, in American books there are no class divisions between purebred animals and plebeian, mixed breed cats and dogs. In consequence, the animal's worth does not depend on his origins. Beautiful Joe is "only a cur," neither well-born nor physically attractive. His body has been mutilated by the first owner—milkman Jenkins—who in rage cut the dog's tail and ears close to the head. In spite of that, Joe is called beautiful when he is saved by a compassionate young man. At first, this name is considered ironic and funny but with time Joe proves himself worthy of the name through his love and devotion to Laura Morris—a new mistress. Meow, a feline heroine of *Pussy Meow,* is quite vain about her appearance but her origins, like Joe's, are also humble. As she recollects her mistress reading stories about purebred cats she becomes determined to narrate lives of "tigers and Maltese and black cats, because they are considered to be of so very little importance" (Patteson 28). By their choice of animal protagonists Saunders and Patteson wish to attract the readers' attention to the welfare of ordinary underprivileged dogs and cats that, unlike the prized purebred pets, often end up on the streets abandoned, sick and starving.

Since the main aim of animal autobiographies was didactic, their authors did not strive to achieve artistic originality, relying instead on an episodic plot and stock characters. Respectable people who are kind to animals and concerned with their welfare are presented as role models, while cruel villains are condemned by the public opinion and punished for their misdeeds. The main villain in *Beautiful Joe* is milkman Jenkins who mutilated Joe, starved the dog's mother to death and killed all the other puppies. Jenkins is neglectful and cruel both towards his own family and farm animals. His house is shabby, his children thin and ragged, his cows hungry and dirty. Jenkins's indifference towards animals also indicates his lack of moral principles in dealings with other people. Neither he nor his wife are concerned with the quality of milk they sell or any standards of hygiene. When the town authorities start in-

vestigating the appalling conditions on the farm and discover Jenkins cheats on his customers, he loses his business and eventually ends up in jail. In contrast to Jenkins, the Morrises, especially their adolescent daughter Laura, are paragons of virtue. Mr. and Mrs. Morris have four children who keep hens and rabbits. The family also owns numerous pets: canaries, three dogs, a cat, and a parrot. All these animals are properly fed and nursed when sick. For Joe, who has never been kindly treated, their middle-class home is a real haven, a place where humans and animals love and respect each other.

Pet-keeping in *Beautiful Joe* and *Pussy Meow* is not just a hobby, it is a socially meaningful practice which plays a significant role in children's proper socialization and education. Though the beginnings of pet-keeping can be traced back to prehistoric times, until the late eighteenth century it was criticized rather than praised in the Western world; love for dogs or cats being treated as a personal indulgence or weakness of character. Social perception of pet-keeping changed in the nineteenth century because domestic animals came to be seen as integral part of a middle class Victorian family with its strictly defined gender roles and underlying idea of domesticity. A middle-class family home presided over by self-sacrificing wife and mother, an "angel in the house," was seen as a fundamentally feminine space where kindness and benevolence ruled. As Catherine Grier observes,

> The domestic ethic of kindness evolved from ideas that defined middle-class, or 'Victorian,' culture in America: Gentility, liberal evangelical Protestant religion, and domesticity. Each idea helped to define the other two, and all converged in promoting self-cultivation and self-control in individuals, and in their articulation of such principles as social hierarchy and progress. (131)

It was proper stewardship of domestic animals that indicated that the family was functioning as it should, whereas any abusive treatment of them pointed to the lack of moral principles in its members, either children or parents. Therefore, it was essential, as the nineteenth-century pedagogues believed, to eradicate cruelty towards animals and, ideally, at a young age because "all the larger cruelties of mankind have their origins in the cruelties of infancy and youth" (qtd. in Grier 140). Pet-keeping was seen by educational authorities and parents as a school of character, a practical daily exercise in "the domestic ethic of kindness," producing such desirable qualities in children as empathy and responsibility. Mrs. Morris in *Beautiful Joe* explains its benefits to a neighbor: "in caring for these dumb creatures [my boys] have become unselfish and thoughtful. They would rather go to school without their own breakfast than have the inmates of the stable go hungry. They are getting a heart education, added to the intellectual education of their schools" (Saunders 39). A similar opinion is also expressed by the owner of Pussy Meow, who thinks that a child should be brought up in "a home with lawn and

garden, with room for pets and tools and playthings, affording his ample opportunity to give wholesome expression to his feelings. It is the life lived day by day in the home that moulds and fashions a child's character, rather than any training he receives in school" (Patteson 89). Both women extol the benefits of pet-keeping in conversations with their neighbors and advocate its numerous advantages.

Though pet-keeping was considered beneficial for children of any sex, it was believed that boys and girls profited from it differently. The nineteenth-century educational discourse presented the boys as energetic and prone to violence, while the girls, gentle and sympathetic by nature, were often expected to teach the boys kindness to animals (Grier 146–147). What the children learned from taking care of pets was also determined by their gender roles. Thomas Wentworth Higginson explained to the readers of *Harper's Bazaar* that "those petted dogs we see carried in the arms of young girls in fashionable equipages are rarely a substitute for the natural object of such emotion [i.e. a child], they are rather a preparation or intermediate possession that precedes it; something that is more than a doll and less than a human child" (qtd. in Mason 14). The boys, in turn, learned how to be responsible, conscientious, self-disciplined and even entrepreneurial. Mrs. Morris was convinced that thanks to their rabbits and hens her sons had become "men of business," no longer lingering about street corners with other boys but "always hammering at boxes and partitions out there in the stable, or cleaning up, and if they are sent out on an errand they do it and come right home" (Saunders 39). Thus, pet-keeping prepared both girls and boys for their future social roles, the former destined to become loving, dedicated mothers, the latter to fulfill the role of responsible fathers.

Animal family life resembled closely human family relations and animal parents, just like human ones, instructed and educated their children. This motif is employed, for example, in Mark Twain's "A Dog's Tale" (1903). The narrator of the story is a dog called Aileen Mavourneen, who early in the story recollects her mother's lessons:

> She had a kind heart and gentle ways, and never harbored resentments for injuries done her, but put them easily out of her mind and forgot them; and she taught her children her kindly way, and from her we learned also to be brave and prompt in time of danger, and not to run away, but face the peril that threatened friend or stranger, and help him the best we could without stopping to think what the cost might be to us. (51)

Aileen is owned by the Greys, a prosperous middle-class family with two small daughters. One day, true to her mother's teachings, she saves a baby from the fire. Unfortunately, alarmed Mr. Gray misjudges the whole situation and is convinced that the dog wants to harm rather than save the child. He hits Aileen with a cane, crippling her leg. Terrified, Aileen escapes to the attic and for a few days refuses to leave a dark hiding place in spite of hunger and thirst. She is finally found by Mrs. Gray and her older daughter, who cannot praise her enough for the sagacity and courage.

However, Aileen's happy life of a cherished pet ends unexpectedly when, during Mrs. Gray and children's holiday absence she and her puppy—Robin—happen to attract, again, Mr. Gray's attention. Mr. Gray is an amateur scholar interested in optics, who wishes to test "whether a certain injury to the brain would produce blindness or not" (61). Eager to check this hypothesis he experiments on the puppy who goes blind and eventually dies in pain. Unmoved, Mr. Grey orders the servant to bury the dog in the garden. "When the footman had finished and covered little Robin up, he patted my head, and there were tears in his eyes, and he said; "Poor little doggie, you saved his child!" (63). Aileen who does not understand what has really happened waits patiently, expecting the buried puppy "to grow" out of the ground. When she finally realizes her only baby is dead, she refuses to eat and waits for death.

In his interpretation of "A Dog's Tale," Gay S. Herzberg pointed out parallels between the fate of a family dog and a family slave (20). Aileen is taught by her mother how to be a loyal, devoted servant, she leaves her mother never to see her again, in the new house she is loved by the children but badly treated by the master. Such reading is certainly legitimate, given Twain's anti-slavery views, yet Herzberg's approach disregards a primary motivation behind writing this story. Apparently, Twain wrote the tale as a protest against vivisection, at the bequest of his daughter Jean, who was an avid supporter of the anti-vivisection movement (Messent 194). In 1904 "A Dog's Tale" was printed by *The National Anti-Vivisectionist Society* in Britain in a form of pamphlet and given out on the streets of London (Messent 256).

Yet, apart from advocating the right cause in an unashamedly sentimental way—quite surprisingly for the author who was a declared enemy of kitsch sentimentality—Twain also questions in the story Victorian belief in the power of ethic of kindness. The main conflict in "A Dog's Tale" is between heart and mind, home and laboratory, or, to put it differently, between the private realm of women and the public realm of men. Mrs. Gray and her daughter treat the dog affectionately and are sincerely thankful to her for saving the baby. Yet, the father of the family rejects such sentiments in the name of science, progress and "suffering humanity" (62). The dog for him is not a partner in the net of moral obligations, but merely a mean creature lacking in reason and language, which can be, therefore, sacrificed without any qualms. As a prosperous, respectable citizen, husband and father, Mr. Grey seems to embody the middle-class norms of propriety, and yet, apparently, he has not internalized childhood lessons on empathy towards animals. In Mr. Grey, Twain condemns both scientists indifferent to animal suffering as well as those who break the unwritten contract with a helpless pet totally dependent on human stewardship.

The typical sentimental animal autobiography ends happily—after many trials and tribulations the main protagonist either returns to its old home and master or finds a new one. Though both Beautiful Joe and Pussy Meow have experienced pain,

hunger and human cruelty, at the end of their lives they find themselves happy. Twain in "A Dog's Tale" departs from such a conventional happy ending. The villain goes un-punished and the good dog is about to die. Such a radical modification of the generic conventions in the story serves a purpose—victimization of Aileen and her puppy is to make the readers more indignant about those who, like Mr. Gray, treat animals as animated objects, denying them the ability to feel and suffer.

Another early twentieth-century story to show the darker side of pet-keeping (although in a much more light-hearted manner) focuses on a different set of prob-lems. For a comic purpose, O'Henry's "Memoirs of the Yellow Dog" parodies many generic conventions of animal autobiography. To begin with, his animal narrator is a proverbial "yellow dog", neither beautiful nor particularly noble, and there is nothing special in his life story.[4] As a puppy he is bought by a fat lady to become her pet. As the story unfolds, he spends his days "in a cheap New York flat, sleeping in a corner on an old sateen underskirt," bored, frustrated and utterly miserable (O'Henry 55). "I led a dog's life in that flat," the narrator confesses to the reader (56), but the story ironically redefines the meaning of that popular expression.

The yellow dog—or Lovey—for this is the name given to him by the lady (the name he is ashamed of) is not unhappy because of neglect or abuse. Just the opposite, his problem is not the lack of tender feelings but rather excessive love manifested by constant petting, kissing and baby talk. Such treatment, the narrator feels, is stupefy-ing and demeaning to a respectable dog. After all, the mutt should not spend his life as a sweet, cuddly lap-dog: "I slept sometimes and had pipe dreams about being out chasing cats into basements and growling at old ladies with black mittens, as a dog was intended to do. Then she would pounce upon me with a lot of that drivelling poodle palaver and kiss me on the nose—but what could I do?" (56). In the typical sentimental animal autobiography, the relationship between a good master and his favorite pet is based on mutual love and respect. Beautiful Joe admires Laura for her tender heart and willingness to help others while she, in turn, values his attachment and devotion to her. This is not the case in "Memoirs of the Yellow Dog" since Lovey sincerely dislikes his mistress and her ways, repeatedly referring to her as "the fat woman" and never even revealing her proper name. He feels much more sympathy for a fellow victim i.e. his mistress's husband, who is as much oppressed as the dog and functions in the story as Lovey's alter ego.

Similarly to Twain, O'Henry examines pet-keeping to probe Victorian ideals of domesticity. While the former exposed them as weak and ineffective, the latter pres-

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4   At the turn of the century this American slang expression denoted a despised, worthless individual, a cringing coward, ready to serve anyone who has more power. See "Yellow Dog" in *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* (New York, 1989).

ents them as false and oppressive for the male characters. Lovey's quarrelsome and fat owner is a caricature of the subtle, self-sacrificing "angel in the house." She wants to appear well-mannered and refined but in reality she is uncultivated, selfish, and idle. Her homemaking and housekeeping skills leave much to be desired. While the husband is at work the wife spends most of her days reading magazines and spying on neighbors. Even though her New York flat pretends to middle-class respectability it is furnished with "the regular things—1903 antique upholstered parlour set, oil chromo of geishas in a Harlem tea house, rubber plant and husband" (O'Henry 56). This ironic description reveals both the wife's lack of originality and the husband's diminished authority at home. Placed by the dog-narrator at the end of the list, henpecked Benedick does not function as the head of the family but rather as his wife's servant: he patiently listens to her tirades, washes the dishes and walks the dog. Indeed, in this pretentious, excessively feminine space, both the dog and the husband feel emasculated, forced to act on the woman's whims and lead unexciting lives. Their male self-esteem and joy of life is in danger and so they urgently need to be saved.

As already mentioned, dogs in animal autobiographies frequently act as guardians of their humans: Beautiful Joe wakes up the inhabitants as the burglar breaks into the house, Aileen saves the baby from the fire. In "Memoirs of a Yellow Dog" this popular motif is used with a twist. Lovey saves the husband (as well as himself) not from death but rather from a boring life by… leading the man to the bar where, after a few drinks, Benedick does not only realize the utter misery of their existence but also comes up with a plan for a new life. "Me and my doggie, we are bound for the Rocky Mountains"—he proudly declares to a stranger (59). The symbolic significance of this decision, which evokes Huck Finn's famous declaration "to light out for the territory" is clear to any American reader. The civilized East, dominated by women, is not a place for real men who need danger, challenge and adventure. However, the tale's open ending leaves the reader unsure whether the man and his dog—now called Pete—will ever get to the American West. By the end of the story they have only reached Jersey. It is quite possible the whole expedition will end as soon as Benedick gets sober and decides to head back home.

The above cursory analysis of the-turn-of-the-century animal autobiographies manifests that their authors gave voice to animals to take a stand on two interconnected issues: pet keeping and protection of animals against cruelty. By presenting dogs and cats as sentient, intelligent and articulate such works aimed to evoke the young readers' interest in animals' inner lives and stress their emotional kinship with humans. One of the aims of early animal welfare activists was to communicate—through images, pamphlets, stories and articles—"the idea of animal agency and voice" (Cronin 209). Animal autobiographies were motivated by a similar impulse since a story written by a "talking animal" possesses certain "disruptive potential" that can make readers question the idea of animal inferiority. Moreover, domestic animals were represented

as "civilized creatures," which meant that they lived according to the same system of values the middle-class parents wished to inculcate in their children. Family dogs and cats were well-behaved, obedient and loyal. They loved their masters and, in return, were valued by them for good character and utility. In these works kindness shown to the weak, abused or maltreated animals indicated proper moral development. The formation of such worthy citizens started early in childhood and it was believed that pet keeping can be of great help to parents, creating an opportunity to enroll in "the school of heart".

In Victorian culture, domestic "civilized creatures" were closely associated with women and with such feminine attributes as sensitivity, gentleness, humility and service to others. However, in the first decades of the twentieth century the perception of domestic animals started to change, and it was their latent wildness rather than ability to lead civilized existence that began to be admired (Mason 159). At the same time, shift in the cultural perception of masculinity influenced the way some middle-class men wished to assert their identity: "These Americans found a source of powerful manhood in a primal, untamed, 'masculinity,' the opposite of civilized manliness'" (Bederman 74). An ideal Victorian gentleman was cultivated and restrained, yet his self-control now came to be seen as repression of natural masculinity manifested in powerful, primitive instincts.

In 1903 Jack London published one of the most popular dog books ever written—*Call of the Wild*.[5] Even though *Beautiful Joe* came out just a few years earlier, fictional dogs created by Saunders and London belonged to two different worlds and their life trajectories reflected a fundamental difference in the attitude to civilization. Joe is a proper Victorian pet, never aggressive or violent, pleased with his civilized existence. London's Buck also begins his life as a pet on a Californian ranch but then, in Alaska, he rediscovers his primitive instincts and eventually turns into a wild wolf. Thus, these two contemporary dog books point to the existence of two competing trends in the American way of looking at wilderness and civilization. Undoubtedly, their underlying ideology was different and it can be assumed they were not addressed to the same audience. Sentimental, didactic stories like *Black Beauty* and *Beautiful Joe* were originally written to promote ethics of kindness among adults and children alike. In the twentieth century they came to be treated as "part of the vast corpus of children's

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5   *Call of the Wild* first appeared serially in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1903 and was later on published as a book by the Macmillan Company. According to Johnson "within the first forty-three years of its publication, 6 million copies were sold in the United States alone" (xii). Its worldwide success has been also phenomenal. So far, *Call of the Wild* has been translated into more than ninety foreign languages. It went through more printings in France and Germany than in the United States, and it was "one of the most popular American books read in China and Japan, and… the most widely read American book in Russia" (Durst Johnson xii).

stories" and continued to be read by successive generations of younger readers (Grier 133).[6] Even though Jack London's naturalistic dog stories also showed cruelty towards animals they were not created to generate support for animal protection or promote the ideas of humane education. London's works alongside other contemporary texts and images which "endorsed qualities being constructed at that time as specifically masculine" were addressed mainly to boys and men (Mason 161). Cruelty presented in these works was a part of life in the wild, these dogs which gave up "the law of love and fellowship" for the sake of "the law of club and fang" proved their survival skills and prospered while the gentle and the weak perished (London 21). In the early twentieth century the American cultural pendulum moved again to the side of the natural and the wild. The symbolic identification of wild animals with such quintessential American values and attributes as (male) power, freedom, and self-reliance, led to the marginalization of domestic animals and their subsequent banishment to the niche of children's books and Disney cartoons.

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6   The author of *Pets in America* recollects that as a child in the 1960s she read Classics Comics edition of *Black Beauty* as well as borrowed old copies of *Beautiful Joe* from her grandparents' family library (Grier 133).

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Stefan L. Brandt

"One of Those Guys in the Movies": Juvenile Rebellion and Carnal Subjectivity in J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*[1]

Abstract: J. D. Salinger's classical initiation novel *The Catcher in the Rye* starts out with a scene of blatant rejection of traditional Hollywood movies. "If there's one thing I hate," the first-person narrator Holden Caulfield tells us in the book's opening passage, "it's the movies." Despite—or maybe because of—this harsh initial claim, the novel continues to nourish the impression that the narrative voice is, in fact, enthralled by the world of cinema. In my essay, I will argue that the love-hate-relationship between the protagonist and the cinema is vital to an understanding of the literary aesthetics of *The Catcher in the Rye*. Furthermore, I want to show to what extent the paradoxical notion of resistance to / love of movie images is connected to the concept of juvenile rebellion cultivated throughout the novel. Interestingly enough, *Catcher* not only mimics its protagonist's tentative acceptance of a "movie-made" environment. It also, quite literally, absorbs and reconstructs the aesthetic patterns attributed to cinema via its vivid re-enactment of the character's personality. Cinematic texts, film scholar Vivian Sobchack holds, are capable of producing sensations in the audience that go far beyond the level of visualization. In *The Catcher in the Rye*, I argue, a "cinematic" process of involvement of the recipient is set in motion. The act of reading here becomes an act of passionate interaction *with* the novel which unleashes not only the figurative potential of the text but also the creative abilities of our own imagination. While perusing the novel, we are led to believe that we are actually *there* when Holden undertakes his odyssey through the city. By deploying sophisticated strategies of spontaneous activation and visceral involvement—techniques also used in film to achieve an effect of reality—the novel thus literally operates *as* a film.

Keywords: *The Catcher in the Rye*, carnal subjectivity, cinematic texts, rebellion, J. D. Salinger.

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1   Some parts of this essay have been published in my article "The Literary Text as a 'Living Event': Visceral Language and the Aesthetics of Rebellion in J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*." *Rebels without a Cause? Renegotiating the American 1950s*. Ed. G. Hurm and A.-M. Fallon (Oxford, Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 2007), 31–56.

Salinger: An Undercover Story

When J. D. Salinger, the renowned author of *The Catcher in the Rye*, died in January 2010 at age 91, an unprecedented media campaign began which brought his personal life into the spotlight. The author who had shied away from the public arena throughout his life posthumously became the target of personal reports and revelations.[2] One example is the sudden appearance of nine letters which Salinger sent to his wartime comrade Werner Kleeman between 1945 and 1969. In a letter from 1961, Salinger tells Kleeman that he was deeply saddened by Ernest Hemingway's suicide, while also blustering about how his own children were growing up and how he felt like a "perennial sad sack" (Pitzke, "Best Always").[3]

The anecdote about the Salinger letters is revealing for two reasons. First, it illustrates the fact that the reclusive author was practically turned into a public event against his will. Salinger's long absence from the media went so far that *Esquire* magazine, in a 1997 cover story by Ron Rosenbaum on "The Haunted Life of J. D. Salinger," showed a white-haired man, presumably the famous author, who covered his face with a book, notably *The Catcher in the Rye*.[4] The second reason why the anecdote seems of importance is that the letters focus—as most of Salinger's fictional texts—on the complicated relation between youth and death. It is no coincidence that Salinger mentions Hemingway's passing in the same breath with his anger about his own children growing up. The author who refused to step into the public spotlight for more than forty years kept surrounding himself with the invisible aura of youth. His fear of becoming a "perennial sad sack"—or, one might add, *old sack*—ties in with his refusal to get into close contact with the media.[5]

2　One of Salinger's biographers writes that the author was "in any real-life sense, invisible, as good as dead…. He was famous for not wanting to be famous" (Hamilton 4).

3　These personal letters were exhibited in the Morgan Library Museum in New York shortly after Salinger's death (Pitzke, "Best Always").

4　*Esquire*'s article is only the tip of the iceberg in a whole series of magazine essays which stressed the writer's endeavor to shield his private life from the grasp of fervent journalists, e.g., "In Search of the Mysterious J. D. Salinger" by Ernest Havemann (*Life*, November 3, 1961), "The Private World of J. D. Salinger" by Edward Kosner (*The New York Post Magazine*, April 30, 1961), and "Lost in the Whichy Thicket" by Tom Wolfe (*New York*, April 18, 1965) (Alexander xi).

5　Salinger's (self-)identification as the "perennial youth" was nourished and sustained in the media throughout his life. The contrast between this public image and Salinger's real-life appearance grew so strong that Paul Alexander describes his encounter with the author in the early 1990s as a genuine shock: "Haggard, hunched-over, his hair white and thinning, he looked like a very old man. If Holden Caulfield is frozen in time, always the youthful, evanescent teenager, his creator was not; it was shocking to witness Salinger in his mid-seventies" (Alexander 21).

I will argue in this essay that these two aspects—Salinger's distrust of the media and his focus on youthful rebellion—must be regarded as closely intertwined. My chief example is the author's 1951 novel *The Catcher in the Rye* in which a skeptical attitude towards the media ties in with a negotiation of youth and death. Most interestingly, the novel, despite its apparent criticism of Hollywood films, is structured in a distinctly *cinematic* fashion, employing aesthetic devices usually found in films. Reading *The Catcher in the Rye*, I will contend, is almost like watching a movie—an observation which is even more striking given the fact that the novel has never been adapted to the screen. And why should one make a film from a novel when the literary original provides readers with an equally strong tactile sensation? The interconnection of biographical and textual discourse in Salinger enables us to read and experience *The Catcher in the Rye*, in a phenomenological sense, *as a film*. The impression of the novel as a film is part of an overarching "text" which I want to call the "Salinger Text." By this, I refer to both the literary universe Salinger created and the symbolic presence of Salinger-the-author in public discourse.[6]

The Catcher in the Rye as Cinematic Text

In no other medium the boundary between youth and death seems as fluent as in the movies. The cinematic image continues to stage a performer's youth and beauty even when he or she has already died. J. D. Salinger's novel *The Catcher in the* Rye is very much aware of the illusory potential of cinema. Its protagonist Holden Caulfield, a troubled sixteen-year-old, does not get tired of telling us how much he despises the movies, especially those made in Hollywood. "If there's one thing I hate, it's the movies," the first-person narrator informs us in the book's opening passage (Salinger, *Catcher* 1). Despite—or maybe because of—this harsh claim, the novel keeps nourishing the impression that Holden is, in fact, fascinated by the world of cinema. In various passages, we encounter the protagonist as he imitates "one of those guys in the movies" (12) or as he talks about celebrated actors such as Cary Grant, Peter Lorre, and Gary Cooper (32, 64, 66).

There is a revealing background story to Holden's—and, by implication, Salinger's—ostentatious hatred of Hollywood movies. In the 1940s, Salinger had been eager to sell the film rights to some of his short stories. Success came in 1949 when the Hollywood movie *My Foolish Heart* was produced, with Dana Andrews and Susan Hayward in

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6   For the concept of the "Author Text," see Comley and Scholes, *Hemingway's Genders*: "When we speak of the Hemingway Text we refer to a cultural matrix that we share with Hemingway, as this matrix appears when we imagine Ernest Hemingway as the center of it" (x).

the lead roles. However, the film, based upon the Salinger tale "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut," deviated so extremely from the original that the author never again agreed to a film adaptation of one of his works.[7] It is no coincidence that *My Foolish Heart* premiered at New York's Radio City Music Hall in January 1950 while Salinger was in the middle of writing his novel *The Catcher in the Rye*. "Holden himself," one critic cogently observes, "goes to a movie at Radio City around Christmas time, and if Salinger did any field research, he would have seen *My Foolish Heart* billed as a forthcoming feature—and billed also as based on 'a story by J. D. Salinger'" (Hamilton 107).

Holden's problematic relationship to the cinema is further complicated by the fact that his own brother, D.B., works as a playwright for the Hollywood Dream Factory. In Holden's view, this makes D.B. a "prostitute" (1). Just as Hollywood sells dreams, packaged in the form of films, D.B. has volunteered to sell his soul. Holden condemns his brother for what he is doing. Yet, he also seems to adore him: "He wrote this terrific book of short stories, *The Secret Goldfish*…. The best one in it was 'The Secret Goldfish.' It was about this little kid that wouldn't let anybody look at his goldfish because he'd bought it with his own money" (1).[8] The *old* D.B., who wrote touching short stories like "The Secret Goldfish," is clearly demarcated from the *new* D.B., who has "a lot of dough, now" and can afford a Jaguar (1). The contrast between the two types of creativity, one marked as *natural*, the other as *artificial*, culminates in an opposition between private and public, with Hollywood becoming a place literally *in the open*, detached from the secluded sphere of the home. "Now he's *out* in Hollywood," the narrator informs us, "being a prostitute" (1).

Fittingly, there is also a real prostitute whom Holden asks to come to his hotel room in one of the novel's later passages. When the girl reveals she comes from Hollywood, Holden suddenly backs off and pretends he has had an operation on his "clavichord" (87). Holden obviously scorns the fake reality of the movies and feels disgusted by their impulse to lure audiences into their spell. Yet, at the same time he constantly immerses himself in the realm of the cinema, smoothly integrating the aesthetics of film into his own actions and behavior.[9]

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7   According to Ian Hamilton, Salinger "was furious—not just at Hollywood, one suspects, but at himself for having let all this happen" (107).

8   Ian Hamilton rightly points to the numerous analogies between the character of D.B. and Salinger himself. The title of D.B.'s short story, "The Secret Goldfish," for example, sounds very much like Salinger's own tale "A Perfect Day for Bananafish" which the author published in an anthology of *The New Yorker* in 1949 (Hamilton 108).

9   It is telling that, at least geographically, the Dream Factory in which D.B. works is "not too far" from the "crumby place" where Holden is placed by his parents to come to rest. The actual proximity of these two worlds indicates that reality and cinematic fiction might be more closely connected than the protagonist wants to admit (*Catcher* 1).

Throughout the novel, Holden's experiences are staged in the fashion of clips from a Hollywood movie. We feel reminded of a *film noir* when Holden slips into the fictive persona of a hardboiled detective and tells us that "all the whory-looking blondes weren't around any more, and all of a sudden I felt like getting the hell out of the place" (72). In another passage, the scene of a fictional murder is vividly reenacted in front of our eyes. In the course of this scenario, Holden imagines he is being shot by a pimp he has met in a sleazy hotel:

> I sort of started pretending I had a bullet in my guts. Old Maurice had plugged me.… I pictured myself coming out of the goddam bathroom, dressed and all, with my automatic in my pocket…. I'd walk down a few floors—holding onto my guts, blood leaking all over the place—and then I'd ring the elevator bell. As soon as Maurice opened the doors, he'd see me with the automatic in my hand and he'd start screaming at me, in this very high-pitched, yellow-belly voice, to leave him alone. But I'd plug him anyway. Six shots right through his fat hairy belly. Then I'd throw my automatic down the elevator shaft—after I'd wiped off all the finger prints and all. Then I'd crawl back to my room and call up Jane and have her come over and bandage up my guts. (93–94)

The passage contains all the ingredients of a typical B-movie of the 1940s: the wounded gangster, the *femme fatale*, the romantic *denouement*. Holden Caulfield transforms into a kind of Mike Hammer in a film adaptation of one of Mickey Spillane's pulp novels. In his wild fantasy, Holden goes to the point of visualizing "blood trickling out of the side of my mouth" (93). Both the setting and atmosphere of this passage are of a deeply physical nature—a major characteristic of the gory sites of crime in *film noir*.

The act of reading is marked here by a passionate interaction between the novel and the recipient. This deeply performative act not only unleashes the potential of the text but also the creative abilities of the reader's imagination. While perusing the novel, we are led to believe that we are actually *there* when Holden undertakes his odyssey through New York City. This is underlined by the fact that the first-person narrator often addresses us directly, in the second person singular (1, 68, 191, 192 & passim). By deploying strategies of spontaneous activation and visceral involvement of the reader—techniques also used in cinema—the novel literally operates *as* a film.

Film scholar Vivian Sobchack has argued that cinematic texts are capable of producing sensations in the audience that go far beyond the level of visualization. When we watch a movie, we are literally bewitched, caught in an aesthetic maze that involves not only our eyes and ears, but our whole sensual apparatus. Through the "tactile force of… images," Sobchack contends, a good film manages to establish a connection between the materiality of the screen and that of the viewer's imagination (53). Since we are, in the phenomenological sense, *living bodies* who experience the environment as an *enfleshed space*, we come to relate to all the *things* and *objects* we see on screen (or read in a book) in an entirely *sensual* fashion (Sobchack 53–84; cf. Merleau-Ponty

150–51). As Norman Holland and Georges Poulet have shown in their respective studies, literary texts can establish a sensual, even tactile, link between the reader and the text by speaking to us on an immediate, physical level. Throughout *The Catcher in the Rye*, we are confronted with events that require a deeply visceral reception. In his essay "The Reading Process," literary scholar Wolfgang Iser has offered the following, particularly useful model of the dynamics of reception:

> The literary text activates our own faculties, enabling us to recreate the world it presents. The product of this creative activity is what we might call the virtual dimension of the text, which endows it with its reality. This virtual dimension is not the text itself, nor is it the imagination of the reader: it is the coming together of text and imagination. (54)

Following Iser, the act of reading encompasses two fields of interaction that merge through the process of actualization: the fictional world of the text and the imaginative potential of the reader. These two discourses form the aesthetic opposites of what Iser describes as "the dialectical structure of reading" (68). Iser distinguishes between the following features of the text-reader relation: "the process of anticipation and retrospection, the consequent unfolding of the text as a *living event*, and the resultant impression of *lifelikeness*" (64, my emphasis). It is precisely the transformation of a literary text into a "living event" and the creation of "lifelikeness," to use Iser's words, which make Salinger's novel so tangible and almost cinematic to us.

Consider the following passage in which Holden is accompanied by his younger sister Phoebe at a Christmas fair. When the girl decides to take a ride on the carousel, it suddenly begins to rain: "Boy, it began to rain like a bastard. In *buckets*, I swear to God. All the parents and mothers and everybody went over and stood right under the roof of the carrousel, so they wouldn't get soaked to the skin or anything, but I stuck around on the bench for quite a while. I got pretty soaking wet, especially my neck and my pants" (191).[10] Not only are we confronted in this passage with the physical notion of being "soaked to one's skin," but, moreover, this unpleasant sensation is linked to a specific action, or rather a lack of action. Instead of running for shelter under the roof of the carousel like the others, Holden decides to expose himself to the experience, in consequence getting "pretty soaking wet" (191).

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10   The extensive use of italics throughout the novel is one of the essential aesthetic features in *Catcher*. By setting off certain words (such as "*buckets*"), Salinger reiterates on a linguistic level the novel's claims of spontaneity and authenticity. The effect is similar to that of cinematic (or theatrical) composition in which specific elements are highlighted or accentuated. Cf. Salinger, *Catcher* 1 ("he's my *brother* and all"), 17 ("*No*body won"), 18 ("Why won't you give me your *hand?*"), 32 ("*That* bastard"), 92 ("if I hadn't had just my goddam *pajamas* on"), 124 ("*thousands* of them"), 129 ("*anybody*"), 192 ("till you *do* it"), & passim.

The corporeal dimension of this scene is further stressed by the addition that "especially" Holden's neck and his pants have become soaked. At the same time, we are assured that Holden does not care if he gets wet. "I felt so damn happy all of a sudden, the way old Phoebe kept going around and around" (191). In this image, the novel combines an extreme physical sensation with a notion of inner harmony and connectedness to one's environment. In the phenomenological sense, our body becomes a tactile instrument during the act of reading or watching a film—an instrument which deciphers, reconstructs, and expands the potential meanings of a given text. Salinger's novel continually prepares us for these moments of "carnal identification with material subjectivity" (Sobchack, 65) by capitalizing upon the immediacy and sheer intensity of Holden's experiences.

This emphasis on carnal experience is already contained in the original fragment of the Holden-Caulfield story published in 1945 in *Collier's*. The story starts with an image of physical coldness: "It was about eight o'clock at night, and dark, and raining, and freezing, and the wind was noisy" (Salinger, "I'm Crazy" 36). Since somebody has just stolen his camel hair coat and gloves, Holden feels freezing cold. "I stood there—boy, I was freezing to death—and I kept saying to myself, 'Good-by, Caulfield. Goodby'" ("I'm Crazy" 36). The story's opening passage, in which Holden waves farewell to his old high school on top of a hill, anticipates the pessimistic ending in which Holden lies awake and feels "lousy" ("I'm Crazy" 51).

In the book version, published six years later, the story's melancholic atmosphere is retained, this time expanded by a notion of cognitive memory. Caught in a despondent mood, Holden thinks nostalgically of all the people he has met. The character's bittersweet look back at his adventures in New York City recalls the technique of the flashback which Salinger borrows from Hollywood cinema, and especially *film noir*: "I'm sorry I told so many people about it. About all I know is, I sort of *miss* everybody I told about" (192). The ostensibly negative tone of Holden's final words disconnects the novel's standpoint from that of a Hollywood film with its stereotypical happy ending. Shortly before Holden begins reminiscing about past events, his brother D.B. visits him from Hollywood together with a British starlet. When the young actress leaves the two brothers for a moment to go to the ladies' room, D.B. asks Holden what he thinks about the whole story. Not surprisingly, Holden does not know at all "what to think about it" (192). At this point, the novel's catchphrase, "If you want to know the truth" (1, 4, 30), is picked up again (192) to underline the protagonist's claim to verisimilitude. By emphasizing the spontaneity and immediacy of Holden's actions, the novel simultaneously revalidates the character's rejection of the "affected" and "phony" manners epitomized by Hollywood and its representatives. "Salinger's idea of joy and renewal," David Castronovo holds, "should be seen against the backdrop of Hollywood schlock; it's the awkward, hand-designed, and naïve sentiment that stands out against the formulaic and corny. Askew and spontaneous, the storyline is far from the calculated

mass product that Holden remembers from the movies" (111). However, by using the device of the flashback and by evoking *noir*'s unsentimental, realistic attitude, the novel itself, in a way, becomes a "cinematic" work.

Juvenile Rebellion and the Rhetoric of Disgust

I have argued in the first part of this essay that Salinger employs modes of representation in *The Catcher in the Rye* that we are already familiar with from the medium of film. As I will demonstrate in the following passages, the events of the novel are staged in a highly performative and tactile fashion. In the course of the narrative, a link decisively *physical* in nature is established between the reader and the text which goes far beyond the level of a simply imaginative relation.

The formation of this sentient access to the novel goes hand in hand with the establishment of the key motif of adolescence and especially the character's desire to rebel against his environment. Any time Holden encounters a problem or mental crisis, he begins to feel physically sick, with sensations of nausea and the impulse to throw up. When his history teacher Mr. Spencer uses the word "grand" in a personal conversation, Holden instantly experiences symptoms of illness. "Grand. There's a word I really hate. It's a phony. I could puke every time I hear it" (8). Holden perceives his environment on an intensely physical level. He reacts to new experiences not just mentally, but with his whole body. The theme of throwing up is repeated in various other passages. When Holden describes the plot of a movie he watches at Radio City Hall, he exclaims: "I could've puked" (125). He cannot even bring himself to continue his own story since it evokes in him feelings of disgust: "I'd tell you the rest of the story, but I might puke if I did" (125).

The novel familiarizes us with such situations and emotions on a deeply carnal level, connecting the subjectivity of the places where Holden has these sensations with our own subjectivities. We are invited to go through the events as if they were happening to *us*. In his study *The Anatomy of Disgust*, William Ian Miller explains that sensations of disgust touch us in the most immediate fashion: "Disgust undoubtedly involves taste, but it also involves—not just by extension but at its core— smell, touch, even at times sight and hearing" (2). In other words, the notion of disgust touches upon categories of tactility as well as upon those of purity and bodily shame.

Even when Holden is joking with others, his nausea will never go away completely: "I would've laughed, but I was afraid I'd feel like vomiting again" (182). Interestingly enough, Holden's environment seems to experience a similar impulse: "The cab I had was a real old one that smelled like someone'd just tossed his cookies in it. I always get those vomity kind of cabs if I go anywhere late at night" (74). By using the established

codes of bodily revulsion, Salinger enables us, on an intense somatic level, to relate to the tale and viscerally imagine the events.[11]

Since Holden seems to grasp his environment almost haptically, we have no other possibility but to engage in this carnal experience ourselves in order to follow the narrative. Another climax in this visceral portrayal of events is reached when the prostitute 'Sunny' comes to Holden's hotel room. Confronted with the prospect of having sexual intercourse with her, Holden feels more miserable than aroused. "Sexy was about the *last* thing I was feeling. I felt much more depressed than sexy" (86). The novel here speaks to us on the level of affections and uncontrolled bodily reactions. It is not so much the actual depiction of physical performances but rather the obvious absence of these acts which creates an impression of carnal immediacy. The prostitute sits on Holden's lap, but the actual intercourse never happens. Fittingly enough, the protagonist's excuse for not having sexual intercourse with the girl recurs to the realm of the physical—a fictive operation on his "clavichord." To the reader, Holden reveals the true reason behind his refusal to have sex with the girl: "She made me so nervous, I just kept on lying my head off" (87). Holden's "nervousness" is clearly connected with his unwillingness to have sex with the girl. The obvious tension between the presence of physicality and the rejection of immediate physical contact contributes to the novel's intricate aesthetics of tactile representation. Although Holden declines the prostitute's offer, his own physicality is still at the center of the narrative, dominating our view of the events.

The novel's aesthetics of tactile representation is connected to a rhetoric of madness which links the protagonist's verbal rebellion to a form of neurotic behavior. *Catcher*'s association of youthful protest with possible mental dysfunction can only be comprehended against the backdrop of what Philip Rieff has called, in his 1966 book by the same title, "the triumph of the therapeutic," namely the dominance of therapy culture in the American Fifties. Salinger's hero is a good case in point for Rieff's argument. In his fight against the "phoniness" in his environment, Holden repeatedly loses himself in wild daydreams, during which he is shot or otherwise physically harmed. At one point he actually starts to believe he is dying from cancer (176). Holden's fantasies of bodily disintegration, we are assured, are a consequence of the character's mental problems. Psychoanalyzed at the age of thirteen after having broken "all the windows in the garage" (34), Holden is taken to a sanatorium near Los Angeles at age sixteen

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11   Similar techniques of haptic narration are already used in the early version of the narrative published in *Collier's*. Here, a girlfriend of Phoebe's, Viola, is pestered by a housemaid's bad breath. As in *The Catcher in the Rye*, Salinger operates with italics to enhance the bodily effect of his tale. "'Her breath is always all the time bad,' Viola told me. 'Her *breath*,'" Phoebe said. 'She told Jeannette [the maid] her breath was bad[.]' 'Jeannette *breathes* on me all the time.'" The effect is an extremely visceral one, since we can vividly imagine the odor associated with bad breath (Salinger, "I'm Crazy" 48).

where psychoanalysts try to solve his problems (192). Despite his own claims that he is simply "crazy" (113),[12] we sense a dimension of vulnerability and sensitivity behind the character's oftentimes offensive behavior.

In an early passage in the novel, Holden meets the mother of a former school-mate on a train. To Holden's astonishment, the woman praises her son, a notorious roughneck, as a perceptive and sensitive young man. Holden's reaction is marked by astonishment: "Sensitive. That killed me. That guy Morrow was about as sensitive as a goddam toilet seat" (49). In the ensuing conversation with the woman, Holden decides to hide his inner disgust by pretending to be physically ill. He tells the woman that he has "this tiny little tumor on the brain" (51)—a fantasy that gradually takes hold of his imagination and later becomes a physical obsession. When he fantasizes about the possibility of actually developing this form of cancer, he has to think of "this sore on the inside of my lip" (176).

As Alan Nadel has trenchantly observed, *The Catcher in the Rye* constantly "anat-omizes Caulfield's personal behavior" (353). Holden's actions and reactions are scruti-nized as if they were, first and foremost, physical phenomena. The novel's "anatomiz-ing" of Holden's behavior must therefore be seen as an important part within a wider strategy of embodiment employed by Salinger. Not coincidentally, Holden's protest against the "phoniness" of his environment, uttered a stunning 33 times throughout the novel (3, 8, 12, 14, 22, 45, 56 & passim), is outlined along the boundaries of the body. Several times in the novel, Holden's hatred for the other characters' insincere behavior is manifested in a sensation of anguish and alienation—a feeling he refers to as "royal pain" (24). Only in a state of physical pain, it seems, is Holden able to cope with the uncertainties of day-to-day life. This association between the character's mental and his physical condition becomes obvious in situations marked by bodily confrontation. At one point, Holden tells us that he would never hit another guy in the face, no matter how critical the situation was. "I'd probably go down to the can and sneak a cigarette and watch myself getting tough in the mirror" (81). Yet, seven chapters before this state-ment, we learn that Holden can get so mad at his roommate that he tries to "sock him, with all my might, right smack in the toothbrush, so it would split his goddam throat open" (38).[13] Holden's assurances that he would never hit somebody in the jaw even

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12   Notably, one of the first published Holden-Caulfield stories in *Collier's* magazine is actu-ally entitled "I'm Crazy."

13   In another passage, Holden tells us the story of James Castle, "a skinny little weak-looking guy, with wrists about as big as pencils" who evades a physical conflict with an older guy at his college by jumping out of the window. The subsequent description is full of violent bodily imagery that associates the student's psychological decomposition with his physical disintegration: "He was dead, and his teeth, and blood, were all over the place" (153).

if that person stole something from him thus do not sound very convincing. Loaded with images of naked brutality, these statements rather reveal the visceral and latently aggressive character of Holden's *Lebenswelt*: "I'd rather push a guy out of the window or chop his head off with an axe than sock him in the jaw. I hate fist fights" (81).

The "physical response" that *The Catcher in the Rye* encourages in passages like this one—we are invited to visualize Holden's helpless rage and, to a certain extent, participate in it—is reminiscent of the strategy of tactile involvement used by Hollywood films. The somatic processes triggered and accelerated by such *tactile* texts can lead to what Vivian Sobchack calls the "ambient and carnal identification with material subjectivity" (65). The act of watching a film—or that of reading a literary text—may imbue us with sensations of intense physical involvement and even instant tactile shock. In her analysis of the opening sequence of Jane Campion's film *The Piano* (1993), Sobchack speaks of a blurring of the viewer's physical experiences when the heroine's fingers strike the keys of her piano. Confronted with nothing but a vague assemblage of visual allusions, the viewer already combines all these notions into one definable kinesthetic experience. "*[M]y fingers knew what I was looking at*," Sobchack summarizes her own experience of watching the film's opening sequence (63). The viewer's body, she contends, is enabled in such scenes to "connect" to the movie on a sentient level—that is, through the sheer force of the images and actions displayed on screen. The viewer is invited to mobilize all attention and tactile energy to make sense of the impressions:

> What I was seeing was, in fact, from the beginning, *not* an unrecognizable image, however blurred and indeterminate in my vision…. From the first (although I didn't consciously know it until the second shot), my fingers *comprehended* that image, *grasped* it with a nearly imperceptible tingle of attention and anticipation and, off-screen, 'felt themselves' as a potentiality in the subjective and fleshy situation figured onscreen. (Sobchack 63)

Likewise, *The Catcher in the Rye* utilizes a set of aesthetic patterns that enable the recipient to *feel* the actions experienced by the protagonist rather than to simply detect them. The story is structured in a distinctly *sensual* manner, employing images and plot devices that demand a visceral response. An important feature of this "carnal identification," to use Sobchack's terminology (65), is the discourse of sexuality. Published only three years after the Kinsey Report on male sexuality, *Catcher* incorporates many of the assumptions of the mid-century discourse on sexuality. While the original Holden-Caulfield stories published in *Collier's* (1945) and the *New Yorker* (1946) did not explicitly mention sexuality at all, the book version makes wide use of such references. As a constant subtext, the discourse of sexuality shines through in various anecdotes and metaphors, for example in Holden's repeated encounters with "F… you"

graffiti on school and museum walls (182–183) and in the stories about his roommate Stradlater whom Holden visualizes copulating with a girl in a borrowed car (37). "Most guys at Pencey just *talked* about having sexual intercourse with girls all the time… but old Stradlater really did it" (43). Earlier on, we are informed that Stradlater is "a very sexy bastard" who loves to hear stories about people walking around naked in their houses (28). Interestingly enough, such references are frequently combined with graphic descriptions of human bodies. In one passage, Holden mentions his friend Jane's stepfather, "[a] skinny guy with hairy legs" who "run[s] around in the goddam house, naked. With *Jane* around" (27). The focus on the sexualized body here forms a point of analogy between the experiential worlds negotiated in the text and the reader's own subjectivity.

Holden's emotional environment is literally filled with bodies. He is mysteriously attracted to them, but also recoils from them in an act of physical revulsion. This becomes clear in the characterization of Carl Luce and Mr. Antolini, two figures strongly associated with homoerotic, or even homosexual, behavior. When Holden meets Carl Luce, a former schoolmate from Whooton, in a swanky bar in New York, he is at once annoyed *and* excited to hear his never-ending stories about sex. "Old Luce knew who every flit and Lesbian in the United States was. All you had to do was to mention somebody—*anybody*—and old Luce'd tell you if he was a flit or not" (129). Alluding to the rhetoric of wild denunciation so typical of McCarthyism, the Luce passage also reveals the ambiguities within the negotiation of sexuality in U.S. postwar discourse. Although Holden suspects that Luce is "sort of flitty himself" (129), he keeps interrogating him about his private life. When Luce gets ready to leave, Holden even asks him to stay: "Please. I'm lonesome as hell. No kidding" (134).

The same ambivalent stance is recognizable in the portrayal of the figure of Mr. Antolini, Holden's former teacher, at whose apartment in New York he spends the night. Having fallen asleep, Holden suddenly awakes in the middle of night from a touch of Mr. Antolini's hand. He then jumps up in panic and stumbles out of the apartment, telling the readers, "I know more damn perverts, at schools and all, than anybody you ever met, and they're always being perverty when *I'm* around" (173). This scenario of "homosexual panic" (Arrell 60) must be understood in the context of the frenzy that followed the famous Kinsey Report from 1948, according to which every third American male had engaged in sex to orgasm with another man. As Leerom Medovoi maintains, Salinger's novel "could no longer depend on the sexual innocence of close male relationships" (264). Not only does Holden use the typical Cold War terminology against gays and lesbians (speaking of them as "perverts" and "flits"; 54, 55, 96, 129, 130, 173), he also employs a rhetoric that Americans were specifically familiar with from the infamous HUAC hearings (cf. Nadel 354–355). However, *Catcher* does more than simply echo the inflammatory language of McCarthyism. The two Antolini chapters (23 and 24) portray Holden's reactions

as desperately hysterical, while also constructing the homosexual as a positive, even model-like figure.[14] Holden's hysteria, manifested by the physical signs of shaking and sweating, stands in stark contrast to the information we have received so far about Mr. Antolini. In previous passages we have learned that he is "very nice" and "witty" (157)—"the best teacher I have ever had" (163). Although Holden will run away from Mr. Antolini's apartment in terror a couple of pages later, there is no indication or foreshadowing of this behavior in the previous sections of the novel. Holden even states that "you could kid around with [Mr. Antolini] without ever losing your respect for him" (163). We gain the impression that Holden is quite comfortable with his teacher and even admires him. The novel here satirizes and, in a sense, undermines the homophobic discourse of the postwar years. This is underlined in the section that follows the descriptions of the nightly incident at Mr. Antolini's apartment. In these passages, we find an unusually long description of the bodily symptoms that Holden experiences after the incident: "Boy, I was shaking like a madman. I was sweating, too. When something perverty like that happens, I start sweating like a bastard" (174). Holden's hysterical behavior functions as an illustration of the general paranoia regarding sexual deviance in the American Forties and Fifties. "That kind of stuff's happened to me about twenty times since I was a kid," the narrator tells us in his usual tone of blunt exaggeration (174). By employing the rhetorical techniques of overstatement and parody, the novel deconstructs the well-known stereotypes of bodily deviance as specters of a hysterical imagination.

Holden's mixed emotions towards other peoples' bodies reveal a lot about the character's world view. The adolescent body here emerges as a continuous site of embattled identity. The process of growing up is conveyed as an agonizing act of discovering and eventually coping with one's unruly and non-conformist body scheme. In the novel's first chapter, a whole passage is devoted to Selma Thurmer, the headmaster's daughter, who is described as "a pretty nice girl" with an awkward physical appearance and a vaguely disproportionate anatomy (163). Selma's idiosyncratic body scheme is constructed as a reflection of Holden's own ambivalence and insecurity: "She had a big nose and her nails were all bitten down and bleedy-looking, and she had on those damn falsies that point all over the place" (2). In this passage, we sense Holden's own timidity in dealing with issues of physicality and sexuality. When Holden later visits the Museum of Natural History, he curiously observes one of the exhibits, "that squaw with the naked bosom" (109). In yet another chapter, Holden unfavorably compares his own body to the athletic physique of Stradlater. "He was a very strong guy. I'm a very weak guy" (26). Holden's feelings of uncertainty and his lack of self-confidence seem to break through

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14   In the original version of the story in *Collier's*, Holden himself is sitting at somebody's bed—that of his sister Phoebe—looking at her admiringly as she sleeps (Salinger, "I'm Crazy" 51).

when the character is touched in a "sexual" way by Mr. Antolini. After fleeing to a nearby recreational area, Holden happens to read in a magazine, which he finds on a park bench, an article on the effect of hormones on the human body. He immediately feels sick: "[T]his damn article... described how you should look, your face and eyes and all, if your hormones were in good shape, and I didn't look that way at all. I looked exactly like the guy in the article with lousy hormones" (176). Holden's strong reaction towards the article shows that his psychological crisis also involves elements of bodily self-awareness. The novel here plays with images of a *carnal subjectivity*, in other words, it portrays the character's mental and physical condition as two sides of the same medal. In the context of the American 1950s, this mode of tactile representation was capable of inducing in the reader reactions similar to those displayed by the protagonist himself. A look at the reception of the novel in the early Fifties shows that Holden Caulfield's own hysteria regarding the disorderliness of the body and the challenges of sexuality was obviously shared by many readers, however, with a different accent. When *The Catcher in the Rye* was published in 1951, it was vehemently rejected by conservative critics for its allegedly "crude," "profane," and "obscene" language. Other critics were worried about the innocence of the American postwar generation, a concern equally mirrored in Holden's furor against the obscenities scribbled on school and museum walls. Curiously enough, those who admired *The Catcher in the Rye* were also able to relate to the text on a corporeal level. In a way, the novel's rhetoric against *phoniness*, even though associated with a teenager's narrow-minded and rebellious perspective, anticipates and mocks the lurid responses that followed the book's publication (Whitfield 69).[15]

Conclusion

It has been the aim of this essay to show that the act of reading Salinger's novel is based upon an aesthetic of *carnal identification* which turns the book into a *cinematic text*. The love-hate-relationship between the protagonist and the cinema is vital to an understanding of the literary aesthetic of *The Catcher in the Rye*. Salinger's book not only mimics its character's cautious acceptance of a "movie-made" environment, which is part of his coming of age. It also literally absorbs and reconstructs the aesthetic patterns

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15   The canonization of *Catcher* in schools and universities was strongly disputed. Although some colleges and universities had adopted the book as "required or supplementary reading" by the early Sixties, religious and conservative groups attempted to ban the book from the reading lists. "In perhaps most communities in the United States," Everett T. Moore noted in 1961, "teachers of English who assign or recommend the reading of such a book… and their librarians who stock the book, are risking censure from parents or others who have strong objections to exposing youngsters to this kind of literature" (Freese 187).

attributed to cinematic fiction. In this regard, *The Catcher in the Rye* almost functions as a cinematic event, establishing a close connection between the materiality of the written text and that of our imagination.

In his last letter to Werner Kleeman from February, 1969, Salinger declared that he no longer aspired to "go back anywhere in the flesh" (Pitzke, "Best Always"). As in a good film, however, the "Salinger Text" does not need the author's physical presence. In the carnal world of *The Catcher in the Rye*, the text itself is flesh enough to replace the author. Salinger must have realized this when he decided to retire from public life in the 1960s, from then on letting his fiction do the talking.

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Regeneration Through Acquisition: Undoing the Pastoral in Sam Peckinpah's *The Ballad of Cable Hogue*

Abstract: The article explores the deconstructive use of the pastoral in Sam Peckinpah's film *The Ballad of Cable Hogue* (1970). The film is singular in how closely it recreates the pastoral configuration of space as described in Leo Marx's "Pastoralism in America." However, Peckinpah evokes pastoral images and sentiments in order to raise questions about the validity of the pastoral as an entrenched American symbolic narrative in the face of specific contextual factors, especially possessive individualism as an important manifestation of transactional relations in capitalism. By constructing a metaphor of the exploitation of nature by man, Peckinpah addresses, even if by way of implication, the issue of ecological consciousness.

Keywords: Sam Peckinpah, *The Ballad of Cable Hogue*, the pastoral, possessive individualism, environment

This article examines *The Ballad of Cable Hogue* (1970), Sam Peckinpah's most unusual Western, in reference to the American pastoral tradition so as to suggest the possible ways in which the film addresses the environmental issues at the time of its production. With its insistence on the protagonist's oscillation between settled and unsettled areas, the Western in general evokes pastoral spatial notions and resulting sentiments more palpably than any other American narrative genre. Despite the conventionalization of the pastoral in the Western, *The Ballad* remains a singular film in how literally it represents the tripartite pastoral space comprising an urban settlement, a wild territory, and a borderland, as described in Leo Marx's seminal "Pastoralism in America." The first fifteen or so minutes of the film introduce the three elements that determine its spatial imagery, and the action is mostly set at a place proudly called Cable Springs—a waterhole and an adjacent building—located in a desert mid-way between two towns somewhere in Nevada or Arizona. In a word, this is a miniature version of the borderland. However, Peckinpah begins to undermine the values encoded in pastoralism even before the associations that it furnishes can be fully recognized. As the opening credits unfold, we see a series of shots of Cable Hogue on a divided screen, as he walks

on through the desert with increasing difficulty because of his exhaustion and a violent sand storm. By far, this is the most symptomatic image of the forces of nature in the whole film, and it anticipates the illusions of pastoralism which Peckinpah suggests only to undo them. The director's unique variety of the pastoral results from the pairing of tone and context. With respect to tone, the combination of mockery and nostalgia yields a demythologizing strategy which, nevertheless, leaves a space for a reaffirmation of the pastoral as an emotionally charged, culture-specific narrative paradigm. This kind of reinvention of a familiar trope is possible thanks to the employment of a predominant comic mode with a tragic twist. With respect to context, Peckinpah addresses possessive individualism as a category that testifies to the permanence of and concomitantly reveals the pitfalls of the capitalist hierarchy of values. By articulating the conflicts inherent in the uses of the natural environment in a democratic nation thriving on a corporate economy, *The Ballad* engages in a dialogue with the discourses of environmentalism, shaping the contemporary imaginings about man in relation to nature.

Leo Marx locates the origins of the modern European and American versions of the pastoral in the ancient Near East because this is when the defining features of the pastoral, especially those regarding the specificity of space and of human attitude, first became manifest. At the roots of the pastoral, there is an experience of space, as it were, and it shapes human sensibilities, ultimately establishing intellectual and ideological horizons. What is crucial for this kind of experience is a movement between civilization and wilderness and an exposure to the symbolic orders of values ascribed to these two realms: civilization creates sophisticated individuals, but at the same time it has a corrupting influence on them, whereas wilderness can regenerate humans, but it stimulates their savage instincts. The pastoral space is where a balance between the two domains can be achieved thanks to the mediating work of the shepherd. This "liminal figure" stands for "a complex, hierarchical, urban society" when seen "against the background of the wilderness," and epitomizes "the virtues of a simple un-worldly life, disengaged from civilization and lived... 'close to nature'" when seen "against the background of the settled community with its ordered, sophisticated ways and its power" (Marx, "Pastoralism" 43). Marx meaningfully adds: "To mediate in this context means, quite literally, to resolve the root tension between civilization and nature by living in the borderland between them" (43). Peckinpah reminds us that, in the historical context of the American West, the use of pastoral tropes was not meant to alleviate tensions, but rather to create certain tensions and channel them appropriately. In *The Ballad*, the borderland is not a space of mediation, but of expansion—despite a very small scale—a space where predatory tendencies prevail. The borderland is where the outposts of civilization are built, and *The Ballad* tells the story of such an outpost. As Annette Kolodny puts it in her discussion of the figurations of womanhood in the discourses of American colonization: "casting a stamp of human relations upon what was otherwise unknown and untamed" already meant "civiliz[ing] it a bit" (9).

The inscription of human relations into a natural landscape entails an imposition of a power structure whose character depends, in no small degree, on the figurative conceptions that underlie the perception of that very landscape. In his discussion of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* as a text projecting the metaphors that informed the understanding of the design of English colonization in the Elizabethan era and in crucial ways influenced the later idea of American expansion, Leo Marx speaks about the regimes of power that were conceptually attached to the metaphors of the garden and the wilderness. The garden "conveys an impulse-centered, anarchic, or primitivistic view of life"; therefore, "[t]o depict America as a garden is to express aspirations still considered utopian—aspirations, that is, toward abundance, leisure, freedom, and a greater harmony of existence" (*Machine* 42–43). The wilderness, by contrast, is a "violent image" and as such it "expresses a need to mobilize energy, postpone immediate pleasures, and rehearse the perils and purposes of the community" (43). In *The Ballad*, the wilderness and the garden constitute the film's central dialectic, perhaps best captured in the phrase "cactus Eden" which one of the characters coins to describe the uniqueness of Cable Springs. This dialectic does not have an easy, predictable resolution. The wilderness does not naturally evolve into a garden as a result of human settlement, and even if it appears to, the inherent regime of power does not need to change in the process. Paul Seydor has identified *The Tempest* as an important reference for *The Ballad*, claiming that the essential common feature is the convention of the storm which signifies "revelation": "we seem to burst through one kind of existence into another where time ceases to exist.... However, it is only a trick of perception, and the instant passes quickly enough" (234). The film revolves around an interplay of appearances or illusions and crudities, with the pastoral as a narrative medium furnishing meanings which can be repeatedly rejected and restored.

Due to its most conspicuous forms of emplotment, *The Ballad* has been called a story of love and a story of revenge (cf. Seydor 222–230; Gourlie 121–124), but at the background of the love-and-revenge plotline the film tells a story of settlement. Indeed, throughout the film we follow the successive stages in the process of settling a place. Having set up a few bare signs of permanent human presence that imply a title to ownership, such as an encircled waterhole, Cable goes to the nearest town and finalizes the purchase of two acres of land. We then see him collecting an assortment of planks which he miraculously finds in the desert; in this, interestingly, he resembles Robinson Crusoe searching for bits and pieces of wreckage from his ship. We briefly witness Cable and his occasional companion Joshua, a self-appointed minister of a non-existent church, building a house. Then they bring in various fixtures, most notably a "city bed," a symbol of urban comfort. It's not that Cable longs for the urban life—the opposite is true, in fact—he just has a weakness for beds. When prostitute Hildy comes to stay for a time at his place before going to San Francisco, they enact a domestic fantasy and virtually live as husband and wife. As Paul Seydor points out, Hildy brings "grace, civility, and

charm" into a place marked by the signs of male activity: "the house is built, the corral is finished, the business is under way, the place is well supplied" (241). Admittedly, this sequence stands out in the film as a result of an overstylized presentation of the couple's amorous affair. As they sing a song together and the colorful images are so different from the film's predominant imagery, *The Ballad* nods toward the genre of musical comedy. Such an unusual reference should not divert our attention from the fact that the domestic fantasy marks the fulfillment of Cable's effort at settlement. In his clean and neat clothes, he assumes a new persona—a patriarch. Accordingly, he finds an heir who will take over Cable Springs, even if a rather accidental one. The man in question is Bowen, Cable's former companion who once did not hesitate to leave him to die amidst the dry land. As he humbles himself before Hogue and begs his mercy, he is unexpectedly reborn as his successor; the filial connection is suggested by Bowen walking around in his long johns, just as Cable used to. Importantly, by paying close attention to the stages of settlement *The Ballad* envisages the West as a process rather than a region (cf. Hausladen 6–7).

By far, the most symbolic occurrence in the course of Cable's settlement is when he pulls up an American flag he has received from a coach driver. When he first holds it in his hands, he cherishes it for a while and seems to be truly moved, and so do the few people gathered around him. This scene evokes very meaningful appearances; first and foremost, it falsely suggests a redemption of Cable's selfishness, as he enrolls in a national endeavor. In reality, however, once the flag has been pulled up a pole, it becomes one of the many fixtures at Cable Springs and ceases to signify any kind of patriotic obligation to the hero. After a lofty moment, things get back to normal; a ritual has been enacted, and the presence of the flag does not ennoble Cable's intentions by any means. The film thus shows that national enterprise and individual interest are parallel, but randomly convergent pursuits. It is exactly this randomness that disrupts the teleology of expansion which emphasizes the interdependence of national and individual strivings as embodied, for example, by the historical heroes of the American West. Paradoxically enough, it is hard to say what Cable actually strives for. To make another reference to Robinson Crusoe, it can be said that just like the shipwreck who has saved a sack of money from the ship and now ponders its uselessness, Cable does not have much use for the money he has earned from selling water to a coach company. He has bought a fancy bed and new clothes and improved the water installation—this is as much the images imply about how he spends the money. He possesses all that he needs under the circumstances, and yet he exercises strict monetary rules, as if he were unable to control the imperative to have more. There is something fundamentally illogical about such an attitude unless imbalance constitutes a norm. All in all, Cable's motivation boils down to an almost instinctive possessive drive, and this feature, far from being accidental, reflects the degree to which the protagonist has internalized specific requirements of his culture. Or it signifies something opposite, given that we

know next to nothing about the hero's background or his exposure to particular cultural factors—namely that the very basic capitalist principle of owning more arises from an innermost human need. If this is the case, pastoralism turns out to be an artificial way of combating excessive, but essentially natural human tendencies.

Cable literally bites into the land, and although he does not reach into the interior any further than he has to, the metaphor of consumption thus evoked carries important meanings. The opening shot of the film shows a lizard on a stone; the close-up makes it appear big, and perhaps this is how a starved man perceives the animal. This man is Cable and he will not satisfy his hunger; his companions Taggart and Bowen shoot the lizard and take it away, together with his rifle and horse. The fact remains, however, that in the opening picture the desert serves the hero what it has best—the lizard may not taste well, but it has beautiful colors—on a plate because this is what the flat stone looks like. Later on, this initial metaphor is enhanced by the scene in which Cable and Joshua offer a meal to a group of coach passengers. They enjoy the meal immensely and even ask for extra helpings until one of them asks the hosts about the ingredients of the "desert stew." Joshua mentions "breast of quail, dove thighs," and Cable continues to recite the recipe: "rattle snake, ground squirrel, black gopher, horny toad, grasshoppers for seasoning and pack of rats and prairie dogs to fill in." The guests spit out the food, stand up and quickly walk away from the table. Despite such a comic twist, the metaphor of consumption is a serious one as it helps to illuminate the question of necessity. In a sense, the film proceeds from necessity to opportunity, but it soon becomes apparent that there is not much difference. The film's very beginning puts emphasis on necessity as conditioned by the instinct of survival, but there is an immediate switch to opportunity which necessitates a series of actions. In this way, by virtue of sequential logic, pursuing an opportunity becomes a necessity. And thus consumption resulting from hunger does not differ drastically from consumption resulting from greed because one is not less natural than the other. Consumption expresses human possessive nature which surfaces when outside conditions allow, and in *The Ballad* they do, as reflected in how easily Cable gets a bank loan to establish himself in the desert and how quickly he makes a deal with the coach company. As a matter of fact, Cable is much more interested in creating and sustaining such conditions than in consumption *per se*.

While Cable can be seen as an embodiment of the American expansive spirit, there is one thing about him that contradicts the logic of expansion—his immobility. He is confined within the limits of his two acres; all in all, he feels indifferent about such a situation, but he has moments of doubt, even if infrequent. At one point he says: "Well, sometimes, I wonder what the hell I'm doing out here." This would be an understandable enough self-reflection if there were another and better place for Cable to belong to, but there is not. His spatial identification remains vague; he expresses his dislike of towns—"In town I'd be nothing. I don't like being nothing"—but this is the only existential alternative that has been mentioned at all. As Michael Bliss observes:

"Cable seems unable to exist profitably outside of the desert, where his assertions of self must be viewed as the solitary voice of one crying in the wilderness, a voice that, subsumed by those of other people, would be reduced to merely another noise within a frightfully loud din" (139–140). Although in his speech at Cable's funeral Joshua says that he "loved the desert," nothing in the film confirms this. Whatever options for life the hero would have toyed with, they are bound to be abstractions. Cable deludes himself that his stay in the desert is temporary—"Right here I have a good start," he says as if he intended to establish himself elsewhere after a time—but he ends up right where he started. Such a positioning of the protagonist within the space is starkly at odds with the pastoral imaginings. Leo Marx writes: "What is attractive in pastoralism is the felicity represented by an image of a natural landscape, a terrain either unspoiled or, if cultivated, rural. Movement toward such a symbolic landscape also may be understood as a movement away from the 'artificial' world" (*Machine* 9). The possibility of movement is thus essential in pastoralism, whereas *The Ballad* puts emphasis on settlement and immobility. For the people who stop at Cable Springs for a brief rest, the owner has merged with the meager architecture to the point of becoming a human landmark, as it were. The only direction of movement that is possible for Cable is the opposite of what Marx has described; it is a movement toward the town where he is "nothing." Importantly, this one-directionality strongly implies that Cable Springs is an extension of the civilized territory, and not a pastoral space of mediation. Carolyn Merchant thus describes the role of ownership in "the emergence of civilization from the state of nature": "Laying out an orderly grid on the landscape enclosed land within a boundary, creating the potential of its ownership as private property. Outside the boundary was disorderly wilderness, inside ordered civilization. The civil was thus imprisoned within the wild" (74–75).

Peckinpah's film offers an exaggerated, stingingly ironic view of ownership, and the theme is introduced early on, in the opening sequence, when upon parting with their companion Taggart and Bowen tell him: "It's all yours, Cable," meaning the desert sand. Immediately after discovering the waterhole, Cable begins to define himself through his "possession": "Me and my waterhole." These words express the symbolic power of language in determining the rules of ownership and, more generally, a whole range of contractual social relations. Getting his name written down in the register of land owners is a life-changing experience for the hero, who happens to be illiterate. Indeed, his illiteracy makes his reliance as an owner on the symbolic power of language appear even more conspicuous. In no time does Cable with his waterhole become a part of a larger network of entrepreneurial activities, which also includes a bank and a stage company. The film also touches upon the moral aspect of ownership; in one scene, when feeling embittered, Hildy openly alludes to Cable's extreme ruthlessness as an owner as if there were no better way to offend him. In Peckinpah's film, there is a symptomatic tension between the concern with ownership and the pastoral imag-

inings, and pastoralism provides a contrasting frame of reference for the economic ideas addressed in *The Ballad*. As a mobile figure, the shepherd moves within a wide orbit and heeds no limits, which signifies the possibility of loosening the strictures dictated by the rules of ownership. Therefore pastoralism functions as a symbolic foil for economically motivated interference with the landscape, but itself lacks economic viability.

Carl Abbott writes: "Managed water—and mismanaged water—is one of the central stories of the modern and modernized West. It is a story of utopian dreams and corporate power, of semisuccessful democracy... and bitter conflicts among Indians, ranchers, farmers and environmentalists" (89). In their discussion of environmental themes in Westerns, Robin L. Murray and Joseph K. Heumann observe that "water-rights films from [Gene] Autry's *Man of the Frontier* and *Rovin' Tumbleweeds* to Sam Peckinpah's *The Ballad of Cable Hogue* foreground an environmental history that valorized both water and land as property—a fair use model resting on conquest more than conservation" (82). There is a crucial difference between a fair use and a wise use of natural resources: the former model presupposes unrestrained development leading to economic prosperity, which in turn facilitates the working out of the best solutions for protecting the environment, whereas the latter model postulates sustainability and limited development with a view to ensuring the well-being of the future generations (83). The Westerns that tackle the issue of water rights usually provide a justification for the rule of fair use. Murray and Heumann make a reference to Richard Slotkin's fundamental differentiation between two styles of interpreting and applying the Frontier Myth: "progressive" and "populist." The progressive style "reads the history of savage warfare and westward expansion as a social parable, explaining the emergence of a new managerial ruling class and justifying its right to subordinate lesser classes to its purposes" (Slotkin 22). By contrast, the populist style measures progress "by the degree to which the present state of society facilitates a broad diffusion of property, of the opportunity to 'rise in the world,' and political power" (22). The water-rights Westerns consistently employ the populist style and typically pit the powerful representatives of the nascent corporate class against a weaker but morally superior class of farmers. However, as Murray and Heumann conclude, "Missing from the conflict... is the environment, the water and land for which they fight. Ultimately, both progressive and populist views of progress rest on an empire-building model that exploits resources and desecrates the environment. Whether the empire sustains either the few or the many, the environment suffers" (104). Peckinpah reinterprets this conflict by having Cable enact it single-handedly, as he changes from a vagrant into an owner and learns entrepreneurial rules and skills, thus, in a sense, coming to occupy the middle ground between the two groups usually involved in the fight over the right to water. Such a portrayal of the character strongly suggests a convergence of the progressive and populist myths of the frontier.

Despite the presence of themes that repeatedly undermine pastoral associations, in *The Ballad* it is the pastoral that constitutes a narrative paradigm into which the hero's story has been inscribed. This is best reflected in Joshua's funeral pseudo-sermon which concludes the film, and it is worth quoting his words in full:

> Cable Hogue was born into this world, nobody knows when or where. He came stumbling out of the wilderness like a prophet of old. Out of the barren wastes he carved himself a one-man kingdom. Some said he was ruthless. He charged too much, he was as stingy as they come. Yes, he might have cheated, but he was square about it. When Cable Hogue died there wasn't an animal in the desert he didn't know. There wasn't a star in the firmament he hadn't named. Now the sand he fought and loved so long has covered him at last. He never went to church. He didn't need to. The whole desert was his cathedral. He loved the desert. He built his empire and was mad enough to give it up for love.

In his speech, Joshua insists on the connection between pastoralism and possessive individualism and creates an illusion of its naturalness. He romanticizes Cable as a man who loved the desert, embraced its creatures and named the stars—none of which is confirmed on the screen—and concomitantly reminds the few mourners about his ruthlessness and stinginess, speaking about these proclivities with understanding. Moreover, Joshua implies that the pastoral economy inevitably evolves into a form of capitalism for the simple reason that the maximazation of profits is an absolute principle. In the funeral speech, Cable's story unfolds in accordance with the mythical story of American Adam: he is a man of unknown origin, endowed with a potential that leads him to the establishment of "a one-man kingdom" (cf. Seydor 248). By alluding to the Adamic myth, Peckinpah's film mythologizes Cable as a hero, but at the same time it undermines the myth through a reductive, economic reinterpretation. Cable seems to have discovered a purpose in life only after learning that the waterhole is located by a stage route and realizing that it can be profitably used.

Given the various reversals of the pastoral in *The Ballad*, it is justified to consider the film as an example of the anti-pastoral insofar as it "expos[es] the distance between reality and the pastoral convention when that distance is so conspicuous as to undermine the ability of the convention to be accepted as such" (Gifford 128). However, the conclusion of the film comes with a twist that makes one wonder about the continuing cultural validity of pastoralism. After the coincidental arrivals of Bowen, Hildy and Joshua at Cable Springs, there comes a short happy period, directly preceding the main hero's death. The characters begin to resemble a community, to care for one another, which may hint at the regenerative influence of the place. In a truly melodramatic fashion, Cable renounces his unrelenting business philosophy for the sake of love—he says he is ready to leave with Hildy for San Francisco—and he generously names Bowen his successor. Presently a widow, Hildy is a respected

woman and behaves in a wifely manner. Bowen takes up an honest job, perhaps for the first time in his life, and he will make sure that what Cable had built will not be wasted. Joshua offers a sincere blessing to the three, as he has no selfish interest to pursue at Cable Springs. A sudden cessation of the happiness ushers in a nostalgic tone. Symptomatically, even if the characters experience transformations, they are not fully aware of that and, for sure, they would not identify nature as a factor behind personal change. This is why *The Ballad* is a far cry from "the post-pastoral," which is characterized by "an awe in attention to the natural world" (Gifford 152). If anything, Peckinpah's film is the opposite of the post-pastoral, thus it engages in a critical dialogue with the contemporary discourses of environmentalism which have helped to heighten the consciousness of man's presence in nature which Gifford associates with the post-pastoral.

The history of the American West has played an important role in the shaping of American ecological consciousness as this historical process powerfully articulates two issues that are crucial for the ways of thinking about man and the natural environment: the inevitability of development and the necessity to control it. In the decades following the Second World War, the states located in the western and southwestern regions were among the fastest developing parts of the United States. In *The Mythic West in Twentieth-Century America*, Robert G. Athearn demonstrates that the quarter of a century after the war witnessed "a phenomenal surge in the West's population, which has left statisticians scrambling to keep up" and provides some telling statistics: "In 1947, about one out of every nine Americans lived in the seventeen westernmost states. By 1980, about one in five did.... After 1960, the population of the mountain and southwestern states has grown usually twice as fast as that of the Northeast and the Midwest" (205). Market conditions during the war increased the profitability of farming and cattle breeding, and the boom thus started continued well into the time of peace. A number of military facilities were established in the Western states, both scientific centers and army bases for all kinds of troops; Athearn quotes relevant statistics: "In 1976 the government spent $ 32.00 per person on defense industry in New York but $ 275 in Colorado" (206). The infrastructure of transportation grew at an impressive pace, which in turn contributed to the increasing popularity of western tourism and accelerated the commodification of the West. Athear writes: "Along the highways in the West an average of a thousand new motels appeared each year between 1945 and 1960, and with them, countless restaurants, service stations, and false fronted gift shops selling rubber tomahawks, leather vests, hats of great gallonage, and other 'authentic' frontier gimcracks" (207). It goes without saying that all this would not have happened on such a great scale if it had not been for the West's resources: timber, gas and oil. It is not accidental, therefore, that the attention of preservationist organizations focused on the West. Their efforts to control the growth of urban areas or industrial enterprises and to defend the natural expanses culminated in the ratification of the Wilderness

Act of 1964 which "carved out fifty-four areas from the national forests—9.1 million acres, all of it in the West—and decreed that they would be kept safe and secure from all development whatsoever" (Athearn 213).

By the time Peckinpah made *The Ballad*, it had become evident that the problem of nature was not only a regional concern, but a national and a global one. Suffice it to say that 1970, the year the film was released, saw the launch of Earth Day, an initiative proposed by US Senator Gaylor Nelson and aimed at raising ecological consciousness among the Americans. Given the variety of contexts in which the questions of ecology were raised, it comes as no surprise that the conceptions of nature grew in prominence in the symbolic discursive sphere in the 1960s and 70s. When set against the contemporary issues of environmentalism, Peckinpah's film can be seen as a critique of the mythicized notions of nature and the ways in which they have been applied in real conditions. What tells a lot about the cultural climate of the time when *The Ballad* was produced is the fact that the release of the film coincided with the publication of Charles A. Reich's *The Greening of America* (1970), a very popular book projecting a social fantasy derived, albeit not exclusively, from pastoral imaginings. Reich's work combines utopianism, pastoralism, idealism and radicalism in an attempt to put forth a call for a revolutionary renewal of the nation before the fulfillment of a technological apocalypse many harbingers of which he notices in the contemporary reality dominated by machines. The writer talks about three stages in the development of American consciousness. Consciousness I, representative of the pre-industrial era, combines an Adamic character with an entrepreneurial attitude, therefore it balances certain positive and negative features: "plainness, character, honesty, hard work" alongside "self-interest, competitiveness, suspicion of others" (23). Consciousness II is connected with the emergence and solidification of the Corporate State which exacts absolute obedience of the people for whom it has created an illusion of support. Consciousness III, anticipated and welcome, is the mindset of the rebellious youth from the 60s who want to retrieve the ideals of individualism and establish a dehierarchized national community based on a fundamental principle of honesty toward oneself and others. Admittedly, the role of nature in the new order is expressed through platitudes: "The new consciousness.... seeks restoration of the non-material elements of man's existence, the elements like the natural environment and the spiritual that were passed by in the rush of material development" (382). However, Reich's pastoralism does not have that much to do with the idea of nature as such as with the overall vision of all Americans living in a space in which everything has been perfectly balanced, and all constitutive elements of the reality have been reduced or expanded to what the writer believes to be the right proportions.

Clearly, *The Ballad* undermines the kind of utopian pastoralism that informs *The Greening of America*. To begin with, the film unmasks the illusion inflated in the title of Reich's book; Peckinpah's "green" America invariably has a faded, grayish shade, the

color of the bushes growing in the desert. First and foremost, however, Peckinpah's critique has to do with ideas and values, not with the use of imagery. He emphasizes one crude fact that the likes of Reiche would refuse to acknowledge: self-interest never abates, and this law of life, so to speak, manifests itself on a grassroot level in particular. Cable's determination to collect money from every single visitor who drinks water at his place and his inability to spend what he has earned attest that self-interest is a lasting tendency, even if it turns into its own parody. Challenging pastoral social fantasies, Peckinpah poses a question whether Americans strive for balance or, on the contrary, seek self-empowerment through some form of symbolic expansion, for example in the professional, communal or intellectual domain. Not only is it impossible to erase egoistic motivation, but it is such motivation that triggers off larger processes once the effect of scale has been achieved. Joshua thus envisages the future growth of Cable Springs: "I foresee a great community springing out of the sand, busy thoroughfares, alabaster buildings, a thriving community filled with the faithful." These words, like everything else that the preacher says, should be taken with a pinch of salt, but the vision they convey should not be easily dismissed. The Puritan City Upon a Hill has been replaced by a city in the desert, but the analogy is unmistakable: both imaginary cities epitomize the course of development as decreed by God, history or yet another force that man simply must obey. Interestingly, Joshua's vision seems to evoke the "White City," the symbol of American progress displayed at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893: "The centerpiece of the Exposition.... was the 'White City,' an architectural extravaganza in ersatz marble the pinnacle of Euro-American civilization, the original 'alabaster city... undimmed by human tears'" (Slotkin 63).

The literary work that comes closest to *The Ballad* in terms of setting and imagery, while it represents an ideological opposite, is Edward Abbey's *Desert Solitaire: A Season in the Wilderness* (1968), describing the author's experiences and observations from the time when he served as a seasonal park ranger in Arches National Monument in Utah. Although the time of action covers only six months, from April through September, it registers his memories from the first two years of his work as a park ranger. The similarity to Thoreau's *Walden* is not accidental, and it's not primarily structural. Abbey, a future environmental activist and prominent member of the organization called Earth First!, recreates the Thoreauvian myth of the spiritual exploration of nature in a completely new historical context. In essence, he learns to understand what it means for a human being to be a part of the universe: "By taking off my shoes and digging my toes in the sand I made contact with that larger world.... All that is human melted with the sky and faded beyond the mountains and I felt, as I feel... that a man can never find or need better companionship than himself " (121). The desert becomes an emanation of the most fundamental laws of life that extend beyond the realm of humanity: "Completely passive, acted upon but never acting, the desert lies there like

the bare skeleton of Being, spare, sparse, austere, utterly worthless, inviting not love but contemplation" (300–301). Understandably, in comparison with *Walden*, *Desert Solitaire* conveys a much stronger sense of urgency, which results from the recognition of the threat posed by development and of the necessity of preventive action, hence the didactic overtones in Abbey's work. Whether Abbey's self-myth is utopian (Phillipon 233–239) or romantic (Knott 111–132), the pastoral plays a crucial role in its narrativization. His pastoral attitude is characterized by escapism, albeit with an addition of pragmatism as he functions within an institutional structure. The point is that Abbey's pastoralism defines his position in a conflict of values, and therefore it forecloses the space for mediation instead of opening it.

In *The Ballad*, the desert landscape does not represent any transcendent quality, and the complete absence of the signs of sanctity from the natural environment justifies all the possible ways in which it can be used by man. Peckinpah thus defines man in relation to nature in strictly utilitarian terms, and, at the same time, he ironizes a downright utilitarian attitude by ascribing religious connotations to it. Frank Burke argues that "the religious imagery, patterns, and characterization of *Cable Hogue* are primarily derived from the Old Testament" (141). The critic goes on to say that the protagonist "is clearly and pointedly defined by two Old Testament quotations voiced by other characters in the film: 'Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away' and 'Vengeance is mine saith the Lord'" (142). There is yet another biblical quote that applies to Cable with equal adequacy, especially to his effort at settlement: "God blessed the and said to them, 'Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth and subdue it'" (Gen. 1:28). Although Cable does not father any progeny, he proves to be capable of establishing symbolic familial relations with Hildy and Bowen. And there is no doubt whatsoever that he does subdue the earth, and comes about this task very literally. Therefore—paradoxically—the religious allusions to be found in *The Ballad* testify to the reduction of Cable's life to its bare physical dimension. As Burke puts it, Cable "remains trapped in a principally physical existence. Not only does he stay tied to a single geographical place, his life become characterized by physical acts: providing water… killing Taggart, getting hit by a car, dying" (141).

Although *The Ballad* portrays a contrasting attitude toward nature, it does not aim to counter the kind of idealized view of man amidst the wilderness as that articulated in *Desert Solitaire* with a more probable story of greed and exploitation; rather, when seen in the context of the environmental writing of the day, it confronts one myth with another. First and foremost, Peckinpah's allegorical and mythopoeic film narrative helps to identify the processes of symbolization and mythologization. The director emphasizes their cultural validity and, at the same time, calls for a critical reassessment of the effects of symbolic constructions on real-life alternatives. When analyzed in a larger cultural context, *The Ballad* enables us to see how easily the pastoral—an entrenched, emotionally charged, symbolic narrative paradigm—becomes ideologized through dis-

cursive uses in a broadly defined public sphere. Such discursivization of the pastoral is inevitable, given the cultural history and continuing appeal of its tropes. What matters, in the end, is the ability to see the nuances of symbolization and to strike through the illusions which it creates.

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Joanna Perzyna

ABC's *North and South (Book I and Book II)* Miniseries as an Expression of Reaganite Ideology

Abstract: The article examines the compatibility of David L. Wolper's adaptation of *North and South (Book I and Book II)* with Reaganite ideology. It discusses the modifications of the original text (characters and events) to demonstrate how a Civil War novel has been transformed into a mirror image of Reaganite America. Wolper's TV adaptation forms part of Ronald Reagan's governing narrative of building one and strong America. The positive investment in the past—sanitizing or eliminating socially divisive issues, such as slavery and promoting core values such as family—helps to reach the national consensus on history that everybody (Southerners and Northerners) can identify with. Wrapped in the 1980s aesthetics of opulence, Wolper's adaptation conveys a message of America's greatness, attainable under the Lincoln-Reagan rallying cry "we must all stand united as Americans."

Keywords: John Jakes, *North and South*, David L. Wolper, adaptation, Reaganite ideology

John Jakes's *North and South* (1982)*, Love and War* (1984), and the ABC adaptation (1985–1986) expressed the perception of the past characteristic of Reagan's America. The neo-conservative times required a neo-conservative interpretation of history. The prefix "neo-" alludes to not entirely conservative values that Reagan marketed, such as consumerism. Debora Silverman states that "the purpose of the 1980s aristocratic movement is… to promote the transience, discontinuity, and novelty required by the engines of consumerism" (x). And not the pursuit of universal truths!

As Toby Glenn Bates correctly observes, the prosperous 1980s (however illusory this prosperity may have been because it had been based on Voodoo economics[1]) were particularly propitious for relativizing history (10). In his rhetoric, Ronald Reagan

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1   Voodoo economics, as practiced by Ronald Reagan, implied cuts in tax rates to boost the economy. Contrary to what was expected, the measure increased the federal budget deficit. It was none other than Reagan's vicepresident-to-be, George H. Bush, who critically assessed the efficiency of Reagan's proposal and termed it "voodoo economic policy" ("1982 Voodoo Economics—www.NBCUniversalArchives.com," YouTube video, 1:34, posted by "NBC News Archives," March 8, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o8hnM6xNjeU).

soothed what needed to be soothed—two failed presidencies and a lost war—and he
emphasized what needed to be emphasized and had already been forgotten: the Amer-
ican ethos. Due to the Reagan agency, in Joseph Heller's terms, the Americans realized
again that "it's better to *live* on one's feet than to die on one's knees" (315). To get up off
her knees, the America of early 1980s relativized the *sasha*, the lost War in Vietnam
and the veteran,[2] and clung to the *zamani*, the "old-timey days" of the Civil War.[3] After
the passage of a century, the memory of the fratricidal conflict was less painful and
commemoration served a purpose. While legitimizing a national reconciliation, the
discourse of the American Civil War validated the local identity: it celebrated *e pluri-
bus unum*. Ronald Reagan's rhetoric reflected masterfully the Civil War discourse: the
Confederate narration (Reagan's long-standing commitment to fight the "big govern-
ment" and promote the states' rights) and the Union rhetoric (determination to build
one strong America) at the domestic and national levels. According to Gary Gallagher,
Reagan's contribution to the resurgence of interest in the American Civil War stems
precisely from his impact on "changing public attitudes toward the use of military
strength as a tool of national policy" (4).

Television succumbed to the President's narration: it was, after all, "a gathering place
for vast numbers of people" (Adams 119). Inspired by the Reagan discourse, the writer
John Jakes and the TV producer David L. Wolper settled the score with the American
history. They rewrote it so that it could accomplish one specific goal: reconciliation and
the embrace of the Reaganite battle call: "when it comes to keeping America strong,
when it comes to keeping America great, when it comes to keeping America at peace,
then none of us can afford to be simply a Democrat or a Republican—we must all stand
united as Americans" (Reagan). The positive investment in the past and the elimination
of "disturbing issues" produced a salutary effect; it boosted America's deflated ego, this
"overwhelming wish to think well of ourselves" (Chomsky and Herman 305).

Unwilling to appreciate the presence of Reaganite ideology in the miniseries,
the critics unanimously dismissed David L. Wolper's[4] adaptation of *North and South*

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2   John Rambo in *Rambo: First Blood Part II* was very explicit about the sense of alienation he
     felt, voicing his anger in a new wave of patriotism typical of Reagan's America: "I want, what
     they want, and every other guy who came over here and spilled his guts and gave everything
     he had, wants! For our country to love us as much as we love it! That's what I want!"

3   This is the perception of Tom, one of Bobbie Ann Mason's Vietnam War veterans in the
     novel *In Country* (1985). Tom's town, Hopewell, seems to be catching up to the Civil War
     period, at least in its collection of "antique" memorabilia: Tom's mother shows off an ox
     yoke on the living room wall and Lonnie's mother uses the horse collar as a frame for a
     mirror.

4   David L. Wolper was an executive producer involved in the production of such TV
     miniseries as *Lincoln* (1974–1976), *Roots* (1977–1978), *The Thornbirds* (1983), and *The
     Mystic Warrior* (1984). Interestingly, *The Mystic Warrior*, a loose adaptation of Ruth

(Book I). Gary W. Gallagher demeaned the value of the ABC adaptation due to the clichéd content and "steamy soap operatic dimension of the episodes" (8):

> which offered uncomplicated heroes and villains, in all the usual categories—attractive plantation owner, vicious slaveholder, wild-eyed abolitionist, lustful young woman, mixed-race heroine, and so on. A few minutes into the series, I concluded that the principal direction must have been something like, 'A little more over the top, if you please'—advise clearly headed by Patrick Swayze, Kirstie Alley, David Carradine, and, in an inspired bit of casting, Wayne Newton as a sadistic Confederate prison commandant. (8)

John J. O'Connor criticized the adaptation for its consumerist approach in his review for *The New York Times*:

> Offered by the network as a 'grand tapestry' depicting the lives and loves of two American families 'entwined during the stormy 20 years leading up to the Civil War,' this gaudy, silly, even insulting television adaptation of *North and South* is merely another example of TV producers playing with their blocks of audience research and constructing an entertainment toy that has less to do with American history than cheap titillation gimmicks filched from an average episode of *Dynasty*. (O'Connor)

Interestingly, not only "cheap titillation gimmicks" were filched from *Dynasty*: also the costuming extravaganza and the interiors of the *North and South* miniseries were reminiscent of the Reaganite-Carringtonian taste.[5] The promo photographs of *North*

Beebe Hill's novel *Hanta Yo*, fomented discord between the writer and the producer and made the former literally "foam at the mouth with rage" (Miller 11) over the differences introduced to her original story. Importantly, there was not any necessity to disguise animosity on the set of *North and South*; on the contrary, the congenial atmosphere, as Ron Miller pointedly notices, manifested itself in the fact that Rachel Jakes, John Jakes's wife, made a cameo appearance as Mary Todd Lincoln. As for the changes that scriptwriters introduced in the plot, they were done ad libitum. John Jakes proved to be very acquiescent as he believes that the book is larger than life and cannot be influenced by any adaptations. Moreover, in a truly Reaganite "cash in" spirit he stated that once he had traded the rights to a novel, he preferred to keep silent unless "he ha[d] something nice to say about the project" (11).

5   Belvedere (Calhoun Mansion), Mont Royal (Stanton Hall) and Carrington mansion (Filoli) are very much alike. Curiously enough, Resolute (Greenwood Plantation House) displays chinoserie-like wallpaper that Mrs. Reagan was so fond of. Nancy Reagan manifested her aesthetic preferences in the renovation of the White House bedroom in 1981, which she decorated with hand-painted Chinese wallpaper (Silverman 54).

and South and *Dynasty* casts represented an American white affluent family in their heyday. Conspicuously, Ronald Reagan's inclusive America provides but a tenuous representation of minorities. Were it not for Madeline (Lesley-Anne Down), "a mixed race heroine," the *North and South* promo picture would lack the presence of African Americans.[6]

In his scathing review, the thundering John J. O'Connor not only lambasted the miniseries for being a duplicate of the Reaganite prime-time soap opera, but also derided the oversimplification of the original story. O'Connor calls a spade a spade when he refers to David L. Wolper's television miniseries as "blatantly cheap nonsense":

> *Clearly eager to appeal to all sections of the country*, the production presents some of the most divisive and inflammatory issues of American history as some sort of difference of opinion between gentlemen. Orrie [*sic*] (Patrick Swayze), a Southerner, does confess early on that 'some of us feel slavery is outdated.' And George (James Read), a Northerner, agrees: 'Oh, I know. My family owns an ironworks and we've got labor problems, too.' Basic morality seems to be beside the point... when all else fails, Mr. Wolper and his staff are sure to come up with a fistfight, featuring the loud, juicy thuds of flesh hitting flesh or, as in *Roots*, the whipping or torturing of some slaves. For added spectacle, there are two duels, two West Point graduations with marching bands, and several weddings. (O'Connor, emphasis added)

Aware of the conciliatory tone of the adaptation, John J. O'Connor nonetheless failed to recognize that the emphasis on "fistfights, whippings, duels, West Point graduations with marching bands and weddings"—all in all, a mixture of action, adventure and rite—was not gratuitous. It served as camouflage. As George Lipsitz pointedly observes in his study of early network television: "In actions and adventure shows, no embarrassing retentions of class consciousness compromise the sponsors' messages and no social connections to ethnic history bring up disturbing issues that might make programs susceptible to protest and boycotts" (73). So action, adventure and rite constituted manifestations of conscientious subversion. Of the three, the time honored rite permeated the neo-conservative revision of the past, bypassing anything slightly hinting at *niebłagonadiożnost* (political incorrectness).[7]

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6   In *Dynasty* Blake Carrington's mulatto sister, Dominique Deveraux (Diahann Carroll), became a regular cast member in Season 5.

7   Compared to *Roots* (1977), the *North and South* adaptation is politically regressive for David L. Wolper. Wolper's recipe for a mega-hit ratings miniseries is very pragmatic: "It should be based on a major best-seller (a costume epic, if possible), be a story of major sociological significance and deal with a major historical event or character" (qtd. in John J. O'Connor).

David L. Wolper's opus generically meets all the requirements of a TV drama as defined by Peter Brooks for melodramas: "the indulgence of strong emotionalism; moral polarization and schematization; extreme states of being, situations, action; overt villainy, persecution of the good, and final reward of virtue; inflated and extravagant expression; dark plottings, suspense, breathtaking peripety" (11–12). Moreover, in terms of structure, the adaptation of *North and South (Book I and Book II)*, concocted in a truly Proppean fashion, resembles Jane Feuer's matrix plot of 1980s made-for-TV populist trauma dramas. According to Jane Feuer, each populist trauma drama of the Reagan era juggles the following eight clichés:

1.   The family represents the ideal and norm of happy American family life.
2.   A trauma occurs.
3.   The victims/parents seek help through established institutions.
4.   The institutions are unable to help them and are shown to be totally inadequate.
5.   The victims take matters into their own hands.
6.   They join a self-help group or form a grass-roots organization.
7.   The new organization is better able to cope with the trauma, often having an impact on established institutions.
8.   Normality is restored (however inadequately). (25–26)

The properly defined self-help groups or grass-roots organizations in *North and South* are traceable in the ranks of the abolitionists and the secessionists that Virgilia Hazard and James Huntoon join respectively. Both instances suggests that the established institutions—the federal government in this particular case—fail to cope with the necessities of individual citizens and force them to "take the matters into their own hands" and remedy their problems elsewhere. Now this twisted reading is much against the political correctness of the 1980s. What is not politically incorrect, however, is definitely the emphasis put on the Reaganite family.[8] Jane Feuer's plot matrix constitutes a cycle: the movie begins with the picture of a happy family and, although never explicitly stated, the movie should end with one as well. That is precisely how the adaptation of *North and South (Book I and Book II)* is structured. The first five minutes of the miniseries (*North and South Book I*, Episode 1) introduce the audience into a non-John Jakes imagery. Two girls richly attired appear against

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8   *North and South*'s *(Book I and Book II)* postmodernist reading à la Feuer shows how pro-marital the miniseries actually was: Wendy Kilbourne (Constance) and James Read (George) married in 1988, Genie Francis (Brett) opted for an older Hazard and she and Jonathan Frakes (Stanley) married in 1988. Although Kirstie Alley (Virgilia) was already married to Parker Stevenson (her little brother Billy), she confessed to Barbara Walters that she and Patrick Swayze (Orry) fell in love with each other on the set. Be that as it may, a careful viewer senses something more than hatred when Virgilia delivers one of her famous jeremiads in front of Orry.

an impressive mansion, jumping merrily, with their hands clasped together, to the rhythm of a lively "Eggs Ashton" tune. Frolicking, they take us on a tour of a bountiful plantation as they traverse the lodges and pass groups of neat slaves who go to their daily chores. The viewer even catches a glimpse of an overseer. The girls run past black field workers toward a river. This is when careful readers of the novel get on the track as they identify the scene with the incident that takes place some eighty pages into *North and South*, namely the egg episode. When the girls find a green heron's egg, little Ashton removes it from the nest, and when ordered by her companion to put it back, she retorts defiantly: "If I can't have it, nobody can"[9] and crashes the egg. In consequence, the fight ensues. Then the careful readers are at a loss again as the fight is being interrupted by a mammy-like character who hurries the sisters to say goodbye to their big brother. Only then do the captions emerge to inform us about the time and place: MONT ROYAL PLANTATION, NEAR CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1842. A young gentleman ("the attractive plantation owner") cantering on a Sport-like sorrel[10] is approaching the main house. Out from the main entrance come an elderly gentleman and a ladylike woman who gives instructions to a black young house servant on Mr. Orry's trunk. The young maid assures the lady that it has already been seen to and, dismissed, she resumes her place among other house servants. Outside, the whole family, broadly defined, has gathered together to bid farewell to the young gentleman. The lady gives some words of warning and the elderly gentleman, urged by his wife, voices his opinion on his son's achievement: "I want you to know I'm very proud of you. It's no small thing for a man to have a son at West Point." Finally, the two little girls arrive, empty-handed but for a violet flower that one of them hands to Orry who decides to treat it as a token of their sisterly love and, surprisingly, of his love of Mont Royal. He hugs his sisters, takes the bridle from Priam, the groom, and off he canters. Just before crossing the gate, he takes a final glance at his family and home and waves them goodbye. Riding the long and wide lane, he passes some other slaves who lift their caps to salute their master. All this happens as the music reaches a crescendo.

Despite its apparent naïveté, the scene carries a powerful ideological message. The *mise-en-scène* of Orry's farewell, nonexistent in John Jakes's trilogy, not only evokes an American normality preceding the outbreak of the Civil War (Feuer's *raison d'être* of picturing a happy family prior to a traumatic occurrence), but also reveals nostalgia for the lost past. From the beginning to the end, the scene depicts a bucolic idyll: the romanticized antebellum plantation reality. The children, little Ashton and Brett, jumping carefree in their pantalets among working slaves, serve more as tour guides than as anything else. Logically, the children represent the innocence and one would think

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9   Little Ashton appropriated a good deal of "I want it all and I want it now" approach to life typical of Alexis Morell Carrington Colby Dexter.

10   Sport is one of America's four famous horses; the other three are Cochise, Buck and Chub.

they were introduced here to avert the audience's eyes from such a "disturbing issue" as "the peculiar institution" and relieve the tension as the audience mainly focuses on their behavior. However, this is not the case here because we do not sense any tension in the opening scene. On the contrary, we see an extremely ordered reality with a lot of purposefulness. The slaves perform their tasks dutifully, faced with as much control as the overseer's magisterial gaze can exercise. In fact, the overseer is just a passive observer, which only increases the impression that the slaves work willingly. Furthermore, Tillet Main, judging by his grandiose mansion, is not just a common planter; he represents the planter elite. With the house slaves and family members gathered around him, he assumes the role of a paterfamilias à la Rome, an ideal to which the New Right aspired, disappointed with the crisis of patriarchal authority caused by 1960s lax families. Tillet Main restores the patriarchal authority as he exercises power over the members of his extended family. He does not speak; he makes pronouncements. Even a short conversation with his son gives us an insight into the hierarchy of the Main family. Orry has a great reverence for his father as he addresses him briefly "Sir," positioning Tillet far behind such affectionate American father figures as Ben "Pa" Cartwright. What is more, David L. Wolper, for reasons best known to himself, manipulates Orry's motives behind going to West Point. We learn from Orry's conversation with George en route to West Point that he expects to receive the best available education there, while John Jakes informs us explicitly in *North and South* (the book) that Orry was determined in his pursuit of a military carrier: "He would be a soldier no matter what anyone else thought" (135). Without knowing that, however, we still see that Orry's reaction in the farewell scene from Episode 1 is not particularly convincing and we sense that he goes to West Point against his will and rather to fulfill his father's dreams. Still, he enrolls in the academy, in accordance with his father's express wish. Any generational conflict is but tenuously delineated, if not visibly suppressed, in the TV series. "I'll do my best for you" denotes an obedient son's pledge not to compromise his father's expectations. Lastly, the ever present love that permeates the farewell scene softens the autocratic character of the family. The mission has been accomplished—what we see is what we get—the portrait of a caring family, living harmoniously with an enslaved community, and it is the positive emotions thus evoked, if not circumstances, that we identify with. The first scene deplores the lost innocence of America and inspires nostalgia for the good old days, especially if contrasted with the last three minutes of *North and South Book II*.

Portraying pre-trauma normalcy, Wolper devotes a lot of effort to conveying the message of bonanza and prosperity of the antebellum elites, applying strictly Reaganite aesthetics of opulence (making the audiences oohing at it). While John Jakes's trilogy is populated with the well-to-do, Wolper's adaptation visualizes their magnate category through gilded accouterments. Ronald Reagan with his boyish admiration for the captains of industry contributed to the upgrading of the status of entrepreneur in

the 1980s. For Reagan, the wealth was "obtainable in American society through hard work and talent" and the display of wealth came as a package deal and was "a deserved reward" (Silverman 43). This is precisely the kind of comments that the female attendees of Ronald Reagan's 1981 inaugural balls made about Nancy Reagan's expensive wardrobe. Mrs. Reagan, "a Sunbelt beauty" (Silverman 43), showing off gowns by Bill Blass, Adolfo and Galanos (autochthonic couturiers), was but a mirror of her husband's success. Nancy Reagan—"a 'professional lady' who spent her days with Betsy Bloomingdale, Jean Smith, Mary Jane Wick, and Marion Jorgenson on the complex work of maintaining a youthful and elegant appearance" (Silverman 41)—sent a message of acquiescence to the invitees to the inaugural balls. And the message was duly noted: "Now we know it's all right to buy grand clothes again without looking out of place" (Silverman 43). Supported by his wife, Ronald Reagan liberated the haves from the guilt of wealth. In the 1980s it was in fashion to be rich and to show it off. Corporate social responsibility (the obligations as imposed by wealth and externalized by the old business aristocracy—the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, the Vanderbilts—in plentiful donations) was a minor issue.

Reagans' style served as a model to be emulated for Ronald Reagan's new aristocracy, the celebracy.[11] The ostentatious display of wealth produced a psychological effect. Leo Lerman of *Vogue* claimed that "People want to see well-being, which gives them a sense of security" (qtd. in Troy 57). Now Aaron Spelling was ready, willing and able to provide the sense of security to each and every single ABC's viewer by launching *Dynasty*. Emphatically, Wolper's miniseries (another ABC production, mind you) constitutes an ectype of *Dallas* and *Dynasty*. Therefore, the Hazard clan who rules Hazard Iron in the industrial Lehigh Station and the Mains, "the cotton kingdom magnolia" aristocracy, represent nineteenth-century variations of oil magnates the Ewings or the Carringtons. Curiously, this is where the adaptation departs considerably from the novel again: the careful readers remember the Mains as rice planters. Obviously, the change was not coincidental. Rice never acquired the status "the king cotton" did. Firstly, cotton typified the South, and secondly, it was symptomatic of wealth. The *crème de la crème* of the southern society, as understood by the producer, had to deal with cotton industry.

In his pursuit to demonstrate that the American wealth exists per se, Wolper dispenses with the ways in which the Hazards and the Mains achieved their affluence. This is precisely the case of John Jakes's "Prologue: Two Fortunes" which never was

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11   Barbara Goldsmith in her 1983 article on "The Meaning of Celebrity" dissects the motley crew of a Manhattan dinner party: "a United States Senator, an embezzler, a woman rumored to spend $60,000 a year on flowers, a talk-show host, the chief executive officer of one of America's largest corporations, a writer who had settled a plagiarism suit and a Nobel laureate."

televised. The charcoal burner's boy and the aristocrat, the patricide and the trader of "halfbreeds," Joseph Hazard and Charles de Main, the founders of the dynasties, fall victims to strict censorship. Curiously, it is not the only time the inglorious past, not to say shabby beginnings, have never made up their way to the television screen or have been manipulated in the Reagan era. Susan Jeffords, in *Hard Bodies: Hollywood Masculinity in the Reagan Era*, gives an example of Marty McFly, a fictional character of *Back to the Future* (1985), who rearranges his past to secure a prosperous future:

> The film's opening showed a McFly family in which the father was a wimp who delighted in *Three Stooges* comedies, the mother was an alcoholic, the uncle was in jail, the brother worked at a fast food restaurant, the sister could not get any dates, and the house was a cramped collection of junk and trash.
>
> But after Marty's intervention in the past, he returns home to find an immaculate and well-furnished house, his parents returning from a morning tennis game, his brother dressed in a suit and tie and heading for his office, his sister not able to keep track of the many boys who call her, and himself with the truck he had coveted parked in the garage. (69)

What is it, if not the satisfaction of social mobility expectation inculcated into the minds of Americans by Ronald Reagan himself, the son of an alcoholic father who became President of the United States? The tale of progress and self-improvement as defined in Reagan's favorite book *That Printer of Udell's* (1903) by Harold Bell Wright constituted the pillar of the American dream. The McFlys, from a blue-collar, pathological family metamorphose into members of a privileged social group. By opposition, the Hazards and the Mains do not have any complexes to cure as their wealth is already there. Their rags-to-riches story being censored, the producer does not have to rearrange any "disturbing issues" that the past conveyed. He complies with the consensual requisite for representing the American history as "uninterrupted progress" which implies evading the questions of right and wrong regarding the American past.[12] The governing narrative of the 1980s required a successful American family whose conscience would be clean and whose wealth would not depend on slave trade.

Moreover, the adaptation of *North and South* draws from the long-lasting American tradition—starting with Selznick's *Gone with the Wind* (1939)—of romanticizing the South. Pre-trauma normalcy emphasizes the southern ethos: defending honor through duels (action, adventure and rite), mastering fencing and riding (action, adventure and rite), assuming paternalist attitude towards slaves (rite) and the presence of southern

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12   According to James W. Loewen, the author of *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*), this is precisely how American history textbooks teach history in high schools.

belles (rite). Fifty years changed nothing as Americans still wanted to cherish what the majority could not: the aristocratic roots. Orry Main, as created by Wolper, is a panacea for this ill: blueblooded, chivalric to the bone, a terrific horseman and a fencer. Orry displays all these features in a cult scene of the saber fight with Elkanah Bent (Philip Casnoff) from Episode 1. Curiously, this time we appreciate Wolper's contribution as the saber fight has nothing to do with the original plot of the novel. Bent, having humiliated Fisk during fencing practice, seeks another victim and chooses Orry as his next rival. The first feint assures Bent that the fight will not be as easy as he thought. In the course of one minute and ten seconds, Bent Quickly passes from the offensive to the defensive and, as a result of unrelenting attacks and lunges, unable to riposte, he trips and falls down on his back. Orry assumes the same position as Bent did when he defeated Fisk: he stands over him, leaning the top of his saber on Bent's throat. The tension eases at the sound of a mess call, ordered by a West Point instructor. Saved by the bell, Bent stands up, collects himself, and dismisses the cadets. George approaches Orry and asks him where he learned how to handle a sword like that to which Orry simply replies: "My father thought it was something every southern gentleman should know so he gave me a lesson." Now there is nothing like a good southern education! Apart from providing us with an instant gratification for all Bent's wickedness, the scene mythologizes southern lifestyle and martial skill, flattering the audiences of the Sun Belt.

Jim Neilson, in *Warring Fictions*, defines literary culture as "an institution [that] is bound up in and dependent upon capitalist social relations, it has tended to aestheticize rather than elaborate the historical, social and political dynamics of literary texts" (15). Thanks to the aestheticization of the past, social historians focus on individual experience. In the case of the adaptation of *North and South (Book I and Book II)*, individual experience is limited to the love plot that involves Madeline and Orry. Moreover, as Nina C. Leibman pointedly notices in her analysis of *Peter the Great*, another historic miniseries of the Reagan period, "all political issues, historical failures and achievements are represented as *family* problems" (6, original italics). For this reason, any incident that ruptures the tranquility of the family can be identified as the traumatic occurrence according to Feuer's plot structure. This is why we trace multiple traumas in the adaptation of *North and South (Book I and Book II)*, among which two play key roles: George and Orry's quarrel at Lehigh Station, provoked by Virgilia, "the wild-eyed abolitionist," and the farewell scene at the outbreak of the Civil War. The quarrel scene is climatic as the bonds of the friendship are tested. Once George extends the olive branch to Orry already in Mont Royal, the friends make peace and only then can they face the trauma of the war.

Wolper pictures the Civil War as an internecine warfare, wreaking havoc mostly in the South. In the best tradition of *Gone with the Wind*, the intertitles at the beginning of Episode 5 of *North and South Book II* inform the viewer explicitly that: "Events have

slowly changed in favor of the North. The war has stretched the resources of both sides to their limits with the South suffering the most dramatically." Interestingly, the adaptation slowly changes in favor of the South. The South suffers the shortages of food and while men are away, women become the defenders and the breadwinners: Clarissa (Jean Simmons) protects at gunpoint the house from being burned by the Union cavalry and Brett and Madeleine—just like Scarlett and Melanie—cultivate the land. While Jakes was reticent to send his characters to the battlefield—of the four, only Charles Main and Billy Hazard were professional soldiers and of the two, only Charles engaged in combat action as a scout (whereas Billy was safe with "his gear in the rear" as an engineer)—Wolper, on the contrary, rearranges the plot so that the male characters face as much combat as possible, since battlefield heroism was highly valued by the audiences of Cold War Reagan-Era America. In the adaptation, Billy gets a transfer to a brand new elite Sharpshooters Regiment. When Billy (Parker Stevenson) explains his transfer to Brett (Genie Francis) in *North and South Book II*, Episode 1, he verbalizes the call of duty as understood by Ronald Reagan: "I'm a soldier. Soldiers are just supposed to fight. Our ancestors fought so that the United States could be a free nation. I have a chance to be a part of it, to make history." A few minutes later Orry states the southern cause in a way alluding to another set of Reagan values: "I never wanted this war. But we would be without pride, without honor if we let North tell us how to live. There are some things worth fighting for, Madeline, this land, our families, our way of life." Thus formulated, the northern cause and the southern cause are equally legitimate. Placing the characters in the thick of the battle serves the purpose of dramatizing the story: it makes the war plausibly fratricide. The effect is achieved already at Manassas when Billy spies Charles (Lewis Smith) in the Confederate cavalry and evades the confrontation by ducking down when Charles jumps over the log that Billy uses as a stockade. The war escalates and the characters become increasingly radical. When Billy and Charles next meet at Antietam, they aim at each other. The awful suspense ends with the canon explosion which interrupts the confrontation: Charles finally withdraws. But the most dramatic incident occurs during the Battle of Petersburg in which General Orry Main and General George Hazard finally encounter each other on the battlefield. They do not assault each other, but they vent their spleen on the enemy army in general.

The film's representation of war trivia resembles Ronald Reagan's celebracy world: "everybody knows somebody." Orry and George are on first terms with Presidents Davis (Lloyd Bridges) and Lincoln (Hal Holbrook); they are their confidants. The presidents, on the other hand, are father figures for Orry and George—unlike in the novel where they are casual acquaintances (in Orry's case, the relation with Davis is rather bitter). Now, George provides Lincoln with an expertise on Union generals and he personally recommends Ulysses S. Grant (Anthony Zerbe) as a commander-in-chief. George is also a special presidential envoy to Tennessee, communicating the appointment to Grant. Moreover, George's marriage seems to be modeled on the Reagan couple,

with the role of confidant reserved for the wife. When Captain Bradley visits George in Belvedere to talk about the investigation against defective weapons made by Axol (Stanley Hazard's side business),[13] George says explicitly: "unless it involves military secrets, I have nothing I wanna hide from my wife" (*North and South Book II*, Episode 5) and insists that Constance (Wendy Kilbourne) be present during the conversation.

According to Alicia R. Browne and Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr., "many audiences still want to hear the crash of gunfire and the roar of artillery" (66), so the Civil War is all about combat action. But the war, being a perfect mixture of action and adventure, sanitizes "disturbing issues," too. This is the case of Brett's and Semiramis's journey to the south in Episode 2 of *North and South Book II*, absent from the book. The bond between a southern belle and her black maid grows stronger as the two experience a series of hardships (loss of carriage, apprehension by the Union soldiers) during which they stand up for each other. We have an impression of equality which serves to deflect attention away from Semiramis (Erica Gimpel) who, by going south, in fact travels back to serfdom.

Faithful to the Lost Cause tradition, Wolper upholds the legend of Robert E. Lee (William Schallert) and his skills as a military commander in the miniseries. Additionally, he portrays Abraham Lincoln from a 1980s perspective: the president avoids vituperation by his political opponents—the "hag-ridden creature who haunts the Executive Mansion and daily heaps more disgrace upon his office" (Jakes 815), as the readers learn from *Love and War*—but he is the father of the nation, a man on a divine crusade, greatly respected by his fellow men.

To conclude, the Civil War mostly constitutes the background for the development of the relations between the Hazards and the Mains. The fratricidal conflict provides the characters with many crucibles, making them choose between state loyalty and ethics. This is the case of Virgilia, an abolitionist, who abhors the Southerners and has to attend to a wounded Confederate officer. This is also the case of Orry, a Confederate general, who betrays his country to rescue his friend George from Libby Prison. The war is wrong but the characters are moral victors.

Sexuality, considered definitely a "disturbing issue," is one of many instances that the Reaganite ideology takes its toll in the ABC adaptation. Pointedly, Wolper imposes Victorian morality upon his positive characters. Firstly, after his tête-à-tête with Alice Peet and prior to the intimacy with Madeline, Orry lives a celibate life, drowning his passion in alcohol. In the book, he does that too, but he also meets a mistress for sex. He has very little of the platonic lover that Wolper wants us to believe the protagonist to be. Moreover, Madeline Fabray also has a premarital liaison, which the producer

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13   More explosive than its literary counterpart in *Love and War*—"disgrace to the cordwainer's trade": "two eyelets—only pegs twixt the sole and upper" (Jakes 98–99) bootees that hardly can survive the mud and snow.

prefers to suppress as she falls into a category of "long suffering martyrs," the first of the two available alternatives for female characters in the 1980s miniseries, according to Nina C. Leibman (7). Madeline fits this category perfectly: married to a sadist, she is one of many brutalized wives that made their way to the TV screen in the 1980s.[14] David Carradine, with his memorable cruel face, does more than justice to Justin LaMotte as conceived of by Wolper. As a matter of fact, David Carradine and Lesley-Anne Down were nominated for Golden Globes as best supporting actors in 1986. It proves just how much the audiences were concerned about domestic violence. With a view to dramatizing Orry's and Madeline's love story, Justin's presence in the miniseries is more prominent than in the book. In the book, he dies from a wound he incidentally receives in his bottom and a subsequent infection, while in the miniseries he falls down from a window after a fight with Orry. This is another climatic moment in the adaptation. In the best of styles of 1980s manhood, as epitomized by John Rambo, Orry storms the Resolute plantation, deals single-handedly with Justin's bodyguards, breaks the door to the main house and fulfils a promise once given to Justin: "If you ever try to take Madeline back, you'll have to kill me first. And if you ever set foot on my property again… I'll kill you on-site" (*North and South Book I*, Episode 6).

As a beloved of an *aristos* character,[15] Madeline has to be equally virtuous. Wolper portrays chastity in an old-fashioned way. Lesley-Anne Down, with her constant blushes and flutters and dropping eyes, produces an effect contrary to the intended one; as Gordon Thompson puts it: "when a virgin blushes, she already knows too much." With Madeline's premarital affair erased from the script, it is Ashton ("the lustful young woman") who steals the show with a marvelous performance on her *prima nocta*. This could technically happen as Ashton (Terri Garber) had a libertine past too; by the time she left West Point, she had gathered seven fly buttons. Ashton falls into the second category of female characters, namely "back-stabbing nymphomaniacs," which refers to women seeking power and implies a "misplaced sexual role modeling" (Leibman 7). Thus, she incarnates the "1980s Reaganite fantasy" about women who exert "the influence… on men through their appearance and seductive behavior" (Silverman 63). The *prima nocta* scene has two goals: 1) to portray Ashton, according to the convention, as an effective manipulator, and 2) to portray James (Jim Metzler) as a cuckold husband. Cuckold though he is, James's pride is not injured as the whole truth about

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14   The other being Nancy (*Independence Day*), Francine Hughes (*The Burning Bed*), Celie (*The Color Purple*) and Tracey (*A Cry for Help: The Tracey Thurman Story*).

15   Whose essence is best caught by Marti D. Lee in her article "Aristos or Aristocracy? Alliances in *Emma*," where she applies this term to protagonists that reveal: "compassion, mental and emotional strength, innate intelligence, an existential sense of responsibility, and high moral standards to measure a character's worth, a natural aristocracy rather than a social hierarchy imposed by civilization."

him is never actually exposed, and the whole truth is that James Huntoon was "an inadequate lover" (Jakes, *North and South* 519), the circumstance Ashton often points out in private in the book. Seen from this perspective, Ashton's promiscuity looks like an assertion of the female right to sexual satisfaction. This possibility proves to be subversive as it undermines male authority (a wife complaining about her husband's "bed inefficiency") in general, and the Reaganite patriarchal discourse in particular. Ashton challenges Orry, the head of the family after Tillet's death, on more than one occasion. With Huntoon's ineptitude glossed over, the morally outraged audience can pass a judgment on Ashton, "an adulteress with no respect for marital vows."

Virgilia Hazard (Kirstie Alley), her involvement in the Harper Ferry assault notwithstanding, falls into the category of "a back-stabbing nymphomaniac" literally. Undoubtedly, Virgilia was judged as a subversive character and she had to be punished for challenging patriarchal discourse of the 1980s. The adaptation visibly dramatizes her original story. She is shown as a fanatical abolitionist. As Orry epitomizes the South, she ostracizes him. Each time the Hazards and the Mains socialize, she disrupts the peace between the families. She therefore threatens the holy union between the North and the South. Virgilia Hazard challenges openly the nineteenth-century ideal of true womanhood,[16] still appealing to Republican voters in Reagan's era: she is neither domestic, pious, submissive nor particularly pure. Unlike in the book, in the ABC adaptation Virgilia marries Grady (Georg Stanford Brown), a former slave; marriage being more acceptable than concubinage, according to the network's judgment. By marrying Grady, not only does she give "a significant sexual twist to her politics" (O'Connor), but also she poses a threat of miscegenation to white America. After Grady's death, the force that rules her life is hatred. In abject poverty, she shuns the help of the sacred and unerring institution, the family. She becomes the protégé of Congressman Sam Greene (David Ogden Stiers) in order to secure her economic sustenance. Unfortunately, the relationship is not purely platonic and Sam starts prostituting Virgilia in exchange for his favors[17]; yet another LaMotte relationship based on abuse. Once she realizes that Sam lied to her, Virgilia shoots him. Crime has to be punished, and Virgilia is executed. Needless to say, Jakes had a different plan for Virgilia: in the novel, she survives the war even though she perpetrates more evil than in the miniseries. In *Love and War*, as an army nurse, she premeditatedly murders Confederate Lieutenant O'Grady (strange coincidence); in the adaptation, on the other hand, a wounded Confederate soldier bleeds himself to death after undoing the clamp. Virgilia's behavior—her disrespect for male authority and rejection of the family—was too much to tolerate for the conservative America of the 1980s. Additionally, Kirstie Alley's style of acting was peculiar to the point of derangement. Barbara Welter's "The Cult of True Womanhood"

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16   As elaborated by Barbara Welter in "The Cult of True Womanhood."

17   *Pretty Woman* was yet to be filmed.

is unequivocal on the issue of derangement: "the frequency with which derangement follows loss of virtue suggests the exquisite sensibility of woman, and the possibility that, in the women's magazines at least, her intellect was geared to her hymen, not her brain" (156). Thus, the final assessment of Virgilia is based on the recognition of an imprecisely defined sexual disorder, obscuring the big cause she stands for.

Elkanah Bent's role has also been considerably modified by Wolper. The feisty and flamboyant Georgian with an inflated ego, played by Philip Casnoff, has nothing to do with the pachydermic Ohioan we know from the novel. In the miniseries Elkanah Bent becomes a victim of gentrification à la Selznick, travelling quite a way from Ohio fields to Georgia parlors. Gentrification makes Bent eligible as Ashton's beau whose dominium of *ars amatoria* is never questioned. Interestingly, Bent's unflinching virility in the miniseries serves to mask his sexual preferences we know from the novel: his conspicuous bisexuality, with a tinge of pedophilia. Obviously, the emphasis on morality in the Reaganite ideology excludes any hint of sexual perversion. Particularly, in the period when AIDS took a heavy toll, especially of gay men, even the evildoers had to be straight.[18] Invented as he is, Bent represents another imperative of the Reagan era, namely the esthetics of opulence. In the Napoleon-Josephine scene, Elkanah Bent functions as a preincarnation of Gordon Gekko when he displays to Ashton all the luxury products he obtained through his successful contraband: "greed is good, indeed." Not coincidentally, Elkanah Bent reveals Mrs. Ronald Reagan's "unabashed appreciation of luxury" (Silverman 43) when he confesses to Ashton: "I'm so pleased to have found somebody whose dedication to the pursuit of luxury, pleasure and power is as singular as my own" (*North and South Book II*, Episode 2).

Furthermore, Wolper excludes Cooper Main, Orry's older brother, "a brilliant Charleston entrepreneur who comes to detest the proslavery secessionist point of view of his fellow Southerners" (Miller 11) from the adaptation. Although the reasons are never explicitly stated, it is assumed that the televised version of Orry is a mixture of these two characters. In the novel, Cooper Main is a strange character because he is not one-dimensional. Unlike his younger brother Orry, he realizes that the North represents progress. Cooper sees the backwardness of the South, with its reliance on unpaid labor secured by "the peculiar institution." He voices doubts about slavery and abhors the violence to which the slaves are exposed. He is openly critical of his own background. Erasing Cooper from the television (a propaganda medium by all means) adaptation constitutes an instance of self-censorship. Pointedly, Jim Neilson argues that "in the ongoing preoccupation with constructions of race, gender, and sexual identity can be

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18   Esther Shapiro with her ambition to treat socially igniting issues had to succumb finally to the network sponsors and heal Stephen Carrington from homosexuality by marrying him to Sammy Jo. For the intricacies, please watch *Dynasty: The Making of a Guilty Pleasure* by Matthew Miller.

found a continuation of American literary culture's traditional concern for self-affirmation and democratic pluralism and its refusal to accede *to radical critique in any but a token manner*" (13, emphasis added). Cooper Main, who openly criticizes the status quo in the South, would subvert Wolper's intention to portray a monolithic South, proud of its separate identity. Cooper Main is superfluous because Virgilia contributes more than her fair share to denounce the evils of the South. Moreover, his presence would complicate Orry's portrayal as the only Southerner with whom the audiences sympathize from the beginning till the end. Lastly, Orry's "abilities of the son adequately to replace—though not to overturn—the father" (Jeffords 67) make him a more desirable character than Cooper from the perspective of the New Right discourse. Each time Cooper harangues his father about slavery, he undermines Tillet's *patria potestas*.

Finally, the plot takes us to Mont Royal once again for the denouement of the story where we witness the restoration of order. The final scene does not follow John Jakes's version and it clearly alludes to the opening scene. It begins with a shot of the burnt-to-the-ground Mont Royal residence and we look at it through Orry's eyes. He is visibly moved as he realizes that barely anything has been left of Mont Royal's former grandeur. George comes to offer reassurance, and Orry feels relieved that his father did not live to see the ruination of Mont Royal. He reminisces about the happiest day in his life, the day he got married in the residence. George comments on the difficulties that might arise from the restoration of the country as both sides suffered too much. However, he sees something good in the trauma of the Civil War: the survival of their friendship. With a sense of a universal mission, he states that the healing of the nation's wounds depends on him and Orry. He offers to make investment in their textile mill and asks Orry to use the profit to rebuild Mont Royal, drawing out from his wallet the half of a ten-dollar bill from the bet in Episode 1. Bill Conti's theme "North and South" accompanies the scene till the very end. Orry smiles and matches the bill with the other half. He confesses: "You're the best friend a man could ever have, George" (*North and South Book II*, Episode 6), and they embrace each other. The music reaches a crescendo. George replies: "We're family, Orry, you remember that." Again we see the ruins of Mont Royal against which emerge Orry, Madeline holding their son, George and Charles with his son in his arms. A few steps behind them walk Brett and Billy, the couple epitomizing the holy wedlock of North and South. They all leave the plantation walking along the same lane that Orry cantered in the opening scene. Interestingly, the only people who look back at what they are leaving behind are Orry and George.

Earnest, moralistic, sententious, therapeutic, the mise-en-scène of the departure from Mont Royal capitalizes on the Reaganite ethos. The big triangle that Nina C. Leibman describes in her article "Mini-Series/Maxi-Messages: Ideology and the Interaction between *Peter the Great*, AETNA, AT&T, and Ford" is visible here: the patriarchal family, self-sacrifice and progress (6). George Hazard assumes the role of a self-styled Prometheus, embarking on a top-to-bottom revival based on the acquisition of power.

He does it in a truly Reagan-like fashion as he preaches nothing less than the doctrine of Reaganite self-reliance and activism: "It's up to us and our ways to start healing the wounds of this nation" (*North and South Book II*, Episode 6). The ten-dollar bet is another example of Wolper's *licentia poetica* which can be hardly traced in John Jakes's novel. Yet the producer weaves it into the climax: the piecing together of the ten-dollar banknote symbolizes the piecing together of the whole country. Deregulated though it was, the American economy stood firm on the dollar in the 1980s, and the faith of neo-conservative Americans in its sustainability remained unshaken. In the closing scene, George and Orry assume the roles of patriarchs of the Hazard and the Main clans respectively, with the disruptive family members eliminated through execution (Virgilia) or excommunication (Ashton). George and Orry also symbolize the North and the South with all the gender implications, George, in a manly fashion, taking the initiative and Orry, in a womanly way, agreeing to be consoled.[19] The embrace represents a complete reconciliation. Orry survives the war precisely to march triumphantly out of the ruins of Mont Royal, the South rising like a phoenix from the ashes, and George, standing for the affluent North, hopes for a brighter future that self-sacrifice and the American dollar will finally provide. The scene is convincing because it is complete. According to 1980s cinematographic standards as delineated by Leibman, Wolper chooses to portray political issues, historical failures and achievements as "*family*" problems (6, original italics). The presence of emancipated slaves would be superfluous, therefore the scene does not include them. They are not part of the family in the strict sense of the word. According to Robert Brent Toplin, "the focus on reconciliation is in keeping with late-twentieth-century Americans' desire to emphasize their common heritage rather than their past differences" (qtd. in Browne 64). Bypassing the divisive race issue, the denouement emphasizes the common war experience. Ultimately, George's "we've all suffered too much" necessarily refers to the white majority, the principal victims of the Civil War.

Wolper's adaptation of *North and South (Book I and Book II)* is ideologically errorless. Structurally, it does not differ from other 1980s made-for-TV dramas. It represents a quest for truth and happiness in which good and bad characters, as judged by the Reaganite ideology, are either rewarded or punished for their deeds. It is the ideology that determines the fate of the characters. Not surprisingly, the publicity picture of George and Orry posing in their uniforms with the United States and Texas flags in the background, taken while shooting the Battle of Churubusco, was used as the artwork for the DVD collection. The picture is larger than life and provides a key to understanding the message that comes from Texas and lies in the subconscious

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19   Blasphemous though it is, Patrick Swayze (Orry) fits perfectly the description of a "hot-house lily" (Jakes, *North and South* 56) and he actually does justice as a woman in *To Wong Foo, Thanks for Everything, Julie Newmar.*

presence of the Alamo in the United States history. A Spanish-born Mexican writer, Paco Ignacio Taibo, considers the Alamo a much more crucial founding myth than the Pilgrim Fathers and the Mayflower (Taibo 11). What the Alamo reveals is that the mythology is shaped by common sacrifice. With the fratricidal Civil War as its context, the film conveys Reagan's imperial message "we must all stand united as Americans."

Much to John J. O'Connor's dismay, in August 2013 some websites announced that Discovery Channel commissioned a remake of the *North and South* miniseries from Lionsgate.[20] A blunder though it was, the word "remake" recognizes the quality of Wolper's adaptation. Furthermore, it proves that his formula of a successful miniseries turned out valid to the twenty-first-century television audiences. The remaking rehabilitates the producer entirely and acknowledges his understanding of the preferences not only of the Reaganite public. Contemporary audiences still list the ABC adaptation of John Jakes's novel among "Top 15 TV Shows" and keep writing enthusiastic reviews:

> Picture Patrick Swayze as Orry Main, wearing a cape and long hair, both fluttering in the wind as he rides his prized stallion through an avenue of moss-covered oak trees, on his way to West Point Military Academy where he will meet his best friend for life, George Hazard. Only problem is, Main is a plantation owner's son from the South, while Hazard's father is a steel factory owner from the North. You can envision the chaos that arises between the two families when the Civil War breaks out. Women in big dresses, mansions burning down in fires, the most dramatic theme song imaginable, David Carradine as Swayze's arch nemesis, Johnny Cash as John Brown, evil officers, malicious sisters, fanatic abolitionists, slaves with hearts of gold, family secrets, forbidden love affairs, betrayals, duals, revenge and, above all, everlasting friendships are at the core of this best soap-operatic mini-series ever made. (Mouskevitz.livejournal.com)

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20   Lisa de Moraes, "Discovery, Lionsgate Re-Making 'North And South' Miniseries"; Garth Franklin, "'North and South' Mini-Series Gets A Remake"; Lesley Goldberg, "'North and South' Miniseries in the Works at Discovery."

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Political Argumentation in Ronald Reagan's "Bear" Commercial

Abstract: This article examines the manifestation of persuasion in political campaign advertising and the role of persuasion in the public's consciousness. It is set in the context of the Reagan administration's approach towards the Soviet Union and based on and clarified with illustrations drawn from the "Bear" commercial. The article applies Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca's concepts of presence and communion to identify the means by which the public was provoked to give its assent to the president's ideas and decide to act, and interprets the mechanisms behind the commercial in the light of Eric M. Eisenberg's notion of strategic ambiguity.

Keywords: political argumentation, campaign commercial, Ronald Reagan, presence and communion, strategic ambiguity

Politicians employ argumentation to argue their cases to either win others' acceptance or persuade them to change their thinking, behavior or decision. Argumentation helps to specify political goals and identify the means available to achieve these goals. Seen as an essential part of political communication, it creates a political reality and allows structuring, controlling, and manipulating its interpretation. It defines situations, communicates information, and evaluates events. In politics, arguments link politicians with the public, expressing their political positions, conveying their identifications, and revealing their commitments. As elements of political discourse, arguments function as stimuli for action. Appropriate arguments result in the acceptance of proposed policies, support for specific issues, and obedience to laws, while inadequate arguments bring about rejection, objection, and disregard. Political argumentation most often includes persuasion—a tool used to influence others and shape their ways of thinking and behavior. This is especially evident in presidential campaign rhetoric in the United States. American electoral discourse demonstrates that political argumentation primarily aims to influence public cognitions and impressions. While it does not coerce voters to make specific choices, it does involve a deliberate attempt to influence their decisions and actions.

A review of literature devoted to the study of argumentation has revealed that prior to 1958, when Stephen Toulmin's *The Uses of Argument* and Chaim Perelman and Lucie

Olbrechts-Tyteca's *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* were published, research on argumentation followed the tradition of formal logic (Lunsford, Wilson, and Eberly 109–124). In an attempt to provide an alternative, Toulmin, Perelman, and Olbrechts-Tyteca decoupled argumentation from formal logic and offered to deal with everyday arguments in ordinary language. Toulmin identified the elements constituting a persuasive argument and the categories by which the argument could be analyzed and Perelman with Olbrechts-Tyteca defined the discursive techniques used to induce or increase the audience's adherences to the issues presented for approval and support. The two approaches dominated the study of argumentation until the 1980s when a series of scholars offered a variety of new perspectives.[1] J. Anthony Blair and Ralph H. Johnson proposed the informal logic approach, which drew on non-formal standards, criteria, and procedures to analyze, interpret, evaluate, criticize, and construct arguments.[2] John Woods and Douglas Walton's formal theory of fallacies concentrated on how fallacies fit into a logical system and analyzed them as features of arguments in actual contexts and frameworks.[3] Else M. Barth and Erik C. W. Krabbe created the formal dialectics framework within which conflict resolution was seen as a discussion governed by formally regulated rules.[4] Linked to the formal dialectics was the pragma-dialectics approach best represented by Frans H. van Eemeren and Rob Grootendorst who viewed argumentation as a communicative and interactionwal discourse while studying it from both normative and descriptive perspectives.[5] The linguistically-oriented approach developed by Jean-Claude Anscombre and Oswald Ducrot was based on the assumption that every piece of discourse is argumentative in its meaning and provided a description of the syntactic and semantic elements that affect argument

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1   Frans H. van Eemeren, Rob Grootendorst and Tjark Kruiger, *Handbook of Argumentation Theory. A Critical Survey of Classical Backgrounds and Modern Studies* (Providence: Foris Publications, 1987); Frans H. van Eemeren, Rob Grootendorst, Francisca Snoeck Henkemans, J. Anthony Blair, Ralph H. Johnson, Erik C. W. Krabbe, Christian Plantin, Douglas N. Walton, Charles A. Willard, John Woods and David Zarefsky, *Fundamentals of Argumentation Theory: A Handbook of Historical Backgrounds and Contemporary Developments* (London: Routledge, 1996).

2   J. Anthony Blair and Ralph H. Johnson, "Argumentation as dialectical," *Argumentation* 1.1 (1987): 41–56; Ralph H. Johnson, *Manifest rationality: A pragmatic theory of argument* (London: Routledge, 2000).

3   John Woods and Douglas Walton, *Argument: The logic of the fallacies* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1982).

4   Else M. Barth and Erik C. Krabbe, *From axiom to dialogue: a philosophical study of logics and argumentation* (Berlin: Walter deGruyter, 1982).

5   Frans H. van Eemeren and Rob Grootendorst, *A Systematic Theory of Argumentation: The Pragma-Dialectical Approach* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

understanding and interpretation.[6] Finally, the rhetorically-oriented approach within which some scholars viewed argumentation from the perspective of classical rhetoric, e.g. Joseph W. Wenzel, Josef Kopperschmid, Oliver Reboul, Edward Schiappa, and Michael Leff, while others approached argumentation as a practice, e.g. Scott Jacobs, Sally Jackson, Thomas Goodnight, Charles A. Willard, and David Zarefsky.

The variety of approaches to the study of argumentation has grown, as has the number of perspectives on the definition and scope of arguments, their categorization and components (Gilbert 29–32). Four perspectives have been offered to approach the question of the definition and scope of argumentation: (1) the perspective which holds that arguments are well-structured sets of premises and conclusions governed by fixed rules and procedures; (2) the perspective which maintains that argumentation is a form of interaction involving conflicting opinions; (3) the perspective which states that argumentation refers to both the process of arguing and its product; (4) and the perspective which rests on the assumption that arguments are speech events that disrupt communication. The questions posed by argumentation theorists have also concerned the structure of the relationship between arguments and reasoning, concept mapping, and the goal of argumentation. Some scholars have separated arguments from individual reasoning, while others have found the norms of reasoning and argumentation to be related.[7] Some have viewed arguments as structures, while others have seen arguments as processes.[8] Some have emphasized that the role of argumentation is to inform, while others have stressed that argumentation serves to persuade.[9] Finally, argumentation theorists have differed in their perspectives on argument categorization and components. They have grouped arguments based on the method of arriving at the

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6   Jean-Claude Anscombre and Oswald Ducrot, "Argumentativity and informativity," *From metaphysics to rhetoric*, ed. M. Meyer (Dordercht: Kluwer, 1989) 71–87.

7   Frank Zenker, "Logic, reasoning, argumentation—insights from the wild," International Conference on Logic and Cognition, May 2012, Poznań, unpublished conference paper.

8   Johnson, 2000; Harald Wohlrapp, "A new light on non-deductive argumentation schemes," *Argumentation* 12.3 (1998): 341–350.

9   Trudy Govier, *A Practical Study of Argument* (California: Cengage Learning, 2013); Douglas Walton, "Argumentation theory: A very short introduction," *Argumentation in Artificial Intelligence*, eds. Iyad Rahwan and Guillermo R. Simari (New York: Springer, 2009) 1–22; Eemeren and Grootendorst, *Systematic Theory*; Frans H. van Eemeren and Rob Grootendorst, *Speech acts in argumentative discussions. A theoretical model for the analysis of discussions directed towards solving conflicts of opinion* (Berlin/Dordercht: De Gruyter/Foris Publications, 1984).

conclusion,[10] general context, the goal of the dialogue,[11] the structure,[12] and the content of arguments;[13] and described argument components according to argument structure,[14] the process of the argument,[15] and context.[16]

As Martin J. Medhurst writes, research into presidential rhetoric is not new either (3–21). Early studies in presidential rhetoric were concerned with speech[17] and presidential style and method.[18] The most common method of analyzing presidential rhetorical discourse was historical-rhetorical method which stressed argumentation, source, style, delivery, and background over the speech, the speaker, and the speaking event.[19] Interest was shown in presidential speechwriting, media impact on election campaigns, and different types of presidential discourse, including interviews, conventions, debates, and election campaigns.[20]

When scholars moved away from historical studies towards critical studies, a variety of theories and methods of criticism were used to interpret and analyze data.

10   Walton, "Argumentation theory."

11   Douglas Walton and Erik C. W. Krabbe, *Commitment in Dialogue* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).

12   Walton, "Argumentation theory."

13   Douglas Walton, Chris Reed and Fabrizio Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

14   Toulmin, *Uses*.

15   Eemeren and Rob Grootendorst, *Systematic Theory*.

16   Ray Lynn Anderson and C. David Mortensen, "Logic and marketplace argumentation," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 53.2 (1967): 143–151.

17   See Marvin G. Bauer, "The Influence of Lincoln's Audience on His Speeches," *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education* 11 (1925): 225–229.

18   See Gladys Murphy Graham, "Concerning the Speech Power of Woodrow Wilson," *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education* 13 (1927): 412–424; Edwin Paget, "Woodrow Wilson: International Rhetorician," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 15 (1929): 15–24.

19   A. Craig Baird and Lester Thonssen, "Methodology in the Criticism of Public Address," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 33 (1947): 134–138; Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, *Speech Criticism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948).

20   Laura Crowell, "Franklin D. Roosevelt's Audience Persuasion in the 1936 Campaign," *Speech Monographs* 17 (1950): 48–64; Cole S. Brembeck, "Harry Truman at the Whistle Stops," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 38 (1952): 42–50; Carl Allen Pitt, "An Analysis and Criticism of the 1940 Campaign Speeches of Wendell L. Willkie," *Speech Monographs* 21 (1954): 64–72.

Attention was given to textual analysis,[21] campaign strategies,[22] and presidential campaigns and initiatives.[23] Common lines of research focused on generic,[24] linguistic, and stylistic[25] dimensions of presidential discourse. Scholars examined the elements of drama and narration in presidential rhetoric,[26]

21   Robert W. Smith, "The 'Second' Inaugural Address of Lyndon Baines Johnson: A Definition Text," *Speech Monographs* 34 (1967): 102–108; Robert N. Bostrom, "'I Give You a Man'—Kennedy's Speech for Adlai Stevenson," *Speech Monographs* 35 (1968): 129–136; Robert P. Newman, "Under the Veneer: Nixon's Vietnam Speech of November 3, 1969," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 56 (1970): 169–78; Hermann G. Stelzner, "The Quest Story and Nixon's November 3, 1969 Address," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 57 (1971): 163–72; Forbes Hill, "Conventional Wisdom—Traditional Form—The President's Message of November 3, 1969," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 58.4 (1972): 373–386.

22   Robert J. Brake, "The Porch and the Stump: Campaign Strategies in the 1920 Presidential Election," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 55 (1969): 256–257; W. Lance Bennett, "Assessing Presidential Character: Degradation Rituals in Political Campaigns," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 67 (1981): 310–321; Lester C. Olson, "Portraits in Praise of a People: A Rhetorical Analysis of Norman Rockwell's Icons in Franklin D. Roosevelt's 'Four Freedoms' Campaign," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 69 (1983): 15–24.

23   Herbert W. Simons, James W. Chesebro and C. Jack Orr, "A Movement Perspective on the 1972 Presidential Campaign," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 59 (1973): 168–179; David Zarefsky, "Presidential Johnson's War on Poverty: The Rhetoric of Three 'Establishment' Movements," *Communication Monographs* 44 (1977): 352–373.

24   Jackson Harrell, B. L. Ware and Wil A. Linkugel, "Failure of Apology in American Politics: Nixon on Watergate," *Speech Monographs* 42 (1975): 245–261; Robert L. Ivie, "Images of Savagery in American Justification for War," *Communication Monographs* 47 (1980): 279–294; Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "Rhetorical Hybrids: Fusions of Generic Elements," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 68 (1982): 146–157.

25   Roderick P. Hart, "Absolutism and Situation: Prolegomenon to a Rhetorical Biography of Richard M. Nixon," *Communication Monographs* 43 (1976): 204–228; Hermann G. Stelzner, "Ford's War on Inflation: A Metaphor That Did Not Cross," *Communication Monographs* 24 (1977): 284–297; Martha Solomon, "Jimmy Carter and *Playboy*: A Sociolinguistic Perspective on Style," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 64 (1978): 173–182.

26   John F. Cragan and Donlad C. Shields, "Foreign Policy Communication Dramas: How Mediated Rhetoric Played in Peoria in Campaign '76," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 63 (1977): 274–289; Ernest G. Bormann, Jolene Koester and Janet Bennett, "Political Cartoons and Salient Rhetorical Fantasies: An Empirical Analysis of the '76 Presidential Campaign," *Communication Monographs* 45 (1978): 317–329; Ernest G. Bormann, "A Fantasy Theme Analysis of the Television Coverage of the Hostage Release and Reagan Inaugural," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 68 (1982): 133–145.

the role of image and ethos,[27] and the relationship between the news media and presidential rhetoric.[28]

Recent scholarship in presidential rhetoric has become an effort of analysts coming from humanistic and social-scientific backgrounds bringing with them different perspectives and methods of study. Work has concentrated on the construct of the rhetorical presidency[29] and the strategies of presidential leadership.[30] Much has been written about the genres of presidential discourse,[31] presidential crisis rhetoric,[32]

27   Richard E. Crable, "Ike: Identification, Argument, and Paradoxical Appeal," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 63 (1977): 188–196.

28   William R. Brown, "Television and the Democratic National Convention of 1968," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 55 (1969): 237–246; David L. Swanson, "And That's the Way It Was? Television Covers the 1976 Presidential Campaign," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 63 (1977): 239–248; Robert K. Tiemens, "Television Portrayal of the 1976 Presidential Debates: An Analysis of Visual Content," *Communication Monographs* 45 (1978): 362–370; Paul H. Arntson and Craig R. Smith, "News Distortion as a Function of Organizational Communication," *Communication Monographs* 45 (1978): 371–381.

29   James W. Ceaser, Glen E. Thurow, Jeffrey K. Tulis and Joseph M. Bessette, "The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 11 (1981): 158–171; Glen Thurow and Jeffrey D. Wallin, eds., *Rhetoric and American Statesmanship* (Durhan: Carolina Academic Press, 1984); Jeffrey K. Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Richard J. Ellis, ed., Spea*king to the People: The Rhetorical Presidency in Historical Perspective* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1998); Mel Laracey, *Presidents and the People: The Partisan Story of Going Public* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002); David Crockett, "George W. Bush and the Unrhetorical Rhetorical Presidency," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 6 (2003): 465–486.

30   Samuel Kernell, *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1986); Karen S. Hoffman, "'Going Public' in the 19th Century: Grover' Cleveland's Repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 5 (2002): 57–77; George C. Edwards III, *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Reed L. Welch, "War Reagan Really a Great Communicator? The Influence of Televised Addresses on Public Opinion," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 33 (2003): 853–876.

31   Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Presidents Creating the Presidency: Deeds Done in Words* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

32   Amos Kiewe, ed., *The Modern Presidency and Crisis Rhetoric* (Westport: Praeger, 1994).

presidential civil right rhetoric,[33] presidential relations with Congress,[34] with the American public,[35] and with the media.[36]

Substantial literature has been published on presidential campaign rhetoric. These studies investigate specific areas of political-campaign communication, including debates, conventions, vote analysis, media, candidate strategies, and political advertising. Research in the area of presidential debates concentrates on the impact of debates on the voter[37] and the influence debate rhetoric has on the

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33   Garth E. Pauley, *The Modern Presidency and Civil Rights* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001); James Artn Aune and Enrique Rigsby, *The White House and Civil Rights Policy* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2005).

34   George C. Edwards III, *At the Margins: Presidential Leadership of Congress* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Mary E. Stuckey, Michael A. Genovese, Sharon E. Jarvis, Craig Allen Smith, Craig R. Smith, Robert Spitzer and Susan M. Zaeske, "Report of the National Task Force on Presidential Communication to Congress," *The Prospect of Presidential Rhetoric*, eds. James Arnt Aune and Martin J. Medhurst (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2008) 272–292; Jose D. Villalobos, Justin S. Vaughn and Julia R. Azari, "Politics or Policy? How Rhetoric Matters to Presidential Leadership of Congress," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 42.3 (2012): 549–576.

35   George C. Edwards III and Alex M. Gallup, *Presidential Approval: A Sourcebook* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); Theodore Otto Windt, Jr., *Presidents and protesters*: *Political rhetoric in the 1960s* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990); Susan Herbst, *Numbered Voices: How Opinion Polling has Shaped America's Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Michael J. Hogan, "George Gallup and the Rhetoric of Scientific Discovery," *Communication Monographs* 64.2 (1997): 161–179; Vanessa Beasley, Robert B. Asen, Diane M. Blair, Stephen J. Hartnett, Karla K. Leeper and Jennifer R. Mercieca, "Report of the National Task Force on the Presidency and Deliberative Democracy," *The Prospect of Presidential Rhetoric,* eds. James Arnt Aune and Martin J. Medhurst (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2008) 251–271.

36   Kathleen J. Turner, *Lyndon Johnson's Dual War: Vietnam and the Press* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Eloquence in an Electronic Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

37   James B. Lemert, "Do televised presidential debates help inform voters?" *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 37 (1993): 83–94; Mitchell S. McKinney and Diana B. Carlin, "Political Campaign Debates," *Handbook of political communication research*, ed. Lynda Lee Kaid (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004) 203–234; John G. Geer, "The effects of presidential debates on the electorate's preferences for candidates," *American Politics Research* 16 (1998): 486–501; Michael Pfau, J. Brian Houston and Shane M. Semmler, "Presidential election campaigns and American democracy: The relationship between communication use and normative outcomes," *American Behavioral Scientist* 49 (2005): 48–62; Yariv Tsfati, "Debating the Debate The Impact of Exposure to Debate News Coverage and Its Interaction with Exposure to the Actual Debate," *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 8.3 (2003): 70–86.

voter.[38] Debate studies also examine the role of the media in debates,[39] the format of debates,[40] and the character and role of debates in presidential campaigns.[41] In research on conventions, case studies of individual convention speeches dominate.[42] Vote analysis studies focus on the role of issues[43] and the correlation between citizen vote choice and party identification, demographics, and education.[44]

38   Shanto Iyengar and Donald R. Kinder, *News that matters: Television and American opinion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Larry M. Bartels, "Priming and persuasion in presidential campaigns," *Capturing campaign effects*, eds. Henry E. Brady and Richard Johnston (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006) 78–112; Richard R. Lau and David P. Redlawsk, *How voters decide: Information processing during election campaigns* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Maxwell McCombs, *Setting the agenda: The mass media and public opinion* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004); Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro, *The rational public: Fifty years of trends in Americans' policy preferences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Kathleen Hall Jamieson and David S. Birdsell, *Presidential Debates: The Challenge of Creating an Informed Electorate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

39   Denis McQuail, *Media Performance. Mass Communication and the Public Interest* (London: Sage Publications, 1992).

40   Sidney Kraus, *Televised Presidential Debates and Public Policy* (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2000).

41   William L. Benoit, Glenn J. Hansen and Rebecca M. Verser, "A Meta-Analysis of the Effects of Viewing U.S. Presidential Debates," *Communication Monographs* 70.4 (2003): 335–350.

42   Walter R. Fisher, "Reaffirmation and Subversion of the American Dream," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 59 (1973): 160–167; William F. Lewis, "Telling America's Story: Narrative Form and the Reagan Presidency," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73 (1987): 280–302; Byron E. Shafer, *Bifurcated Politics: Evolution and Reform in the National Party Convention* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988); Stephen J. Wayne, *Road to the White House: the Politics of Presidential Elections* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988); Joshua H. Sandman, "Winning the Presidency: The Vision and Values Approach," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 19 (1989): 259–266; Larry David Smith and Dan Nimmo, *Cordial Concurrence: Orchestrating National Party Conventions in the Telepolitical Age* (New York: Praeger, 1991); Joanne Morreale, *The Presidential Campaign Film: A Critical History* (Westport: Praeger, 1993).

43   Scott Ashworth and Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, "Elections with platform and valance competition," *Games and Economic Behavior* 67 (2009): 191–216.

44   Jean-Francois Godbout, Richard Nadeau, Richard G. Niemi and Harold W. Stanley, "Class, party, and south/non-south differences," *American Politics Research* 32 (2004): 52–67; Danny Hayes, "Candidate qualities through a partisan lens: A theory of trait ownership," *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2005): 908–923.

Research on the media captures the use of new media in campaigns, including such tools as email and websites[45] and social media.[46] The literature on how candidates strategize during campaigns deals with presidential campaign tactics.[47] Finally, the studies of political advertising include analyses of the types of ads,[48] the relationship between ads and the candidate,[49] the role of ads in

45   Anne Campbell, Andrew Harrop and Bill Thompson, "Towards the virtual Parliament—what computers can do for MPs," *Parliamentary Affairs* 52.3 (1999): 388–403; Maureen Taylor and Michael L. Kent, "Congressional Websites and their potential for public dialogues," *Atlantic Journal of Communication* 12.2 (2004): 59–76; Steven Schneider and Kirsten Foot, "Online Structure for Political Action: Exploring Presidential Web Sites from the 2000 American Election," *Javnost (The Public)* 9.2 (2002): 43–60.

46   Christine B. Williams and Girish J. Gulati, "What is a Social Network Worth? Facebook and Vote Share in the 2008 Presidential Primaries," The American Political Science Association, 2008, Boston, unpublished conference paper; Christine B. Williams and Girish J. Gulati, "Your Money or Your Network: Indicators of Presidential Candidate Viability in the 2008 Nomination Contest," The Midwest Political Science Association, 2008, Chicago, unpublished conference paper.

47   Ronald B. Rapoport, Kelly L. Metcalf and Jon A. Hartman, "Candidate Traits and Voter Inferences: An Experimental Study," *The Journal of Politics* 51.4 (1989): 917–932; Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro, *Politicians Don't Pander* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Shanto Iyengar and Adam F. Simon, "New Perspectives and Evidence on Political Communication and Campaign Effects," *Annual Review of Psychology* 51 (2000): 149–169; Richard R. Lau and David P. Redlawsk, "Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making," *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (2001): 951–971; James N. Druckman, Lawrence R. Jacobs and Eric Ostermeier, "Candidate Strategies of Prime Issues and Image," *Journal of Politics* 66.4 (2004): 1180–1202.

48   Patrick Devlin, *Political Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns* (New Brunswick: Transaction Inc., 1987); Montague Kern, *30-Second Politics* (New York: Praeger, 1989); Lynda L. Kaid and Anna Johnston, *Videostyle in presidential campaigns. Style and content of televised political advertising* (Westport: Praeger, 2001); Judith S. Trent, Robert V. Friedenberg and Robert E. Denton, Jr., *Political Campaign Communication Principles and Practices* (Lanham: Rowan & Littlefield, 2011).

49   Lynda L. Kaid and Mike Chanslor, "The Effects of Political Advertising on Candidate Images," *Presidential Candidate Images,* ed. Kenneth L. Hacker (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004) 133–150.

candidate image shaping,[50] and the impact ads have on the electorate[51] and election outcomes.[52]

 To gain a fuller understanding of the argumentation used by Ronald Reagan in the 1984 presidential elections, the specific circumstances which shaped the form and content of his campaign discourse should be outlined briefly. A considerable literature has grown up around the theme of Reagan's foreign policy. There are detailed discussions of the president's specific foreign policy initiatives next to general surveys of his foreign affairs policy. The largest volume of published works has developed on U.S.-Soviet relations.[53] A considerable amount of studies have focused on U.S. relations with Central America[54]

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50   Lynda L. Kaid and Jane Garner, "The Portrayal of Older Adults in Political Advertising," *Handbook of Communication and Aging Research*, eds. Jon F. Nussbaum and Justine Coupland (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004) 407–421.

51   Eleanor Shaw, "A guide to the qualitative research process: evidence from a small firm study," *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal* 2.2 (1999): 59–70; Kenneth Goldstein and Travis N. Ridout, "Measuring the Effects of Televised Political Advertising in the United States," *Annual Review of Political Science* 7 (2004): 205–226; Richard Johnston, Michael G. Hagen and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, T*he 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Scott Ashworth and Joshua D. Clinton, "Does Advertising Exposure Affect Turnout?" *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 2.1 (2007): 27–41; Jonathan S. Krasno and Donald P. Green, "Do Televised Presidential Ads Increase Voter Turnout? Evidence from a Natural Experiment," *The Journal of Politics* 70.1 (2008): 245–261; Alan S. Gerber, James G. Gimpel, Donald P. Green and Daron R. Shaw, "How large and long-lasting are the persuasive effects of televised campaign ads? Results from a randomized field experiment," *American Political Science Review* 105 (2011): 135–150.

52   Andrea Prat, "Campaign Advertising and Voter Welfare," *Review of Economic Studies* 69.4 (2002): 999–1018.

53   Michael Mandelbaum and Strobe Talbott, *Reagan and Gorbachev* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987); Strobe Talbott, *Deadly Gambits: The Reagan Administration and the Stalemate in Nuclear Arms Control* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984); Strobe Talbott, *The Master of the Game: Paul Nitze and the Nuclear Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988). Keith L. Shimko, *Images and Arms Control: Perceptions of the Soviet Union in the Reagan Administration* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991); Kenneth L. Adelman, *The Great Universal Embrace: Arms Summitry—A Skeptic's Account* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998).

54   Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions. The United States in Central America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983); Raymond Bonner, *Weakness and Deceit: U.S. Policy and El Salvador* (New York: Times Books, 1984); Tom Buckley, *Violent Neighbors: El Salvador, Central America, and the United States* (New York: New York Times Book Company, 1984); Robert O. Pastor, *Condemned to Repetition: The United States and Nicaragua* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

and the Middle East.[55] A growing body of literature has examined Reagan and his Soviet policy from a rhetorical perspective. Much has been written about Reagan's crisis rhetoric and its implications for U.S. foreign affairs policy,[56] the president's rhetoric used to market the SDI initiative to the American public,[57] and Reagan's major Cold War speeches.[58] The president's Soviet policy and rhetoric have also been covered in works that seek to understand the interplay between Reagan's foreign affairs policy, campaign rhetoric, and voter behavior. Scholars have analyzed the impact of voter attitudes and preferences regarding foreign affairs on Reagan's election,[59] the influence of the public's opinion on the president's foreign policy and election results,[60] and the effects of public opinion on the development of Reagan's foreign policy in a comparative perspective contrasting the president's positions, decisions, and rhetoric from his two successful presidential campaigns.[61]

55   Jane Hunter, *The Iran-Contra Connection* (Boston: South End Press, 1987); Steven Emerson, *Secret Warriors: Inside the Covert Military Operations of the Reagan Era* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1988); Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988); Thomas L. Friedman, *From Beirut to Jerusalem* (New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1989); Robert C. McFarlane and Zofia Smardz, *Special Trust: Pride, Principle, and Politics Inside the White House* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1994); Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus, *Landslide: The Unmaking of the President, 1984–1988* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998).

56   Denise M. Bostdorff, *The Presidency and the Rhetoric of Foreign Crisis* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994).

57   Rebecca S. Bjork, *The Strategic Defense Initiative: Symbolic Containment of the Nuclear Threat* (Albany: State University of New York, 1992).

58   G. Thomas Goodnight, "Ronald Reagan's Re-formulation of the Rhetoric of War: Analysis of the 'Zero Option,' 'Evil Empire,' and 'Star Wars' Addresses," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 4 (1986): 390–414; Robert C. Rowland and John M. Jones, "Reagan at the Brandenburg Gate: Moral Clarity Tempered by Pragmatism," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 9 (2006): 21–50; Robert C. Rowland and John M. Jones, *Reagan at Westminster: Foreshadowing the End of the Cold War* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2010).

59   Jon Hurwitz and Mark Peffley, "The means and ends of foreign policy as determinants of presidential support," *American Journal of Political Science* 31 (1986): 236–258.

60   Stephen Hess and Michael Nelson, "Foreign policy: Dominance and decisiveness in presidential elections," *The Elections of 1984,* ed. Michael Nelson (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1985) 141–152.

61   Miroslav Nincic, "U.S. Soviet Policy and the Electoral Connection," *World Politics* 42.3 (1990): 370–396.

Attention has been given to Reagan's debate discourse,[62] campaign statements,[63] and campaign spots.[64]

Studies analyzing the Reagan administration's approach towards the Soviet Union offer two major competing interpretations of the shift in U.S.-Soviet relations. The conventional view is that Mikhail Gorbachev brought about the change in American-Soviet relations. U.S. strategic superiority, nuclear arsenal, and alliance network made Moscow seek rapprochement with Washington. From this perspective, the Reagan administration only reacted to Gorbachev's transformations in Soviet foreign affairs policy.[65] This view competes with the interpretation that Washington initiated the change before Moscow started to reform. Encouraged by U.S. superior military and nuclear arsenal, strong economy and alliances with Western countries, Reagan switched to a more conciliatory policy and less confrontational rhetoric towards Moscow before Gorbachev was elected General Secretary and introduced policies which reoriented Soviet strategic aims.

As Beth A. Fisher observes, the president's first three years in office, from 1981 to 1983, were marked by the understanding that Moscow's expansionist and interventionist policies as well as its military strength were the primary threat to U.S. security and therefore had to be restricted and checked (17–32). Reagan's comments from his first press conference as president, held on January 29, 1981, later reiterated in an interview with Walter Cronkite of CBS News on March 3, 1981, and at a news conference on March 31, 1982, suggesting that the Soviet leaders "hold their determination that their goal must be the promotion of world revolution and a one-world Socialist or Communist state" and that "the only morality they recognize is what will further their cause, meaning they reserve unto themselves the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat, in order to attain that" reflect the president's image of the U.S-Soviet relationship and the perceived danger to American security. At its center was the conviction

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62   Susan A Hellweg, Michael Pfau and Steven R. Brydon, *Televised Presidential Debates: Advocacy in Contemporary America* (New York: Praeger, 1992).

63   Robert V. Friedenberg, *Notable Speeches in Contemporary Presidential Campaigns* (Westport: Praeger, 2002).

64   William L. Benoit, *Seeing Spots: A Functional Analysis of Presidential Television Advertisements, 1952–1996* (New York: Praeger, 2007).

65   Alexander L. George, "The Transition in U.S.-Soviet Relations, 1985–1990: An Interpretation from the Perspective of International Relations Theory and Political Psychology," *Political Psychology* 12.3 (1991): 469–486; Robert G. Kaiser, *Why Gorbachev Happened: His Triumph, His Failure, and His Fall* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992); Michael R. Beschloss and Strobe Talbott, *At the Highest Levels: The Inside Story of the End of the Cold War* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993); Steven W. Hook and John W. Spanier, *American Foreign Policy since World War II* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2007).

that in dealing with the Soviet threat "the West won't contain communism," but "it will transcend communism," as Reagan announced in a commencement address at the University of Notre Dame, delivered on May 17, 1981. The West "won't bother to dismiss or denounce [Communism]," the president stated, "it will dismiss it as some bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written." Raymond L. Garthoff writes that underlying the mission statement was the president's call for a global campaign for democracy and freedom (11). Made in an address before the British Parliament on June 8, 1982, the call was for "a plan and a hope for the long term—the march of freedom and democracy which will leave Marxism-Leninism on the [ash-heap] of history as it has left other tyrannies which stifle the freedom and muzzle the self-expression of the people." An important element of the president's declaration was also the need to confront the Soviet rather than negotiate with them (Garthoff 127). "While we must be cautious about forcing the pace of change," Reagan asserted, "we must not hesitate to declare our ultimate objectives and to take concrete actions to move toward them.... Our military strength is a prerequisite to peace." He restated his opinion in his remarks before the National Association of Evangelicals on March 8, 1983, when he commented: "if history teaches anything, it teaches that simple-minded appeasement or wishful thinking about our adversaries is folly." He affirmed that, in reality, "we must find peace through strength." The last fundamental assumption of the president's thinking concerned the arms race. In remarks he made to some editors, Reagan reasoned that while "we've been making unilateral concessions on our side... [the Soviets have] been building the greatest military machine the world has ever seen. But now they're going to be faced with that we could go forward with an arms race and they can't keep up." Reagan was confident that the Soviets "cannot vastly increase their military productivity because they've already got their people on a starvation diet" and because "they know [U.S.] potential capacity industrially, and they can't match it." He argued that "if we show them the will and determination to go forward with a military buildup in our own defense and the defense of our allies, they then have to weigh, do they want to meet us realistically on a program of disarmament or do they want to face a legitimate arms race in which we're racing."

What came out of the president's thinking were the administration's goals to restrain the Soviet international behavior and make the Soviet leaders respect international norms and agreements. The policy of linkage in the areas of trade, summit meetings, and arms control, issue reprioritization, and a massive buildup of U.S. military strength were the means to achieve the objective (B. A. Fisher 18). As Reagan put it in the January 29, 1981 conference, "I happen to believe, also, that you can't sit down at a table and just negotiate that unless you take into account, in consideration at that table all the other things that are going on. In other words, I believe in linkage." In what followed, the president linked East-West economic relations to Soviet activities abroad. When martial law was imposed in Poland, he issued sanctions, which prohibited American

companies, subsidiaries, and foreign companies using U.S. licenses the sale to the Soviet Union of equipment or technology for the transmission or refining of oil and natural gas. Reagan also tied summit meetings to the Soviet actions. As he explained it in the March 3, 1981 interview, summit meetings could be held if there was "some evidence on the part of the Soviet Union that they are willing to discuss" strategic nuclear weapons reduction and if the Soviet Union revealed that "it is willing to moderate its imperialism, its aggression.... We could talk a lot better if there was some indication that they truly wanted to be a member of the peace-loving nations of the world, the free world." The president also made it clear that U.S. allies would be consulted before any steps could be made towards a meeting.

On the issue of arms control, Reagan spoke during the January 29, 1981 press conference when he charged that "a treaty—SALT means strategic arms limitation—that actually permits a buildup, on both sides, of strategic nuclear weapons" and "authorizes an immediate increase in large numbers of Soviet warheads" could not "properly be called that." The "real strategic arms limitation," he argued, would be if we could "start negotiating on the basis of trying to effect an actual reduction in the numbers of nuclear weapons." In line with the president's anti-SALT rhetoric was his decision to reschedule the first U.S.-USSR Standing Consultation Commission meeting from March to May 1981 and appointments of Eugene Rostow as head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Richard Burt as head of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, and Richard Perle as Assistant Defense Secretary for International Security Affairs, who set the administration's foreign policy against U.S.-Soviet arms talks. Reagan sent mixed signals on arms limitations when in his remarks to the National Press Club on November 18, 1981, he proposed an arms reduction plan, the so-called "zero-option" to reduce "conventional intermediate-range nuclear and strategic forces." Since only the Soviets had such weapons at that time, it was clear in advance that the offer could not be accepted. Similarly, in a commencement address at Eureka College on May 9, 1982, the president put forward a plan to "reduce significantly the most destabilizing systems, the ballistic missiles, the number of warheads they carry, and their overall destructive potential" because, however, the proposal required only the Soviets to reduce their land-warheads, which was unequivocal with weakening their deterrence capabilities, it was not approved.

The third important instrument for putting pressure on the Soviet Union's imperialist behavior was Reagan's massive military build-up. As the president explained in a radio address on February 19, 1983: "If we continue our past pattern of only rebuilding our defenses in fits and starts, we will never convince the Soviets that it's in their interests to behave with restraint and negotiate genuine arms reductions." Reagan proposed the largest peacetime military budget in history, advocating spending on the American military $254.2 billion in 1982, $289.2 billion in 1983, $326.5 billion in 1984, and $367.5 in 1985. He called for a seven-percent increase in defense spending between 1981 and

1985 which would be allocated for new weapons systems, research and development, and improvements in combat readiness and troop mobility. Moreover, in a March 23, 1983 address to the nation on national security, the president announced that he was undertaking "a comprehensive and intensive effort to define a long-term research and development program to begin to achieve our ultimate goal of eliminating the threat posed by strategic nuclear missiles." The purpose of the Strategic Defense Initiative was to develop an anti-ballistic missile system that would prevent nuclear missile attacks from the Soviet Union. Two other important aspects of Reagan's plan to revitalize the nation's nuclear deterrent included the president's decisions to revive and expand the B-1 bomber program, the MX nuclear missile program, and the Trident program as well as to deploy intermediate-range Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe.

In 1984, Reagan's anti-Soviet rhetoric and approach softened. The president revised his understanding of the threats to U.S. security, the goals of U.S.-Soviet policy, and the strategies to achieve the objectives set. He no longer considered Soviet expansionist and interventionist policies or its military strength to be the most direct dangers to American security. Instead, war and misunderstandings were his main concerns (B. A. Fisher 18). In a January 16, 1984 address on United States-Soviet Relations, Reagan explained that his priority was "to reduce nuclear arsenals" and "to reduce the chances for dangerous misunderstanding and miscalculations," which increased the likelihood of a military conflict. He restated the theme in remarks at University College, Galway, Ireland, on June 1, 1984, when he said that the U.S. "policy is aimed at... doing everything... to reduce the risks of war" and again in an address before the Irish National Parliament delivered two days later when he expressed his strong belief that "[a] nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought" and stressed U.S. commitment to enter into discussions "to guard against miscalculation or misunderstanding" that could precipitate it. The president shifted the focus of attention away from Soviet restraint and reciprocity towards cooperation and mutual understanding (B. A. Fisher 18). As he put it in the January 16, 1984 address: "Our... task is to establish a better working relationship with each other, one marked by greater cooperation and understanding." His goal was "to build confidence and trust with the Soviets in areas of mutual interest by moving forward in our bilateral relations on a broad front." With the goals changed the strategies. The president replaced the policy of linkage, issue reprioritization, and a massive military buildup with a dialogue, an emphasized need for arms reduction, and confidence-building measures (B. A. Fisher 18). As he assured during a June 14, 1984 press conference, he had "been in... written communication with the Soviet leadership" and that he was "going to continue [talking to the Soviets] in the area of quiet diplomacy." In the January 16, 1984 address Reagan stated that he saw effective communication as the means to get the Soviets "[comply] with agreements," "[respect] the rights of individual citizens," "[expand] contacts across borders," "[permit] a free exchange or interchange of information," "ideas," and "trade." Mutual understanding

was especially important to achieve arms control. The president maintained that the U.S. "must and will engage... in a dialog that will serve to... reduce the level of arms." Cooperation in the area of arms control was further enhanced by confidence-building measures, broadly defined as "practical, meaningful ways to reduce the uncertainty and potential for misinterpretation surrounding military activities and to diminish the risk of surprise attack." While arms control continued to be an important area of American-Soviet relations, the desire to achieve "a durable peace" became the main concern. As Reagan put it in the address at the Irish Parliament: "This is my deepest commitment: to achieve stable peace."

From January through November, the president demonstrated that his administration was pursuing the objectives and that it was making progress. During the conference on United States-Soviet exchanges on June 27, 1984, he stressed that "For many months," he "encouraged the Soviet Union to join... in a major effort to see if we could make progress in these broad problem areas" and listed "comprehensive and sensible proposals" that his administration put forward "to improve the U.S.-Soviet dialog and our working relationship." Reagan restated his policy line before the United Nations General Assembly in New York on September 24, 1984, speaking on what the two superpowers could accomplish together, the concrete steps that needed to be taken, and the status of the efforts that had already been undertaken. On the question of the threat and use of force in solving international dispute, Reagan assured that "We will be prepared, if the Soviets agree, to make senior experts available at regular intervals for in-depth exchanges of views." Similarly, he declared that he was "committed to redoubling [U.S.] negotiating efforts to achieve real result" as far as the reduction of armaments were concerned. As for a better working relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States, he noticed that "some modest progress" was made in the area of direct communication, economic cooperation, consular cooperation, and cooperation at sea.

Considering Reagan's intentions to revise his approach towards the Soviets, this essay asks how the president's re-election campaign commercials argued, on the one hand, leading many Americans to believe that he defended and protected the nation's interest effectively, while, on the other, evoking the fear of war and making Americans threatened by the possibility of confrontation with the Soviet Union. The analysis is based on and clarified with illustrations drawn from "Bear" or "Bear in the Woods" commercial, considered to be one of the most representative of Reagan's 1984 campaign TV ads. It features a grizzly bear wandering through the woods as the narrator, with a suspenseful music combined with the sound of a heartbeat in the background, says: "There is a bear in the woods. For some people, the bear is easy to see. Others don't see it at all. Some people say the bear is tame. Others say it's vicious and dangerous. Since no one can really be sure who's right, isn't it smart to be as strong as the bear? If there is a bear." The final shot shows a figure of a hunter standing up straight with a

rifle on his shoulder and the bear coming face to face with the man and taking a step back. The commercial ends with a picture of Reagan and a line: "President Reagan: Prepared for Peace." The ad was created, produced, and narrated by Hal Riney, the author of the "Morning Again in America" commercial, with an aim to promote Reagan's policy towards the Soviet Union, justifying his attitude and criticizing the approach of his opponent, Walter Mondale. The ad was aired in October 1984, prior to the second presidential debate devoted to defense and foreign policy issues.

The imagery and wording of the ad are viewed in light of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's concepts of presence and communion, where presence means bringing certain elements of argumentation into the public's consciousness, and communion denotes seeking points of agreement and identifying with the audience. A speaker creates presence when he makes "present, by verbal magic alone, what is actually absent but what he considers important to his argument or, by making them more present, to enhance the value of some of the elements of which one has actually been made conscious" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 117). He then "tries to establish a sense of communion centered around particular values recognized by the audience... for purposes of amplification and enhancement" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 51). Winning the audience's adherence to and agreement on a specific value allows the speaker to effectively persuade and convince the public, predispose it to make a decision or a commitment to act, and provoke it to take immediate action (Perelman 286).

Language is the means to reach the goal. According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, both presence and communion are closely connected to the rhetor's choice of rhetorical devices. Presence can be created through linguistic devices and argumentative schemes. The authors list a number of linguistic tools which stylistically amplify certain elements and two techniques of argumentation: associative, which links separate phenomena together so that the audience can see a unity among them, and dissociative, which separates concepts originally interconnected in order to restructure the audience's idea about them. Furthermore, within the associative scheme, the authors classify arguments into quasi-logical and real where the former are based in formal reasoning and the latter appeal to reality and establish the real. To enter into communion with the audience, the authors explain, the rhetor uses appeals to abstract or concrete values, which dispose the audience to a certain course of action, and rhetorical techniques, which turn the audience's disposition into action.

The proposed analysis offers an approach to identify the mechanisms behind political campaign advertising: it starts with the points of departure that the audience needs to adhere to and traces the use of devices and schemes which predispose it to take the desired action. The approach exposes the manifestation of persuasion in political ads and the role of persuasion in the public's consciousness. It is concerned primarily with the means by which the rhetor wins assent to his ideas and provokes the public to decide to act.

Applying Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's concepts of presence and communion to the study of political persuasion, some observations about the president's campaign discourse can be offer. In terms of focus, its argumentation emphasizes three aspects of American-Soviet relations: threat, rivalry, and strategic advantage. The speaker isolates the ideas from the public's mentality through the visual, showing shots of a lone bear walking through a forest and a slender figure of a lone man standing at a top of a hill. He magnifies the presence of danger, competition, and advantage in the audience's mind with the scene featuring the massive bear confronting the hunter with the rifle. The shot also serves to select from voters' understanding the perception of U.S.-Soviet relations as confrontation, keeping the periods of peaceful co-existence, negotiation, or cooperation hidden. Exposition of the significance of menace, contest, and advantage is increased through the verbal. The speaker conveys the feeling of presence through the use of the present tense and the singular. Repetition of words, phrases, and clauses, and accumulation of contradictory expressions also help to maintain presence.

Linguistic projections of the concepts into the public's consciousness are strengthened with associative argumentative schemes. The speaker brings the concepts of threat, rivalry, and strategic advantage into the audience's mind through associations. He intensifies presence by incompatibility, which he creates by opening his argumentation with an assertion that "There is a bear in the woods" and ending it with an expression of doubt "If there is a bear." He draws on causality when he connects the phenomena of threat and strategic advantage by a sequence in time in a question: "Since no one can really be sure who's right, isn't it smart to be as strong as the bear?" Using a pragmatic argument allows the speaker to persuade on the grounds that taking the proposed action will lead to good consequences. The claim that "no one can really be sure who's right" is supported with an argument from example, which builds the general statement on two particular cases: "For some people, the bear is easy to see. Others don't see it at all. Some people say the bear is tame. Others say it's vicious and dangerous." Examples of opinions serve to establish a generalization. The speaker integrates individual lines of argumentation with the bear as a metaphor for a security threat and the hunter to identify the United States or Ronald Reagan. Although the Cold War is not mentioned, the use of the bear—a common symbol for the Soviet Union—makes the context clear. The ad functions enthymemically. It commits the audience to the unspoken claim that the United States needs a leader that will stand up to the Soviets and adequately prepare the nation for a potential confrontation with the enemy. Without making any explicit claims against its target—Mondale—the ad argues that Reagan is more capable of handling relations with Moscow and maintaining American military strength relative to Soviet.

To strengthen the adherence from the audience and provoke the action wished for, the ad centers the public around conflicting abstract values of universalism and power, security and self-direction. The shot of the bear standing face to face with the

hunter promotes the ideal of a world free of conflicts and tolerant of different ideas and beliefs, while, on the other, it advocates the role of the United States as a leader of the free world guarding against threats to its liberties. The scene advocates the stability of societies, safety of families, and protection from enemies, while at the same time fostering the ideas of the freedom of action, freedom of thought, and freedom of choice. The image of the bear taking a step back when it sees the hunter is another telling point. It manifests that only an attitude of fearlessness, firmness, and confidence supported with strategic and military advantage can effectively stop and break an advancing enemy. The ad creates conditions for communion attaching abstract concepts to tangible objects. It establishes communion between the candidate and the public identifying and expressing the audiences' emotions through symbols which, as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca note, are "generally more concrete, more manageable, than the thing symbolized." They allow the audiences to "exhibit in concentrated form toward the symbol an attitude toward the thing symbolized" (334). It asks questions, which the audience will answer affirmatively to both decrease opposition and translate its agreement concerning one thing to its approval regarding another.

Existing research recognizes "Bear" as one of "the few memorable episodes of the 1984 presidential campaign" (Oberdorfer 94). Its message linking the president with the policy of dealing with the Soviets from the position of strength and its idea to use symbols towards which viewers held specific feelings and associate the emotions with the candidate and his policy remain strong (Medvic, *Campaigns* 265; Dover 32; Oberdorfer 94). Opinions vary on the effectiveness of the ad, however. Edwin Diamond and Stephen Bates argue that "Tests showed the spot achieved an extraordinarily high recall rate. Many viewers missed the Soviet allegory but got the message of peace through strength" (26). By contrast, Darrell M. West holds that the "commercial had no significant effect on either of the concerns noted: peace and arms control or restoring pride in the United States." The author explains that "Part of the problem may have been the abstractness of the ad.... Its complexity may have limited its effect on the agenda" (105). Stephen K. Medvic agrees that many viewers watching "Bear" missed "the mark because the producer had one thing in mind while the voters saw something else" (*Political Consultants*, 59). Views on the tone of the ad also differ. Some scholars consider it to be "the most effective Reagan attack ad" (Dover 32) ran in one of "the most inspired negative political campaigns" (Nava et al. 144), while others find the ad "neither positive nor negative" (Medvic, *Campaigns* 265).

Opinion polls show that in 1984 the majority of Americans agreed with the president's assertion that "the Soviet Union is... an evil empire trying to take over the world" and endorsed the view that the Soviets "will do anything to advance the cause of communism." Most Americans believed that "the Soviets are constantly testing us, probing for weaknesses and they're quick to take advantage whenever they find any" and that they "treat our friendly gestures as weaknesses." There was a general

feeling that the Soviets could not be "trusted" and that "wherever there is trouble in the world—in the Middle East, Central America or anywhere else—chances are the Soviets are behind it" (B. A. Fisher 63–64; Oberdorfer 95; Shiraev, Carroll, and Shlapentokh 92). Among the survey respondents, the two most common reasons why the Soviet Union was considered to be an enemy nation were "The Soviets have thousands of nuclear weapons aimed at the United States" and "They continually try to spread communist revolution to other countries" (Shiraev, Carroll, and Shlapentokh 93). The data also indicates that throughout 1984, the support for Reagan's hardline approach to U.S. foreign policy was steadily increasing. Although approval ratings produced by different polling organizations vary, it seems that there was a general public approbation of the way in which Washington conducted relations and negotiated agreements with Moscow (Holsti 85; B. A. Fisher 63). At the same time, a majority of Americans believed that a deliberate provocation of the Soviets was too dangerous and wanted mutual differences to be resolved peacefully (Oberdorfer 95). While most Americans were convinced that the president should contain Soviet influence by military force if necessary, most also shared the belief that he should increase his efforts to limit the superpowers' nuclear weapons buildup (B. A. Fisher 64; Oberdorfer 95).

The ambivalence of attitudes about Reagan's foreign policy allows for an interpretation that links the substance of the campaign commercial with the concept of strategic ambiguity. Eric M. Eisenberg defines strategic ambiguity as "those instances where individuals use ambiguity purposefully to accomplish their goals" (7). Ambiguity is used strategically to "promote unified diversity" (10) and "foster the existence of multiple viewpoints" (8). One way to address divergent and multiple views is "through the creative use of symbols" which allow "multiple interpretations to exist among people who contend that they are attending to the same message" (8). In Eisenberg's view, strategic ambiguity does not mean to move people towards the same view, but facilitate different interpretations in an atmosphere of agreement. Accordingly, the role of a leader is "less one of consensus-making and more one of using language strategically to express values at a level of abstraction at which agreement can occur" (9). The leader's strategic ambiguity also provides a mechanism to maintain "one's self-image" (5), reducing the risks of negative reevaluation of one's character and performance, and to "preserve future options" (14), allowing a greater degree of implicitness in discussion of issues and flexibility of decision-making.

The perspective of strategic ambiguity offers an interesting read on the wording, images, and symbolism of the ad. The obvious messaging that comes out of the ad favors Reagan's agenda of high defense spending and provocative approach towards the Soviet Union over Mondale's moderate growth of military expenditure and a vigilant but conciliatory attitude toward the Soviets. Implicitly, it conveys the push and pull between the policy of confrontation and the policy of appeasement to deal with the Soviets effectively. In promoting the hardline approach, however, the ad omits a direct

correspondence between the communicator's intentions and the receivers' interpretations of the message. It avoids statements that are overly clear, goals that are concretely stated, or symbols that are specifically interpreted. Instead, it uses phrases, images, and symbols that encourage creative thinking, flexible interpretation and adaptability to the contextual change. While it unifies the public around the ideas of the Soviet threat and the U.S. strategic advantage—ideas that are more likely to be embraced than questioned or challenged by a general audience—it gives individual members of the public the opportunity to maintain different interpretations. Moreover, employing imprecise language, deliberate vagueness, and hidden sense, the ad gives room for maneuver to shape the candidate image and set the Soviet policy course. It preserves the impression of the president as a politician who is tough on the Soviets and pursues staunch anti-Soviet policies—an image that appeals to the supporters of a U.S. uncompromising stance—and keeps open the possibility of softening his stand depending on the circumstances—a prospect which reaches the proponents of a cautious but appeasing approach. In other words, on the one hand, it ensures of a sense of continuity, while, on the other, it opens up the possibility of change over time. Covering the interplay between the concepts of the Soviet menace and national security, the ad manages the challenges of the campaign race, the competing demands of multiple audiences, and the constraints of political realities. It draws on shared understanding of abstractions to integrate constituencies into a meaningful whole while at the same time stimulating different responses in voter communities. To paraphrase Kaja Silverman, the ad allows viewers to participate in a continuing "manufacture of meaning, an activity without a final goal or resting point" (247), serving its critical function and fulfilling its original intention.

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Sabrina Mittermeier

"Windows to the Past": Disney's America, the Culture Wars, and the Question of Edutainment

Abstract: While much has been written on Disney's America, the theme park the Walt Disney Company wanted to build in Virginia in 1993, the relation of the surrounding controversy to the ongoing Culture Wars in the US has only marginally been touched upon. This article therefore delves deeper into this crucial connection, as well as using these events as a case study to discuss the importance of edutainment, and the role that theme parks play for this similarly often-discussed issue.

Keywords: Disney's America, Walt Disney Company, Culture Wars, edutainment, theme parks

On November 11, 1993, the Walt Disney Company announced that it would build a theme park near the small town of Haymarket, Virginia, 3.5 miles away from the Manassas Battlefield National Park. Fitting to this location, the park, called Disney's America was supposed to be based on several key events of American history, and was slated to open in 1998. Disney had originally picked the location solely based on the fact that it was close to the tourist-attractive Washington D.C. area, and therefore would also not "cannibalize" directly on the markets of its other US theme parks in California and Florida. However, they had not been prepared for the public outrage the project would cause, eventually leading to the cancellation of it less than a year later.

Surprisingly much has therefore been written on this never-built park, both in the news media and academia, yet most of it in the months and years immediately following the announcement. A retrospective view now will make it possible to re-evaluate the context of these events as part of the so-called "Culture Wars." Culture Wars is an umbrella term for "a struggle over national identity—*over the meaning of America*" (Hunter 50, original emphasis)[1] that has shaped intellectual, but also public

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1 The term is originally based on the German *Kulturkampf* ("cultural struggle"), describing the persecution of Catholics and other minorities by the German empire under Bismarck that saw their high point in the 1870s, yet the contemporary Culture Wars are rather different in their content–I will come back to this later.

discussion since the 1980s and still does so until today—some of the central issues being gay rights, abortion or the teaching of evolution in schools. The apex of this conflict happened in the early 1990s, and consequently helps to explain the reasons for the controversy Disney's theme park caused. However, this is not the only goal of this article. Besides providing the immediate context of these events, I will also situate Disney's America in a larger debate surrounding heritage and authenticity in the so-called "heritage tourism" that boomed in the 1970s-1990s, but has been popular to this day. Both the Culture Wars, and the heritage boom, are events dealing with public history, leading to one of the central questions of this article: what role do theme parks play in conveying history to the public? Further, I will look at the issue of edutainment—more precisely, whether edutainment is possible at all, whether it is truly feasible to educate and entertain at the same time. If yes, then is the theme park the right form, the right venue for this? Can the theme park be a true teacher of history?

To discuss these questions, I will first outline the concept for Disney's America, then discuss the controversy surrounding it in the context of the Culture Wars, before talking about heritage studies, edutainment, and what all of these developments meant for public history in 1993/94, and most importantly, what they mean for theme parks today.

Disney's America: The Concept

Coming into Disney's America, visitors would have found themselves in an entry area (or so-called "hub") themed to a village during the Civil War—fitting to the location near Manassas battlefield. From this area, called Crossroads USA, visitors would then enter one of nine different "territories"; either by foot or by steam trains circling everything. The park would have then been structured following a historic timeline—starting in the 1860s and then travelling forth and back in time from there. Chronologically, the first territory was Native America (1600 to 1810), a Native American village that would have offered interactive experience such as arts and crafts, representing several tribes. It might have also served as a movie-tie in for Disney's *Pocahontas* that was released in 1995. A main attraction of the territory would have been a Lewis & Clark Expedition raft ride, based on Western exploration. Overlapping in time would have been the President's Square (1750 to 1800), focusing on the War of Independence and the time of the Founding Fathers. The Hall of Presidents, an attraction also found at Walt Disney World's Magic Kingdom park in Florida, would have been the square's main draw. The next time frame, skipping 50 years, would have been the Civil War (as in the park's hub), represented by the Civil War Fort (1850 to 1870), and contained a 360° movie theater, as well as

an adjacent field for battle re-enactments. Also belonging to the area, and making up the center of the park would have been a man-made lake called Freedom Bay, with nightly showings of the naval battle between the Monitor and the Merrimac (from the Battle of Hampton Roads), possibly serving as a night-time spectacular. Two territories were supposed to be set between 1870 and 1930: We the People and Enterprise, both representing important aspects of the period of both the Industrial Age and Age of Mass Migrations. We the People, a reproduction of Ellis Island, would have dealt with immigration and the multi-ethnic heritage of the USA, while Enterprise was supposed to represent an American factory town. It focused on American inventions and technological progress, featuring Industrial Revolution, a roller coaster ride through a steel mill. Family Farm and State Fair were also set concurrently, between 1930 and 1945. The farm was supposed to show authentic farm life (with hands-on opportunities such as milking a cow), and aspects of the food production industry. The State Fair, however, would have been more clearly linked to the Depression era, portraying amusement parks like Coney Island, featuring a Ferris wheel, a wooden roller coaster, and a show about the nation's favorite pastime, baseball. The last of the nine territories, Victory Field, was again planned to be overlapping in time, and set during World War II: it represented the military, and specifically, aerial warfare in the form of an airfield with hangars, replicas of famous planes, and an attraction using virtual reality technology for flight simulation (on all of this, see Zenzen 168f; "Disney Drawing Board"). Earlier plans also seem to have featured attractions specifically dealing with slavery and the underground railroad (Zenzen 171), as well as the Vietnam war (Feinsilber), but apparently ended up being shelved when the controversy surrounding the park became more heated (Mehren).

Of the 3,000-acre land Disney had purchased, the theme park was only going to cover a small part of about 100 acres (Wines). Complementing the theme park would have been (possibly Civil War-) themed hotels with about 1,340 guest rooms total, an RV park and campsites, a golf course and a commercial complex with 1.3 million square feet for retail and 630,000 square feet of office space. There were also plans to sell a big part of the land to a residential developer, and donate some of it for schools and a library, as well as leaving 40 percent of the whole area completely green (Zenzen 169). Some sources also report eventual plans for a water park ("Disney Drawing Board").

When the project was canceled on September 28, 1994, the first impulse was to find another location for the park in Virginia, yet that idea was soon abandoned, too. It then almost got a second life as a reworking of Knott's Berry Farm in Buena Park, CA near Disneyland, but the Knott family refused to sell to Disney. Finally, some of the planned attractions ended up being rethemed and became part of Disney's California Adventure which opened as a "second gate" to Disneyland Resort in Anaheim

in 2001.[2] There were several reasons for the park's cancellation: First of all, the Disney Corporation had internal problems. EuroDisney (now Disneyland Resort Paris) that had just opened in 1992 reportedly lost 900 million dollars in its first year. Secondly Frank Wells, the company president, died in a helicopter crash on April 3, 1994, and consequently, Jeffrey Katzenberg, CEO of Disney's film division, left the company, as CEO Michael Eisner did not promote him to Wells' position. Eisner himself had to undergo emergency bypass surgery in July 1994. Yet, more importantly, the surrounding controversy had also massively hurt the company's image, as Eisner admitted in his autobiography: "Largely through our own missteps, the Walt Disney Co. had been effectively portrayed as an enemy of American history and a plunderer of sacred ground" (337). How it came to this is what I would like to discuss next.

The Controversy

As soon as Disney had announced their plans for a historic theme park in November 1993, they were met with skepticism from the media, such as Michael Wines' article in the *New York Times*, although it took a few weeks for serious opposition to mount. The majority of the Haymarket residents, however, were in favor of Disney's plans; a regional poll taken soon after Disney's announcement showed a 75% support (Vance 1). The reasons for this were obvious enough: Haymarket, and Prince William County in general, had had huge economic problems over the previous years, and struggled with high unemployment rates (Zenzen 170). Most residents had to commute to Washington D.C. to work, many left altogether, businesses closed. Reasons for the economic concerns also included a declining number of tourists to the area. Disney's theme park would have brought about 2,700 new jobs (Zenzen 169), plenty of tourists, and new residential and business development. Unsurprisingly, Virginia state and county representatives were on board with the plans, including Governor elect George Allen (R), and Prince William County Executive James Mullen (Zenzen 169).

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2   Rethemed attractions at Disney's California Adventure include the transformation of the State Fair concept into Paradise Pier (it features the wooden roller coaster California Screamin and a ferris wheel), the idea for a World War II flight simulator developed into Soarin over California and the surrounding Condor Flats (recently renamed Grizzly Airfield), the Lewis & Clark River Expedition became Grizzly River Run and Family Farm turned into Bountiful Valley Farm (closed in 2010).

"Retheming" refers to "the transformation of an existing themed space into a new one" (Lukas, "Politics" 281), most often to make the venue relevant to its audience again, it is also often done out of a negative response towards a controversial theme (Lukas "Politics" 282) as in the case of Disney's America (although it only ever existed in concept).

Also not surprisingly, several environmental groups opposed the project—they were concerned about the depletion of natural resources, increasing traffic, zoning issues and lack of infrastructure in the region; these groups included The Environmental Defense Fund, the Natural Resources Defense Council, and the Sierra Club (Hawkins and Cunningham 359). Disney tried to lessen their concerns by offering to invest in environmentally sound technologies, such as nonpolluting fuels for ride attractions and transportation, recycling measures, and alternatives to pesticides (Hawkins and Cunningham 359). They also suggested decreasing traffic by bussing employees and visitors, and investing in road improvements—(although Disney officials had negotiated a substantial state incentive package of US $163.2 million for measures including said road improvements; Hawkins and Cunningham 356f). This added concern that there would be a substantial burden on the taxpayer, especially because Disney managed to avoid having to pay a 1.00$ per person admissions tax (Hawkins and Cunningham 356).

The most important local environmentalist advocacy group against Disney was the Piedmont Environmental Council (PEC). Although originally a rather small group, it was made up of mostly wealthy landowners in the area that rallied other wealthy residents, including the owners of the *Washington Post* and actor Robert Duvall (Zenzen 171). According to historian Joan M. Zenzen, the PEC bought "permanent easements over 77,000 acres of open space to bar development. Disney's announcement threatened this peace and seclusion." (171). They started aggressive lobbying, including sending representatives to the state council, funded by such prominent names as the Mars (as in the candy bar) and du Pont families (Zenzen 174), and adopted a classic NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) stance. Interestingly enough, however, the PEC did and does not officially cover Prince William County where Disney's America was supposed to be built, and overall, local anti-Disney movement came mostly from the wealthier neighboring Fauquier and Loudon counties (Rhodes 35). Yet, they were afraid of urban "sprawl," or "collateral development" (Vance 1), also reaching their counties, and changing the whole area for the worse.

In hindsight, the Piedmont Environmental Council and like-minded preservation groups certainly had rightful concerns, yet "the edge city prediction was vastly overstated... and most of the projected population growth was going to happen with or without Disney's America," according to a statement by Kathleen Seefeldt in 2013, who chaired the Prince William Board of Supervisors back in the early nineties (qtd. in Rhodes 37). Today, the Disney's America site is home to Camp William B. Snyder, a boy scout camp (Meamber 142), the Dominion Valley Country Club, and most importantly, a massive residential area. This has led to several critical voices on why the interest groups had not protested these developments as they had Disney in the 90s (Riley; Rhodes; Meamber)—backing the theory that several of the more affluent residents of the surrounding counties just wanted to control exactly what was built in

their neighborhood. Most were also rather open about this NIMBY stance, as most called for a simple location change for Disney's America, but not its cancellation.

What eventually led to its cancellation was another issue altogether. Two other residents that started to rally against Disney were Nick Kotz, a Pulitzer price-winning journalist, and Mary Lynn Kotz, his wife, a writer and public relations pro (Rhodes 35). It was them who would eventually found an interest group called Protect Historic America (PHA), turning this land-use issue into a full-blown intellectual conflict, and a battleground for the Culture Wars. PHA started by them getting in touch with histo- rian Shelby Foote, and through their combined contacts, more and more well-known historians joined their effort—David McCullough visited in spring 1994, and in May, the group officially got its name. James McPherson, C. Vann Woodward, and John Hope Franklin also joined, as did over 150 other American academic historians. Their central grapple with Disney's America was officially still its location, not only because it would be near the Manassas battlefield, but in the vicinity of over 18 Civil War bat- tlefields and a total of 64 historic sites—an area that is still referred to as the Cradle of American Democracy (Hawkins and Cunningham 357). These ties to not only the Civil War, but also the foundations of the USA were continuously stressed by the project's opposition, referring for example to the fact that the park would have been "just 35 miles from the White House" (Kotz and Abramson).[3] Yet the location-focused rhetoric eventually evolved into a "sacred soil" argument (Wallace, *Mickey Mouse* 168) rooted in the ideas of American civil religion. C. Vann Woodward, a co-chairman of PHA, had argued that "[t]his part of northern Virginia has soaked up more of the blood, sweat, and tears of American history than any other area of the country.... It has bred more of the founding fathers, inspired more soaring hopes and ideals, and witnessed more triumphs and failures, victories, and lost causes than any other place in the country" (qtd. in Kotz and Abramson). James McPherson, writing for the OAH newsletter in August 1994, also backed his view: "The ambience necessary for the im- agination to re-create and the mind to understand the battles in which thousands of men gave their lives in a war that shaped the destiny of the American people would be destroyed forever.... It is for us the living to be dedicated to the task of preventing that desecration, so the world will not forget what they did there" (9). These statements made more than clear that the preservationist efforts of this land in Virginia by far exceeded environmentalist concerns. Even Pulitzer-Prize winning historian Richard Ketchum, one of the founders of PHA, admitted that "'the 'location' business is a bit

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3   The fact that the site is 35 miles from the White House is true, yet getting there still means a 45 minute travel by car on the free way from Haymarket to Washington D.C.'s National Mall; hardly anything that should normally be of concern to preservationist issues, or a classic NIMBY argumentation—it just put fuel to the fire of the ideological side of the argument.

of NIMBY'" (qtd. in Mehren), yet this did not seem to stop him from joining, as other issues more important were at stake for him and the other historians. The "sacred soil" argument however, was by far not something that all of the PHA members or historians in general backed—many opposed the ideological implications behind it, among them, Mike Wallace, John Bodnar, or Linda Shopes. Yet the other issue, and the reasons for most of the historians that opposed Disney's America, was the fear of Disney misrepresenting, and distorting American history, and this fear of "Disneyfication" is what I want to look at next.

Disneyfied History and the Culture Wars

Disneyfication[4] (not to be mixed up with Disneyization) is a term often used to describe the process of simplification of an idea, to make it more mass-appealing, or family-friendly; used more negatively it implies the censorship, "sanitization" or dumbing-down of something, going back to Disney's treatment of fairy tales in its animated movies. While the term has become more wide-spread than just its use in connection to Disney's products, it was precisely this that PHA's members were mostly afraid of—the disneyfied version of history, and that the historic theme park would indeed solely reflect *Disney's* America. As Michael Eisner admitted, the name was problematic to begin with, as it "implied ownership of the country's history, which only antagonized our critics.... That was unfortunate because we were never interested in a park that merely reflected a Disneyesque view of history" (320). Indeed, Eisner had said early on that they were not shying away from more controversial issues: the "'painful, disturbing, and agonizing' stories of the enslavement of the blacks, the massacre of the natives, the divisions of Vietnam—all will be dealt with" (qtd. in Feinsilber). Disney Senior Vice President Bob Weis also stated that the park would show the Civil War "with all its racial conflict," that it could "make you [the visitor] a Civil War soldier," even "make you feel what it was like to be a slave" (qtd. in Zenzen 171). Unsurprisingly though, it was precisely these statements that caused the most outrage with opponents. As Zenzen has pointed out, Disney most likely referred to the use of virtual reality technology (171),[5]

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4   While Disneyfication is the most often-used term for the processes described here and the reason I am using it, the depiction of history by Disney has also been referred to as "Distory" by Stephen Fjellman or "Mickey Mouse History" by Mike Wallace.

5   In the early 1990s, Virtual Reality was increasingly popular and believed to be affordable and widely used by 1994; Japanese entertainment company Nintendo brought the Virtual Boy game console to the market in 1995, yet it was a colossal flop. Disney opened a small virtual reality-based indoor theme park called DisneyQuest at Walt Disney World in 1998. While the technology was impressive back then, it is largely underwhelming today and VR technology is still awaiting its real breakthrough.

but it simply seemed outrageous to most that Disney would even touch upon such issues. A rather grotesque liberal political cartoon in the *Buffalo News* by Tom Toles showed a happy Goofy running in the place of the "burning girl" in the famous Vietnam War picture, and from the other side of the political spectrum, neo-conservative William Kristol—the son of Getrude Himmelfarb and Irving Kristol[6]—feared that Disney would be too progressive: "If you're going to have a schlocky version of American history, it should at least be a schlocky, patriotic, and heroic version.... [I]t will be sort of pseudo-sophisticated and politically correct, [with] suitable bows to all oppressed groups" (qtd. in Wallace, "Serious Fun" 85). These strong reactions from both political sides stress exactly how much was at stake in the controversy over Disney's America, and how it evolved from a local land-use issue to a nationwide conflict in a matter of months, as the theme park became a battleground for the Culture Wars.

In his recent book on the Culture Wars, *A War for the Soul of America*, Andrew Hartman traces their origins back to the 1960s. As he argues, the history of America "is largely a history of debates about the idea of America" (2), and when the changes of the sixties started not one, but several discussions about the nation's core values, even proposing an altogether "New America," it created a bigger rift than ever before in the nation's culture and its politics. As early as the beginning of the 1970s emerged a conservative longing to bring back the once-great America of the 1950s and before, and by the 1980s, this longing evolved into a full-blown neo-conservative movement, as exemplified by the Reagan presidency. And so, in the 1980s and 1990s, several conflicts that were soon referred to as the "Culture Wars," following James Davison Hunter's book of the same title in 1991, began to dominate most of the US intellectual—and propagated by the media—public life. As Hunter points out, the culture conflicts that were originally fought along mostly clear-cut religious and political lines, had at this point changed significantly and now were based on a much more general "matter of moral authority" (42), cutting "*across* the old lines of conflict, making the distinctions that long divided Americans... virtually irrelevant" (43, original emphasis). Therefore, the world views clashing in these conflicts were no longer "coherent, clearly articulated, [or] sharply differentiated" but rather just "*polarizing impulses* or *tendencies*" (Hunter 43, original emphasis). Consequently, unlikely alliances were formed over certain divisive issues—making it possible that both a liberal political cartoonist such as Tom Toles and a neo-conservative like William Kristol could both oppose Disney's plans because they did not agree with the company's presentations of history, even though they had different issues with them.

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6   Gertrude Himmelfarb was an important player during the 1980s part of the history wars; a traditionalist scholar, she opposed the development of the discipline of cultural history. Irving Kristol has sometimes been referred to as "the godfather of neoconservatism."

During the early 90s, the most important battles of these Culture Wars were fought on a history front. The two most resonating of these dealt with the National History Standards, and the proposed Enola Gay exhibit for the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum. For the sake of length, and because both of these incidents have been covered elsewhere in great detail (Nash et. al., Linenthal et. al., Hartman), I will not discuss them here in more depth.[7] Yet both are excellent examples of what matters in all of these conflicts: the wish to reflect on American history through a more differentiated, more politically left lens than before, and a (neo-)conservative backlash against even the attempt to do so. The National History Standards ended up being published and put into practice in schools, at least in a revised version in 1996, after they had been under public scrutiny since Lynne Cheney's editorial on October 20, 1994, that had decried them as too "politically correct." The Enola Gay exhibit however also underwent several extreme script revisions, but ended up being officially cancelled on January 30, 1995, and even led to the resignation of museum director Martin Harwit the following May. All of this needs to be kept in mind when looking at the Disney's America controversy, as the three events unfolded simultaneously—when Disney announced the theme park on November 11, 1993, planning for the Enola Gay exhibit was well under way, and the National History Standards were also being drafted. On September 17, 1994, Disney's America was protested on the National Mall, and only two months later, on November 23, the Enola Gay arrived under similar protest at the Air & Space museum. Ultimately, both projects were cancelled only within four months after each other. As Joan Zenzen has aptly put it: "Some historians supported Protect Historic America because they were skeptical about how Disney would interpret and present the past.... As custodians of the nation's history, American historians were especially sensitive to its presentation because of recent attacks on the profession" (178).

Historic Theming and the Heritage Boom

This circumstance explains why there suddenly was such uproar about the construction of a historic theme park—while the proposed location certainly had drawn special attention to it, such a public discussion of the content and depiction of historic themes had previously been unheard of. Theme parks all over the world use historic theming,[8] and Disneyland is of course one of them, so it was wrong that some of the

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7   For a quick overview on at least the controversy surrounding the National History Standards, in addition to the more substantial accounts of Nash and Linenthal (see Works Cited), I recommend Gary Nash's "Reflections on the National History Standards" that can be found here: http://www-personal.umich.edu/~mlassite/discussions261/nash.html.

8   Theming is "the use of an overarching theme... to create a holistic and integrated spatial organization of a consumer venue" (Lukas "Themed Space" 1).

media coverage, such as Michael Wines writing for the *New York Times*, claimed that "there has never been anything like it in Mickey Mouse's empire or anywhere else."[9] While there has been criticism from academia towards some of the historic depiction in Disneyland and other Disney theme parks, such as the American Adventure pavilion in Epcot (the second theme park in Walt Disney World, opened in 1982), there had never been any kind of controversy—especially even before a park or an attraction had even been built—that would compare to Disney's America.

While the Culture Wars climate certainly served as a catalyst for the public outrage, the reasons for Disney's interest in building such an explicitly historic theme park in the early 1990s can be traced back to something different, though related. Since the 1970s, and especially the 80s and early 90s, the tourism industry has seen a so-called "heritage boom," an increasing number of tourist attractions that offer the visitor insights into a country's heritage, and its historic and cultural memory. This phenomenon could especially be observed in the UK and the US in the 1980s, and has therefore been credited to a renewed interest in these ideas under the conservative administrations of both Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan (Light 146)—to give an example, the number of museums in England alone doubled between 1971 and 1987 (Urry and Larsen 135). The development of neo-conservatism, however, can itself be traced back to the growing disillusionment of the public in the early 1970s, after the harrowing 1960s that saw such events as the assassination of JFK, the Vietnam War, and was then topped off by the Watergate affair. All of this sparked a longing for a seemingly better past, a nostalgia for the "good old times."

Another reason for this "heritage boom" identified by, among others, John Urry, was the wish to experience more differentiated forms of tourism, a sort of post-mass tourism (Urry and Larsen 51f), and a new "quest for authenticity" in tourism (Mac-Cannell), all identified as a consequence of Post-Fordism, and generally, postmodernity.[10]

Heritage attractions include sites such as museums, memorials, restored houses of historic significance (incl. the homes of people with historic relevance, such as Monticello or Mount Vernon), the participation in or spectatorship of reenactments, living history museums (such as Colonial Williamsburg), and also, theme parks, although

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9   Which is also why he had been corrected immediately by a reader, Andrew Zolot, who pointed out in a letter to the editor, that there had been Freedomland, a theme park dealing explicitly with American history, that lasted from 1960–64 in the Bronx, but became a victim of the competition by the 1964–65 New York World's Fair. This is of course only one example of a historical theme park dealing with American history.

10   Filippo Carlà has also written on the connection between postmodernity and the so-called "postmodern time regime" as well as a link to Vanessa Agnew's "Affective turn" within history. See Carlà, forthcoming.

they are often left out or only briefly mentioned by scholars dealing with heritage studies. The increasing number of these was both a reason for and a symptom of the Culture War-period. Yet how they were seen by the public and especially, academia, was sometimes radically different. For example, Colonial Williamsburg or Mount Vernon are generally deemed much more "authentic" than theme parks, while in fact they have increasingly used tools similar to those as Disney employs in their theme parks to educate and entertain their visitors. Laurie A. Meamber, a marketing scholar, has compared all three sites (using Epcot's "American Adventure" as an example for the Disney parks), as well as Monticello, and concluded that all of them rely on the concepts of both Disneyfication and Disneyization. Disneyization, a term coined by Alan Bryman, follows George Ritzer's concept of McDonaldization (1993)[11] and means that more and more of our world—or at least of our consumer venues—are beginning to resemble Disney's theme parks. The tools of Disneyization are the use of theming, hybrid consumption, merchandising, performative labor, and control and surveillance. Both Colonial Williamsburg and Mount Vernon use these methods to convey history, such as employing actors to portray historic figures (performative labor generally means requiring to show emotion towards the customer, but can also extend to actual acting as part of the job description), and selling themed merchandise. Additionally, they also present history through the lens of patriotism, a fact that sometimes leads to certain omissions from the text, much as is the case with Disney's representations of history. The attractions also use a mixture of "authentic" and inauthentic, recreated, exhibition pieces, as well as audio-animatronics, further disneyfying the experience. The same developments can also be seen in newer heritage attractions such as the Boston Tea Party Ship & Museum that opened in 2012 and tells its (hi)story via actors, holographs, a multi-sensory movie, as well as involving visitors by letting them throw tea packets into the Boston harbor. Meamber concluded that the idea of Disney's America is "now reflected through the operation of historical sites such as those [discussed here]" (143). This is an interesting idea, as it suggests that although Disney's America was never built, other sites have taken its place that serve a similar purpose, and for the most part, also present their visitors with a similar take on American history.

The Technologies of Edutainment

The realization that all heritage sites increasingly use similar tools, warrants a look at what these technologies are and what they contribute to the visitor's experience.

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11   This of course refers to George Ritzer's seminal work "The McDonaldization of Society," originally published in 1993 and since revised eight times and translated into several languages.

Disney uses the term "Imagineering"—a portmanteau for "imagination" and "engineering"—for the practice of designing and developing its theme parks around the world. The term has increasingly found use at other heritage attractions as well. Besides theming, a term which most overtly focuses on the architecture and design of a space, imagineering also encompasses the use of several technologies to tell a story. Besides the classic arts of film-making or music, these can include the use of audio-animatronics to simulate humans or animals; touch screens, virtual reality, and other kinds of interactive information technology; different kinds of vehicles for actual or simulated transport; and many more such tools, often state-of-the-art. The goal of all of these is the immersion of the visitor into the venue and the story or information it tries to convey. Noel B. Salazar sums it up as follows: "A perfectly imagineered attraction makes you feel like you are on a journey that transports you to a different place or time and completely engulfs you in a new world. It makes a story convincing by engaging all senses and moving peoples' emotions within a fantasy environment in which, paradoxically, the fantasy feels completely real" (49).[12]

Disney's America would have also made extensive use of all of these techniques. As Peter Rummell, then chairman of Walt Disney Imagineering (WDI), explained in his contribution to the OAH newsletter on the project: "Employing all the tools available to us—filmmaking, animation, music, interactive media, live interpretation, art, and technology—we will bring the American experience to life in the three-dimensional forum of a park and help visitors imagine what it must have been like at certain moment's in our nation's history" (10). Yet many people, and especially the members of PHA and other academics, were—and are—skeptical towards the use of such technologies when conveying the darker periods of history. As mentioned before, Disney's plans of trying to convey first-hand experiences of slavery or the Vietnam war, upset many—although it remains unclear in what form that would have actually been done, as the plans were apparently scrapped early (Mehren) and are therefore missing from the concept outlines that are available to the public today. Historian Linda Shopes noted that while such a simulated experience could not only never be truly authentic, it could however give people a false sense of authenticity: "While no Luddite, I wonder if the much-vaunted Disney wizardry does as much harm as good: cannot simulations lead participants to a facile, if not arrogant, view because they've experienced a recreated version of an event, they know it?" I think that this an overstatement, as I believe that, while people do indeed employ a suspension of disbelief in theme parks, they still do so willingly and knowingly, even most children, and are not rendered as passive and impressionable as many academics make them out to be. Yet similar

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12   This practice has also been described as "time travelling" in connection to historic theming by archaeologist Cornelius Holtorf (2009), but it would exceed the scope of this essay to go into more detail here.

concerns also exist on the producers' side of theme parks and other themed environments, and this has led to a rather obvious lack of themed and immersive spaces that actually use theming to convey darker and more harrowing issues or time periods—what has sometimes been called "dark theming." This is interesting, as other popular culture media such as movies often, and unquestioningly deal with harrowing historical events, while theme parks do not—which "suggests that the technology of theming itself is often the inciter of controversy" (Lukas, "Politics" 276). Scott Lukas has suggested that this might be because of the "more active role" (Lukas, "Politics" 278) visitors take in theme parks vs. watching a movie. Yet, this "dark theming" was in fact still common back in the days of Coney Island, but it was virtually eliminated with the emergence of Disneyland (Lukas, "Pushing" 50f). The obvious exceptions to the rule are museums, as well as reenactments—which leads to the main reason why theme parks usually do not deal with such issues: they fear offending, and in turn, losing customers, and therefore revenue (Lukas, "Pushing" 54). While we will never find out if Disney had dared step over that line, it was, somewhat ironically, opposition from academia and not the general public (and potential visitors) that made them reconsider in the first place. And so it led to a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy when criticism was voiced based on this assumption, as for example by Wallace ("Serious Fun" 87).

Besides these concerns, edutainment, the notion that education can be entertaining (as well as entertainment educational), is something that is generally wildly discussed among scholars. Not coincidentally, the conflict over the topic is again epitomic to the times of the Culture Wars, as Ronald Walters points out: "on one side, all appear to assume, there is entertainment, on the other there is history and serious scholarship. Public historians, filmmakers, museum curators, and others have done fine work in recent years to erase that distinction, or at least to make it less severe, but it stands at the core of the Disney debate as a sort of 'two cultures' argument for the 1990s." It points further to the rift that also happened within academia, based on the questions of *who* should be allowed to teach history, and *how* it should be taught. Even James McPherson, a member of the PHA, pointed out that "[n]o license is required to practice history in the United States," and that "[m]ost professional historians do not oppose such simulations [at living history attractions such as Colonial Williamsburg] if they are done with accuracy and sensitivity to the complexities and ambiguities of historical reality" (1). Yet many feared that these complexities would be lost in such "simulations" and that the result would become a mere "synthetic history," as David McCullough called it (qtd. in Rich), or that the past could never fully be recreated and would therefore only present an incomplete picture (Confino).

Yet, two well-known historians, James Oliver Horton and Eric Foner, saw Disney's America as an opportunity rather than a threat. "For Horton, the promise of Disney using its command of technology to do good history in an entertaining way was enough to gain his critical support" (Zenzen 179). He admitted that most people

learned their history in national parks, museums, and theme parks, noting that to "maximize the success of democracy, 'we need to educate our people and we need to do that in a variety of places. We can't count on the schools or the universities or even formal mainstream traditional museums to do the education… alone'" and that "if we want to educate people… then we have to use a little imagination to make [history] engaging," as ultimately, "good education is really entertaining" (qtd. in Zenzen 180). Both Horton and Foner became official historical consultants for Disney's America.[13] While some members of PHA, such as William Styron, believed that they were "disgracing themselves" (qtd. in Appelo), and selling out—Styron even said that Foner had "whored himself to Disney" (qtd. in Appelo)—they were ultimately serving public history, acting on the belief that "edutainment" was not just a buzzword, but actually possible. They were and are certainly not alone with their opinion, as can be seen, for example, in several academic accounts discussing Disney's America, such as the contributions of both Mike Wallace and Richard Francaviglia to a special issue of *The Public Historian* in 1995. Yet what keeps being discussed by them and others is again the notion of "authenticity" and the idea that "theme parks are not museums, and we shouldn't expect anything like the coverage and complexity demanded of public historical sites" (Wallace, "Serious Fun" 88). This is of course right—and yet, it might be wrong to compare them in the first place. While they are related media of edutainment, their underlying messages and ideas follow entirely different rules, which I will discuss in the following.

Truth and Myth

The perceived dichotomy of education and entertainment has been eroded by the postmodern dissolution of high and low culture, and by the questioning of the idea of one historic truth, most notably by Hayden White. These ideas of meta-histories and the development of cultural history as a field are at the core of the Culture Wars, making the idea of edutainment one central argument of the conflict, as it ultimately allows for multiple voices in the distribution of knowledge. This is echoed by many of the scholars dealing with Disney's America, and heritage tourism in general after 2000, when, it seems, the Culture Wars had shifted to different fronts, as well as away from the question of "who" to more of a "how"—as can be seen in such conflicts as

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13   It is interesting to note that Foner, a leftist radical, and Horton, an African-American, and scholar of African-American history, would both support the rather conservative Disney. Yet this can be seen as yet another example of the Culture Wars shifting fronts and unlikely alliances, as well as a growing awareness of the significance of public history, that Horton viewed as a democratic effort.

the "War on Christmas"[14] and discussions over internet privacy.[15] Effi Gazi's claim, for example, that the "distinction between a scientific history exclusively promoting the truth and a non-scientific one viewing the past through distorted lenses is erroneous," or Meamber's statement that "it is difficult for any presentation of history to be truthful, in the sense of providing a complete and accurate account (or accounts). There are certain voices that are privileged, others that are silent, and often it is the records, stories, and myths that provide evidence as to what happened" (140). This note of "myths" is what brings me to my final argument: while both museums and theme parks belong to the realm of edutainment venues, I would claim that their cultural functions are rather different from each other. As Robert A. Baron has argued:

> The museum experience and the theme park experience have divergent but related aims. Museums exist to make the unknown known; theme parks recreate a world in which we can verify and internalize our own values. In the theme park the observer has an opportunity to become a player in a cultural or historical version of mythic events or mythic experience—what we tend to call legends.... Unlike museums, they [theme parks] exist—not for fact—but for their mythic ethos, and like myth, they must simulate a version of reality that is both appealing and significant.

The continuing fear and discussion over whether theme parks' disneyfied presentation of history is harmful to the education of people might therefore be void, or at least misdirected, as theme parks ultimately deal with the mythic, or folkloristic side of history, and present it through this unique point of view. As argued before, all heritage attractions including museums continue relying on the same techniques, yet this does not mean that their goals are indistinguishable from each other. While museums still firmly base their presentation of history on academic research and "fact," and living history sites probably fall somewhere in between, theme parks remain at the other end of the spectrum, representing cultural myths. This is made unmistakably clear in Peter Rummell's explanation of Disney's America's message:

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14   The "War on Christmas," is an ongoing conflict between Christians in the US, Canada, and to a lesser extent, the UK, and their critique on their respective governments, as well as companies that avoid association with Christmas as a holiday explicitly related to Christianity, in an effort to be sensitive towards multiple cultural and religious backgrounds. An example would be to use the general phrasing "Happy Holidays" instead of saying "Merry Christmas."

15   This refers to the ongoing public discussions about government agencies such as the NSA or the FBI gaining access to private internet data in large quantities in order to pursue crime and especially, terrorism.

> Like any presentation, Disney's America will have a point of view. Based on experts'
> counsel, the creative team has identified some themes to build on America's persis-
> tent resistance to injustice, its abilities to meet challenges and conquer the future,
> and the conviction that ordinary men and women can accomplish extraordinary
> things. The park will not whitewash history or ignore the blemishes. But neither will
> we apologize for the belief that, even with America's mistakes, the American story is
> profoundly positive and uplifting. (10)

A folkloristic or mythic presentation of America does not necessarily mean complete-
ly excluding all negative aspects of the nation's history, but it alters its underlying
message. This also explains the design of Disney's America and the choice of the nine
"territories"—searching for "complete," and "authentic" representations of history,
one will find much to demur. Yet in regards to which historic events have been pivotal
in the shaping of the American idea, its cultural memory, one can find all that is ex-
pected, such as the American Revolution, the Civil War, or World War II. Such a focus
does however not rob the historical theme park of its status as a purveyor, or even
teacher, of history, as I agree with Ann-Louise Shapiro that "history, memory, myth,
and fantasy... [are] different, co-extensive kinds of history-telling" (2)—ultimately,
myth and historic "fact" may be just two sides of the same coin.

Conclusion: Seeking a Dialogue

I am not trying to say that a mythic representation of history is sufficient when edu-
cating the public, yet, it should also not be disregarded as unnecessary or even danger-
ous. The myth and folklore aspects of history that can be found in theme parks, as well
as in movies and television shows and other media of popular culture, should be seen
as an addition to what is taught in schools and universities, to other academic texts,
and to museums, and other heritage history attractions, as well as "classic" historic
sites. This is also what Disney had in mind, as Peter Rummell claimed: "Enthused
by what they see, hear, and touch, we believe many visitors to Disney's America will
seek to explore further—through books, through museums, through visits to histor-
ic sites" (10). Bob Weis, who was in charge of the creative development of the park,
also claimed that it would be "an ideal complement to visiting Washington museums,
monuments and national treasures" (qtd. in Littaye). Disney had also agreed to fund
money for a new visitor's center at Manassas Battlefield Park, as well as to promote the
National Park Service's work inside Disney's America In addition to that, of course,
a collaboration between academic history and theme parks, as James Oliver Horton
and Eric Foner offered, remains valuable within the context of Disney's mythic pres-
entation. Foner had in fact consulted with Disney even before the announcement for
Disney's America, when he helped rewrite the script for the Hall of Presidents at the

Magic Kingdom park in Orlando, which had re-opened in October 1993. In hindsight, of course, the changes might have already foreshadowed Disney's announcement of Disney's America a month later. Probably not coincidentally, the often-criticized "American Adventure" attraction at Epcot was also revised earlier that year. These attractions and Disney parks in general still contribute to public history immensely, so much that both Mike Wallace (*Mickey Mouse* 134) and Richard Francaviglia (71) have acknowledged Walt Disney as a de facto public historian. Had Disney's America been built, Disney would have taken on an even bigger role in public history, yet as it is, it contributed greatly to opening up the debate about the importance of it. As Cary Carson, who worked for Colonial Williamsburg, noted: "The Disney Company's sudden appearance on the borders of our history museum kingdom was the best thing to happen to American history since [Roots author] Alex Haley. It challenged our monopoly, it rattled our complacency, and it mocked our claims to entertain and educate the general public. Overnight, Disney redrew the line that defines the boundaries of popular history" (61).[16] Since then, a great many scholars, including Carson, have argued in favor of a collaboration between academic and public history, among them Richard Francaviglia, J. Quaid Loebbecke, Effi Gazi, Ann-Louise Shapiro, Ludmilla Jordanova, and Filippo Carlà, stressing the importance of opening a dialogue. I wholeheartedly agree with them, and propose that academia should not only do that, but also embrace the idea that theme parks do not hurt or diminish their work, but complement it, by engaging millions of visitors yearly with historical presentations. As Peter Rummell summed it up: "Disney's America will open another window on the past, not block the existing view" (10). With currently more than 400 amusement parks and attractions in North America alone, there sure are a lot of windows.

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16   Coincidentally, the here praised Alex Haley would later work with Disney to develop an African-themed pavilion for Epcot, which also never came to fruition.

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Paweł Stachura

Anticipation and Divination of Technological Culture: Dialectic Images of the Internet in Emerson's *Nature*

Abstract: The article presents certain aspects of the Internet (interface design, user behavior, advertising, codes of conduct) as new incarnations of the American pastoralism, defined in terms derived from literary criticism and history of American literature. The rationale of this procedure is provided in terms of "dialectic images," which are old pieces of imagery that seem to anticipate subsequent technological and social developments. Of particular importance is the set of dialectical images derived from Ralph Waldo Emerson's writings, and the pastoral descriptions of nature derived from various American poets and fiction writers. Arguably, dialectic images of the Internet offer an opportunity for a better understanding of contemporary development of the Internet, and its possible future.

Keywords: Internet, technological culture, patoralism, Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature*

Literature of mid-nineteenth century, especially in France and England, features numerous examples of anticipation of social response to technological advances which were nascent or absent at the time: culture, about to be dominated and defined by technology, anticipated its future rituals, ideas, and customs, which are common in our time. Many such phenomena were described by Walter Benjamin with reference to Jules Michelet's famous metaphor of the dream. Proclaiming that "each epoch dreams the one to follow" (qtd. in Benjamin 4), the French historian pointed out the unpredictable and incomprehensible nature of historical developments, whose narrative sequence can only be recognized afterwards, in a flash of understanding which Benjamin described as the dialectic image, and which is similar to Georg Simmel's concept of image of historical moment (Bensmaïa xii). Humphrey Jennings, in a theoretical preface to his *Pandaemonium*, a collection of excerpts about the Industrial Revolution in Britain, calls these images "symbols for the whole inexpressible uncapturable processes" (35). The present article will discuss an American example of such anticipation in the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, and reverberations of his thought in American fiction and poetry of the twentieth century, especially in the continuations of American pastoralism in twentieth-century fiction. The present discussion will focus on divination

of the Internet in Emerson's idealism. It is well known that his triple division of signs concentrated on nature (Emerson I, 18; Voelz 87). Words, as signs of natural facts, belong to people, since they had not yet learnt to belong to language, but nature does not belong to people. Since words were signs of natural facts, and natural facts were signs of spiritual ones, the progression seems to lead away from people, but as the progression makes a circle from the big spirituality of over-nature back to internal spirituality of people. Below, this progression will be analyzed as a dialectical image of the Internet.

There are generally two types of critical discussions of literary texts as anticipations of future history. Science fiction criticism mostly focuses on conscious prophecies, sociological speculations, and the use of future histories as imagery for representation of a myth (Franklin 12; Lem II 58; Wagar 34). The present discussion focuses on unconscious anticipations of the future presented in dialectical images, discovered in old documents, and discussed because of their uncanny similarity to the present attitudes and ideas. Early collections of such discoveries, accompanied by seminal theoretical chapters, were presented by Benjamin, Jennings, and Lewis Mumford, but there are earlier and similar attempts in classic Marxist works, and in Georg Simmel's sociological essays. Benjamin provides a prominent and instructive example of the illuminating image in *The Arcades Project*, when he presents an idea from Charles Fourier's utopian writings as an anticipation of the radio and, more generally, of mass media and show business:

> Fourier would like to see the people who serve no useful purpose in civilization those who merely gad about in search of news to communicate-circulating among the tables of the Harrnonians, so as to keep people free from losing time in reading newspapers: a divination of radio, born from the study of human character. [W15,5] (Benjamin 645)

Thus, a careful observation of the human character in the nineteenth century allows for divination of the ways in which future societies will change under influence of new technologies, or how technologies will change through their reception by societies. Such divinations often assume the form of a short excerpt from source materials, with an appropriate comment; Jennings's *Pandaemonium* is, thus, strikingly similar to *The Arcades Project*, and several contemporary critics of modernist thought (Bensmaïa; Suárez) point out to similarities between methods based on collection of images, and represented by Benjamin, Simmel, and numerous well known thinkers and artists:

> But if his hieroglyphs look to the past, they also find their place in a wider modernist idiom. As they tried to communicate abstractions through the sensuous surfaces of everyday things and, conversely, to spiritualize the quotidian, and as they sought to highlight the mythic underpinnings of the commonplace, they were structurally

analogous to the 'mythic method' of William Butler Yeats, James Joyce, or T. S. Eliot; to Walter Benjamin's dialectical images; to Ezra Pound's 'intellectual and emotional complexes'; to Sergei Eisenstein's montages; and to Georg Simmel's *Momentbilder*. (Suárez 37)

A similar image was presented by Emerson, in a comment from his journals, which is suggestive of the social practices of the Internet cafes: "It is much wanted by the country scholars, a *café* or reading-room in the city, where, for a moderate subscription, they can find a place to sit in and find their friends, when in town, and to write a letter in, or read a paper. Better still, if you can add certain ways of meeting when important questions can be debated, communications, road, etc., etc." (Perry 244). Obviously, Emerson is dreaming, like subsequent generations did, but in the second half of the twentieth century the dream took a new, material form, and became technology and a set of consumer products and practices. The structure of this dream did not change when it materialized. How the Internet works, is best seen in Emerson's *Nature*.

1. Words are signs of the ASCII code.
2. ASCII characters are signs of machine-readable names.
3. Machine-readable names are signs of connections.

This syllogism is based on Emerson's syllogism in *Nature*, where instead of the ASCII code there were natural facts, and connections were spiritual facts. The similarity is functional: electric connections in hardware are natural facts, but connections between thoughts expressed in machine-readable code, e.g. when they are hyperlinked, are spiritual facts, materializations of thought or of the soul. Name servers are an open secret: yahoo, aol, even google are only signs of 856.594.834 or 23.456.323.654 or 65.567.545.324. The coupling of a name and its machine-readable number must be stored in a name server, which is effectively the first gateway to the wide, wide world. The coupling, however, is a wide equivalent of a narrow one, which is effected by every keyboard: characters (letters and numbers) are signs of the ASCII code, that is the binary numbers which are recognized (after a fashion) by screens. These are technical, material procedures, which would only be useful as unspiritual commodity without the third one. Names are signs of connections: connection is a spiritual fact. This is the crux of the comparison, because connection is a systematic concept, which cannot be reduced to the nuts and bolts of circuitry. Connection is the synergic, holistic potentiality of a communications system, irreducible to its parts; it is an organic form. Consciousness and brain can be described in precisely the same terms; this is the point (Hofstadter 385).

This was easier to explain in the days of telephone exchanges made of mechanical relays. Their ability to put people through was not in their parts, but in their SHAPE, or configuration. A desired connection consists not of wires and contacts, but of their relative positions. Connection is pure form, not matter. In other words, a telephone

exchange is another example of the dilemma between nominalism and reism. Is the connection only a name of a particular shape of a telephone exchange? The answer is Yes, and its name is the number.

When Emerson becomes a transparent eyeball, he stops seeing the relays, and begins to see the connection. However, nature was not made for Emerson to cross that bare common, its uses are more elaborate. An ordinary telephone user writes down numbers, and puts them next to names; in this way the dream of linguistic use of nature took its material form. Matter, as could be expected, made the dream stuff less transparent; it is difficult to see connections in a telephone book, and even more so in a name server, which has no mobile parts, and assumes no shapes visible with the naked eye. It is not enough to be a transparent eyeball.

However, there were telephone engineers with enough insight to cross the bare common. Howard Eiken, in his pioneering work on the mechanical ASCC computer, saw spiritual facts in relays of the telephone exchange: by connecting, an exchange (of sorts, of course) could remember and repeat spiritual facts (only data and calculations, which is an anticlimax, but still). When Eiken proposed the ASCC in 1937, he saw the spiritual quality of connections, an observation which almost turned flesh only once before, when Charles Babbage tried to build the analytical machine, a steam-propelled computer of the 1840s. Emerson's dream, quite unaware of it itself, tried and failed to materialize almost at the moment of its inception.

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In literary criticism, there is a wealth of applications of the comparison between Emersonian signs and computer networking. An interesting point of departure is offered by a critical comparison between Emerson and Balzac. It comes as a surprise, though it should not, that E. R. Curtius managed to understand Transcendentalism only through his understanding of Balzac, his "deep absorption in the spiritual world" (Curtius 213) of the French novelist:

> Whatever this Theory of the Unity of the All makes itself known, it always avails itself of the same language. It has its own vocabulary of concepts and signs, which is self-consistent and always recurs. Since it conceives of the All as One, of appearances as forms of a unified power, it is a kind of Monism, Phenomenalism, Dynamism. But as the unity is divided into energy and appearance, inner and outer, cause and effect, this monism simultaneously becomes a dualism. In its dynamic aspect, the All-Unity-Theory is a system of energy. In this way it arrives at the concepts of polarization, antagonism, and compensation. When it advances from the scission of the one to the mystery of the three, it can turn into number mysticism and number symbolism. But infinity resides in number. The one is the beginning of an infinite series. An infinite series of degrees, following upon one another according to the law of continuity—this

becomes another aspect of the totality that is a unity. The All is a single movement of infinite ascent.

This movement is life. The Theory of the Unity of the All is vitalism. It leaves the antithesis of materialism and spiritualism below and magically conveys matter to spirit. It brings all things together into one great harmony. (Curtius 213)

Given this, it is possible to omit certain remarks on differences between Emerson and Balzac (or between Rastignac and Thoreau) in their relation to American pastoralism. Suffice it to say that

Balzac sought the play of the infinite cosmic energies in love, in artistic creation, in the mind. Its revelation in nature he did not understand. He views nature magically and alchemistically as the arcanum of matter. He interprets it symbolically as the antagonist of human energies and aspirations. He always considers it as something other than itself, as an index of mind. He is not familiar with the contrary movement: the reimmersion of the mind in nature, the redemptive harmony with the stars, the clouds, and the winds. The tension of human existence occupied him too fully.... What Emerson said of the literary men of Boston applies literally to him: that he stimulated his jaded senses with wine and French coffee. (221)

Curtius hastens to add the well known anecdotal evidence that Balzac drank a lot of coffee to write his novels, which brothers Goncourt found distasteful, when they recalled the legend in their journals. It seems plausible, that the young men in Emerson's cafe would not drink too much coffee, and certainly not too much alcohol; they would use the Internet instead.

What, however, is common in Emerson and Balzac, is the stress put on "energies" rather than connections. Spiritual facts are effusions of an inspiring energy, Emerson's metaphorical description of the Oversoul. The metaphor of the transparent eyeball, which stressed visible configurations (of a telephone exchange), is replaced in "The Oversoul" with metaphors of power, infusion, inflation, all propelling forces, but no blueprint of their spiritual, abstract shape. The choice of metaphors is a decision between abstraction and particularization. Communion with God, an abstract connection, is soon followed (Emerson 256) by a match, not an abstract one, but the one that lights up a fire. This is of great importance for Emerson's dream, because thus, on the level of rhetoric, the dream tries to assume a material form. It finally does now, when technology has become its somnambulic artist.

In literature, the transition from dream to materialized dream is, paradoxically, the history of realism. Balzac turned (abstract) connections into novels, which were supposedly signs of (particular) things. The situation in electronic calculation changed in the 1930s, when spiritual connections assume their first material forms (or the 1940s, because ASCC was commissioned only in 1944, very soon before the Eniac was

recognized as the first modern computer). In literature, the situation changed when authors realized that abstract connections can become artificial. Writing, instead of reflecting or seeing through, could actually construct; not a mirror, not a lamp, but a circuitry manual. Modernism, with esemplastic *poiesis*, and postmodernism, turning inward to texts, were described in slightly different terms, but it is really not the intention of this essay to write about contemporary novels about the Internet. The point is, the materialization of what is perfunctorily called Emerson's dream, took several different roads; there were several ways of making circuits. Arguably, many of them led to maddened delusions, but before that they held a promise which could give birth to notable literary works of art.

Thus, some kinds of *engagé* literature, instead of reacting to spiritual facts, attempt to reify and change them; Joseph Stalin would praise some socialist-realist authors (such as Maxim Gorky) as engineers of human souls (Westerman). This engineering has its maddened American version in what Ernst Bloch called (tongue in cheek) "electron of the human subject, or technology of the will" (Bloch 674), which will be discussed in more detail below. Another approach, which is a bit more difficult to explain, is represented by three well known American authors who fall into a happy solipsism after a brush with artificial spiritual facts.

The reifying example has an intriguing example in modern poetry, and it is Amiri Baraka. His experimental combination of poetry, music, and group management, subtitled "The Poet Orchestra," is recorded at www.archive.org. It is quite unfit for printing; the connections that Baraka tries to make are those between people, whose voices and movements are signs of artificial spiritual facts (his design). This is rather like Balzac, only Baraka does not see the design, and makes it, instead. With tremendous enthusiasm he tries to arrange creative outputs of a small group of people into a pattern based on a jazz song and a vision of dance (which is not visible, because the experiment was only recorded on a sound tape). Baraka's voice, singing the base-line of the exercise, is played in a loop from a tape recorder. The group is supposed to respond to the recording and act as "instruments," adding more lines to the recording, with the poet conducting people as if they were instruments. It is difficult to say if this is poetry, but it is definitely a poet's attempt to turn abstract connections into the material pattern made of people. He constructs a utopia, he introduces his connections into the small crowd, which is his little spiritual-material telephone exchange. Obviously, it does not work, people are confused and not really enthusiastic. Is this failure a reason to be happy or not?

The failure can be bypassed by a direct imposition of will upon matter. According to some species of American popular literature, a sufficiently strong will can turn nature into its extension; such literature knows and builds only one connection, the extension line. Ernst Bloch mentions several best-selling American examples in *The Principle of Hope,* notably Prentice Mulford's *Your Forces and How To Use Them* (1887), a work interestingly simultaneous with Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. "It is a single

capitalist Lord's Prayer and that of a pantheistic engineer as well: if his machine goes more slowly, man casts the will of his prayer like a transmission belt around the original dynamo of God. Or as it can only really be expressed in American Greek: 'The man feels synchronized with the rhythm of Life'" (Bloch 681). In the 1960s an even more American Greek term (biorhythm) added to this handbook of circuitry that was supposed to improve and replace the original spiritual dynamo with an artificial one. This is what Henry Adams saw in the 25th chapter of his *Education*, where the dynamo was "a symbol of infinity," and "a moral force" rather than, as it was for his companion Langley, "an ingenious channel" of energy transmission, a mere sign of "the heat latent in a few tons of poor coal hidden in a dirty engine-house carefully kept out of sight" (Adams 380). The ultimate source of this heat, however, cannot he hidden, because it is the sun itself which is petrified in the heat of coal; the big yellow circle of energy has made another connection: in the spheres of Adams's eyes, in light-bulbs, and in the circle of the dynamo. In Emersonian terms, the difference between Langley's and Adams's dynamo *is* none at all. For an Emersonian dreamer, the difference *should and will* be none at all.

The third approach to dream materialization is more difficult; it consists in a clever rationalization of the failure of the first one. In American literature, it is exemplified by three closely related authors: Mark Twain, James Branch Cabell, and Robert Heinlein in his last phase. The three writers share a post-modern disillusionment which Edmund Wilson described as a Southern trait, in his discussion of Cabell: for a (then) Northerner is it difficult to understand how progress, liberal economy, making the world safe for democracy, can be mere words for a Southerner (Wilson 235). In other words, culture (especially the material one in the form of technology and organization) will not transform the world (its people) into a living, materialized idea. This skeptical view can be ascribed to the three authors, who (with Heinlein by a stretch) can be regarded as Southerners. However, they did continue the Emersonian tradition in a different way, as Bill Paterson asserts in his essay on Cabell and Heinlein: "Cabell construes in literary terms the Transcendentalist conception of the one true reality which is all humankind. Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote of it as the 'Over-Soul,' standing outside time, so that each 'individual' is but a tendril of the Over-Soul intruded into time, but all are parts of the same fundamental reality" (Paterson). The Southern telephone exchange stands outside time, or rather incorporates all time in its connections. Thus, there is no reason to worry or rejoice about history. However, as Paterson observes,

> Heinlein's versions of this proposition are 'flavored' with the solipsism of Twain's 'The Mysterious Stranger,' though it becomes clear from context that the self that is alone in Heinlein is the Neo-Platonic Over-Soul rather than the Cartesian cogito, from which Twain's reductionist vision is derived. Cabell's cosmogony, however he believes it to

be a statement of things as they are, is a matter of a particular generation, a particular place and time, and a particular compromise between Neo-Platonic idealism and the materialism that was then gathering strength.

Summing up, in its Southern version, the connectivist Emersonian dream is, as it were, radically internalized, instead of being *projected* onto phenomena. The Southern Oversoul comes from within, it is rationalistic, and not "empirical" (i.e. not seen by transparent eyeballs). Consequently, Twain's devil, or *No. 44, or The Mysterious Stranger* is able to create worlds by effort of will: first people (the duplicates), then all sorts of curiosities and luxuries from different times (since time does not exist for him), and finally history itself, are all *made* by the printer's devil, the individual spirit, who is the only source of reality and its connections. Cabell and Heinlein (under his influence) indulge in similar scenes; they build telephone exchanges.

> Thus, Cabell's *Figures of Earth* is an exercise in self-creation, but only at first, because it quickly turns into a feat of world-creation:
> 'Our elders, Niafer, have long had the management of this world's affairs, and you can see for yourself what they have made of these affairs. What sort of a world is it, I ask you, in which time peculates the gold from hair and the crimson from all lips, and the north wind carries away the glow and glory and contentment of October, and a driveling old magician steals a lovely girl? Why, such maraudings are out of reason, and show plainly that our elders have no notion how to manage things.'
> 'Eh, Manuel, and will you re-model the world?'
> 'Who knows?' says Manuel, in the high pride of his youth. 'At all events, I do not mean to leave it unaltered.' (Cabell 23)

Cabell's individualism, a fantasy of possible lives, in *Figures of Earth* becomes a solipsistic, creative fantasy about possible worlds, e.g. in chapter 20, "The Month of Years," Dom Manuel the protagonist lives in a world of misery, and, by creating clay image of his beloved Niafer, gradually another world:

> The spirit of Niafer entered at the mouth of the image. Instantly the head sneezed, and said, 'I am unhappy.' But Manuel kept on playing. The spirit descended further, bringing life to the lungs and the belly, so that the image then cried, 'I am hungry.' But Manuel kept on playing. So the soul was drawn further and further, until Manuel saw that the white image had taken on the colors of flesh, and was moving its toes in time to his playing; and so knew that the entire body was informed with life. (234)

Such possibilities of individual creation, in Cabell's novels, were only open to artists. In Robert Heinlein' s science fiction, however, natural science is considered to be a sort of art, and individual creative might assumes the form of engineering. For Heinlein, who

was fascinated with transformative possibilities of science and engineering (being a sort of engineer himself), Cabell's gentleman-like disdain for time (and its transformative force) was a dormant trait: the individual manipulates time (and human affairs) in one early story, "By His Bootstraps" (1941), and in a series of novels Heinlein wrote in his last years. In the story, the protagonist is drawn (by a stranger) into the "time gate" where he meets a man who sets him up to perform a mysterious mission: it turns out that he must draw himself into the gate, i.e. reenact, or create the opening scene. In other words, the protagonist must ensure his own existence, the ultimate act of creation. Numerous other acts, i.e. the origination of humankind and its entire culture, language, and history, are mere technical additions: Dictor, the protagonist, turns out to be his own (and all people's) progenitor, but the most important step was the opening scene, when he takes one of his offspring and turns it into himself (of course, it is a logical paradox, and he never unravels it). The creative enterprise is continued on a grander scale in the novels like *Time Enough for Love* (1972), *Job: A Comedy of Justice* (1984), *The Cat Who Walks Through Walls: A Commedy of Manners* (1985), or *To Sail Beyond the Sunset* (1987). In the same manner as in the story, or in Twain's and Cabell's work, a human being leaves the indifferent, material universe, and creates a new, meaningful, super-material one.

It is a wholesome thought that the Internet, in its very technological foundations and designs, is a materialization of Emersonian connective dream, because it gives the phenomenon of the Internet both a meaning and a makeshift explanation. The Internet is a house made of dreams; it is based on a technology which manages to turn abstract spiritual facts into abstract (though reified) configurations of circuitry. It is doubtful, of course, if the materialization of the Emersonian dream can replace the dream itself: spiritual facts of which nature is a sign. In the same way, Benjamin's arcades could not, for all their dreamlike quality, quite replace the dreams they materialized. However, the variety of forms described in *The Arcades Project* exceeds expectations of every reader, and the Internet, whose number of possible connections exceed that of any arcade or city, may exceed such explanations as well, if it is described as a materialized dream about a meaningful, spiritualized nature.

These anticipatory images are pertinent for today's cultural function of the Internet. It has already been observed, by numerous authors, that dissemination of knowledge from libraries and archives (including government registers used in everyday life), turned out to be a secondary function of the Internet, which is primarily used as a source of entertainment, news, and for shopping and social networking ("Global Internet User Survey"). As such, the Internet performs the functions previously fulfilled by the cinema, radio, and television: it is a dream factory and it creates opportunities for fulfillment of individual aspirations and desires. What differs the Internet from earlier media is that it is a space that users can "enter" or be "in," move about, search through, find content, or leave things (comments) behind. As such, it combines the functions of

media with those traditionally fulfilled by nature, understood as natural territory for human actions. Consequently, conceived as a channel for information and control, the Internet has assumed the function of a territory explored in search for satisfaction of human passions, and this development has been anticipated in Emerson's set of anticipatory images and its continuations in American literature. Just like Emerson's self-reliant idealists, Internet users project their needs into an abstract space which is malleable and manifold, and which can provide users with "natural space," where an individual can stimulate and satisfy passions, which are understood to be sources of inspiration, motivation, and meaning of life. Critics of contemporary culture argue over whether this development is beneficial, harmful, or dangerous (Clark 115; Doctorow), but it has been interestingly, and perhaps unexpectedly anticipated as a form of idealism, in that the Internet is structurally analogous with Emersonian nature. If we conceive of networks and computers as abstract (mathematical) constructs, then Emersonian nature, mechanical computers, and electronic computers, are all different concretizations (materializations) of the abstract constructs. The present discussion does not propose to predict the future of the Internet on the basis of this similarity, but pertinent clues are presented in Leo Marx's (1988) and Lawrence Levine's (1990) essays on American pastoralism, where the authors describe the gradual trivialization of American ideas of nature in the second half of the nineteenth century. Both Marx and Levine point out to the ritualization of the pastoral contact with nature, which became gradually more and more codified and artificial in ways that reflected contemporary class divisions and prejudices in big American cities. This seems to be a plausible model for the cultural future of the Web.

The model can be elaborated as a set of historical parallels. Below, the discussion will extrapolate the evidence left in cultural documents, and propose four scenarios for future usage practices of the Internet, with possible trends in developments of required technology. The discussion will refer to literary criticism and history of culture, as it described further development of cultural conception of nature in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the idealistic concept of nature became part of popular culture.

1. Internet is a malleable space of projection

As Levine observed, when Romantic concepts of nature became part of American popular culture in the 1870s, they were simplified, and they lost their links with religious orthodoxy. This severance resulted in greater flexibility of the concept of nature, because nature lovers did not have to observe the traditional view of nature, as prescribed by Christian beliefs; this discipline was already weak in Emerson's time, but at that time it was a stabilizing influence. In the second half of the nineteenth century, on the oth-

er hand, nature could mean anything to anybody, as the examples provided by Bloch suggest. Nature, thus, had become a malleable space of projection, especially for those Americans who lived in urbanized areas and whose fantasies were not verified by first hand experience of rural life. In response to the development of nature as malleable space of projection, free-time industry began to reshape American nature, and adjust it to the popular image of nature, which consisted of fantasies and requirements of customers. This development is parallel to the increasing flexibility of the Internet as alternative reality: increasingly, content can be freely adjusted to preferences of users', who are less and less bound by requirements such as programming expertise, computer terminology, literacy, Internet etiquettes, or traditional modes of Internet use, which consist mostly of writing, reading, and watching. Just like "nature" was commodified and developed as a set of playgrounds, late in the nineteenth century, the Internet is likely to adapt to the common customers' need for recreation through physical exercise, adventure and excitement, travel and discovery. The Internet can provide a more affordable and available satisfaction of such needs. Perhaps most likely, this will consist in increasing use of sandbox gaming and controllers based on movements of the entire body, such as guns, kinects, wiis, and imitations of musical instruments (Poh).

2. Malleability leads to social fragmentation and stratification of users

Beginning in the second part of the nineteenth century, increased malleability of nature has led to increased diversification of its users, and to social fragmentation and stratification of users (Esping-Andersen 14). Leo Marx collected a lot of cultural evidence of the process, demonstrating how tourists visiting natural areas formed social bubbles, and interacted only with small groups of similar tourists, or did not interact at all. Importantly, tourists do not interact with native inhabitants of the place which they conceive as natural, and cultural evidence suggests that this disinterest is mutual. Presumably, every social bubble of this kind has a different concept of nature, and uses this concept to satisfy a different array of needs. Nature, thus, does not function as a space of interpersonal interaction, but as a malleable space of projection for a single individual or a small group. The same development, which is perhaps a general feature of consumer society, is observable among users of the Internet. However, the cultural evidence (discussed below) points out to mutual incomprehension, antipathy and lack of interest between various consumer groups, or users of the Internet, and in particular, between "external" users and "resident" experts, both in nature and in the Internet. In this extrapolation, the Internet is compared to nature, users are compared to tourists, experts to native inhabitants, and mass tourism, rather than traveling or discovery, is compared to Internet use. It seems that the identifiable future trend in development of social response to the Internet will be increased social stratification, and development

of exclusive and isolated consumer groups. Spontaneous and exclusive social grouping, rather than language or type of content, will probably be the main contributive factor in the fragmentation and isolation of Internet user groups.

3. Codification, uniformization and mimetism are spontaneous mechanisms

Lawrence Levine, in one of his studies on the evolution of popular attitudes to nature, focused on codes of conduct in public parks, and demonstrated that such codes were becoming increasingly elaborate in the 1890s, and extended over more aspects of behavior than before, regulating the choice of clothes worn by visitors, games and sports, prescribed ways of moving about, and bans on eating certain foodstuffs (Levine 235). The tendency was apparently ridiculed by contemporary commentators, but the cultural evidence reflects the trend to codify and standardize human contact with nature. The phenomena of social fragmentation and stratification, discussed in the previous section, seem to be spontaneous initially, and subsequently become codified, and the codification is imitated by an increasing number of regulators, which leads to standardization and unification of the social practices of contact with nature in various regions and countries.

The parallel with the Internet use consists in the malleability of the concept of signifying nature and the concept of the Internet: both are prone to codification. As mentioned in the previous section, the codes of conduct in the Internet are enforced by peer pressure within user groups, where noncompliance is punished by exclusion. What Levine's study suggests is that the codes of conduct are likely to be articulated in an increasingly explicit and detailed manner, to become increasingly complicated, and to extend over more and more areas of a user's life, to the point of becoming a codified lifestyle of a given user group. As in the case of public conduct regulations in famous parks, the codes of the most prominent and popular groups are likely to become standards, imitated by smaller and newer groups. Thus, paradoxically, although social fragmentation results in developments of an increasing number of small user groups, the codes of conduct within the groups are likely to become increasingly similar.

The tendency is already observable in the use of social network portals, Internet shops, and forums. The tendency is fostered by the fact that relatively few standardized engines and templates are used by website developers (Heck), but the nature of this development is cultural and social, not technical, in that it works on the level of etiquette, privacy policy, and rules of comment moderation. Thus, the major websites, such as Facebook and Youtube, are comparable to Central Park in New York, whose code of conduct had set the standard of such codes in parks established in other American cities and towns. Conversely, facebook, ebay, amazon, and youtube are providing ready-made interface patterns, modes of operation, and elaborate codes of conduct for

their imitations and equivalents in various cultural regions and linguistic zones. The tendency is, of course, related to fashion, snobbery, and similar mechanisms of social mimetism (Billot 240; Ruvio and Yossi 65).

4. Pastoral narrative is a model for development of user interface and user practice

Another, most general, type of similarity consists in the choice of general narrative framework in the cultural construction of natural landscape in the nineteenth century, and the metaphorical landscape of social networking in the Internet. Cultural theory generally assumes that thinking and understanding is determined by narrative patterns which are commonly taught and repeated in a given culture (e.g. Snell 20). In the case of American concept of nature in the nineteenth century, the dominating narrative pattern was that of classic pastoral, as suggested by seminal studies by William Empson (1930). and RWB Lewis (1955). The narrative has influenced American popular culture, but on more general level it has also influenced marketing and customer behavior (Larsen; Lewis), policies and political discourse (Archer), and cognition style and education (Richard). Various general patterns of pastoral narrative have been suggested (Slotkin), but most cultural theorists mention a small range of typical features and elements: a hero whose social and familial bonds are weak and uncomplicated, a hero whose identity is not determined by national or familial loyalties, conflict between individual and society, relatively easy solution of the conflict (not a tragic solution, but rather a comical or melodramatic one), and usually the solution achieved through a cycle of typical episodes: escape from society, inspiring contact with nature or a character who represents nature, return to society accompanied by reconciliation, accommodation, and disremembering. Pastoral narrative, typically, avoids key elements of tragic plots, such as irreversible damage, tragic recognition, reversal of fortunes, and belief in destiny.

In terms of Internet use, pastoral narrative emphasizes the use of those qualities of computer technology which allow for inconsequence of actions, learning through infinitely repeated attempts, removal of data and easy recall of data (even after removal), and generally the possibility of undoing and forgetting any action when it proves undesirable. Conversely, when the Internet proves capable of non-pastoral features, as with irrevocable and indelible recording of user behaviors, the reaction of users is negative (Oksanen and Välimäki 12). Thus, users who imagine the Internet in terms of pastoral narrative, will focus on individual experience and possibly greatest freedom to shape and reshape one's life and identity, with possibly weakest resistance from society. In practical terms, for example, this means that a punishment by exclusion, which enforced coherence of user groups, does not lead to permanent exclusion, and can always be undone when the punished user assumes a new identity. By itself, the

comparison of Internet use to pastoral narrative seems not to have great anticipatory potential. However, in the second half of the twentieth century, American culture produced a lot of evidence of crisis of the pastoral narrative, which consists in parodies, travesties, and tragic variants of the narrative (Toliver). This might anticipate future anxieties and disappointments of those Internet users who expected the Web to be, like pastoral nature, a friendly and unchallenging social landscape, which would allow for inconsequential actions and easy reconciliation between individual and society. The best contemporary example is the anxiety caused by legal actions, or possibility of legal actions, against people who broke the law in the Internet (as with violation of intellectual property); it seems that many users conceive the Internet as a space where violation of law is not, or should not be, irrevocably recorded, persecuted, and punished (Breton 48). Less obvious, but more poignant, examples are the cases of lives tragically ended or ruined by mobbing and character assassination, especially in smaller Internet user groups of children and young adults (McLean 21; Goel 15; Akdeniz 19). An escalating and proliferating crisis of the pastoral narrative, and its eventual demise, seems to be a plausible anticipation of future development of social practices in the Internet.

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Olga Korytowska

Storks and Jars: Within the World of Surrogacy Narratives

Abstract: By analyzing public accounts of the experiences of surrogates and intended parents, this article aims at identifying popular American discourses on surrogacy, which remains a contested assisted reproduction technology. Focusing on first-person narratives, I look at the strategies of rationalization employed by people entering commercial surrogacy contracts, particularly in relation to the monetary exchange. I argue that even though the ethics of financial compensation is not questioned in most narratives by surrogates and intended mothers, the normalizing discourse on American surrogacy requires the issue of money to be downplayed—instead surrogacy is presented as an altruistic "gift of life."

Keywords: surrogacy, assisted reproduction, infertility, commercialization, reproductive choice

> "We were all paying a price for the giving and receiving of life."
> – Elizabeth Kane, *Birth Mother*

> "I make families. What's your superpower?"
> – pro-surrogacy bumper sticker

The last three decades have brought unparalleled changes in the ways people perceive human reproduction. The technological development paired with the ongoing social changes expanded the ways in which families are constructed and conceived of. At the center of these changes are new reproductive technologies, including surrogacy. The above quotes by two surrogates set conceptual frames for the phenomenon, locating it on the one hand in the domain of the market and on the other hand in the domain of familial relations. They indicate potential areas of conflict around commercial surrogacy: the anxiety over the use of new reproductive technologies and the intrusion of the market into the sphere of reproduction, as well as surrogacy's potential to create families and change existing family models.

While the nascent surrogacy industry in the United States has been analyzed and criticized by many scholars and activists, the perception of surrogacy by the general

public has been shaped less by the academic discussion than by the way it has been rendered in various popular media.[1] Television, newspapers and literary accounts of surrogacy by surrogates and intended parents have all influenced and continue to influence the way surrogate motherhood is perceived today. In recent years the Internet has become the main media outlet for providing information about, and shaping the views on, contract pregnancy. It has also become the means through which the surrogacy industry boom (especially on its global scale) has been possible, partially because it diminishes the monopoly of surrogacy brokers (Berend 917). The online world of surrogate parenting is of special importance within the surrogacy discourse: it is there that the cultural negotiating of the practice principally takes place.

The purpose of the article is to explore the public accounts of the lived experiences of the surrogates and intended parents. This includes analysis of the "surrogacy journey" stories recounted in memoirs, newspaper articles and weblogs. Another aim is to investigate the language in which surrogacy stories are often told. While the article puts under analysis the embodied surrogacy experiences of individuals, its focus is principally on the way those experiences are discursively constructed within the analyzed cultural texts.[2] It also looks at the pragmatic purpose of the accounts of surrogacy: from a predominantly therapeutic narrative to a source of useful tips on how best to plan a surrogacy contract.

The article starts with an analysis of two such narratives by surrogates who came to regret their decision to bear children for other people. Significantly, those two personal accounts of surrogacy were also historically first and as such they brought to public attention some considerable problems surrounding the practice, claiming that it degrades women, breaks families and even amounts to baby-selling. Consequently, any subsequent attempts at normalizing surrogacy had to take those charges into account. My goal is to trace the discursive strategies that enable rationalization and normalization of commercial surrogacy in the personal narratives and blogs by intended mothers and surrogates. I argue that even though the ethics of financial compensation is not questioned in these accounts, prevalent normalizing discourse on American surrogacy requires the issue of money to be downplayed. Instead, the common elements emphasized in the texts include pain of infertility and maternal desire (on the part of

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1   Some of the most comprehensive analyses of the growing surrogacy industry and the politics surrounding it include: Susan Markens. *Surrogate Motherhood and the Politics of Reproduction* (Berkeley: UCP, 2007); Michele Goodwin, *Baby Markets* (Cambdrige: CUP, 2010); and Debora Spar, *The Baby Business* (Boston: HBP Press, 2006).

2   With its focus on language of existing accounts, the article uses the methodology of cultural studies. Nevertheless, ethnographic studies of surrogacy are important to this article, since they constitute a rich background of knowledge about those surrogates/ intended parents who have not had their experiences made public within popular discourse.

intended mothers), and strong wish to help other people create families (on the part of surrogates). At the same time, the restriction about the evasion of money issues does not seem to be required in accounts of surrogacy overseas, e.g. in India. On the contrary, money is then presented as significant means of empowerment for surrogates. The article ends with an examination of the metaphor of a journey, frequently used to describe the surrogacy experience.

Baby-Selling vs. Plight of the Infertile

In her study of the contentious discourse on surrogacy at the beginning of the practice in the United States, Susan Markens has identified two competing discursive strategies that typically frame any story on surrogacy—"baby-selling" versus "plight of the infertile couples" (*Surrogate Motherhood* 80–88). She traces their origins to the news coverage of several landmark surrogacy cases, including the Baby M case and *Johnson v Calvert*, and claims that they shaped both the attempts at legislation of surrogacy, as well as the public imagination. The discursive power of these two strategies remains potent and they still reappear in most if not all accounts on surrogacy, including those analyzed in this article.

The first narrative frame, "baby-selling," has been used principally by the opponents of the practice. It relies heavily on exposing the corruptive influence of womb rental on humans, babies and surrogates alike, and may also involve emphasizing the mercenary role of the brokers (Markens, *Surrogate Motherhood* 84). The "plight of the infertile couples" frame has often been used to illuminate the scale and causes of the problem and served as the justification of surrogacy as a valid, if not perfect, solution to the problem of infertility. The form that this discursive strategy often takes is that of an "emotional testament" of an infertile individual (Markens, *Surrogate Motherhood* 86).

The prevalence of first-person narrative is very telling because it shows that the responsibility of dealing with the problem of infertility is placed predominantly on individuals: it is a "narrative that privileges the personal as both the site of infertility's unfolding as well as its posited solution" (Fixmer-Oraiz 136). This is largely influenced by and at the same time it upholds the neoliberal approach to surrogacy in the United States, whose logic requires individual consumers themselves to seek solutions themselves on the free market of reproductive services. Since there is no federal regulation that could ensure the legality or safety of a surrogacy process, it is up to the intended parents and surrogates to work out the rules. Thus, the regulation by the market prevails. However, even though the monetary exchange is an essential element of most of the contracts, it seems that it is often unaccounted for. The narratives tend to gloss over the issue of compensation and instead employ either the language of altruism

(surrogacy as "gift of life") or they present the contract as a mutual benefit, in which the final compensation, ranging anywhere from $10,000 to $40,000, is presented as a welcome help to repair the surrogate's family budget during pregnancy.

The appeal to emotions and the personal character of the generally heart-wrenching stories marks them as confessional and intimate. In her study of the impact of therapeutic discourse on American identity, sociologist Eva Illouz claims that the contemporary autobiography has been largely influenced by "the therapeutic discourse and the self-help ethos" (156). She recognizes the therapeutic narrative as the basic cultural schema of making sense of oneself in the world and identifies its inherent features:

> The main characteristic of therapeutic narratives is that the goal of the story dictates the events that are selected to tell the story as well as the ways in which these events, as components of the narrative, are connected…. But we arrive here at an extraordinary paradox: therapeutic culture—the primary vocation of which is to heal—must generate a narrative structure in which suffering and victimhood actually define the self…. Thus the narrative of self-help is fundamentally sustained by a narrative of suffering. (173, 178)

Surrogacy memoirs largely match this description. First, they employ psychologized language, e.g. "When you're facing something as intractable and incomprehensible as infertility, and you're feeling helpless and hopeless, denial can be your best friend" (Arieff 3). Moreover, they are a testament to the suffering: either the pain of infertility or the pain of relinquishing a child by a surrogate. However, since surrogacy narratives have certain pragmatic goals, such as providing support and hope to those troubled by infertility, they eventually tend to go beyond the narrative of suffering and include a happy ending. The exception to that are surrogacy narratives which serve as cautionary tales against malpractice or threatening transgressions of surrogacy as such.

Surrogacy Narratives as Elements of Public Crusade

In the mid-1980s the American public saw the emergence of the first surrogacy scandal: in the form of the Baby M court case. That was also the first time that the American public learned about contract pregnancy in more detail (Markens, *Surrogate Motherhood* 31). The surrogacy issue, however, had broken through to the American daytime television earlier: with the story of "America's first legal surrogate mother," Elizabeth Kane, in 1980. The woman who used the name of Elizabeth Kane as a pseudonym, traveled across the United States to appear on numerous talks shows, promoting the concept of

surrogate motherhood. In her memoir, written years later, after a drastic reevaluation of her experience, Kane wrote of her role as that of a "crusader of social change" (161):

> I knew that if I could spare one woman that pain by publicizing surrogate parenting, if one more woman could be called 'Mother' because of it, the trips and the inconveniences that went with them would be worth it…. There were times I felt hopeless, tiny, and ineffective. My one baby would not make a dent in the vicious sea of infertility. But by doing it publicly I at least could hope that I helped the world sympathize with barren women who craved motherhood. For fifteen months I wanted to encourage other women like myself to take up the crusade. (158)

Interestingly, the aim of Kane's public crusade has changed over the years: she became a staunch opponent of surrogacy after she realized the pain of giving up her biological child and the fact that she was used for publicity. The above description of her motivations, however, is very much embedded in the 1980s language: the "vicious sea of infertility" is sample of the emotional language of the period (Markens, *Surrogate Motherhood* 86). The sympathy towards "barren women" is obviously a part of "plight of the infertile" frame: Kane even uses the very term. Presenting the fight, first for and later against surrogacy, in a religious term of a crusade is a testimony to the strength of Kane's convictions about the matter. More importantly, it indicates an important trait of surrogacy: the general belief in its transformative potential as a practice that brings cultural and social changes, and its character as a contested issue that has to be fought over, rather than debated.

A similar language of compassion and struggle paired with an overwhelming desire to help the infertile marks another account of surrogacy experience by a disillusioned surrogate, Mary Beth Whitehead. Published shortly after Kane's book, Whitehead's *A Mother's Story*, is an account of her legal fight for her biological daughter Melissa, the famous Baby M. This similarity is by no means incidental—both Kane and Whitehead claim to have first thought of bearing children for someone else when their friends and family faced the tragedy of infertility. Whitehead, who initially offers to carry a baby for her own sister, later reasons: "I had always been religious, and at some level I hoped and I certainly prayed that if I did this for another childless couple, God would reward me by giving my sister a baby" (12).

The framing of motivations in the language of compassion and altruism (as both women assert that they initially did not consider compensation) is a key element of their construction of self. Central to both women's sense of identity is the emphasis on the importance of family and the belief that everybody should have a chance to have one. The insistence on the family values and the surrogates' self-portrayal as devoted mothers and good housewives serve to undermine the image of surrogates as aberrant mothers and unstable women. It also ensures that they are not presented

as complicit in wrongdoing, as the rhetoric of the memoirs shifts from "plight of the infertile" to "baby-selling." Rather, it is the manipulative brokers who are to blame for the baby-selling since the two women repeatedly point out that they had been lied to and had no means of realizing the abnormality of the contract they had entered. They speak of their changing views on surrogacy as of a lesson they have learned. Whitehead phrases it as follows: "I have learned that the rental of a woman's body for the sale of the child she bears is wrong. It violates the core of what a woman is" (xiv-xv), while Kane acknowledges the pain inherent for everyone involved in surrogacy: "I now believe that surrogate motherhood is nothing more than the transference of pain from one woman to another. One woman is in anguish because she cannot become a mother and another woman may suffer for the rest of her life because she cannot know the child she bore for someone else" (275). This quote highlights the bond between the surrogate and the child, the bond that both Kane and Whitehead claim to have naturally formed, despite their earlier belief that they would not have problems relinquishing the baby. The memoirs, then, expose problems with the concept of informed consent: "I signed a contract believing that [I would feel nothing for the baby]. How could I possibly know that this deep deception would surface slowly in a whirlwind of emotions for years to come?" (Kane 3).

While both narratives are testimonies to the psychological cost of relinquishing a child, there are some important differences between them. Whitehead's story is, to a large extent, her version of her relationship with the Sterns and their subsequent legal fight for Melissa. Her aim is to change the public perception of the notorious case, which is indicated already by the subtitle of her book: "The Truth About the Baby M Case." She begins: "I have learned all of these things the hard way, and although I deeply hope that other women will learn from my mistakes, I am not a public crusader. I am simply a mother and housewife who has decided it is time to set the record straight" (Whitehead xv). Even here, the language of altruism permeates her narrative: she claims to be telling the true story for the sake of her family unjustly suffering from the media bias. Kane's memoir, on the other hand, involves no fight for custody; it is a result of her much later realization of the mistake of surrogacy. Based on a diary she kept during her pregnancy, it is a far more introspective memoir, with a therapeutic goal: "At some point after the birth of my surrogate child I realized I had two choices: either to survive or to succumb to an overwhelming grief.... This is the story of my determination to survive" (Kane 3).

Notwithstanding the self-identified goals of the two stories, they both function as cautionary tales, exposing the problems of contract pregnancy. Despite Whitehead's disclaimer, the two memoirs seem to have served as elements of the social crusade against surrogacy. Both books were published shortly after a political campaign for the ban on surrogacy, which involved Whitehead and Kane testifying against commercial surrogacy in a congressional hearing in 1987 (Markens, *Surrogate Motherhood* 218;

Whitehead 178–183). Despite the authors' empathy for "the plight of the infertile," the memoirs are strong voices against surrogacy, citing its disruptive influence on surrogates' families. As E. Ann Kaplan observes, the impact of these texts on the emerging surrogacy narrative was profound:

> The surrogacy story, itself tied to prior mother constructs, gradually acquires the status of myth, with fixed characters, set verbal exchanges, and similar language and tone. After Mary Beth Whitehead's and Elizabeth Kane's 1989 narratives provided the full mythic account, there was less need for more stories, while these provided the blueprint for those that did appear. (121)

Kaplan's text focuses on the early surrogacy narratives and their legacy throughout the 1990s. At the turn of the twenty-first century, however, new types of narratives started to emerge.

Control, Trust, or Bond: Narratives of Intended Mothers

Surrogacy narratives include not only stories of the surrogates, but also those of the intended parents. Within the last decade in the United States numerous memoirs about surrogacy from the perspective of the intended parents have been published in book form.[3] Personal accounts of the surrogacy experience have also been featured in a range of newspapers and magazines, including *The New York Times* and *Nesweek.* This renewed media interest in surrogacy, parallel only to the time of intensified coverage of the topic after the Baby M case, is largely indebted to the recent growth of the industry, particularly as a transnational phenomenon (Markens, "Interrogating Narratives").

    While most of those memoirs have been authored by infertile women, there are also surrogacy memoirs written by gay men. The focus of this section, however, is entirely on the accounts written by women, as they best show the often juxtaposed parties of the contract: the surrogate and the intended mother. As they involve many recurring fixed traits, they are best analyzed collectively. The common element that resurfaces

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3   Adrienne Arieff, *The Sacred Thread* (New York: Crown, 2012); Susan Bowen and Heidi Thompson, *I Got Drunk at My Own Baby Shower* (Mustang, OH: Tate Publishing, 2013); Sara Connell, *Bringing in Finn: an Extraordinary Surrogacy Story*. (Berkeley: Seal Press, 2012); Zara Griswold, *Surrogacy Was the Way: Twenty Intended Mothers Tell Their Stories* (Gurnee: Nightingale Press, 2006), Michael Menichiello, *A Gay Couple's Journey Through Surrogacy: Intended Fathers* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Sandra W. Rapley, *Intended Parents: Miracles Do Happen: a True-Life Success Story of Having Children Through Surrogacy* (New York: iUniverse, 2005).

in them is the pain of infertility and a strong desire to have a child, preferably one that would have a biological link to at least one of the parents. Since much of the focus within these stories is on the struggles with infertility, they also belong to a broader genre of infertility narratives (Harrison 338). Surrogacy is usually presented as the last resort, considered only when attempts at natural conception, in vitro fertilization and/or adoption have failed. The focus on the long and tiresome path to pregnancy serves to justify surrogacy in so far as it counters popular fears that surrogate motherhood could be a choice based on laziness or vanity.

The infertility narrative is the starting point of the narrative for the intended mothers that try IVF in the first place. The pain of not being able to conceive is presented as utterly heart-wrenching and most narratives relate the long run of treatments undertaken with the hope of conception. The intended mothers often describe their attempts to get pregnant as a growing obsession, from the first routine appointments to numerous costly cycles of IVF. The sources of most suffering, however, are miscarriages and a feeling of loss:

> The miscarriage was so awful, it broke me in ways that I will never be able to articulate or ever fully heal from. But I learned to endure the unendurable.… This loss was heartbreaking and no easier to come to terms with than the earlier two. I had made a promise to Alex and to myself that after three miscarriages, we would try a new approach. The toll of these losses on my spirit, my body, and my marriage was simply too damaging. Something had to change. It was time to find another way. (Arieff 31)

Readers are asked to witness the suffering and empathize with it before the perspective of pursuing surrogacy is introduced. While some women admit their doubts about surrogate parenting and research the possibilities of adoption (which due to being more closely regulated is not always a viable option), others differentiate the two options and choose surrogacy as the most appealing and easier:

> The biggest reason that I like this idea of surrogacy is that once the surrogate is pregnant the baby is yours. That is the difference between surrogacy and adoption. In a surrogacy scenario, the baby is created with intent. The baby isn't being 'given up.' Rather, it's 'intended' for someone. (Griswold 58)
>
> It was such a contrast to what we had been dealing with in the adoption world. The bonus, I thought, is that at least Michael could be biologically related to the baby. Not that a genetic connection was crucial, I just thought it would be neat. (Griswold 268)

The difference in opinions testifies to the fact that surrogacy complicates the concept of parenthood: the practice itself does not answer the question whether its basis should be biology, genetics or intent and it is up to the women involved to provide their own

interpretations.

The choice of surrogacy is never presented as an easy one, but rather as a result of a long process of deliberation. This is in stark contrast with accounts by some surrogates, who often describe their decision to carry a child for someone else as something they were meant to do. The two very contrasting notions of the role of fate and intent in the process of choosing surrogacy can be read as fulfilling a similar function for the two sides—they seem to be discursive means of rationalizing the experience. The acknowledgment of surrogacy as an attractive option does not, however, erase problems inherent in it: the anxiety due to the lack of control over the outcome of pregnancy, the tensions surrounding the agency of the surrogate over her body and the different concepts of what the relationship between the surrogate and the intended parents should look like.

Surrogacy Was the Way, an anthology of stories by intended mothers compiled by Zara Griswold, a mother through surrogacy herself, includes an array of different experiences by twenty intended mothers. The stories are a reminder of how many misconceptions about contract pregnancy there remain. For instance, public perceptions of surrogacy can influence the experience for intended mothers whose friends do not realize the difficulties of contract pregnancy from the perspective of an infertile woman: "They have no idea what it's like being an intended mother, they don't understand how difficult it is to have zero control of the pregnancy and they don't realize how emotionally draining the whole thing is" (Griswold 58). The feeling of lack of control may be a result of failed negotiations over the shape of the contract between a surrogate and intended parents. Different assumptions about what constitutes a risk for the pregnancy can be a source of conflict. One woman describes how her surrogate insisted on driving alone at night to another town in advanced pregnancy, something that according to the intended mother was too much of a risk:

> Fortunately, this was really the only major conflict that we encountered.... I've talked to many intended mothers who have come across similar circumstances. It feels awkward to ask someone 'not to do' something that she'd normally do otherwise, but as an intended mother, it's incredibly difficult to sit back and not say anything when it's something you wouldn't do yourself if you were the pregnant one. (Griswold 39)

The woman and her husband decide to take a vacation in Jamaica, while their surrogate is confined to bed rest. The prospective mother recollects a feeling of satisfaction about that: "something that we admitted to nobody else but each other was that we were both secretly happy that she was stuck at home. Mike used to joke with her that we wished she was in a bubble—although he was only partially kidding" (40). This quote shows how the control over pregnancy is tied to agency—if it is the intended mother who makes the important decisions concerning pregnancy, the surrogate's agency is

at stake; if, however, the surrogate is in charge of everything, the intended mother may become disempowered. That is why the construction of surrogate and intended mothers in public accounts often falls into binary opposition. In order to reconcile them, a relationship of trust needs to be established between the two sides, which is why the process of choosing a surrogate is difficult. Interestingly, intended mothers describe the meeting of the right surrogate as instantly knowing that she is the one (Griswold 232–233, 294).

The surrogacy world presented in the contemporary narratives is also one of global dimensions. Among the intended mothers whose stories appear in Griswold's anthology several are foreigners who chose the United States as a destination for contract pregnancy. Motivations for their choice were varied: familial relations, prohibition of the practice in their home country or the perceived ease: "I knew that if we were going to pursue surrogacy we'd have to do it in the States. Even though it's legal in the United Kingdom, there are no laws to protect intended parents" (Griswold 268). Paradoxically, the perception of the legal protection of surrogacy offered by specific countries fluctuates. While the US is presented as an attractive destination in some narratives, Adrienne Arieff decided to pursue surrogacy in India because she felt American contracts were not sufficiently binding: "after so much disappointment, the idea that an American surrogate could change her mind at the last moment was terrifying" (33). This outweighed the other doubts she may have had:

> Undergoing surrogacy and medical procedures and having my baby be born abroad, all in a developing nation, was daunting. Even so, domestic surrogacy seemed even riskier to us because of the complex web of U.S. laws. All I had to do was to think of the name *Mary Beth Whitehead* or of her daughter, known as Baby M, to give myself pause about going through this process domestically. (34–35)

Transnational surrogacy remains problematic as outsourcing to developing nations brings about additional problems and ethical questions, but the intended mothers who have chosen and cherished it, come up with rationalized arguments for it—Arieff writes:

> To me this was not exploitation. This was a win-win, allowing the surrogate to have a brighter future and the couple to have a child. If my money was going to benefit an Indian woman financially for a service she willingly provided, I preferred that it be a poor woman who really needed help because the money that a surrogate earns in India is, to be blunt, life-changing. (37)

Interestingly, in the context of Indian surrogacy the difference of status and income between intended parents and surrogates is willingly acknowledged. Furthermore,

in this case it seems to be the very basis of the superiority of Indian surrogacy over American one (Pande 23; Markens, "Interrogating Narratives"). The poverty of the Indian surrogate becomes a good reason to respect her and want to empower her, while the poverty of an American surrogate would likely disqualify her, since women who speak freely of their financial motivations for surrogacy are considered "bad" surrogates. Arguably, the difference stems from the different notions of poverty in the United States and India. In individualist and capitalist American society, which at its roots has also the ideals of egalitarianism and meritocracy, each individual is responsible for his/her action, so poverty becomes a result of individual mistakes rather than a result of social or historical forces. Such understanding of poverty is less fitting in the Indian context, where income opportunities for women are significantly fewer and destitution of surrogates is so pronounced that it does not translate into American concept of individual responsibility. Poor women are not trustworthy in the American context, where the surrogacy narrative is expected to be "articulated within affective economy" (Fixmer-Oraiz 138). When it comes to positive surrogacy narratives, most of them are characterized by a "glaring absence of reference to the economic, class and race issues" (Fixmer-Oraiz 138).

A particularly interesting example in this regard is Alex Kuczynski's widely discussed article "Her Body, My Baby." Published as *New York Times Magazine* cover story in November 2008, the article begins, as do many other narratives, with Kuczynski's battle with infertility which ultimately results in her decision to hire a gestational surrogate. Later, however, the text departs from the dominant discourse of other narratives as it does not shy away from the issue of money. Discarding the sentimental language of altruism, "Her Body, My Baby" stands out among the other narratives about domestic commercial surrogacy.

Kuczynski's description of her surrogate, Cathy, and their relationship is highly ambivalent. The gap between Kuczynski's world and that of surrogates is evident when she notes with pleasure that Cathy "must live in a house with a computer and know how to use it." The surprise which she expresses at this information contrasts with the fact that she undermines the stereotype of surrogates as destitute. The contrast between their worlds is further emphasized by the photos that accompany the story. Kuczynski posing in front of her mansion with her baby is visually juxtaposed to the picture of pregnant Cathy sitting on her porch, and to the nanny, a woman of color, standing in the background of the first photo. On the one hand, Kuczynski writes that among the surrogates "none were living in poverty" and that she chose Cathy because of her non-financial motivation. On the other hand, she doubts the sincerity of the altruistic language:

> Still, in our experience with the surrogacy industry, no one lingered on the topic of money. We encountered the wink-nod rule: Surrogates would never say they were

motivated to carry a child for another couple just for money; they were all motivated by altruism. This gentle hypocrisy allows surrogacy to take place. Without it, both sides would have to acknowledge the deep cultural revulsion against attaching a dollar figure to the creation of a human life.

Despite her frank analysis of what is at stake and how it is hidden, she does not finally seem bothered by the financial element of her contract:

> We were not disturbed by the commercial aspect of surrogacy. A woman going through the risks of labor for another family clearly deserves to be paid. To me, imagining someone pregnant with the embryo produced by my egg and my husband's sperm felt more similar to organ donation, or I guess more accurately, organ rental. That was something I could live with.

The article sparked controversy and a big online discussion. While technically the text is a pro-surrogacy narrative, it has been read by many as evidence of the significant ethical problems with contract pregnancy. Readers decried the representation of gestational carriers, Kuczynski's condescending attitude towards her surrogate, and class entitlement discernible in the article. The response was so big that it led to a statement by *The New York Times*' public editor at the time, Clark Hoyt who admitted: "The article glossed over their class and economic differences, but the accompanying photographs seemed to emphasize them. The cumulative impact struck some readers as elitist."

The organ rental comparison made by Kuczynski is problematic because it presents surrogacy as a temporary service that has troubling consequences for the agency of a surrogate. Such language reduces the surrogate's body to a biological repository of interchangeable parts, ultimately dehumanizing her. The problem here seems to lie in the interweaving of the free market logic (that allows for buying or renting of anything) with the traditions of kinship. Melanie Thernstorm, a writer and a mother of two through gestational surrogacy, summed up this conundrum in her apologetic article on surrogacy in *The New York Times*:

> If you consider third-party reproduction to be simply a production detail in the creation of a conventional nuclear family—a service performed and forgotten—then acknowledging the importance of outsiders could make it all seem like a house of cards. But if you conceive of the experience as creating a kind of extended family, in which you have chosen to be related to these people through your children, it feels very rich.

Her argument is interesting, as she points to the need to redefine and possibly expand the existing kinship structures. According to her, the closeness between surrogate

and intended parents, specifically the intended mother, is the necessary condition for reconciliation of the commercial exchange. Only a lasting bond allows to remove the pecuniary stigma of surrogacy.

Buns and Ovens: The Online World of Surrogacy[4]

Memoirs of the intended mothers from recent years tend to indicate the role of the Internet in widening the awareness and accessibility of different options to the infertile couples. The internet not only facilitates the procedure for most of the actors involved but also serves as a medium for popularizing the idea of surrogacy. The existence of multiple websites of agencies and surrogacy brokers allows both surrogates and intended parents to do some research and compare available options. For those who would rather enter a contract independently there remains a vast number of surrogacy forums and websites with classifieds. Surrogacy online, however, includes more than just an updated version of a paper ad. The internet serves also as a channel for those who want to share their surrogacy stories: in the forms of weblogs, which function as both public and personal spaces (Raitliff 127). Unlike newspapers, books and television productions, blogs are a far more democratic and uncensored outlet: whoever wants to publicize their surrogacy story can do it without external constrictions, reaching the general public. While there are surrogacy blogs which are password-protected, many are open-access, thus constituting a "public online world of surrogacy" (Berend 921). Moreover, unlike spaces such as forums or websites where comments and discussions are typically centrally moderated, blogs are a more personal space, allowing for a continuous construction of self over time. In that respect, blogs are similar to diaries. Yet, since they allow for immediate interactions with the readers, they have an additional aspect of an online community. As they often tend to group people of similar problems and views, infertility blogs have been described as enclaves: "spaces where communities can form and articulate positions" in an encouraging environment (Raitliff 139). The most visible trait of blogs as enclaves, however, may be the fact that they often employ a specific jargon known only to the insiders to the world of surrogacy.

Blogs which center around the issue of surrogacy could be classified into two major groups according to who writes them: those run by surrogates and those run by intended parents. Sometimes they exist as dual projects: simultaneous inter-linked blogs written by a surrogate and an intended parent, where the perspectives and voices of the two sides of the contract complete one another. The need to document the shared

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4   For the purpose of this analysis I have read 31 blogs that center around surrogacy. While not all of them are quoted in this article, the general observations were based on their collective content. The full list is included in the bibliography.

experience is also expressed in some of the memoirs: "We started online journals to document our surrogacy journeys. Both of us lived and breathed pregnancy and surrogacy" (Griswold 30). The thematic scope of blogs by surrogates and blogs by intended parents is, however, slightly different. Blogs on surrogacy projects by intended mothers are often created as extensions of their blogs about infertility: in such cases the women stop writing them soon after the birth of their child(ren). Meanwhile, surrogates' blogs are typically devoted primarily to the surrogacy experience, the motivations leading to it and its aftermath: surrogates, who remain in contact with their intended parents, often continue to post updates on the children they bore.

The construction of self, central to the idea of a blog, is of special importance to surrogates, since they often choose to blog in order to defy the image that has been created for them in public discourse. They speak of this desire to correct their public image quite openly:

> One of the reasons I try to keep up my blog is to show a continuing, successful Surrogacy journey.... You know, one where I don't take off with the babies, extort money or the IPs don't end up suing me for breach of contract, etc. It's so hard to find good PR on Surrogacy sometimes. It's like the media has decided to only show the negatives and that really makes me mad. (Enders-Thapers, 28 Dec 2009)

The frustration experienced by surrogates over the public rendering of surrogacy is two-fold. On the one hand, it is frustrating because surrogacy's negative image threatens their public image and social standing as individuals (since some surrogates may face disapproval or even ostracism by their relatives and acquaintances).[5] On the other hand, the sensational accounts of surrogacy in the press are not good for the practice of surrogacy in general, leading some surrogates to campaign to "remove the surrogacy taboo" (Bumpfairy).

As a way of correcting their image, surrogates self-identify principally as mothers and wives in happy families. Typically, a blog will include a short introduction of not only the surrogate, but also her children and husband/partner. It is their desire to share familial bliss that is often credited as the source of motivation: they want to help create other happy families. The self-construction of surrogates as mothers in "normal" and "healthy" families mirrors findings of the anthropological research on surrogates. Ethnographer Helena Ragoné in her 1994 study observed: "all participants attempt to re-create the conventional social norms that surround "traditional" motherhood, fatherhood, and reproduction and to erase any suggestion of illegitimacy, adultery or

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5   Many stories feature (at times anecdotal) references to (potential) surrogates dissuaded from entering contracts by their family. See: Enders-Tharp, "You Want a Baby. I've Got a Uterus. Let's Do This," *I'm Not the Mom, I'm Just the Stork*, June 19, 2011; Thernstorm "Meet the Twiblings"; and Griswold 64.

anomaly" (11).

The insight into surrogates' personal lives demonstrates another important element of surrogacy: the need for a stable support system for the surrogate. While most blogging surrogates describe their motivations as a long-standing desire to help an infertile couple, they sometimes admit that they had to convince their family that this was the right choice. Once they gain the approval, surrogates emphasize the importance of this support. And through the very fact of writing a blog they seem to provide that support to each other. Blogs just as much as web forums can be understood as a form of support network for surrogates themselves as well as medium for communication between surrogates and intended parents, where they can compare their experiences. As Kelly Enders-Tharp of "I'm Not the Mom, I'm Just the Stork" explains: "It really makes a difference during your journey to have someone who knows what you're going through (for the most part). Yes, each journey is different, but there are several things that are very similar, if not identical, for us all" (3 Dec 2010). However, while the blogs are for surrogates a platform to share their experiences, some aspects of surrogate motherhood are rarely mentioned and almost never discussed there. As Enders-Tharp notes: "Surrogacy blues and money are not really discussed by surrogates" (3 Dec 2010).

Blogs also serve as a space for knowledge production by providing information on the legal and medical aspects of surrogacy. Both surrogates and intended mothers often include advice on how to approach surrogacy, what things to consider beforehand or how to handle legal matters. They discuss advantages and disadvantages of working with an agency and/or working independently. They share the information in comments underneath their posts or they edit "frequently asked questions" subpages. Using blogs as a site of knowledge production has important consequences: they undermine the monopoly of surrogacy brokers. Sometimes, drawing from their experience of undergoing surrogacy, surrogates and intended parents start working for surrogacy agencies.

Finally, since surrogates and intended mothers often interact through reading one another's online journals, the blogs serve as a space for negotiating the practice of surrogacy. Through the retelling of personal experiences, the two groups inform one another on the emotional expectations and the mutual perception. This involves a careful construction of self-image, e.g. while indicating a need to have a lasting bond with the intended parents and the child, surrogates police themselves in order not to come across as overly attached (as that could raise suspicion that a surrogate would want to keep the baby). Another way of sending a message about the surrogates' role in the surrogacy contract is the metaphorical language which they use. The titles of the surrogacy blogs demonstrate the rich variety of comparisons: "Their Bun, My Oven," "Their Pea In My Pod," "Prego: Their Sauce, My Jar."[6] On the one hand, such

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6   The "oven" metaphor has become so popular that it has entered the surrogacy market: as a print on cups, T-shirts and other merchandise (Teman, 37).

titles are problematic, because they imply the dreaded reduction of a pregnant woman to a vessel, an incubator-like container: they indicate a mental separation of the surrogate and the baby she is carrying. On the other hand, while the vessel rhetoric may seem dehumanizing, according to Elly Teman, such metaphors are "often conjured up by surrogates in the context of rebutting ideas suggested in radical feminists' critiques and as assertions of agency and autonomy" (31). The metaphors are typically rooted in either kitchen or biological sphere, evoking the image of nurturing and care.

Surrogacy as a Journey

Throughout the blogosphere, most of the surrogates refer to their surrogate pregnancies and the experience as "journeys." This same metaphor can be found in all published accounts of surrogacy discussed in this article. Anthropological research confirms the prevalence of the journey metaphor: it has been noted that journey has become a "common language" for the description of the surrogacy experience (Fisher 239). It is, thus, worth taking a closer look at the journey metaphor to see whether it impacts the way surrogacy is constructed. In their seminal linguistic study *Metaphors We Live By*, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson noted the importance of metaphors in social life: "Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (3). While seemingly serving only as a simple stylistic tool, the journey metaphor functions to a large extent as a conceptual metaphor as well, allowing for "understanding one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 3). In a study of surrogate's online presence Zsuzsa Berend observed some analogies between journey and surrogacy. They both require thorough planning: doing the preliminary research on legal and medical issues to ensure that the surrogacy is safe (Berend 933). Moreover, the metaphor is fruitful because it accounts for the shared aspects of the experience. It allows for including numerous actors as companions of the shared journey in different configurations: the baby and surrogate, the surrogate and the intended parents and the surrogate and her family. The final destination, in any of these configurations, is the baby's arrival in the world. It is on this level that many tensions may arise between the intended parents and the surrogate, depending on how they imagine their journey together. Another dimension of the metaphor is spiritual: a journey into the self, with potential "spiritual underpinnings" (Fisher 239). It can be conceived of as a transformative experience that leaves all the actors changed. The importance the surrogates attach to their surrogate pregnancy (many consider it the most important thing they have done in their lives) turns their journey into one of "ultimate meaning and purpose; a journey that is a test of character and validation of personal worth" (Berend 933). The fact that they at times have to negotiate the significance of this experience with their family, friends or

community, adds to the process of self-analysis. A blogger who identifies as a Mormon gestational surrogate, writes about the difficulty of reconciling her experience with the teachings of her denomination, but manages to do it through self-contemplation:

> It is discouraged, not absolutely forbidden. I have never been approached and told I should not be a surrogate…. It would crush me if I was ever told I couldn't do something that was so much a part of who I am. Not only that but I believe that being a surrogate brought me closer to God and I still feel good about being a surrogate. So if it's absolutely wrong in the church's eyes, then the most spiritual, uplifting times of my life were not valid….What's interesting is the fact that my blog began as a spiritual journal as we prepared to go through the temple. Mormon Surrogate is what described me best. (Reeder, 3 Feb 2011)

The metaphor of a journey is also informed by the fact that surrogacy remains ideologically problematic. It could be argued that it is a yet not fully explored territory. Thus, existing surrogacy narratives offer welcome guidance to this world:

> I'm exploring a brand-new frontier of emotional and ethical hills and valleys, without a clue as to where I'm headed. Except for this: I know that at the other end lies the possibility that my husband, Alex, and I will become parents; that I will finally, after so many years, so many hopes, so many heartbreaks, become a mother. So I'm willing to take the journey, and write the map and the guidebook as I go. (Arieff 4)

Most importantly, the metaphor of a journey may account for the ease with which commercial aspects of surrogacy are overlooked. Travel usually involves a financial cost, and so does surrogacy. Those who undertake this journey choose from an array of other options available on the reproductive market: "There are many roads to family building in today's day and age and surrogacy is not necessarily the right choice for everyone. For a growing percentage of the infertile population, however, and for the twenty women who tell their stories in the pages to follow, surrogacy was the way" (Griswold 15).

In conclusion, the above-mentioned narratives constitute a space in which the practice of surrogate motherhood can be negotiated. Depending on the specific experiences of the authors, the texts and blogs may serve as a therapeutic memoir, a warning against surrogacy or a set of guidelines on how to cope with this unusual experience. The latter function is particularly important in the context of online texts, since it turns them into support networks for both surrogates and intended parents. The language of the personal narratives is rather similar: it is heavily psychologized, full of sentimental metaphors, such as "gift of life" or "surrogacy journey." The psychological introspection trumps other perspectives and renders money, class, and race unimportant. The omission of the social issues in narratives about American surrogacy seems essential

to provide a positive surrogacy story and normalize the practice: when the money is explicitly discussed, as in the case of Kuczynski's article, surrogacy becomes visibly objectionable. However, narratives and blogs that describe Indian surrogacy do not follow this pattern: here the financial compensation functions as a means to empower the surrogates and ensure that surrogacy involves a relation of mutual benefit, and not exploitation.

Despite the initial dominance of critical scholarship and cultural anxiety caused by many irresolvable questions posed by surrogacy, the increasing figures of contract pregnancy (both in terms of the number of surrogate pregnancies and the amount of money present in surrogacy industry) seem to indicate that it has been largely accepted by Americans as one of the valid reproductive choices. This does not mean, however, that the once discussed problems, tensions and anxieties are gone. Rather, they are being constantly examined and in most cases subsequently reconciled by individuals involved in surrogacy experience. This is possible thanks to the largely psychologized and individualized discourse of surrogacy narratives, which emphasize the plight of the infertile and employ the language of altruism. Paired with the rules of free market economy, the individualistic approach proves effective, considering that most surrogacy contracts go as planned and it is only the most notorious ones that lead to problematic court cases. The prevalent rhetoric of choice (choosing how to create a family and surrogate's choice of what to do with her body) that accompanies such contracts ensures that surrogate motherhood is unlikely to disappear from the market of reproductive services.

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Łukasz Muniowski

Allen Iverson: Celebrity and the Event

Abstract: Allen Iverson can be characterized as an event, because listed at 6 feet and weighing just 165 pounds, he won four scoring titles in his NBA career, and was one of the best shooting guards in the history of the league. Small, quick and explosive, he was an exceptional talent with a complicated personality. Iverson was a trendsetter, as important off as he was on the court. He was a villain, but one that was "cool" enough to root for. His basketball career is best summed up by two events, which occurred just a year apart. One was his memorable crossover and shot in overtime of Game One of the 2001 Finals, the other was Iverson's press conference a year later, known now as "The Practice Rant." This article will analyze both of these events with the aid of various critical texts, most notably by Slavoj Žižek. It will explain their significance to the modern shape of the NBA, how they influenced players that joined the league after Iverson. In doing so, it will establish AI as an important, truly revolutionary event—a force that influenced not only basketball culture, but modern America.

Keywords: Allen Iverson, NBA, Žižek, event, basketball, celebrity

This article has been inspired by Fabio Vighi's and Heiko Feldner's analysis of the two goals scored by Diego Maradona against England in the 1986 World Cup in Mexico. Following Slavoj Žižek's reasoning, they claim that the goals have "the structure of a revolutionary act" (235). They ascribe the goals' appeal to their "*shameful monstrosity*" (225, original italics)—both goals reveal an alien, almost inhuman drive to score. The famous "Hand of God" and the "Goal of the Century" are inseparable and, taken together, they serve as an example of "how drive and freedom are linked" (234). With the first goal Maradona clearly broke the rules of football, as he used his hand to send the ball over the English goalkeeper. With the second he broke the unwritten rules of team sports, as he refused to pass to any of his teammates and ran alone seemingly through the whole pitch. Both goals serve as expressions of drive and freedom, the latter understood not as a decision, but rather the result of the former—the will to win. According to Žižek, "at its most elementary, freedom is not the freedom to do as you like [that is, to follow your inclinations without any externally imposed constraints], but to do what you do not want to do, to thwart the 'spontaneous' realization of an impetus" (*The Parallax View* 202). In his understanding one cannot choose freedom, as it is rather a "no choice situation" (Vighi and Feldner 234). At the same time, in

what he calls "a Kantian antinomy of freedom," Žižek stresses that "if an act is fully determined by preceding causes, it is, of course, not free" (*The Parallax View* 203). Freedom is only "real" when it is unexpected, but what is more, it is only "real" when it is retroactive—only once the act is over, one can recognize the freedom behind it.

The notions of freedom and realness also apply to the event, which, according to Žižek, is "*the effect that seems to exceed its causes*" (*Event* 4, original italics). Just like freedom, the event also helps to organize the past, as once it occurs, what happened before it is understood as actions/occurrences leading to that particular event. The event is most powerful when it has the form of a truly revolutionary act. In the twenty first century no NBA player was more revolutionary (or free) than Allen Iverson. The player himself was an event—listed at 6 feet, weighing 165 pounds, he won four scoring titles in his NBA career and was one of the best shooting guards in the history of the league. Iverson-the event, understood as "a turning point [which] changes the entire field within which facts appear" (Žižek, *Event* 159), did not only redefine the shooting guard position or contribute to the development of "small ball." His explosive and quick style of play made him a big event, but he was an even bigger one off the court. Controversial, cocky and influential, he became the first hip-hop star of the NBA. Even though other basketball players before him used to record rap albums or even own their own labels, Iverson was the first to reject the formalities of the NBA and enjoy a truly hip-hop lifestyle of cars, tattoos, jewelry and parties. With his regular built, and a diet rich in chicken wings and Sprite, Iverson was able to win against much taller and bigger opponents. He wore cornrows—"a hairstyle most common among prison inmates" (Babb 107)—and baggy clothes wherever he went, even at official events. For example, at a conference where he was supposed to accept his MVP award Iverson wore baggy pants, Timberland shoes, a large T-shirt and about $300,000 worth of jewelry (Platt 3). His influence on NBA culture was so big that in 2005 the league implemented an off-court dress code, because too many young players were imitating his casual style.

Vighi and Feldner write that: "the Event, like the Lacanian Real, is always in its place, always attached to its specific Situation" (170). When analyzing Allen Iverson-the Event, it is therefore important to remember that his rise would not have been possible without specific circumstances. As Michael Jordan was about to retire for the second time and hip-hop was becoming a dominant part of American culture, it was inevitable that the NBA's first "hip-hop star" would eventually emerge. Nicknamed "The Answer," Iverson was determined to do things his way, which met with the scorn of older players and coaches. But urban youth embraced Iverson, impressed by his fearless play and attitude. One of his biographers, Larry Platt, characterizes him as "ghettocentric" (6), which best describes the public persona and the event that Allen Iverson was. He was one of the few players who actually seemed to be "themselves," which in the increasingly corporate and image-conscious league was a truly revolutionary act. Kent Babb, another Iverson biographer, describes the player as: "strong, determined, and potentially

dominant in a normal-sized body—far easier for the average basketball fan and shoe customer to relate to" (91). As troublesome as he was gifted, he influenced the league like few players before and after him.

Iverson's basketball career is best summed up by two events, which occurred just a year apart. One was his memorable crossover and shot in overtime of Game One of the 2001 Finals, the other was Iverson's press conference a year later, known now as "The Practice Rant." This article will analyze both of these events and explain their significance to the modern shape of the NBA, how they influenced players that joined the league after Iverson. In doing so, it will establish AI as an important, truly revolutionary event, which brought colossal (and unexpected) results. Jeffrey Lane stresses Iverson's importance not only to basketball, but also to African-American culture, as he emerged as a potential star just after two of the most iconic rappers—Tupac "2Pac" Shakur and Christopher "Notorious B.I.G." Wallace—were shot. "As if ordained to fill the void left by the premature departures of the genre's two most influential icons, Iverson was basketball's hip-hop incarnate; he brandished a badass swagger and street cred far more provocative than any previously seen in the professional game" (Lane 37). This means that Iverson was much more than just another basketball superstar—he became a global icon, a brand, but most of all, an event.

Event One: On the Court

The first event occurred in the first game of the 2001 NBA Finals, when Iverson made a shot over Tyronn Lue of the Los Angeles Lakers. Lue, who imitated Iverson during Laker training sessions, was believed to lack his scoring ability, but to make up for it with quickness, which exceeded Iverson's. Similarly to many great players, Iverson treated such beliefs as a challenge. Led by Shaquille O'Neal and Kobe Bryant, the Lakers were the reigning NBA champions. That season they dominated the Western Conference and the NBA, entering the finals without a single loss in the playoffs. Iverson was the sole star of the Sixers, the one player that the team relied on, and he wanted it that way. In his first years in the league he was perceived as a thug whose egotistical play frustrated his teammates and coaches. Another potential superstar, Jerry Stackhouse, had to leave the team, because he could not coexist with AI. Žižek writes that "the highest freedom is freely to assume and enact one's fate, what inexorably has to happen" (*Parallax View* 206), and the separation needed to occur for the two players to blossom. By exhibiting freedom on the court—which in the eyes of his critics was simply known as "ball-hogging"—Iverson chased his rival out of town, which led to him becoming the franchise player for the Sixers. Even though he was one of the most dominant players in the league, the NBA was afraid to market Iverson. According to Lane it was because "he was very difficult to impersonate: this guy was just too real" (41). But that year he

was presented as a changed man, who finally learned that basketball was a team sport. Such was his image in various NBA publications and documentaries, most notably in *Allen Iverson: The Answer* (Podhoretz), where all the negative aspects of his game and personality are omitted, while the focus is on his extraordinary plays.

The first game of the 2001 Finals went to overtime during which Iverson scored seven consecutive points, the last two with a shot over Lue. The Laker tried to stop him and Iverson used his famous crossover to get open. As Lue moved to Iverson's right, the Sixer stepped back and took a shot with the defender too far to block it. He scored and the Lakers were about to lose the only game of their postseason. In his attempt to block Iverson, Lue fell onto the floor. Iverson stood next to his rival, but instead of helping him to his feet, he stepped over the guard as slowly as possible: a sign of great skill was followed by a sign of disrespect. Ben Golliver of Sports Illustrated called the play: "quickness, skill, confidence and defiance, all in six seconds." The shot was an "event in the sense of *a traumatic intrusion of something New which remains unacceptable for the predominant view*" (Žižek 70, original italics). It convinced millions of sports fans that Iverson was "clutch," which meant that he could take ball in the most crucial moment of the game and lead his team to victory. He knew that this moment would live on forever, as it occurred in a game against arguably one of the best playoff teams in the history of the NBA. Now, whenever his decisions, work ethic or behavior off the court would be criticized, he could always return to that moment to state that his way was the best way. Barry Smart claims that celebrity is "created" in response to "people's exaggerated expectations of greatness" (11). The same is true of assholes, who according to Aaron James are "made, not born" (100). If other events in his life did not, this one definitely allowed Iverson to behave like an asshole, which does not mean that he had not behaved like one before. He was granted more freedom, which in this case meant the ability to act like an asshole. Already in his rookie season he was criticized for being arrogant and egotistic, and his behavior had not improved since. Only this time, after that memorable season, the NBA had no choice but to support Iverson. That meant he could do as he pleased and the league would cover for his mistakes. From a marketing standpoint, he became too important to ignore.

After winning that game Iverson became "a beloved prodigal son to Philadelphia fans" (Flynn), as his further mistakes would always be forgiven because of that special moment. The fans in Philadelphia are known for their affection for players who are not only winners, but who play with a chip on their shoulder. "Philly's" favorite players have to overcome big obstacles in order to succeed. Platt points out that before Iverson "Philadelphia had long been a sucker for… lesser talents who overcame odds by virtue of work ethic and competitive fire" (171). Former idols include Pete Rose and Bobby Clarke, as opposed to superstars like Donovan McNabb or Eric Lindros, who were great players, but did not possess the edge that the fans in Philadelphia value so much. It did not matter that McNabb or Lindros played numerous times through injuries, the

city still could not accept them and probably would not even if they had won a championship. In Iverson's case, people believed that he sacrificed himself in every game, playing especially hard for a player of such a small size. And by making that crucial shot he was now allowed to do things his way, justifying his claim to uniqueness.

As soon as a player is accepted as "one of them," the fans love him unconditionally and are willing to blame everyone else in the organization for his shortcomings. It is one thing for the player to be successful, but when he creates a special bond with the fans, they almost worship him, to the point when they are willing to overlook his failures. According to Smart, this may be because "consumers are encouraged in various ways to identify with celebrities and the images and life-styles with which they are associated in press, magazine and television reports and advertising" (9). With his size and commitment Iverson instantly became a fan-favorite and "when [he] took the Sixers to the championship series against the Lakers in 2001, Philly fans fell in love with a 'thug'" (Lane 20). Before his rookie year, he signed a ten year contract with Reebok and released his first signature shoe—Question. Even before his professional career started, "the company gave Iverson license to be himself, whatever that might eventually become, and if the NBA did not like it, then, well, fuck the NBA" (Babb 110). Urban youth responded to that attitude by making Iverson their new idol and he holds the fifth place in the largest shirt sales of the past decade (Dorsey). This implies, according to Lane, "that there [was] a major white contingent of purchasers" (34), which may be surprising, considering that Iverson embodied the stereotypical African-American hoodlum, in contrast with players like Michael Jordan, whose "blackness has been deliberately underplayed in promotions that have sought to emphasize his All-American virtues and his status as a role model" (Smart 124). Babb suspects that Iverson's bad boy persona may have been partially created by the league and its sponsors, while Lane thinks that the NBA actually downplayed the most dangerous aspects of Iverson's personality: "in the post-Jordan era, NBA executives have successfully contained the 'cool pose' of stars like Allen Iverson, leaving it edgy enough for some to fetishize yet adequately safe for white, middle-class consumption" (238). The reports of his gun possession and domestic violence became known only after Iverson had already established himself as one of the best players in the league and during his various legal troubles he had full support of his fans, whether he was in Philadelphia, Denver or Detroit. The league just could not ignore the marketability of Iverson's "realness" and eventually had to accept him. The same was the case with executives and coaches—Iverson was just too big an icon to contain.

High school and college teachers, coaches and fans tend to turn a blind eye whenever a talented player misbehaves. Babb mentions how Iverson clashed with his youth coaches, unwilling to do the things that were considered natural by other members of the team. Instead of punishing the player, the coaches and teachers "enabled" him, and while Iverson remained grateful, he got used to his privileges. He became part of

a "quasi-aristocratic culture in which privilege and prestige and other rewards accrue inordinately to athletes, and in which, therefore, they come to feel entitled to special treatment" (Kimmel 234), known as "jockocracy." This culture allows an athlete to feel special off the court—people are willing to take care of his every need, as well as to cover for him when he misbehaves. And while James rightfully notices that "what makes someone an asshole is a special way of being wrong about what one's entitlements are" (18), Iverson was raised in this culture and got used to his privileges, especially freedom. He went to Georgetown University straight out of a minimum security prison, where he had served a sentence for a brawl in a bowling alley in his hometown of Hampton, Virginia. If it had not been for his extraordinary talent, he would never have had the possibility of studying at Georgetown and joining the NBA after two years of college.

Pierre Bourdieu describes habitus as a system of dispositions dependent on history and memory. Collective and individual, this history is so strong and potent that it subconsciously influences the actions of agents. If they "are possessed by their habitus more than they possess it, this is because it acts within them as the organizing principle of their actions, and because this modus operandi informing all thought and action [including thought of action] reveals itself only in the opus operatum" (18, original italics). This is especially true in the case of athletes and artists who come from humble beginnings. Numerous rap songs contain the lyric: "you can take me out the ghetto, but you can't take the ghetto out of me," which stresses the importance of "keeping it real." Often as soon as they achieve success, athletes tend to think that their talent puts them above everyone else. Because they did not have much, they feel free to take whatever they want. Bourdieu draws attention to the notion of social borders, as they are often "'fuzzy' and contested" (Thomson 78), but athletes usually do not take them under consideration and often do not understand that by crossing them they might be perceived as assholes. But as Iverson stepped over Lue, he seemed completely aware of what he was doing. He was liberated, "since this freedom, which truly liberates us, depends on the momentary [and traumatic] suspension of the familiar horizon of consciousness" (Vighi and Feldner 229). In a game of one on one, Iverson would not be able to beat the best Laker and he was aware of that. When asked whom he considered the best player in the league, Iverson answered: "If I had a vote, I would always vote for Shaquille O'Neal every year" (Narducci 2005). But in a team sport his Sixers beat the Lakers, while simultaneously creating the impression that it was thanks to Iverson's individual effort.

Iverson appealed to fans who wanted "a temporary trip to the dark side," and his replica jersey used to be the "official badass gear" (Lane 35) of the last decade. Since his arrival, "the NBA has harnessed Iverson while celebrating and selling his edge" (Lane 49). He was a villain, but one that was "cool" enough to root for. According to Smart, in the world of sports "an image is synthetic, in the sense that it is deliberately contrived.… To be effective an image needs to be vivid and simplified" (15). The tattoos

and cornrows were the attributes most associated with Iverson's name, while his image was that of a "thug." But stepping over his opponent, just as he scored on him during such a crucial moment, surprisingly elevated Iverson to the same category as Michael Jordan or Larry Bird—exemplary players who mocked their opponents after making memorable plays. Jordan, Bird or Magic were NBA icons, whose dirty plays and trash talking were deliberately downplayed by the league. But "this nearly universal acclaim for Iverson proved short-lived" (Lane 56). Only a year later, as his team got eliminated in the first round of playoffs, once again Iverson's lifestyle and attitude overshadowed his play and put in question his status as a role model.

Event Two: Off the Court

Four days after the Sixers fell to the Boston Celtics in the first round of the 2001–02 playoffs, the team's General Manager organized a press conference at which the journalists could ask Iverson about his problems. Throughout the season the team struggled with injuries and it barely made it to the post-season. Iverson himself missed 22 games and once again clashed with the team's coach, mostly because of the player's attitude. Seven months earlier his friend got shot and there were rumors circulating that Iverson was trying to cope with the loss by drinking. He was staying up late, neglecting his family and missing practice. At the end of the season coach Larry Brown was supposed to meet one-on-one with all of his players and discuss the way they had performed. The only one that did not show up was Iverson. During his conference Brown suggested that the player needed to change, otherwise he would be traded. And while during a personal meeting, which finally took place, Brown told Iverson that he believed in him, the player was disappointed and angry. Their conflict was not caused by the generation gap between Brown and Iverson—for example, Kobe Bryant, the clean cut star of the Los Angeles Lakers and the NBA, was a hard worker who loved to practice—but rather by what Pierre Bourdieu calls the "modes of generation" or life conditions, which "cause one group to experience as natural or reasonable practices or aspirations which another group finds unthinkable or scandalous, and vice versa" (78). While Bryant was the "middle-class" player like former Sixers star Julius Erving or Michael Jordan, Iverson considered himself a representative of the 'hood.' It was not a secret that Bryant was the type of player that coaches like Brown loved—he pushed his teammates and himself, never running out of motivation. Iverson seemed to care only about himself and his "part," simultaneously taking full responsibility for the team's wins and losses. Lane notices that "as an athlete who always 'keeps it real,' Iverson has repeatedly demonstrated a resistance to traditional authority figures" (47). In a sense his image was based on Iverson being a rebel, therefore to uphold it he had to clash and resist, even when he had nothing to rebel against. But there was something else at

play. Vighi and Feldner write that, according to Michel Foucault, "the discursive battle for hegemonic space functions as a somewhat spontaneous event" (36). Such was the case with the interview, which Iverson understood as an occasion to take revenge on his coach and everyone else who claimed he was to blame for Sixers' losses.

While the shot over Lue was a quintessential Iverson on-court event, the conference came to define him off-court. Many journalists agree that "by the year 2002, press conferences had become exercises in rote non-communication" (Cosentino). The players said what everyone already knew, doing their best not to cause any controversy. With Iverson it was different; according to Neal Hartman, one of the journalists covering the Sixers: "a lot of times when you ask a player what they're thinking, you know half the time what they're going to say. But with Allen, you had no idea, and that's what made it great television" (qtd. in Babb 199). Žižek claims that "from the materialist standpoint, an Event emerges 'out of nowhere' within a specific constellation of Being—the space of an Event is the minimal 'empty' distance between two beings, the 'other' dimension which shines through this gap" (*The Parallax View* 56). The beat journalists, those who were the closest to the team, knew what was going on, so did the Sixers' staff, and yet no one was expecting what is now known as "the practice rant"—otherwise someone would have prevented it. Iverson's tattoos, cornrows and famous armband were already "absorbed" by basketball players and fans all over the world. The first became a mainstay of the league, but the latter two are not as popular as they used to be. The rant lives on and is frequently remembered and imitated during NBA press conferences.

The season's final conference was broadcast live on TV in Philadelphia. It started with a supposedly drunk Iverson expressing his frustration with trade rumors, stating his commitment to the city, the team and the teammates. In a typical asshole fashion, he was forcing the blame on the executives and the coach—if he were to be traded, it was their decision, not his. Iverson was willing to do everything for the team, except practice. Finally Hartman asked: "Could you be clear about your practicing habits since we can't see you practice?" (qtd. in Babb 207). The journalists knew Iverson was constantly missing practice, they knew he was the reason behind the bad atmosphere in the locker room. Even though they were "talking about practice, not a game," for Iverson the conference was a game, at least as understood by Pierre Bourdieu—his feel of the social situation required him to defend his position. "According to Bourdieu, the game that occurs in social spaces or fields is competitive, with various social agents using differing strategies to maintain or improve their position. At stake in the field is the accumulation of *capitals:* they are both the process within, and product of, a field" (Thomson 69, original italics). As competitive as he was, Iverson had to win the media debate with his coach. Instead of winning basketball games and proving that his way was the best, he did the interview, which he later came to regret (Wolf). As habitus is "the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations" (Bourdieu 78), one might say that Iverson's "true nature" came out during that conference. He treated

the press room as if it were the extension of the basketball court, a field at which he needed to dominate his opponent.

During Brown's tenure with the Sixers, his best player missed practice multiple times and the coach occasionally went to the press to complain about it. Each time Iverson felt betrayed and the coach needed to regain his trust. But now, frustrated, the player reacted by questioning his coach's judgments: "if coach tells you that I missed practice, then that's that. I may have missed one practice this year." As he was sitting there, Iverson's frustration grew: "I'm supposed to be the franchise player and we in here talking about practice." During the infamous interview, Iverson said "practice" seventeen times. He kept on repeating the word, as if trying to belittle its sense with each utterance, at the end exploding with the question: "How the hell can I make my teammates better by practice?" Iverson's question was met with ridicule, as it was practicing with Jordan that made Scottie Pippen one of the best players in the history of the NBA. This once again presented A.I. as the anti-Jordan. When Iverson brought up the term "franchise player" or spoke about how he sacrificed his health every night for the team, he was actually looking for excuses that would allow him to do as he pleased. "Coaches learned early on that Iverson was an incentive-based organism" (Babb 16), hence he could not motivate himself to play unless the game was about something. That is why he was not interested in attending practice.

The team's public relations specialist tried to stop the conference, but Iverson waved him off. He also questioned the journalists' knowledge of basketball. He was restless and defiant, just like on the basketball court. Iverson felt "his work ethic and character were on trial—and he was particularly sensitive to being on trial" (Platt 242)—the conference reminded him of his trail in high school. The oversensitive player would not accept any criticism from the journalists, but early on in his career he also turned down advice from such players as Jordan or Magic Johnson. Unsurprisingly though, when Gary Payton suggested to Iverson that he should stop practicing to keep his body well-rested, the player was happy to listen to his colleague (Freeman). Platt stresses the importance of the conference for the rest of Iverson's career. It marked the moment when he should realize that he could no longer rely on physical gifts alone. The conference could have been a wake up call, but it marked his decline. It "was nothing short of Iverson's way of stating the obvious: 'I'm not the problem with this team'" (Platt 243). Brown created a seemingly perfect system for Iverson by surrounding him with selfless players, who allowed Iverson to shoot as much as he wanted and it seemed that the system was not working anymore. Larry Brown quit during the next season, while Iverson was traded in 2006.

Few things have been constant in Iverson's career, but one cannot deny that he always "kept it real," which "meant that a player who had become a star would not abandon the people he'd hung out with before he'd made it" (Lane 42). Iverson refused to leave behind his childhood friends, even though they often got him into trouble

and used him for his money. His friends, to whom he referred to as "Cru Thik," were among the few who always believed in him and kept him company when he could not go home. Since his mother used to do drugs and party long into the night, the future MVP developed a habit of staying up late, which would later hurt his career. With his father in jail and his mother often intoxicated, Iverson was forced to grow up on his own. His failure to mature may be why his coach, as well as various journalists, did not treat him as an adult. His youthful features and his ability to constantly run into trouble caused Larry Brown to refer to him as "kid." The media liked the term and often called Iverson that, stressing his immaturity. Lane suggests that "rather than conceptualize Iverson as an overgrown baby or someone too dense or stubborn to be rehabilitated, it is more useful to recognize that his attitude [was] often influenced by [not determined by] his connection to the value system of 'keepin' it real'" (58). In other words, according to Lane, Iverson is a victim of his habitus. His prime objective was to represent the community that he had grown up in. When preparing to accept his MVP award, Iverson declared: "I want all my niggas back home to see this" (Platt 2), referring to his T-shirt "shouting out" his old neighborhood. He never bothered to say the right things, he wanted to remain true to himself and his community. His whole image was based on "realness," understood as defiance of social norms. In explaining Bourdieu's definition of "field," Patricia Thomson has compared it to a football field—a comparison used by the philosopher himself, who claimed that social life was like a game (69). Iverson "kept it real" not by making the best of his opportunity and changing his behavior, but by not acknowledging different fields in his theory of practice. He never bothered to change his style of play, and even when his skills diminished, he remained a me-first type of player who would rather score than pass. "Iverson never lifted weights, barely stretched, and ate like hell, and before games he would sit in the players' family lounge until a half hour before tip-off, wearing a tank top and making plans for after the game" (Babb 114). His persona was the basis for the 2005 Reebok "I Am What I Am" campaign—presenting him as a man who could not change and everybody else had to accept that.

Iverson often said that it was Michael Jordan who inspired him to become a basketball player. One of the obstacles that prevented Iverson from realizing his childhood dream of becoming "like Mike," was that "Jordan came from a vastly different home environment than Iverson [a middle-class, intact nuclear family]" (Lane 60), while Iverson was from "the hood" and had such traumatic experiences as losing eight of his friends during one summer (Babb 11). A.I.'s hero "had to carefully craft his image before he was able to transcend race and attract and inspire all segments of society" (Lane 60), while Iverson was never interested in how he was perceived. For sure, he wanted to play like Jordan, but he was never interested in becoming a brand. Taking the lyrics of hip-hop tracks to heart, Iverson believed in loyalty. He was praised because of these qualities, but they also led to his downfall. Žižek observes that "one is tempted,

in order to save freedom, to displace the free agent from 'I' to 'Me'" (*The Parallax View* 216). By becoming the focal point of the Sixers' franchise, Iverson guaranteed himself freedom to be himself, but also put himself in a position to be regularly criticized.

Allen Iverson was an event and "in an Event, things not only change, what changes is the very parameter by which we measure the facts of change, i.e., a turning point changes the entire field within which facts appear" (Žižek, *Event* 159). At his retirement conference he declared: "You know, my whole thing was just being me." It may actually be Iverson's best achievement—he played the same "game" on different "fields" and still was accepted by the fans and the league. Even though, as Lane points out, "the NBA's appropriated version of hip-hop was corny and watered down—not the Iverson style of hip-hop, laced with profanity and street grime, but Will Smith–style hip-hop, painted with a slick coat of Hollywood lacquer" (41). One may say that the league changed with Iverson, but to some extent it also changed thanks to him. Bourdieu claims that "the history of the individual is never anything other than a certain specification of the collective history of his group or class" (86). Allen Iverson is an example of a man especially proud of this collective history, who embraced the stereotypes of a thug and an athlete, and "represented" both of them. Thanks to these values and his extraordinary talent Iverson became an event—a "once in a lifetime" player, who was exciting on and off the court.

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REVIEW ESSAY

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California Mission Gulags: Putting Junípero Serra's Canonization in Perspective

Elias Castillo. *A Cross of Thorns: The Enslavement of California's Indians by the Spanish Missions.* **Fresno: Craven Street Books, 2015. 248 pages.**

> [What] have the natives of California gained by their labors; what service have those Friars rendered to the Spanish nation, or to the world in general?… [W]e must entirely condemn their system and lament its results.
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> – William D. Phelps (Castillo 197)

On September 23, 2015 Pope Francis canonized Junípero Serra (1713–1784), a Spanish missionary and the first president of California Catholic missions. The Church hailed the friar as a visionary humanitarian who defended the dignity of the native community—in the words of the papal homily: "*protegiéndola de cuantos la habían abusado.*"[1]

Just months prior to the canonization Elias Castillo's book appeared. Using first-hand witness accounts and scholarly works, as well as archival materials collected at the University of California's Bancroft Library, Santa Barbara Mission Historical Archive and Mexico's *Archivo General de la Nacion*, Castillo critically reexamines the foundations, developments and outcomes of the mission period (1769–1834) in California with the

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1   "protecting it from those who were abusing it." My translation.

aim of pulling back "the veil of lies, deceit, and cover-ups that has been perpetuated for nearly 200 years" (x) about the California missions.

Before its release a copy of this historical study was enclosed with one of many letters sent to the Vatican by Valentin Lopez, a Chairman of the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band of Costanoan/Ohlone Indians. Lopez petitioned the Pope to abandon plans for Serra's sainthood and to "open a meaningful dialog with California Nations" (Carac, "Urge Pope"). He expressed "absolute disbelief" (Lopez, "Open Letter") that "Father Serra [who] was responsible for… enslavement and genocide of thousands of Indigenous Californians" (Carac, "Urge Pope") was about to be canonized. Serra's actions, petitioners argued, led to "the largest ethnic cleansing in North America" (Carac, "Urge Pope")—a claim supported by statistical data: from 1769 to 1890 the native population of California dwindled by ninety five percent, from 300,000 to 16,624 (Castillo 200). Altogether six letters were dispatched to which only one response was received—two weeks prior to the papal visit in the U.S. the Church declared that, having had the best historians review Serra's record the scholars were "recommending sainthood with clear conscience" (Lopez, "Native Groups").

The Church based the canonization upon a testimony of historians due to the fact that no proof of a second miracle required in standard canonization procedure could be found. The first Historical Commission for the Serra Cause was formed in 1934. Chaired by Herbert Eugene Bolton, the founder of the Borderlands Studies, the Commission failed to take into account a number of works which had already questioned the idealized version of the mission era[2] and testified in favor of sainthood in 1948. Acting upon this recommendation, Pope John Paul II beatified Serra at Mission San Carlos in California in 1988. Since then the case seemed to lay dormant while many analyzes critical of Serra and the missions continued to be published. Nevertheless, the mission myth, which Carey McWilliams called a "fantasy heritage" (35) and Leonard Pitt termed a "Schizoid Heritage," and which holds that "kindly mission *padres*" (McWilliams 35) happily coexisted with their Indian "wards" during the "Golden Age" of California has continued to grow.[3] It has been especially the case since the turn of the century and the prime vehicle of the myth became California public spaces. Here are two examples.

1. In 2004, federal "California Mission Preservation Act" (CMPA) allotted funds to help restore the missions, which today serve not only as churches but also as museums visited by tourists, as well as, fourth-graders in their courses on the states' history. The first version of the bill praised the missions as benevolent institutions. Castillo, wrote

2   Studies which had already problematized the mission legacy include works by Hubert Howe Bancroft, John P. Harrington, Sherburne F. Cook, and Carey McWilliams.

3   For a splendid, classic analysis of the idealization of the mission period see, for example, Carey McWilliams' *North from Mexico: The Spanish-speaking People of the United States* (35–47).

then an op-ed for *San Francisco Chronicle* voicing his concern that the bill would whitewash the "terrible truth" about the missions, "that they were little more than concentration camps where California's Indians were… virtually exterminated by the friars." Asserting that "the nation cannot continue to look the other way" he called to adopt a "moral responsibility that… the granting of those funds must be dependent on memorializing the suffering of California's native people in the missions." Castillo's text was eventually read into the U.S. Congressional Record and, in its wake, all language praising the missions was removed from the final version of the bill.

However, even a brief visit to mission museums today reveals that little has changed in the dominant narrative—information on the indigenous plight is scarce or nonexistent and Indian burial sites, which Castillo petitioned to be "declared hallowed ground," are inadequately indicated (i.e. Mission Santa Barbara) or not marked at all (i.e. Mission Soledad). Deana Dartt-Newton concludes her 2011 study for *Museum Anthropology*: "Current mission museum representations engender a form of social forgetting" (106).

2. The CMPA was accompanied by two federal Transportation Enhancement grants (2000, 2010) totaling $2M for the reconstruction and expansion of the Mission Bell Marker (MBM) system, a public space project of roadside mission bells placed along the entire length of the old Spanish Royal Highway or Camino Real. The grants resulted in the extension of the original 450-miles-long route to 700 miles and in the erection of almost 600 new markers. Every one to two miles tall Franciscan staffs with replicas of mission bells and a plate reading "The Historic El Camino Real," stand in a historio-graphic gesture declaring California "historic" mission land.

In the era of two parallel phenomena, that is, on the one hand, the engagement of the United States in two (now three) parallel wars and, on the other, of, what Jean Cohen has identified as, the third phase of human rights discourse in which "human rights violations have been selectively 'invoked as justification for the imposition of debilitating sanctions, military invasions and authoritarian occupation… by multilateral organizations… and/or states acting unilaterally'" (Huyssen 30), which, as Andreas Huyssen argues, expresses "the conflict between an emerging institutionalization of transnational human rights and a formerly sacrosanct idea of national sovereignty" (30) it was hard not to think of the MBM project as an insistent, executed with a precision of a Swiss watch (every minute a marker), appropriation of the visual field of California motorists to engender assimilation of territorial and epistemic imperialism, and entrench public cognitive investment in every form of Western interventionism as mission for salvation.

The large-scale public space promotion of the missions may have been timely in one other respect. In the recent decades the global "memory boom" (Neumann and Thompson 7) has intensified. Questions of remembrance and its obligations have been increasingly bound with the duty of reparative justice for collective victims of historical wrongs. These have been frequently addressed by attempts at combining "truth telling

and reparation to victims with reconciliation" (Neumann and Thompson 9). Often, truth telling itself is considered a form of reparation understood as victims' moral vindication and a starting point for fostering respectful relationships.

As "The Case for Reparations," a 2014 thesis by Ta-Nehisi Coates, and the response it generated have indicated the debate about restitution may be only beginning in the United States.[4] Thus the robust visibility of Catholic missions in American public discourse has served perhaps to preempt any serious reckoning of the nation with elements of its past, as well as, obviate any potential attempts at, be it consequential or non-consequential—i.e.: moral—redress. Seen in this light, both CMPA and MBM provided an epistemic build-up for the canonization. And the canonization itself was the crown variable in the ever-expanding myth and, after Roland Barthes, its larger "halo of interpretive possibilities" (Peña 4).

Castillo's works, his op-ed and *A Cross of Thorns*, stem from a counter effort: to keep remembrance alive and heed the moral obligation to set the record straight. Motivated by what I consider an imperative call to react to the recent canonization, in what follows, I revisit elements of Castillo's argument in order to reassess Serra's legacy. Drawing from and expanding upon a number of issues discussed by Castillo, as well as supporting and contrasting his findings with studies by other scholars (most notably, a 2004 study by James A. Sandos) I address questions concerning the foundations of the mission system, the mentality and motivations of the new saint, as well as the accusations of enslavement and genocide. In closing, I outline other areas of Castillo's concern, point out some of the book's shortcomings and strengths and, returning to Serra's canonization, extrapolate a number of implications for American anamnestic and ethical consciousness.

A Cross of Thorns opens with a passage from Serra's letter to military commander, Fernando Rivera y Moncada dated July 31, 1775:

> I am sending them to you so that a period of exile, and two or three whippings… may serve, for them and for all the rest, for a warning, may be of spiritual benefit to all…. If Your Lordship does not have shackles, with your permission they may be sent from here. I think that the punishment should last one month. (79)

Serra asks the commander to administer punishment to captured fugitive Indians offering shackles and suggesting the length of exile. Perplexed by the conflict be-

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4   Coates' argument prefigured a January 2016 preliminary report issued by The United Nations Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent which recommends that the US government should consider paying reparations to the African-American descendants of slaves, as well as establish "a national human rights commission and publicly acknowledge the trans-Atlantic slave trade was a crime against humanity" (Mortimer). The final UN report is due to appear in September 2016.

tween the putative benevolent purpose of the punishment ("spiritual benefit") and the prescribed violence Castillo sets out to investigate the intersection, the "darkness" as he calls it, between the goals of the missionaries and the means they chose to accomplish them. Thus he poses a vital question: under what authorization did the friars resort to inhumane cruelty? In this section, I review Castillo's answers to this question and add to them what I believe a necessary, yet often overlooked, aspect.

Castillo first puts the missionary efforts in California in a diachronic perspective that is, he investigates them in relation to original Spanish colonial policies initiated during the expulsion of Moors and Jews from the Iberian peninsula (i.e.: Spanish Inquisition founded in 1477) and expanded in the post-Columbus era. He points to papal bulls—*Real Patronato* (1486), *Inter caetera* (1493) and *Dudum siquidem* (1493)—as inaugural documents which authorized Spanish crown's colonization as Christianization of all the indigenous and "barbarous" nations arguing that the crown conspired with the Catholic Church for purposes of domination and it is in this context that he places all Spanish colonial ventures including the Alta California invasion.

With this premise in mind the opening chapters outline the sixteenth-century policies, colonial economy (*encomienda*, *repartimiento*, *hacienda*), legal pronouncements (*Requerimiento*), and the dominant worldview of "Catholic fatalism" (a belief in the ultimate will of God and anticipation of a reward in heaven) and argue that, collectively, these factors determined the general traits of Latin America which would plague the continent in centuries to follow, stifling reform movements and individual incentive, and buttressing strict division of society into different castes. Castillo reminds us that, in this symbiotic theo-secular cooperation it was Catholic missionaries who were assigned the task of instilling among frontier populations if not the essential European values then, more importantly, compliance with the unjust status quo.

The argument in these opening chapters is convincing albeit Castillo does not escape some simplifications, as well as omissions. From a historian's, as well as a legalist, position perhaps most glaring is his negligence to account for the *Laws of Burgos* (1512), *Orders for New Discoveries* (1573) and *Ordenanzas de Patronazgo* (1574), crown's decrees which formulated specific legal and procedural frameworks for pacification of newly "discovered" Indians by missionaries. It was under these laws that Indians became officially the "wards" of the Church. Although Castillo understands that the priests were positioned in "parental" relationship to the Indians—"They needed to treat them as children, no matter what their age and social status, by providing guidance and administering frequent corporal punishment" (65)—he does not bring into focus the laws regulating these relationships and this is a pity for when the Spanish Bourbon officials, by the mid-eighteenth-century generally opposed to missionization, decid-

ed to invade California in a hurried attempt to forestall Russian threats to hitherto unsecured territories it was these laws that they fell back on. From scholarly perspective, the omission of Bolton's "The Spanish Mission as the Frontier Institution" seems reductionist. Also, the analysis of the fundamental role of the papal bulls would have been augmented had Castillo referenced, for example, Steven T. Newcomb's excellent analysis of the "Doctrine of Christian Discovery" (2008).[5]

These omissions notwithstanding, Castillo makes a sound argument that it was the Church-empire cooperation that was at the foundation of Spanish colonialism and that missions were the key institutions in the scenario of domination. The thesis is well known at least since Bolton. The major difference is that Bolton encompasses the whole of New Spain and claims that the institution of the mission served to secure a territorial claim *as well as* to function as a "Christian seminary… [and] an industrial training school" (57) while Castillo, focusing on California alone, proposes to see these purposes in a hierarchy of importance: the missions' avowed purpose of conversion and civilization was at the service of the real goal which was to secure a territorial claim. This purpose, he claims, conveniently accommodated "the zealous faith of a particular friar—Junípero Serra" (33).

By focusing on the formation, mentality, beliefs and theological motivations of the friar Castillo provides a second answer to the question of the authorization of violence. In a meticulously specific chapter—including dates, itineraries, menus, etc.—he sketches Serra's detailed portrait. He finds out that early in life Serra decided to focus on two goals: "the propagation of Roman Catholicism and the baptism into religion of as many souls as he could find in his lifetime" (58). This was a friar immersed in the medieval world-view, with penchant for self-loathing and self-mortification, whose fervent zeal, one Father Superior considered "necessary to moderate" (36). His theological beliefs "banned from consideration" (64) scientific discoveries (two hundred years after Copernicus he held a stubborn belief in geocentrism), and Enlightenment humanitarian ideals. His conservatism landed him an appointment for the officer of the Inquisition for New Spain, a genocidal institution.[6] Maria Pascuala de Nava, the accused in the witch trial Serra conducted, was, Castillo alleges, executed or tortured to death (62). We learn further that, motivated by apocalyptic anticipation of imminent Second Coming, Serra, when he arrived in California—what he considered "the last corner of the earth"—saw his chance to create a Christian utopia and dedicated

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5   In the petition to the Vatican, Toypurina Carac expressed anxiety that canonization would "re-awaken the Inquisition Doctrine of Discovery" ("Urge Pope") and called on the Pope to "rescind the Doctrine of Discovery" ("Urge Pope"). For more on the Doctrine of Discovery, see Steven T. Newcomb, *Pagans in the Promised Land: Decoding the Doctrine of Christian Discovery.*

6   Totten and Bartrop include Inquisition in their *Dictionary of Genocide.*

all efforts to proselytism. Congregation of Indians in missions was conditioned on their baptism but linguistic differences hindered instruction and hence missioniza- tion was initially slow. Serra overcame this problem by administering baptisms on basis of mouthed, rote repetition of prayers (117) and enticing Indians by gifts and promises of easier life. Inflamed by the passion of saving souls Serra imposed strict, coerced regimentation. Once at mission compound Indians could not leave freely but were expected to participate in multiple daily prayers and perform roughly seven hours of labor a day—both obligations considered by friars necessary for successful conversion/civilization but which, for Indians, meant loss of personal liberty, tradi- tional values, and cultural ties. If Indians refused to work, escaped, or lagged behind in prayers these were interpreted as apostasy, insufficient moral strength and back- sliding and, as such, necessitated correction. The methods of correcting, Castillo finds out in his research, had nothing to do with an idealized parental love of today or the enlightened ideals of the Rights of Men (both arguments raised by the Church in fa- vor of sainthood) but were based on cruel, medieval models which Serra referred to as "ancient customs." These customs, examples of which he found in readings of the sixteenth-century missionary accounts (Francisco Solano), justified the use of violent punishments.

When mass deaths struck the missions (due to epidemics, punishments, hunger) rather than stir the conscience of the friars they further reaffirmed the belief that vio- lence was justified for God himself was punishing the infidels. In fact, the deaths inspired exaltation or, what Castillo calls, "dark joy" (82) for in the light of Christian fatalism and eschatology "[d]eath was the important step toward reaching the heaven, an event meant for rejoicing" (Castillo 74), especially, if the dead had been previously baptized. Robert Archibald once described the friars as fundamentalists who, "preferred dead Christians to live pagans." Castillo's research confirms this. In Serra's letter dated July 24, 1775 we read: "In the midst of all our troubles, the spiritual side of the missions is developing most happily. In [Mission] San Antonio there are simultaneously two har- vests, at one time, one for wheat, and of a plague among the children, who are dying" (Castillo 82). Although Castillo does not explore theodicy as a possible explanation for the "dark joy" it seems justified to propose that this theological hermeneutics (first expressed by Leibnitz three years before Serra's birth) provided another rationalization/ authorization for "necessary" violence.

Aside from the macabre content Serra's letter above exposes another reason for the authorization of violence. Serra exalts about the harvest of wheat revealing that the missions were agricultural farms of vital importance for the region which, as a distant colony, could not depend on regular shipments from Mexico. The missions, founded on the best arable lands, provided sustenance for the whole colonial population and not only the mission Indians. Because the demand for mission products grew propor- tionately to the growth of the colony Castillo's thesis is that,

the situation soon developed into one where the Indians were little more than forced labor. This permitted the missions to thrive economically, and allowed the friars to profit personally from the sale of tallow, hides, horns, wine, and brandy to the foreign merchant ships that anchored annually off the California coast. For the Indians, it signified the beginning of brutal suffering and cultural genocide. (98)

This is the crux of Castillo's argument about the accommodation not only of one friar but of the whole mission system into the pattern of an expanding colony. Conversion in this context was another name for coerced labor—hence the subtitle of the book, *The Enslavement of California's Indians by the Spanish Missions.*

Historians have debated the adequacy of the term "slavery" in relation to the mission system. Sandos refutes such comparisons drawing attention to what he believes were different goals of the missionaries and the plantation owners: "[t]he *purpose of the mission* was to organize a religious community in isolation that could nourish itself physically and spiritually.… Profit was *never a consideration*, unlike plantations, where profit was the purpose and reason for their creation" (107; my emphasis). Ha also adds that "[i]n Catholic theology one of the consequences of sin is the temporal punishment that must be served in Purgatory that accompanies the forgiveness of each sinful act" (108). Building on this he proposes to refer to Indians' status at the missions not as slavery but as "spiritual debt peonage" (108) arguing that "the neophyte had *voluntarily* forsaken part of his freedom in return for the spiritual salvation" (108; my emphasis). In other words, for Sandos, the missions were religious institutions akin to earthly purgatories to which Indians volunteered to work humbly towards their reward in heaven with the help of charitable padres.

Castillo's findings directly contradict Sandos' claims. First, unlike Sandos, in relation to the question of slavery Castillo takes into account the *double purpose* of the system, not only religious but also production goals of which the latter ultimately prevailed. And if production was so important then necessarily deaths and flight hindered it by diminishing necessary labor-force—the remedy was kidnapping of free Indians, return of fugitives and harsh punishments. It was in this context that Indians' actual if not nominal status deteriorated from converts, or "spiritual debt peons," to slaves, and friars' initial intentions from religious to far more mundane.

Further, Castillo justifies comparisons with slavery by mounting evidence for the brutality of the system, crown-Church collusion in refusal to provide education to neophytes, and by providing ample evidence that missionaries were indeed profit-driven.

Friars' cruelty standards are illustrated by first-hand testimonies. One such account was written by Jean Francois de Laperouse, a French captain, who stepping on shore in Monterey on September 14, 1786 discovered several Indians locked into wooden stocks but still required to work "suffering punishment meted out by the friars" (109). We can only presume that the practice of "exile" Serra wrote about in 1775 became a standard

procedure and continued after his death. Further, Laperouse describes whippings, irons and shackles noting with perplexity the similarity between the missions and slave plantations in the Caribbean. He says that men were whipped in public while women at a safe distance so "that their cries may not excite a too lively compassion, which might cause the men to revolt" (113). Punishments were administered by *alcaldes*, neophytes appointed by friars as overseers who roamed the mission lands whip-in-hand, pursued runaways, brought new Indians. Friars themselves were guilty of cruelty: the sadistic padre Andres Quintana who was murdered by Indians when he put to use his newly customized whip "tipped with iron barbs" (114), fray José Maria Zalvidea known for his penchant for whipping both Indians and himself, friar Ramon Olbés known for perverted punishments (124–125), or another priest who burned crosses on the faces of captured fugitives. A whipping of a young neophyte on February 21, 1824, triggered the Great Chumash Uprising which, considering the cause of the rebellion, can be termed the first mass race riot in California. Because birth rate was always lower than death rate women at the missions were subject to severe, long-term punishments and humiliations if they could not bear children or aborted their pregnancies.

Castillo should be applauded for contributing to our understanding of the actual dedication of the fathers to the avowed purpose of educating Indians in preparation for their life in society. We learn that even at the end of the mission era Indians had only a rudimentary knowledge of the Spanish language, many did not speak it at all, and only selected few had a chance to learn how to read and write. This was not an aberration but a result of a deliberate policy. Castillo reminds us that it was José de Gálvez, crown's Visitor General responsible for staging the *entrada* and Serra's appointment, who in 1769 issued an order not to teach Indians to write, "for I have enough experience that such major instruction perverts and hastens their ruinations" (129). Gálvez is usually portrayed as an Enlightened reformer. However, as Castillo's research shows, his attitude towards Indians casts doubt on his reputation; the order can only be compared with precepts of American slavery jurisprudence which forbade teaching blacks to read and write. Castillo also reminds us that in 1793 the crown issued orders to instruct Indians in reading and writing at which the padres "shrugged their shoulder… filed it away, and simply ignored" (130). It was easier and more profitable to let the Indians remain as they were: children, "species of monkeys" (52) as one friar expressed it, or "lower animals" (93) as said another.

Castillo says that Indians, "for all practical purposes, [were] slaves. The only difference was that the Indians were never sold, although they were occasionally loaned to nearby pueblos on condition that the friars… be paid for their labor" (123). The study proves beyond doubt that friars reaped profits and many led lavish lifestyles as the missions grew into "phenomenal" (11) agricultural empires. For example, at San Luis Rey de Francia at one point more than 1 000 Indians tended 57 330 animals, including "27,500 head of cattle, and 26,100 head of sheep" (121) and producing "2,500 barrels

of wine annually" (121). As "self-sustaining" (131) missions imported only selected items while trading their products for silver and gold. Although Sandos claims that for fathers profit was never a consideration and, as we know, strict Franciscan regulations stipulated that friars be never paid in cash but had to preorder items from Mexico City Castillo finds evidence to the contrary. He cites Russian hunter Kirill Timofeevich Khlebnikov who testified that some friars, had their gold and money counted and put in sacks by the mission foreman before, "they accurately count the sacks with the pi-astres and prudently place them in their bedroom" (123). This may have been true of, for example, José Viador, an eccentric and grotesque friar of Mission Santa Clara who had young Indian boys or "pages" (120) as assistants, was so fat he could not move and had a special carriage built according to his specifications. Pablo Tac, a Luiseño Indian who wrote a short account of the life at Mission San Luis described the friar there as a "king" (135). "He has his pages, *alcaldes*, majordomos, musicians, soldiers, gardens, ranchos, livestock, horses by the thousands, cows, bulls by the thousand, oxen, mules, asses, twelve thousand lambs, two hundred goats, etc." (135). When in 1827 Mexican Congress ordered all Spaniards to leave the country many priests simply "stole away" (193) carrying their fortunes with them. Among them were two friars, Antonio Rip-oll and José Altimira, who fled with gold which they claimed they had accumulated from annual stipends (193). As Castillo rightly observes, these portraits contradict the vows of poverty taken by Franciscans: "While the Franciscans claimed all of the profit made by the missions was spent on the Indians, the facts do not bear that out" (131). The accumulation of details concerning the wealth of friars is one of Castillo's greatest accomplishments and belies the claim of missionary altruism.

An issue related with slavery is the question of genocide. Let me briefly consider this contentious problem. Many historians have raised the accusation. McWilliams says that: "[w]ith the best theological intentions in the world, the Franciscan padres eliminated Indians with the effectiveness of Nazis operating concentration camps" (29). Castillo himself mentions "cultural genocide" (98) as a result of the enslavement of the neophytes. Sandos however refutes such accusations by concentrating on the purposes of the missionaries: "From the standpoint of intention alone, there can be no valid comparison between Franciscans and Nazis" (179). Limiting his analysis to the consideration of intentions (or their lack) Sandos absolves the missions' results as "unintentional diminishment of the California Indian population" (180).

Sandos' argument is an echo of a longstanding debate about how to "assess the intent of alleged perpetrators of genocide" (Totten and Bartrop 214)—a question originating from the 1948 *UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Geno-cide* (CPPCG) which defines "genocide" as: "acts committed with *intent* to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group" (United Nations 1948; my emphasis). Concentrating on intentions Sandos opts for a very literal, narrow and, today highly problematic, interpretation for, as Totten and Bartrop caution, "[o]ver

the years, international law specialists… have argued that, in reality, 'intent' can be inferred from the various criminal acts themselves" (214). Bearing in mind the tragic toll of the missions and their long-term operation in an unaltered, violence-based form we are prompted to ask whether neglect to act upon the fact of alarming death toll cannot be a sufficient signal of a genocidal intent? Similarly, considering the reciprocity of salvation-coercion model operative at the missions would it be illogical to propose that theological intentions were only the obverse of genocidal calculations? Further, I believe that to polarize intentions against outcomes, instead of seeing them in relation, is to miss the point not only about the issue of genocide but also to miss the fundamental answer to Castillo's initial question about the authorization of violence. To problematize these let us return to the beginnings of the system and Serra's activity. I provide here only an outline of an argument I am developing in a separate study.

Early governors of California, Pedro Fages, Moncada, and Felipe de Neve disliked Serra's methods. They considered Indians' interminable reductions detrimental to the development of the natives into self-reliant citizens. They fought with him constant battles over the expansion of the system, the number and behavior of soldiers at each mission and, most importantly, the autonomy of authority Serra claimed he had over the Indians and whose fate Neve considered "worse than that of slaves" (Castillo 80).

In 1772, in order to resolve his dispute with Fages, Serra travelled to Mexico City where he presented to the viceroy a document known as "*Representación,*" in which he pleaded that "the missions be given full responsibility for the training, governance, discipline, and education of their baptized Indians" (Castillo 78). In response, on July 23, 1773, the viceroy issued decrees of which the most important stated that, "The management, control, punishment, and education of baptized Indians pertain exclusively to the missionary Fathers" (Sandos 53). Although the friction with the governors continued into the 1780s it was the regulations Serra secured that ultimately prevailed as a legal framework for the continuation and expansion of the system, and remained effective until 1825.

It is surprising that the joint significance of the "*Representación,*" and the viceroyal decrees or, what I call, the "theo-secular collusion of 1773," is not adequately highlighted by Castillo; the more so that the book's major focus is the investigation of the Church-state conspiracy. The omission is also troubling because "*Representación*" constitutes the foundation upon which the Church's thesis about Serra's humanitarianism—his passport to sainthood—is based.[7] Apologists maintain that by obtaining *loco parentis* Serra defended Indians against corrupt influences of the society, as well as

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7   José H. Gomez, Archbishop of Los Angeles, calls it "a landmark of Catholic social teaching and a primary document in the history of human rights." Ruben Mendoza, references the same document to claim that Serra was "not only a man of his time, [but]… a man ahead of his time in his advocacy for native people on the frontier" (Theobald).

made "their lands… secure from the land-grabber" (Bolton 47); he supposedly saved the native community "*de cuantos la habían abusado*," from those who would like to take advantage of it. I agree that this was a founding document for California but I beg to differ in its interpretation. The fact that the friars acquired exclusive authority over their "children" was not beneficial to the natives but guaranteed their downfall. Let me explain.

When the viceroy acquiesced to Serra's pleas the Indians were removed from the jurisdiction of the state and cast *en mass* as exceptions to the laws pertaining to all other, including second- and third-class (i.e. mestizo and afro-mestizo), citizens. Even though the Indians lived on their own lands, of which the missionary was supposed to be only a temporary guardian,[8] they overnight lost all rights as members of the larger polity, becoming stateless in their own homeland. Thus the missions became places akin to refugee or internment camps in which natives from various villages and nations like denationalized aliens were congregated. This was purportedly a temporary condition which required from them a constant physical and spiritual exertion on their way to salvation in some indeterminable future. Here "*arbeit macht frei*" work theology was the supreme principle and the friars, as the guardians of the divine law, had the exclusive right to assess from without the Indians' status in relation to the sacred order and, as "parents" to their "children," their advances in civility—a predicament which was extendable *ad infinitum*. The Indians remained on their way to sacred and cultured life but were continually not yet there, bad, natural and, by extension, expendable and "ungrievable" (Butler 22). As Serra's successor and the second president Fermin Lasuén argued only violence could bring them to "realize that they are men" (Sandos 92). This was an arduous task for as Diego de Borica, governor and Lasuén's great ally, said: "at the rate they are progressing, [they] will not become so in ten centuries" (Weber, *Spanish Frontier* 262). Their status was then a double threshold: they were part of both spheres (*ius humanum* and *ius divinum*) only as exceptions, residing between the cursed and the sacred, the savage and the civilized. Like African slaves they were, to use Orlando Patterson's term, "socially dead."

This status was akin to what in the Roman law, as Giorgio Agamben reminds us, was referred to as "*homo sacer*"—a category defining a person who could not be deprived of life in the face of the civil or divine law but who nonetheless could be killed with impunity. "It indicates… a life that may be killed by anyone" (Agamben 86), violence done to which "did not constitute sacrilege" (Agamben 82). Subject to "the sovereign ban" (Agamben 83) and residing at the threshold, that is, "set outside human jurisdiction without being brought into the realm of divine law" (Agamben 81), *homo sacer* was stripped of civil rights and not yet included under the protection

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8   According to a 1749 law, a new royal policy required missions "to become *doctrinas*, the beginning of Indian parishes, ten years after their founding" (Sandos 11).

of the divine order. As such, *homo sacer* was "life devoid of value" (Agamben 139). The Roman law regulated which crimes merited "*sacratio.*" Among them were "*terminum exarare*" and "*verberatio parentis*," which stand for, respectively, the "cancellation of borders" and "the violence of the son against the parent" (Agamben 85). To punish for such transgressions no court order was necessary, one could kill and be absolved.

It may be productive to think of the excessive punishments applied to the Indians as the extension of the original Roman laws regarding *homo sacer*. For if, under the Roman law, those who illegally crossed borders or those who defied *pater familias* could be killed with impunity, Indian fugitives, those who cancelled the borders of the missions or overstayed their furloughs, as well as all those who were disobedient "children" could be violently punished, "sometimes to the point of death" (Archibald) and such transgressions would not be regarded neither as sacrilege nor a breach of law. *Las Siete Partidas* (1265), Spanish statutory code which remained effective until the nineteenth century, had been largely based on the Roman codes. Its section four defined the absolute power of the father to, for example, sell his children to slavery or, if "he had nothing to eat,… [to] eat his own son with *no damage to his reputation*" (Nichols 277; my emphasis). It was the authority of these and other laws (also laws prescribing specific violent punishments) that assured that the priests' conscience, as well as their record or reputation would remain clean in spite of the hideous crimes they committed.

I believe this diachronic legalist perspective to be an important, if often overlooked, addition to the usual explanations of priests' violence. In other words, it was not only a legacy of the Church-empire collusion of the early colonial era that legitimized priests' cruelty and utter disdain for Indian life; it was not only religious fervor to penalize apostasy or an eschatological "dark joy" and theodicy that drove them; neither are evocations of sixteenth-century missionaries nor even the expediency of enslavement for the benefit of the colony satisfactory explanations. It was the legal framework, a more fundamental "ancient custom," which rationalized and provided authorization for violence. As M.C. Mirow reminds us: "Law and legal institutions served the crown's needs of conquest and colonization" (11) and in considering the functioning of the California missions this legal aspect—"law as a mechanism of political and cultural hegemony" (Mirow 11)—should not be lost of sight. Considering Castillo's initial question it is a pity that he does not explore the legal implications in more detail.

The collusion of 1773, like the denaturalization laws in Nazi Germany applied to Jews before they were sent to camps, sealed natives' fate as "bare life" (Agamben 139), turning them into "the actualization of a mere 'capacity to be killed'" (Agamben 14) or saved; making salvation indistinguishable from violence. That such a claim is correct is supported by the fact that it was upon the legal designations secured by Serra that subsequent genocidal settler policies in U.S. California were based. In 1850, in *Suñol v. Hepburn*, the California Supreme Court ruled that because Christian Indians in Mexico

"had been given the same constitutional status as lunatics, children, women, and other people dependent upon the state" (Menchaca 220) they "had never had, and should not be given any U.S. constitutional rights" (Menchaca 220). Martha Menchaca reminds us that this pronouncement allowed the U.S. Congress to commission "the War Department to clear hundreds of thousands of acres… for the arrival of Anglo-American settlers" (223) which "resulted in the massive reduction of the Indian population… to 50,000 in 1855" (223). The genocidal results of these policies cast ghastly shadows on the 1773 ban. Thus, contrary to formulaic interpretations we need to conclude that Serra's articles, which in the run-up to the canonization some even "shamelessly" (Grabowski) called California's first "Bill of Rights" (Weber 2015) were, as Christine Grabowski rightly observes, "not 'rights' *for* Indians."

The laws of 1773 are the central proof of the theo-secular complicity to create legal authorization for both physical and cultural destruction of the native population. Article II, point c) of the CPPCG defines "genocide" as: "Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part" (280). To think about California missions in the light of this definition factoring in both, the legal and practical consequences of the 1773 decrees is to critically refocus the debate about genocide from intentions and/or results to calculated conditions designed to effect ultimate domination. It is only by viewing these conditions in relation to the missions' methods of operation and their results that we can conjecture the weight of intentions and arrive at the conclusion that California missions functioned as a deliberate genocidal system.

It was in the years following Serra's death that the decrees of 1773 acquired gruesome proportions. Castillo says that "nearly half of the missions' populations died each year" (139) and yet friars did nothing to change the situation. They blamed the deaths and the need for brutal punishments on the deficient nature of their Indian "wards." For example, in 1800 Lasuén described Indians as "people of vicious and ferocious customs, who know no other law than force, nor any authority other than their own free will nor reason other than mere caprice.… It is a duty imposed on us to correct and punish men of this kind" (Castillo 138). Defending the system by condemning the people he served Lasuén, in fact, implicitly indicts himself suggesting that the missions were a form of a theo-civilizing gulag. In 1830, friar Rafael de Jesus Moreno declared what clearly reads as genocidal intent that the Indians "must and will die off and disappear before the more morally educated white man" (Castillo 143). It does not take much historical expertise to read this declaration as prefiguring the racial discourse of Manifest Destiny and *lebensraum*.

Considering comparisons between Nazis and friars it is important to note one other aspect. Despite the fact that the missions prospered Indians were chronically underfed. Fugitives from Mission San Francisco testified that one of the primary reasons for flight was hunger (Castillo 152–153). Sherburne F. Cook found out that

"the calories per person per day would not exceed 1,000" (43). This means that the daily rations were about twenty five percent lower than in Auschwitz.[9] The fact that measurements of skeletal remains from mission burial sites found them "considerably stunted and far smaller" (Castillo 155) than those of pre-contact graves also confirms the legitimacy of the comparison. Sandos' claim that the sole purpose of the padres was "to organize a religious community… that could nourish itself physically and spiritually" (107) should thus be disqualified. In 1820 mission president, Mariano Payeras, pondered a devastating conundrum: why, he asked, instead of "a flourishing church and some beautiful towns… we find ourselves with missions or rather a people miserable and sick... which with profound horror fills the cemeteries" (Castillo 154). Payeras feared that the responsibility for the disappearance of "Indians within a century of... discovery" (Castillo 154) would fall on the padres. This soul-searching document is of paramount importance however it came too late. In the previous decade, as the war of Mexican Independence (1810–1821) was waged, the region depended exclusively on supplies from the missions and Indian labor-force and its continuous replenishment became expedient. After the war little changed as the new government feared that the closure of the missions would result in Alta California's collapse. Despite the fact that, as Payeras said, "[t]he missionary priest baptized them [Indians], administered the Sacraments to them, and buried them" (Sandos 105) an analysis of statistical data for these two decades reveals a robust expansion of the system (Jackson and Castillo 113–136).

Bearing in mind the accumulated evidence (theo-secular collusion, theological motivations, tradition of violence, legal framework, coercion and enslavement, death rate, hunger, etc.) we have to conclude that California missions were insatiable genocidal machines which diachronically prefigured the internment/concentration/extermination camp of the twentieth century. Those who operated them—the friars under the auspices of the imperial regime—incurred a moral obligation for receiving privileges at the expense of Indian life and land, an obligation which as a binding force has been passed through time into the present. Bearing this in mind, the placement of "*Representación*" at the heart of Serra's sainthood campaign is exposed as a Machiavelian move. Naming a milestone of humanitarianism what in fact was a nadir, a crime against humanity, the Church attempted to remove from view the real denotation of the sign and replace it with a fabricated connotation. This was a calculated ruse, an act of purgation meant to effect a deontological closure. Betraying lack of moral and political will to amend

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9   The Auschwitz Alphabet website states: "The official daily value of food for prisoners employed in light work stood at 1,700 calories and for prisoners doing strenuous work, 2,150 calories. An analysis done after the war of the actual food content ranged from 1,300 calories for light-work prisoners to 1,700 calories for prisoners performing hard labor" (Wallace).

past wrongs this maneuver can only be interpreted as a smoking gun evidence of *mens rea*, and a doubling-up in the present on Serra's original criminal intent. As such, it constituted a resurrection of teleologic theodicy, smoke and mirrors which Castillo's book, as well as this article aim to expose.

Composed of eleven chapters with Epilogue and Appendix the book discusses more than we have been able to cover. Other themes are, for example: a comprehensive overview of pre-contact California with "as many as 50,000 sites" (45); the psychological effects of missionization and Indians' apathy which bewildered observers and which no amount of Christian ceremonialism or "theaters of conversion" (Edgerton 156) could ameliorate; the fascinating history of Indian resistance and rebellions from 1769 through 1830; the demise of the system which, leaving Indians illiterate and without citizen status, resulted in further loss of lands and status, "vermin that needed to be exterminated" (193); the full-scale genocidal and enslavement policies of the American era during which, for example, while Civil War was being waged against slavery, Indian children "as young as three and four years were being bought $50 a piece" (198). In the Epilogue Castillo links the policies of the past with the current situation of many tribes pointing to the scurrilous termination of more than a hundred California tribes by Indian Field Service Superintendent L.A. Dorrington in 1927. Due to this unconstitutional decision many tribes continue to fight for recognition. One such tribe is Amah Mutsun and a letter authored by its chairman Lopez and addressed to the U.S. Department of the Interior is included in the Appendix. Lopez convincingly explains the history of California Indians' status tribulations and proposes a revision of federal recognition standards.

The scope of the book is enormous and minor flaws were unavoidable. For example, although the book has a nearly exhaustive bibliography a few omissions stand out: Bolton's frontier mission thesis; Zephiryn Engelhardt's monumental *Missions and Missionaries of California*; friar Juan Crespi's journal and Miguel Costanso's account from the first land expedition to the region; Sebastian Vizaino's description of the original inhabitants of the Monterey Bay. Attention to protagonists of the era is selective and failure to mention José Joaquin Arrillaga—of all California governors the greatest ally of the missionaries and, probably, Indians' worst foe—is regrettable. Sometimes Castillo falls into the traps of romanticization (the description of pealing bells) or fails to adhere to his professed diachronic logic (when he says that friars were "ignorant of how disease spread" (118)). At times, information is not coherently presented (i.e.: plans for colonization or punishments). The editing, in general, leaves a lot to be desired: there are a few typos (23, 34, 71, 180), misspellings (two versions of the same name: Moncada and Moncado) and inconsistencies (Solanus or Solano?); the inlay with color illustrations is commendable but pictures lack references in the text; the index is somewhat imprecise (the same persons are listed under two different names) and incomplete (some names are missing). The editors appear to have neglected Lopez's

letter which is a shame because formal shortcomings diminish the impact of a vital argument.

Nevertheless the real strength of the book is that the author never resigns his ethical imperative which is to speak in the name of the voiceless and invisible and whenever he can he humanizes his protagonists. For example, he describes Toypurina, the female ring-leader of the failed plot at Mission San Gabriel in 1785 as an "attractive, green-eyed young woman of 24" (162). Thanks to such storytelling techniques Castillo's narrative is engaging and, at times, reads like two in one: a scholarly text and an action novel. Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze says about the colonial history of Africa: "The truths about these facts read like fiction, like horror films" (196). The same holds for the California history. The personas described are often extraordinary and events utterly horrific that, from today's perspective, they would make a perfect subject for a film and one wonders why the missions' *real* history has been neglected by Hollywood producers who would rather shoot a film about Holocaust or, at best, the "Peculiar Institution" rather than focus on their own backyard (Mission San Fernando is just one Metrolink stop away from Burbank). Eze suggests that by reframing facts of history we give "even the most unbelievable of them… a second chance at credibility" (196) and this is perhaps why the topic of missions is elided by the film industry.

Like the lack of instruments of torture in mission museums the absence of mission themes in Hollywood may be indicative of a deep repression of guilt at the heart of American unconscious. As mission bells have become the number one symbol of California the experience of Castillo's book turns them into a metonymy of violence similar to the Confederate flag. After we put the book away California wine will never taste the same and rolling hills will turn palimpsest, repopulated by specters of the original owners of what is, we now realize, all stolen land. The experience of Castillo's book and the realization of the hegemonic refusal to act upon the knowledge of history reveals the real nature of public historical imagination in the state. Paraphrasing Tony Barta's argument about the relationship of all Australians to the Aborigines we can say that all Californians live in objective "relations of genocide" (Moses 25) with its indigenous populations. Because genocide in California was the result of both state pre-mediation (first by Serra and the Spanish crown and, later, by the U.S. courts and Congress) and pressure of individual settlers we can also venture a statement that California has been a genocidal society and state.

Serra's canonization mass was held at the east portico of the Basilica of Immaculate Conception in Washington, D.C. The Pope prayed facing the Atlantic and Europe, his back turned at the American West. The gesture was ineluctably symbolic. It signified turning away from the California Indians' historical trauma and their pleas for dialog, and perhaps more importantly, from the terrible truth about the Church itself. Indian activist Toypurina Carac called the canonization "the final salvo of dehumanization and genocide… towards our people" ("How") but it was also equally a metonymy of

Church's denialism and deontological abdication. Serra's sainthood invalidated papal calls for reconciliation expressed in the apology to the indigenous peoples in Bolivia in July 2015 and exposed the differential treatment of indigenous peoples in South and North America. As an act of public dissemination of untruth it was also a violation of human rights, which the United Nations defines now as the "right to know" and "right to truth" (United Nations 2007).

Pressure cooker bombs are improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and potentially lethal weapons because they allow the energy to accumulate before detonation causing damage by fragmentation. Castillo's book is an important example of engaged, decolonial scholarship which takes up an ethical responsibility to oblige the duty to speak across, what Bruno Latour identified as, Modernity's "External Great Divide" (133). As such, it vitally contributes to, what I call, a body of mnemonic explosive devices (MEDs), joint commitments designed to keep remembrance and calls for justice alive. Refusing to respectfully respond to such MEDs like victims' pleas, letters, and this book the Church claimed the authority of the Highest Sovereign and put an airtight lid of sainthood on the pressure cooker of memory.

However, because it did not care to put out the fire—neither questions of appropriate remembrance of past wrongs nor these wrongs' ongoing consequences have been addressed, but only suppressed—it would be naïve to think that the simmering pot of memory and epistemic indignation does not explode in some near future. This makes the calls for genuine dialog, including dialog of reparations understood as "the full acceptance of our collective biography and its consequences" (Coates), all the more urgent. Truthful remembrance would be for the benefit of all for, if we are to draw any lesson from the memory boom, unless wrongs of the past are publically acknowledged America will remain a nation burdened with a lie in its collective unconscious and on course to lethal fragmentation as opposed to rapprochement.

Considering Serra's sainthood this fragmentation can take unpredictable forms. On the one hand, by illusorily assuaging the anxiety of living on what was not-long-ago indigenous land it may re-inflame hostility towards now belittled claims of the victims. It may also reawaken the dormant demons of racist self-righteousness which energized the mission myth in the booster era (1885–1925) when Charles Fletcher Lummis and his Arroyo Set's professed credo held that "the power of sunshine [would work] to reinvigorate the racial energies of the Anglo-Saxons" (Davis 27). The demons may play out in such arenas as ruthless gentrification of traditional communities (i.e. the Mission District in San Francisco) or acts of terror (i.e. Charleston shooting). On the other hand, the failure of the Church to heed the moral injunction may be interpreted as an act of hubris and result in negative evaluation of the canonization not only by descendants of victims but also by members of the Church itself. The canonization may thus be viewed both, as a moral injury to the indigenous community and a violation of ethical standards against which Catholics would like to measure themselves and

their spiritual institution, in the process undermining its moral authority, provoking resentment and mobilizing shame against the Church. It may also lead to symbolic and/or literal acts of civil, militant, scholarly, theological, etc. disobedience.

One such civil disobedience took place just days after the canonization. At Mission San Carlos in Carmel Serra's statue was toppled over and sprayed with paint. An inscription "Saint of genocide" was added. A public outcry followed. But one cannot help pondering if, like the anarchists of Joseph Conrad's *Secret Agent* who decide to blow up the Greenwich Observatory in a destructive act directed at the modern fetish of science, the "terrorists of Carmel" had a similar intent—to spectacularly destroy what the statue represents: the fetish of individual-centered Western historiography buttressing the theo-secular nexus of coloniality and repressing colonized communities' ancestral memory, cultural rights, implaced epistemology. Perhaps this irrational act of vandalism was then the only rational, however futile, measure available to those whom the Pope rendered invisible by turning his back on them? Perhaps it was a call to action before it is too late? Before the MEDs turn to IEDs.

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REVIEWS

Tadeusz Sławek. *Henry David Thoreau—Grasping the Community of the World*. **Trans. from the Polish by Jean Ward. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014. 316 pages.**

Some books can be read in a single sitting. Others seem more suited to a browsing, the way one wanders through an art gallery looking for a moment at this painting and that one, pausing a bit longer before one that captures our eye, but then moving on. Yet others belong to that rare and precious sort that invite the reader into a long and lingering relationship. These seem to *desire us*, their words revealing something essential to us, stirring the mind and activating the heart. This book belongs to this latter group. In a manner at once stylistically enticing and intellectually engaging, its author invites us to enter into a vigorous conversation that matters—with philosophers and writers, artists and intellectuals whom he has gathered in a dialogue at once critical and constructive, engaging a wide cultural spectrum of voices that ranges across the sweep of the intellectual heritage of the West from antiquity to postmodernity. And, if this work gives voice to a vigorous and sustained argument about political philosophy, it does so with a keen eye to the pragmatics of human existence—and always with reference to the *non-human* as the inviolable basis for such a discussion.

Such a book as this addresses us not at the register of the mind's curiosity alone, with its insatiable thirst for compelling ideas, but rather in that deeper reach of inquiry where the urgencies of thought and life come together and compel us to be alert—for here we sense that nothing less than the world's fate, and perhaps that of our very souls, is at stake. Professor Sławek takes us on what Thoreau would have called a "saunter," a long and unhurried journey which in this case takes us not across the meadows and woods near Concord, Massachusetts, where Thoreau spent the entirety of his life, but rather into the deep recesses of cultural analysis and existential inquiry. The author invites us to follow "trails" he has blazed into the thickets and clearings of political theory and philosophical discourse, all for the sake of what he calls "the community of the world." His project is an urgent one, and one senses this in the prose: the thrust of this book is not simply that of "deconstruct[ing] the consciousness of Western man" as he puts it citing Nietzsche, one of his favored interlocutors, but also that of helping us "learn to calibrate [our] gaze differently, so that the aesthetic experience [of gazing] allows [us] to make a critical assessment of the practices of the economic politics of ownership" (248–250). Under the shaping force of such intentions, this book is an "essay," in the

British sense. But, more than this, it is an intellectual, cultural, and political manifesto for our times. As Kant—drawing on Horace—would remind us, *Sapere aude!*

Thus, a warning at the outset: this is a book that will interrupt your plans to devote yourself to other duties, at least for those whose intellectual and aesthetic appetite depends on things of substance and refuses the thin gruel that fills the surplus of books being published in our time. Here, in a style of thinking that depends on a deliberate and prolonged meandering or—as Thoreau would have it, a proper *sauntering*—among the byways of the mind and heart, we find ourselves in the hands of a writer who refuses the compartmentalizations of the modern academy: those he has gathered at this symposium are there because they, too, are restless in their hunger to engage life at the places of real presence, to probe the surfaces in the search for the depths.

The form of this volume by Tadeusz Sławek, Professor of Comparative Literature at the University of Silesia (Katowice, Poland), is appropriately not linear, not a protracted argument in a single direction. It is rather a conversation that wanders, that refuses to hurry, inviting us to overhear Mr. Sławek in the ways he negotiates the broad river of western culture, wandering along its main artery on its way to the sea, but diverging all along the way to follow its tributaries upstream to distant origins often ignored by the hurried traveler, discovering many of the varied sources that contribute to this river's relentless and determined flow. It is a book that is part philosophical argument and part cultural criticism, part witness to the fragile beauty of this life and part invitation to enter into the thoughts and discoveries, the insights and feelings that make up what St. Benedict knew as *conversatio,* which in the usage of Late Antiquity suggested a "way of life" and not simply an exchange of words. Above all, this book is a poetic summons, not on the surfaces of its words but in the play of their depths.

Fortunately for English readers, at least those for whom the literature of Poland remains a sealed book, Mr. Sławek was fortunate to have secured the services of Dr. Jean Ward (Associate Professor of English Literature at the Institute of English and American Studies of Gdańsk University) as translator, who has rendered admirable service in bringing this volume to us in a form commensurate with that of the original—viz., at once intellectually precise and stylistically fluid. Professor Ward's voicing of this volume, true to the original, does not declare but rather gives voice to the lyric movement in Mr. Sławek's prose. The result is a book written in a style that is both daring in intellectual scope and alluring in its poetic texture. Both dimensions come through in Ms. Ward's effective and elegant translation, which, true to the dictates of translation, is as much an art as it is technical science, one that depends on intuition and intimations of language alongside lexical precision to the demands of diction and voice. It should be noted that this labor involved the arduous work of locating all the original citations from Thoreau and other English-language authors in English, alongside the normal demands such translation entails, in itself no mean feat. Her work on this volume throughout is as sensitive and perceptive as is her altogether stunning English translation of Professor

Sławek's poetic portrait of William Blake, a piece of "performance art" that gives voice to the poet's conviction that "art can never exist without naked beauty displayed" (for one "movement" from this longer work, "Nativity on Poland Street," see *Spiritus* 14 [2014]: 109; the original is entitled *Drzewo aniołów. Esej na głos i kontrabas* [*Tree of the Angels. An Essay for Voice and Double Bass*]).

The attempt to write a review of such a remarkable work as this is complicated by the subtlety and, indeed, the urgency of the argument—or arguments, as this is not a linear text but rather one that circles and probes, an instance that takes seriously Thoreau's own worry when he wondered, "What sort of science is that which enriches the understanding, but robs the imagination?" (21). In form, Mr. Sławek writes in answer to this query, shaping his volume as a series of journal entries which thus mimic the published edition of the journals of Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862). The first long entry tells the story of his purchase of this work in a secondhand bookshop in Concord, Massachusetts. I happen to know this little shop, "Books with a Past," having also ambled down these streets as Prof. Sławek had—and, more to the point, as Thoreau himself would have done countless times during his life. In this opening discussion, laden with digressions, the author tells the story of acquiring this set, the green-bound edition of 1904 that had been owned by a man named Elliot Allison. Here, the wandering begins, as Mr. Sławek traces his own pursuit to find out who this man was and how Allison's marginal handwritten notes suggest illumine something distinctive about the demands and delights of Thoreau's work. We might well characterize Mr. Sławek's style as meditative, a kind of persistent rumination on things he notices—in Thoreau's journal, in Allison's terse notes, in the natural world at large, and in the wide array of voices that carry our cultural heritage across the ages, from the pre-Socratics to the present.

At the heart of this penetrating book is a determined commitment to foster what Mr. Sławek calls "the community of the world," or what Thoreau himself refers to as "the elevation of mankind." What he means by this is a commitment to contribute something essential to the restless human longing for an authentic and even redemptive "participation" in the reality of which we are each a constitutive part, and to spur us to deeper and more authentic commitment to the non-human as the surest redemption—i.e., releasing or restoring—of the human. One of the joys in this volume is the wide sampling of Thoreau's entries from his *Journals*, a reminder of Thoreau's capacity to observe things around him carefully and thoughtfully, with a sharp and persistent attentiveness to what was "at hand." These short quotations often provide a point of engagement with other thinkers in a wide spectrum, from Antiquity to a wide sampling of later writers—Thoreau's contemporary and friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson, of course, and a rich chorus of others who came later. In commenting on Thoreau's journal entries in a way that rehearses this sometimes unexpected meeting of voices, a cluster of themes provide the shaping focus for Prof. Sławek's discussion.

Among these I would point to the following as essential in what strikes me as a consummate intellectual "performance": first, the importance of "un-self-sufficing," a neologism he coins, pointing to that sense of belonging-to or participating-in the larger whole in a manner that carries the possibility of discovering or re-forming genuine "community"; the value of "bare existence" as the deepest, primal substratum that forms the root of our existence, an essential and free root "not subject to the order of law or the structures of institutions" which "enables us to experience the essential companionship with the world"; his notion of "*zoe*graphy" (a clever neologism inspired by William Blake), pointing to what he calls the "stillness audible" of the world; imagination as the most essential ingredient required for the "revolution of perception," as Mr. Sławek thinks of it, because this alone enables us "not to leave reality behind, but to penetrate its matter to the depths"; the requirement that the mind be re-formed in order to "re-model the world" and avoid being subjected to the often willful and perverse pressures of "institutions" which, of their very nature, often threaten to "close" life to what he points to as "the strange, the wild and the unknown"; the danger of the reductionist power of "mere" laws which, left unchecked by "bare existence" can and often do "degenerate to the level of mere lucrative business"; the sense of "becoming" as having priority over "being," or—as a variant of this—the sense of "that-which-is-on-its-way" as the basis for establishing authentic community, and "relationism" as the basis of an authentic and true "communitarianism"; the role of "openness" in helping us overcome our tendency to hide or let ourselves be "shut in," thereby avoiding or evading what is real and needing of our attention and care; the primacy of the unhurried, the meandering, the non-linear, the polysemic, the symbolic, the playful, over the serious—and seriously lethal—strictures of linearity, or what Mr. Sławek describes as the "monolithic structures that call for conformity of thought and act"; the primacy of youth as an essential source of communal wisdom and the impetus for what he describes as "the freshness of language"; and, finally—at the end of a list that must be suggestive of the wide sweep of this book—the conviction that "wildness" is the heart not only of nature but of culture itself, leading to the claim (echoing Thoreau) that "to rescue and re-constitute the turn towards the non-human" is the basis for any responsible thinking about human community.

If asked to identify what genre this volume occupies within the horizon of literature, I would be hard-pressed to answer. It is part journal, part sustained meditation on culture and nature, part memoir in the sense that one feels the presence of the author's life—even if never formally invoked—just at the edges of his prose, part political philosophy, part prophetic utterance in the poetic tradition of Blake. And, though written in prose form, this book precisely by means of its meditative style avoids the curse of being prosaic; Professor Sławek comes across as much as lyric composer as he does as an author of academic prose, and his style—

at once provocative and constructive, meditative and incisive—reflects both the precisions of intellectual argument as well as the poetic impulses of a contrapuntal style of thinking.

If I were pressed to name a handful of books that generate an argument of cultural criticism as demanding and compelling as this—and do so in a manner not only critical but constructive, visionary and even prophetic—this would be one of the titles that would have to be included, along with the recent work of Charles Taylor, Slavoj Žižek (strangely absent in this volume) and Giorgio Agamben. For Sławek, as for the latter two, difference and distinction stand out over homogeneity and oneness as a necessary goad to true thinking, one that prizes "a ceaseless confirmation of difference" and thus the unsettling pressure of "un-self-sufficingness" over conformity and the pressures so engrained in the globalizing pressures of late modernity that tend toward sameness with the violence this entails. Against this, Professor Sławek values with Thoreau a kind of thinking that is "wandering" and "extra-vagant"—a central notion throughout this work—precisely because "it arises on 'the spur of the moment'": "it 'happens,' it 'befalls' us, even, and is found in circulation, in the open space, which plays the part of *agora*, the place of assembly."

Perhaps most tellingly, the whole project of this "essay," as voiced in the closing pages, is the author's unhurried musing on the importance of journeying into the borderlands, his reminder of the urgent need to reclaim the salvific power of "the wild," and his recognition of Thoreau's gift of noticing the essential that awaits us in the midst of the so-called "accidental." Were the volume written today, and not in the years leading up to its first publication in Polish in the last decade (*Ujmować. Henry David Thoreau i wspólnota świata* [Katowice: Wydawnictwo UŚ, 2009]), one could have expected the central emphasis of "bare existence" to have been modulated, either as prompted by the magnitude of the migrant crisis in Europe or through a deeper analysis of the unregulated international market economy which we have come to call "globalization"—a "passive" violence causally related to the former. The latter exerts an inhumane pressure against every notion of "the *community* of the world," in the human and non-human realms. But the direction of this criticism is clear enough from the framework Prof. Sławek establishes in this penetrating analysis, including his concern over "the privatization of nature," his criticism—in the spirit of Thoreau—of Locke's notion of "the bright idea of property," his proper worry that "debt" has become "a specter haunting the structure of reality" itself, as well, finally, as his concern over "the arrogant economy [of our day] that consists in piling up gains leads to habits that are a threat to the economy itself" (282)—and, one might add, to the overwhelming and growing majority of the world's poor and most vulnerable citizens, to say nothing of creatures and habitats for the non-human realm.

A book like this deserves to be lauded in many voices, among them by recalling the authority of the anonymous voice memorialized in Augustine's *Confessions* (8.12.28),

recalling his hearing a child's voice from the neighboring house chanting over and over: *Tolle, lege! Tolle, lege!* What better word could be said in praise of this book to those not yet acquainted with its penetrating and prodigious genius than that they, too, might heed this call: *Take and read! Take and read!*

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John Marsh. ***In Walt We Trust: How a Queer Socialist Poet Can Save America from Itself***. **New York: Monthly Review, 2015. 256 pages.**

Heading towards the end, the author of *In Walt We Trust* proclaims (or, at least, hopes to proclaim one day) what could be a cornerstone of the U.S. Constitution, if it were to be written by Walt Whitman: a democracy of affection. In his queer and neo-Marxist readings of Whitman's poetry, Marsh's ideological standpoint is clear and radical from the start, bearing the qualities of a political manifesto. He does not, however, shy away from problematizing the issues presented, and gives a comprehensive summary of all the criticism the previous queer and neo-Marxist readings of this poetry gathered. Therefore, *In Walt We Trust* may very well serve as a quick and informative introduction to studying Whitman. However, for Marsh's own ideas the readings in question serve simply as the proper context, as the book is so much more. The author himself calls it "a mix of biography, literary criticism, manifesto and, I am not embarrassed to say, self-help" (29). There is a strong sense of call for action in Marsh's readings of Whitman, as well as attention given to personal details—both of Whitman's life, as an author, and of Marsh's life, as a reader. *In Walt We Trust* deals with more than a selection of poems from the poet's *oeuvre*; Marsh examines his life, his political and personal views as known from interviews, notes, letters and the aforementioned disputes surrounding Whitman's life. All of these are, however, just a point of departure, as the main idea behind the book is that Whitman's poetry can still influence American democracy and its citizens in the twenty-first century, an idea based on the author's own example.

The book's premise is that the state of democracy in the United States as of 2015 is a terrible malaise, similar to the one described in a 1979 speech by President Jimmy Carter. Marsh begins with a description of the current crisis:

> Then, as now, the United States wanders in the shadow of an economic recession. Then, as now, Americans have lost faith in their government. True, unlike then, we do not face an immediate energy crisis, but we do face an even graver long-term one in global warming. And if Carter thought that Americans in 1979 worshipped self-indulgence and consumption, what might he make of our bookmarked pornography sites, our McMansions, or Black Friday, the annual holy day we set aside for shopping? (10)

To relieve this malaise, Marsh advises reading Whitman's poetry, and more than reading, applying the poet's ideas in life. The book consists of four clear-cut chapters, in which Marsh examines Whitman's views on issues connected with the above-mentioned malaise, namely: fear of death, focus on money-making, sexual and bodily shame, and democracy's inherent failings. According to Marsh, a reader of Whitman's poetry may deal with all of these failings, and in this way become "an ideal democratic citizen" (204).

Each and every chapter begins with a report of Marsh's pilgrimage to ever more surprising venues: while, with such a formula, a visit paid to Whitman's home is to be expected, an account of an anxious scholarly expedition to a strip club is unheralded. However, all of the excursions serve a purpose: to provide both a biographical background to Whitman's poetry and a modern equivalent of the issues he wrote about, identified by Marsh himself, as he privately sees them. Even though the excursions might seem out of place at first, each and every one of them serves as a way to bridge the time gap between the reality Whitman experienced and the one the readers of *In Walt We Trust* do.

In the first chapter, Marsh deals with Whitman's idea of death as a transition: "What looked like death was merely transformation, a new birth. His favorite metaphor for this rebirth is compost. The dead are buried in the ground, and new life rises out of them" (50–51). Surprisingly, having accounted for the poet's understanding of life as a cycle, in which atoms are constantly exchanged and, on a molecular level, nothing dies, Marsh remains unconvinced—because, in his view, it is one's personality, very much connected to one's brain, that human beings are afraid to lose. One could say ironically that when it comes to death, Marsh does not trust Walt. The little bit of comfort that he finds for his fear of dying is located not in the poet's views on death itself, but on property. The idea that life is not something a person owns, but rather is granted for a limited period of borrowed time also makes for a smooth transition into the next chapter, devoted to money-making as a focus of American life. Nothing, not even the body consisting of atoms constantly exchanged with the rest of the world, can be perceived as really owned, because the notion of property is not a natural part of the universe. In Marsh's view, this insight should allow Americans to put the pursuit of money-making and the "mania of owning things" (77) in their rightful place, and to see them as a means to an end, not an end in itself.

In the interludes between the main chapters, Marsh considers two questions concerning Whitman that still spark discussion throughout academia—whether he was a socialist, and whether he was gay. In both cases, Marsh seeks to problematize these straightforward categories, as he scrupulously reconsiders both arguments for such claims and against them. Ultimately, he settles for Traubel's explanation he was "with them [socialists] in the result" (107) in the former case, and for the broader term *queer* in the latter. Whitman might not have been involved directly in politics, and did not seem to be an open opponent of capitalism, but he shared values with the socialists.

As for the question of Whitman's rumored homosexuality, Marsh starts by reminding the readers that, when it comes to nineteenth-century poets, such categories are quite anachronous, as the notion of gay identity was non-existent at the time, and the term *homosexual* itself barely appeared in medical discourse. Instead, Marsh emphasizes the concept of comrade love, albeit allowing the idea that "perhaps adhesiveness and comradeship gave him [Whitman] a way to make sense out of desires that may have otherwise seemed abnormal" (175) to appear in the pages of his book. What Marsh finds more important is the fact that, regardless of what Walt Whitman's actual sexual preferences were, the poet was indeed "queer," the term being defined as "differing from what is usual or ordinary, especially but not only when it comes to sexuality" (177). The subversive nature of his poetry, the ambiguities of his private life and the challenging stance Whitman took on the morality of his times make the poet, in Marsh's eyes, one of the founding fathers of the sexual revolution.

These biographical notes serve a larger purpose than a simple satisfaction of the voyeuristic interest in Whitman's preferences. The third main chapter of *In Walt We Trust* focuses on the poet's views on sexuality. Marsh examines the notion of shame, which Whitman sought to dispel, both in terms of Aristotle's ideas (shame as imposed by an external factor) and Freud's theories (shame as feeling one betrays their internal perfect image). Whitman's effort to naturalize sexual desire in the Victorian age is a strong argument against the systematic roots of communal shame. The poet reveals everyone (even a "modest woman" in *Song of Myself*) has sexual desires, so sexual shame in the Aristotelean sense is unfounded. Moreover, by celebrating sex and the body, Whitman insists that, in Freudian terms, we should abandon our shame, too, trying to convince us desire is natural and good. Marsh notes that while to the post-sexual-revolution generation such truths may seem obvious, sexual shame is still being instilled, e.g. through sex education, where teenagers are taught about the threats of sex, but not of its joys. Therefore, Whitman's revelations are still relevant both on a personal level and a communal one. The author describes his trip to a strip club, seeks the roots of the shame he feels for visiting such a place (other than his feminist criticism of the practice—Marsh is pleasantly mindful of the issue of women's rights throughout the book), and tries to apply Whitman's ideas to overcome it. His main argument in this chapter is the significance of sex as a way to connect people in a modern society.

The connection between people and the abolition of "a society of strangers" (222) emerge as the main points of *In Walt We Trust*, to which the previous chapters with their ideas on death, love and property lead. In a work entitled *Democratic Vistas,* the poet criticizes the democratic system for its many failings, ranging from the foolishness and political indifference of the masses to the exploitation of the poor—all of which are surprising, as Whitman has come to be known as a bard of democracy. The poet's idea is, as explained by Marsh, that in a democratic society the masses, in a nearly Darwinian evolutionary process, will develop a way to rule wisely, if given a

true democracy first. "It has to create a thoroughly democratic culture, the purpose of which, in turn, would be to create thoroughly democratic citizens" (198). This belief is based on Whitman's ideas of adhesiveness and comrade love. In a deeply emotional description of the poet's help to soldiers wounded in the Civil War, Marsh emphasizes how "thoroughly decent" (214) and empathetic Whitman is in his efforts, bringing not medical help, but love and understanding. Whitman hoped a sense of community would create a better, more democratic society, and Marsh sees this as an answer to the issues bothering democracy today.

In his attempt to establish a link between the reality of a nineteenth-century poet and that of a twenty-first-century American citizen, Marsh summarizes the main ideas of *In Walt We Trust* in the question he poses towards the end: "what kind of person would you be if you read Whitman's poetry?" (203). Marsh's argument is that if we were to follow the poet's ideas, we would be better off, and democracy would be, too. In his view, a true Whitman follower is a supporter of a robust welfare state, because the sense of kinship with other people prevents them from participating in the exclusionary practices of a capitalist society. But Marsh goes further, and simultaneously in a less exclusively leftist direction; once a person has satisfied their basic needs, higher ones appear: "fraternity, love, belonging, dignity and respect" (221). None of them can be granted by any welfare state; yet, according to Marsh, citizens can give them to each other if they follow the ideas of Walt Whitman. In this sense, following the poet, one becomes "a thoroughly democratic citizen" (198). Marsh's prowess in working with the text and caution in recounting the diverse readings of Whitman's poetry and biography make a convincing case for understanding Whitman as a "queer socialist poet."

There are, however, a few drawbacks to the book. Some of them are of a clearly editorial nature, e.g. the disorderly numeration of subchapters in the first essay. While problems of this kind can be easily fixed in the subsequent editions, the unorthodox composition of the book, which includes personal anecdotes, as well as its non-scholarly language will probably prevent some parts of academia from seeing *In Walt We Trust* as an insightful contribution to studying Whitman.

And an insightful contribution it is. In his light-hearted manner, Marsh simultaneously makes a strong case for his argument, contextualizes it thoroughly with a comprehensive summary of the controversies surrounding Whitman's works and life, and reexamines the poems in light of modern politics of the left and beyond. *In Walt We Trust* can be recommended to the uninitiated so that they can quickly expand their understanding of the poet's *œuvre* and significance, as well as to Whitman scholars, who may be interested in the more unorthodox and fresh viewpoint Marsh presents.

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Sascha Pöhlmann. *Future Founding Poetry: Topographies of Beginnings from Whitman to the Twenty-First Century*. Rochester: Camden, 2015. 416 pages.

The expansive voice of Whitman's poetry, so all-encompassing without being dominating, world-disclosing without being deterministic, lives and keeps sustaining American poetry and its most inspired international critical commentary. Sascha Pöhlmann's *Future-Founding Poetry* is a case in point.

Whitman's visionary auguries of his "Song of Myself" (edition of 1892) assure the stunned listener/disciple at one point: "You shall possess the good of the earth and sun, (there are millions of suns left)." Towards the end of the poem this same voice, sensing it has done its office in the present form, reveals itself in the moment of transition toward one of those new futures: "The past and present wilt—I have fill'd them, emptied them / And proceed to fill my next fold of the future." The past, present, and future are fuzzy categories in Whitman. The future, first, is a load of hope, sheer possibility, whose very fact of being ("there are millions of suns left"), ensures the potential for action and change. An idea of openness appears and becomes accessible to humanity despite its normal knowledge of finitude. What is more, it is a humanized openness, with transcendence fused with agencies that are thoroughly human. The future ceases to be a mechanical physical container and becomes a conceptual, emotional, bodily-physical reality that the human agent modulates. The future is a lived aspect of the present.

Since Emerson, who directs the thrust of the American spirit to the future with his powerful, proto-Nietzschean declaration of the priority of becoming over being, via Whitman, who fleshes out this notion in his living poem-as-organism, through to his twentieth-century American continuators, the American poetic culture has worked with the notion of the future as a palpable presence. This understanding pervades the Emersonian text, Whitman's poetry, and, since them, it has continued to find its new realizations in regions that are not necessarily poetic. It is present, for instance, in William James characterization of some human choices as "living, forced, momentous" ("The Will to Believe" 458), his characterization of pragmatism as a "program for more work" (*Pragmatism* 509), John Dewey's descriptions of purposeful human actions in environment as always including a dynamically flexible notion of goals, and in a plethora of more contemporary philosophical or literary-critical Emersonian-pragmatist readings of the American tradition which vest meanings and significance with linguistic action and its ongoing transitiveness. Beyond this pragmatist vein, the Emersonian diagnoses of becoming have been modulated into a fascinating dialogue with the continental tradition by Stanley Cavell, in whose ephemeral, digressive text the notion of future as potential takes the form of the idea of the "new yet unapproachable America."

Sascha Pöhlmann's thrilling and ambitious study is a condensation of many strands that inform the Whitmanian American thought into the term of "future-founding," which also allows the author to identify a specific line that cultivates the Whitmanian tones and formulas into the politically troubled twentieth century. "Future-founding" is the term that encompasses those features that make poetry an active participant, but also place, where future is taken care of and cultivated. Pöhlmann argues that the future orientation of the Whitmanian poetic culture always seeks the capacity to restart the future: it depends on the capability of the imagination to make new beginnings. Thus, "future-founding" is a term with which to study not just novelties, but modes of reimagining and restarting the future. Future-founding poetry is not concerned with originality and novelty but, crucially, with *sustainability*. Although the term may have legitimate reverberations for ecological approaches to poetry, its basic sense is related to the activation of the imaginative capability of poetry to enter new modes of thought of the future and new imaginative frames within which the present may become a future.

The focus on the poem as a place where future as sheer potential is reworked into a specific imagination of a new beginning allows Pöhlmann to channel the Whitmanian energies into modes of reworking the non-transcendental, physical, material, political and social exigencies of the twentieth century. The analysis of future-founding modes of making beginnings will be inseparable from the thinking of the poem as an *emplaced* performative act that must be responsive to the needs of the living human beings and the crises in which they are continuously thrown.

The poets and poetries Pöhlmann's book discusses are examples of continuing this thought by avoiding the notion of poetic influence, and, instead, showing how Whitman's presence and foundation demand new formulas of beginning within the overall Whitmanian space of changeability and potential. Whitman himself, his poem and its performative self, is the place of beginning. Here, it is vital to note the importance of form and aesthetics—the theme that will keep surfacing in other places of the study. Whitman's voices are able to activate the future inherent in the present because of the specific qualities of his free verse. The free verse is not just expansive, but it provides a cognitive tool which is the actual meeting place of the future and the now: "liberated from traditional restrictive forms [it[allow[s] the speaker of the poem to revise his own words… to make possibilities, paradoxes" (54). The key issue is to catalyze a future without making it into a rigid plan: "this is what makes it so unconditionally future-founding: [Whitman] insists on framing the future in the present without trying to determine is completely" (54). This approach is at the heart of Pöhlmann's notion of *sustainability*, and it is the movabilities inherent in Whitman's free verse that provide its proper formal home. Sustainability thus comprehended makes the Whitmanian poem a place of the "cultivation" of the future, an area of human action that is "counter-entropic" (53).

This precedence of the form comes to the fore in the modernist beginning-making practiced by Williams. Pöhlmann shows Williams as the first continuator of Whitman in the line he describes and as a poet who must start with the considerations of form. In Williams, the eruptive and spontaneous verse formula initiated by Whitman gains more self-awareness and, with it, a measure of self-control. Williams is first in the procession of the twentieth century practitioners of future-founding who realize how some more ominous realities of the century demand a more careful, measured, approach to the flexibility of free verse. Williams's stress on "measure" is a way of making the poem more physically united with its actual physical environment and Williams's insistence on locality is a realization of the demand of emplacement originally encoded in Whitman. Moreover, with such degree of self-awareness, we move closer to the realization that it is the poem itself that is the place of future-founding and the stage on which to make its performative beginning. This aspect—the placing of the poem as a certain reality in its own right at the center of the process in question—lies at the heart of Williams experiments in *Paterson*, and its continuations are going to be found in all remaining poets discussed by Pöhlmann.

With the next two poets discussed in the book, Langston Hughes and Muriel Rukeyser, the Whitmanian future-founding mode enters decisively the area of political and cultural struggle which also, in both cases, makes poetry a deeply communal practice. Hughes's is the mode of future-founding that Pöhlmann argues should be characterized as marked by "urgency" (157). In it, poetry must be "more demanding in [its] socio-political quest" (161). Pöhlmann shows how Hughes's exploration of the motif of dreaming, communal in nature, merges with "the active struggle to realize dreams, rather than perpetuate them" (169). The communal element of poetry is next shown to be pushed further onto the terrains of cultural struggles in Rukeyser's feminist stylistics in which the personal is revealed as inseparable from the communal and the political. Hughes's "urgency" is here retained, as Rukeyser stresses the affinity of poetry making with forms of agency, poetry becoming a form of active intervention into a cultural crisis. With this, future-founding also becomes a form of active choosing of one's tradition, and, thus, one's future.

The next chapter, focusing on the future-founding formula developed by Allen Ginsberg, demonstrates how the entire mode may in fact transcend the category of nationality. Ginsberg's intervention into the crisis that befalls him—the sense of utter waste and *malaise* ensuing from the atmosphere of the cold war—demands that future-founding seeks new emplacements—beyond America. While Whitman's America remains the foundational scene of the mode, Ginsberg pushes it toward a post-national agenda by seeking a spiritual dwelling not just for new "Americans" but for humanity. Thus Ginsberg diverts not only from Whitman, but also from Williams by departing from his locality and entering a decisively intercultural scene. Another interesting aspect of the Ginsbergian future-founding mode is a new positioning of tone in which

poetry finds its modesty, admits its futility or failure, in fact recycles the present moment of failure: "what is failure in the present can thus turn out to be a success in the future" (301). This kind of performativity finds paradoxical solace and new starting point in admitting helplessness.

The final chapter examines the notion of future-founding by applying it to poetry written after the catastrophe of 9/11. The chapter reviews strategies of future-founding beginning making employed by this poetry. Among those the most important seem to be: returning to the basic powers of language and looking for formulas of approaching the event which will avoid simplistic cultural stigmatization, by redefining the division between civilization and barbarism away from the lines that divide cultures and religions.

Pöhlmann's study is an exhilarating return to the living presence of the Whitmanian spirit that keeps nourishing the American poetic culture. It is also a very interesting proposition of capturing the perennial future orientation of this culture. Yet, in its expansiveness and interpretive zeal, the entire project seems at times to skip over some methodological or critical issues too easily. I will close this review by briefly signaling those gaps, instances of avoidance, or omissions.

To say that future needs to be cared for, that futures are human-made, is to utter a certain epistemological stance that finds its full articulation in the Emersonian-pragmatist American continuations which I mentioned at the start of my text. It is a close genetic relation between the Whitmanian poetics and the Emersonian-pragmatist removing of epistemology from the framework of representational thinking that is responsible for this poetry's belief in the possibility of catalyzing beginnings and futures. Pöhlmann never ventures into these regions, and thus his study's theoretical base, although ample and diverse, seems strangely incomplete.

Apart from the pragmatist commentary on poetics, another name that one would expect to find in this analysis of avoiding finality is that of Stanley Cavell. Pöhlmann's argument, his key notion of "sustainability," rests on the idea according to which "American is 'unfinishable'" (52). But why should it be so? The whole notion of such continuous resourcefulness or potentially endless "sustainability"—the notion by all means present in the poets discussed in the book—has something to do with the elusive practice of textual care for kindling interpretive potential, a mode of thought that dodges finality and determinate identity that Cavell, seeking to approach Emerson, names as "unapproachable" (121). It is clear that Pöhlmann's "unifinishable" America, as a concept, is contained within this Cavellian "unapproachability." Yet, the rich Cavellian discussions are never mentioned here, which creates a disappointing lacuna.

Finally, it seems to me that the notion of the poetic influence is discarded too hastily in this study. "I explicitly reject the connotations of linearity and influence" (19), writes Pöhlmann, attempting to show his poets not as rivals—which is how the theory of influence would see them—but as a family of kindred-sprits engaged in responding to successive political or cultural crises. But this is not enough. The poets

may be continuators of one another on a certain level, but the intricacies of reworking the past formulas so that they attain the condition of meaning again involve inter-poetic pressures that occur unavoidably between poems. In other words, the tracing of defenses against the other poem as a kind of pressure or limitation is a kind of measure that allows us to see value and genuine gain—of conceptual, cognitive, and aesthetic nature occurring in the new poem. Avoiding this theme may result in mistaking the failure of finding a poetically strong, well-composed response to the earlier poem for "spontaneity," as Pöhlmann does, for example, in his discussion of Ginsberg. Do we really believe Ginsberg when the poet shifts the area of his search for originality to the Buddhist grounds and claims that thought should be traced to an "unborn womb" (269)? This sounds too metaphysically vague to carry any genuine potential. The real weakness of this stance may be that all the "thoughts" of the poem may in fact belong to its predecessor.

By avoiding such issues, and by concentrating on the sheer fact that poems are able to always declare their position and role of fresh beginners, Pöhlmann also passes too smoothly over the questions of the aesthetic. While all aesthetics is political, not all aesthetic stance are of equal efficacy. This problem is clearly seen in the final chapter in which poetry that sounds strong formally and intellectually compelling, such a poem by W. S. Merwin, is discussed side by side with the kind of well-meaning verse that simply fails to attain the condition of poetry.

I say the above with a full awareness that it is easy to provide such criticisms without a full discussion. Such a full discussion would need to reexamine the thoroughly pragmatist merger of action in the material world with the issues of politics and aesthetics. But even if I had more space to sustain my critique properly, it would only be done in support and as an act of friendly complementation of Pöhlmann's entire project, which I admire and wish to keep returning to.

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Andrew S. Gross. *The Pound Reaction: Liberalism and Lyricism in Midcentury American Literature*. Heidelberg: Winter Verlag, 2015. 262 pages.

Andrew Gross's *The Pound Reaction* was singled out for excellence even before it was printed. When still in manuscript, it had already received the 2013 EAAS Rob Kroes biennial Publication Award for the best book in Europe's American Studies in the years 2011–2012 and was put on a fast track to publication, as part of the elite series European Views of the United States at the prestigious Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg. Whether it was the best American Studies book from the Old Continent this reviewer cannot judge—but it is certainly a book which deserves distinction.

In his informed, balanced, if also quite familiar initial argument, Gross tells the story of how Ezra Pound's person and the book he wrote in the weeks immediately following his arrest, *The Pisan Cantos*, underwent a coordinated process of, respectively, legal rediscription and a critical, highly selective reinterpretation to meet the expedients of the Cold War era and America's need to position itself as a land of intellectual freedom. One element of the operation was Pound's court-enforced hospitalization tantamount to assuring his immunity from grave legal consequences. In a parallel process, *The Pisan Cantos*—its fascism, anti-Semitism, and anti-usury crankiness notwithstanding (7–8)— was carefully positioned as personal, lyrical and suggesting Pound's retreat from, and a pained remorse about, his previous fascist politics. "Pull down thy vanity" passage in Canto 81, however unrepresentative or misunderstood, became the most often anthologized excerpt from *The Pisan Cantos.* As Gross writes, "the Cold War anticommunism helped create the cultural-political context in which a self-proclaimed fascist could become a champion of free speech and aesthetic autonomy" (15). Pound became "an exportable symbol of artistic freedom in the age of containment" (24). Underhandedly, the book explains why, within this postwar discursive field, he could not have been made to stand to trial and executed like others were whose activities during the World War were strikingly similar—most prominently, William Joyce aka Lord Haw-Haw. The highest point of this trend was the notorious decision to award him the first Bollingen Award in 1949.

"The Pound reaction" here is a shorthand term for the complex response of American postwar poets to this "lyricization" of Pound's work, a concerted effort to resymbolize Pound's legacy to make it fit the arising Cold War ideology. Curiously, the institutionalization of Pound (at St. Elizabeth's) and of his aesthetics (at universities) helped to catalyze the identity formation of many American poets. Gross offers accounts of how the Pound case had left indelible marks on the careers of, among several others, Karl Shapiro, W. H. Auden, Peter Viereck, and John Berryman.

The chemical connotations of the word "reaction" are not as off the mark as they might seem. Gross's book seems less about poetry than about all-permeating discursive structures underlying poetry which, with the post-Bollingen-Prize hangover as a catalyst,

underwent some dynamic and profound, almost-molecular, reactions. Gross has the enviable ability and perspicacity to find his way through a large body of often uninspiring, wearying and sometimes slightly confused essays about the Bollingen controversy, postwar liberalism and confessionalism. He skillfully navigates through this maze; he is never at a loss to tell the important from the marginal, knows what to use from a bad essay and where the error was made. One only wishes he did not synopsize on poems or even entire poetry volumes as swiftly as he does on critical essays. If Robert Lowell's "Falling Asleep over the Aeneid" is treated quite roughly; we'll have to take Gross on his word when he offers a minimalist rundown of the *The Mills of the Kavanaughs*, a volume is usually thought of as difficult. To be sure, the scope and the ambition of the book requires such shortcuts.

Karl Shapiro's career is shown as systematically bucking the postwar trends: he began with his isolated vote against Pound on the grounds of his Jewish identity when everyone else was emphasizing anti-Stalinist liberalism and individualism. He soon afterwards began to lean toward liberalism (what he himself called "negative Jewishness") precisely as other American intellectuals were switching toward the concept of identity as more effectively explaining American society—a process in which confessional poetry is shown to have partaken. (In fact Gross claims that Shapiro's repeated "contrariness" accounts for the poet's fall from early fame [73].) I consider the account of the shift from liberalism to identity politics quite superb.

W. H. Auden, for his turn, supported Pound's candidacy for the Bollingen award, but his stance on the controversy was ambiguous. In fact, Auden did endorse Pound's case but hoped the modernist's work would be censored and made available only to professional scholars whose community he imagined in *The Age of Anxiety*. Gross's intervention here consists in arguing that Auden's poem, or sometimes simply its title, had been misinterpreted according to the individualistic bias prevalent after the war. The critic shows that *The Age of Anxiety* is not exactly right-wing and Christian existentialist, as it is often seen today. It is an allegory envisioning a new community, and the dynamics within this new community, with which the postwar displaced intellectual might seek identification. Another poet's response to the Bollingen award for Pound then is shown to reflect a dramatic reorganization of the discursive landscape in the postwar years.

Shapiro's case is similar to that of Peter Viereck, the subject of Gross's analysis in Chapter 4. (Gross deserves praise for, among several things, interrogating the work of this gravely neglected poet.) Viereck's career, too, "fell through the cracks" after the "seismic" change in the cultural landscape caused by the Pound scandal. Initially a winner of the Pulitzer Prize and a recipient of two Guggenheims, Viereck got sidelined by the regrouping of all the major concepts of the postwar cultural field. As conservatism became increasingly populist and aesthetic avant-gardism got sealed off from the public world, his insistence on intellectual conservatism and on formalism quickly made him obsolete. Gross examines Viereck's private motives underlying his crusade

against Pound as well as, more importantly, the exclusionary workings of coteries (like that of modernist critics or New Critics) to account for the poet's decline. His readings of Viereck's criticism are incisive; his narrative of Viereck's vicissitudes engaging.

Gross does not limit his study to the Bollingen award jury members and in the final chapters he seems to break out from the established pattern in other ways. He includes, for instance, an analysis of John Berryman's position on the imbroglio (not on the jury, Berryman drafted only a minor essay on the subject, one that was never published). With laudable perspicacity and imagination, Gross discusses the significance of Berryman's almost lifelong engagement of the figure of "imaginary Jew." Where even such experts on the figures of the Jew and Holocaust in American poetry as Hilene Flanzbaum simplistically castigated Berryman for what she saw was the bombastic and self-pitying arrogation of the Jewish identity, Gross offers a very arcane account of how the figure of the imaginary Jew became for Berryman a procedure to intuit a new, post-modern, more inclusive poetic voice that would resist the prejudicial drive of modernist poetics. The other chapter—on Katherine Porter and Leslie Fiedler (only the former of whom was on the jury)—is just as strong and daring. The two intellectuals are shown as evoking—mindful of Pound's case—tropes of pornography which illustrated mental mechanisms of de-individuation characterizing the reasoning (or unreasoning) of many intellectuals on both the radical right and the radical left of the political spectrum, including the author of *Cantos*.

As a reviewer, I almost feel obliged to complain a little. The book's abstractions, at least in its first half, are at times a little wearying; every now and then the text seems slightly repetitive; one gets the impression, for instance, that it collects essays which once could stand entirely on their own (indeed some of the chapters were published independently [xviii]) and that the conceptual girders supporting individual case studies are now repeated redundantly. The discussion of *The Pisan Cantos* as anti-Semitic borders even on a slapdash treatment. Looked at from a still different perspective, *The Pound Reaction* sometimes seems a bit too dryly analytic, especially given the poetic tastes of its most likely audience—that is to say, poetry critics.

That said, though not exactly for those fond of poetry criticism, this book actually fills a serious gap in research. In part belonging to this small category of books discussing the institutionalization and politics of American poetry (which includes Jed Rasula's *The American Poetry Wax Museum: Reality Effects, 1940–1990* and Alan Golding's *From Outlaw to Classic: Canons in American Poetry*), it is the first study to discuss comprehensively and exhaustively the watershed importance of the Bollingen Prize controversy in the shaping of the postwar poetic and critical landscape in the US. More importantly, toward the end, all of the shortcomings are forgiven. The last two chapters are nothing if not imaginative; here is where *The Pound Reaction* becomes truly engaging and impressively virtuosic.

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Michael Snape. *God and Uncle Sam: Religion and America's Armed Forces in World War II*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015. 704 pages.

General Douglas MacArthur once told a graduate class at West Point, "The soldier, above all other men, is required to practice the greatest act of religious training—sacrifice." With his earlier military experience in the Second World War, MacArthur likely had a fairly good idea of the role that religion itself played in the lives of men who often made or were quite close to making the ultimate sacrifice during war. The role of religion has been closely examined in a superlative study by Michael Snape, Professor of Anglican Studies at Durhan University, in his book *God and Uncle Sam*, potentially opening up a new field in military studies while simultaneously adding a new chapter to the field of religious studies. Not that the topic had been completely ignored. But although churches in the home front had been subject to earlier research, the first book to closely take up the question of religion in the military had been Deborah Dash Moore's pioneering study on a group that only made up five percent of the American armed forces, *GI Jews: How World War II Changed a Generation* (2004).

Snape uses the standard sources for such a historical study, including mining the work of military historians for clues for his analysis, as well as that of sociologists and pollsters. What brings particular illumination to the topic is his use of the rich sources of the American army chaplaincy from the Second World War, as well as the recollections and memoirs from veterans of the army, navy and marines. Thus his book ranges from a traditional history that provides a broad context of the selected problem, a study of a pertinent institution serving the pastoral needs of soldiers, as well as providing a vivid presentation of the soldiers drawing upon religion during combat—in other words the affective turn in contemporary historical writing is also given its due. The author likewise cautiously suggests how the religious experience of men at arms and the society at home during the war might have contributed to religious life in America in the subsequent decades.

Overall, religious life in the United States was on the decline in the interwar period. The attack on Pearl Harbor had an almost instantaneous effect. Contemporary viewers might be forgiven for considering as incredulous Marshall Will Kane's rescue by his Quaker wife shooting one of his assailants in the 1952 Western classic *High Noon*. But in a provocative manner the scene encapsulates the mood shift of American religious life that had taken place a decade earlier at the outbreak of the war in the country. Snape informs the reader: "such was the combative mood of the times that even a majority of Quaker, Mennonite and Church of the Brethren draftees—all adherents of the so-called 'Historic Peace Churches'—opted to serve in the armed forces" (30).

The key institution for providing pastoral service for the men was the chaplaincy, which Chief of Staff of US Army George C. Marshall expanded to service the citizen soldiers as best as possible. For the army branch of the armed services the Office of Chief

Chaplain during the war was in the capable hands of William R. Arnolds. Although the army had a number of chaplains, it was necessary to meet Marshall's goal to add a sizable group of civilian clergymen from approximately seventy denominations to the service: a daunting task which Arnolds admirably performed. The first Catholic to hold the post, ironically it was the Catholic Church that was least cooperative with the army. Complaining of a shortage of priests in general at the time, the Church was unwilling to provide a greater number of chaplains. Among the most difficult position was that of the African American chaplains. They were often the only officers in colored units, where religious services were segregated, and frequently had to face the distrust of the white officers. The diversity of assignments required adaptability on the part of the chaplains and of the structures of the institution itself. The rationale for the chaplaincy was the "Freedom of Exercise" clause of the Bill of Rights but the role it played in maintaining the morale of the fighting force is what made its contribution to the war effort so crucial:

> [I]n the midst of a foreign war of unrivaled magnitude, the American armed forces benefited from a sufficient supply of trained and well-adjusted younger clergymen who proved indispensible in supporting the morale of millions of citizen soldiers, sailors and marines, many of whom were deemed to be without any prior church connections. (137)

The military itself promoted a religious culture among its leadership and the chaplaincy was augmented by chapels, religious broadcasting and publications. The author shows the institutional support for religion was a factor quite influential in developing wartime religious attitudes among the service men and women. Nonetheless, much as in civilian life certain groups such as Catholics and African Americans or women were more religiously observant. Other negative aspects also found their way into religious life in the military world, among them the imported tensions and antagonisms which were impossible to eliminate, despite all the efforts undertaken.

The fourth chapter presenting the role of religion in course of combat is the emotional heart of the book. "Foxhole Religion and Wartime Faith" vividly demonstrates that: "To a very great extent the intensity of religion in the military seemed contingent on the proximity or experience of danger" (317). A Catholic navy chaplain describes the effect of experiencing a Japanese bombardment on the men:

> The shells trailed dazzling paths of crimson as they rocketed out of their ships' cannons.... Alongside me, head bowed, there were Catholic boys reciting their rosaries, Protestants murmuring prayers, and Jewish boys, with closed eyes, fingering the holy *mezuzahs* they wore around their necks.... Even those who hadn't uttered a word of prayer or been inside a house of worship for years before the war, were looking now for a Divine hand to shield them. (322–323)

Nevertheless, "foxhole religion" affected a minority of the military since most men did not serve on the front or battleships as the case may be, nor did it have particularly

lasting effect. Albeit also affecting a small number of soldiers, another wartime experience that led to heightened religious response was captivity. With the attendant hardship and uncertainties, periods of reflection often resulted in religious experience. And, of course, there were many opportunities for heartfelt prayers for the dead. Another effect of the experience of ever present danger, despite being the most technologically advanced armed forces the world had seen up until that time, was an increased focus on the afterlife.

Religious experience hardly turned men into angels, and military life could do the reverse, i.e. have a demoralizing effect, as the author documents in the next chapter. Moreover, the carnage witnessed and perpetrated by them left its indelible mark, often leading to spontaneous questions of theodicy and in some cases resulting in "protest atheism."

This brief overview hardly does justice to the richness of this meticulously re-searched and well written book on a complex subject; all in all an exemplary work of narrative history. Snape concludes his work by attempting to place his findings within the context of the postwar rise in religious practice that was witnessed in American life. Part of the answer to this growth repeated over the years connected it with the nuclear threat of the Cold War; a larger impact was simply the return to family life of the servicemen and raising the children of the post-war baby boom, and child rearing is often accompanied by church going. Still, the sociologists Robert Putnam and David Campbell in *America Grace* of 2010, their seminal study of religious life in the United States, are inclined to also include the wartime experience of "foxhole religion" by such a large portion of the male population at that time as a factor. In response to the last point, Snape reiterates his findings that albeit military life did lead to an increase in religious practice for various reasons, in the long run exposure to danger was among the least of them. He speculates that on the other hand perpetrating atrocities might even have lead some to sense religion as a possible means for expiation of their deeds. One might recall in popular culture on his road to redemption the protagonist of David Lynch's *Straight Story* of 1999, an aging member of the "Greatest Generation," must deal with just such memories. Snape concludes, "regardless of its long-term benefits for American religion, the experience of World War II was unquestionably a terrible way to find salvation" (599). One can only say Amen to that.

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Laurence W. Mazzeno. *The Critics and Hemingway, 1924–2014: Shaping an American Literary Icon*. Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2015. 302 pages.

Hemingway's contempt for critics has had a share in establishing his literary status, and it has been acknowledged, often approvingly, by the critics themselves. When his works grew self-conscious, it also fuelled their narrative patterns. In "Birth of a New School," a chapter in *A Moveable Feast*, Hemingway, young but already experienced, knowing how hunger, loneliness, clarity of vision and discipline interrelate to help an aspiring writer, is working in the Closerie des Lilas, his "home cafe," when a young fat man with spectacles comes in and interrupts Hemingway's writing to talk about his own inability to write. Hemingway's advice is that he should learn to write criticism: "Then you can always write. You won't ever have to worry about it not coming nor being mute and silent." The "rotten son of a bitch" is quick to learn and give his opinion on the writer's work: "Hem too stark, too stripped, too lean, too sinewy" (95–96). Contemptuous as he is of a newly born critic, Hemingway feels compelled to touch the rabbit's foot he keeps in his pocket for luck. The intruder appears in *Moveable Feast* years after he failed as a famous critic. One has a feeling that his rudeness is not entirely unwelcome as he lets Hemingway define and entertain again the conditions of his work at the lucky time when "it is really going."

In the 1950s Hemingway's African hunting camp was also a good place to let voices critical of his writings be heard and creatively responded to, if not silenced. In *True at First Light*, a fictionalized account of the safari, it is often his wife who formulates opinions Hemingway-the writer cannot afford to ignore. Commenting on the spear hunting night trips her husband is determined not to share with anybody, Mary tells him: "Why don't you write something so I'll be really proud" (225). A few pages later in the book, Mary's words return in a much more venomous version in a letter from "a woman in Iowa." The letter contains a clipping from *The Des Moines Register and Tribune* where the reviewer makes a list of the "main faults" of Hemingway's work. While Hemingway's response to his wife's remark is toned down ("Maybe I'll write something too"), his reaction to the letter is considerably less so: "I thought the hell with this stupid Iowa bitch writing letters to people she does not know about things she knows nothing about and I wished her the grace of a happy death as soon as possible, but I remembered her last sentence: 'Why not write SOMETHING that is worthwhile, before you die?' and I thought, you ignorant Iowa bitch, I have already done this and I will do it again many times" (228). In the passage whose last words remind one of Hemingway's thoughts in his Parisian study in *A Moveable Feast* the word "but" is, of course, of special interest; restoring a sense of distance towards himself rather than towards his correspondent, it explains why Hemingway bothers to comment on the letter in his book and why in the passages that immedi-

ately precede and follow the comment he feels compelled to mention the names of Edmund Wilson and Bernard Berenson, the critics whose knowledge of and trust in his work he can count on.

Hemingway needed critics, spoke and wrote about them (often self-reflexively and self-ironically), to affirm his artistic integrity, to keep working according to his own standards which remained unchanged, possibly unchallenged, since his years in Paris. The critics have needed Hemingway because despite or thanks to such aesthetically grounded resistance to change (what, after Faulkner, some might take or mistake for its failure to experiment) Hemingway's work has retained the authority and the energy of the greatest literary achievements to address the evolving interests of its commentators and of their time. Neither has the writer's life lost its power to attract attention of new biographical approaches. Of Hemingway's "iconic" role Michael Reynolds wrote: "he burned so much more brightly than most [of his friends and enemies who outlived him] that we still read their statements by his light" (3).

In his book titled *The Critics and Hemingway, 1924–2014: Shaping an American Literary Icon*, Laurence W. Mazzeno traces the history of the somewhat uncanny phenomenon of Hemingway's recognition and popularity through numerous examples chosen for their representative function in the field of Hemingway studies: over one thousand sources are listed in the "Works Cited" section of the publication. Mazzeno's interest is clearly in 'how' rather than 'why' such a massive body of criticism, both by his admirers and by his detractors, has grown and is likely to continue growing around Hemingway's life and work. The book's focus is on critics whom Hemingway has given "light." Its ambition, Mazzeno explains, is to provide "an examination of how the reputation was built over a century by a combination of popular and academic commentary" (8) rather than assemble an annotated bibliography of that commentary. The merit of the publication should be judged, however, not on the basis of how insightfully it "examines" but how comprehensively it "presents" for, as Mazzeno himself says of his method, he refrains from his own analyses and evaluative comments on the critical texts. Instead, he chooses to select quotations from them so that "[his] readers can get a sense of tone as well as the substance of what was written about Hemingway" (9).

Offering the space of more than one paragraph to but a few major texts, acknowledging the presence of many by a few lines only, Mazzeno's book pieces together an overview of Hemingway criticism and scholarship in a chronological arrangement. Readers are guided through a wealth of information by its division into ten chapters whose titles aim at encapsulating distinctive features of the periods covered, e.g.: "Spokesperson of the Lost Generation (1924–1932)," "The Critics' Darling (1952–1961)," "'A Sea Change' in Hemingway Studies (1986–1990)," "The Undisputed Champ Once More (2011–2014)." Subsections in the chapters usually embrace critical responses

to Hemingway's particular works, their first and new editions, as well as those texts, or collections of texts on Hemingway, including his biographies, which respond primarily to the demands of cultural contexts and theoretical perspectives at the time of their appearance (the last two decades witnessing frequent revisits to areas relating to gender, race, religion, environment and politics). A chronological sweep through periods of criticism has its obvious functional advantages; apart from ensuring clarity and consistency in the book's design, it helps identify continuities and changes in the steady growth of the library which builds the writer's reputation and to which Mazzeno's book itself now belongs. But there is also a certain danger to such an orderly presentation. Despite the well-lighted pattern of sections and subsections and despite the narrative effect their titles seem to evoke, the method invites structural repetitiveness, perhaps most noticeably so in the pages where transitions from texts or fragments of texts with positive judgments of Hemingway's particular works to those with negative ones are necessary. Helped by a variety of convenient expressions, such as "Not everyone was so euphoric ," "Not everyone, however was ready to accept…'" "Lewis's view was not shared by everyone, of course ," "The dichotomy can be seen… ," "There were criticisms, of course… ," "On the other side of the critical ledger…" (these taken only from the first two chapters of the book), Mazzeno's text manages to retain a measure of grace under the pressure of controversies Hemingway provoked, conflicting, not always nuanced, prisms through which his life and work have been viewed.

Published in the series "Literary Criticism in Perspective," *The Critics and Hemingway* is a rigorously researched reference book to be consulted when one wants to learn who said what and when about Hemingway before deciding (or not) to look for any of the critical sources it takes account of. As Mazzeno writes in his Introduction, "the sheer volume of Hemingway criticism makes it imperative that [he] be selective" (8). Once we accept the book's American leaning, the selections it makes bear convincing and vivid testimony to this volume and the very resourcefulness of critics responsible for creating it. Despite its necessary selectiveness, the strength of the text which details the growth of Hemingway's reputation lies in its cumulative effect. Taking on the task which must have been a very laborious one, carrying the burden of a big amount of material to be considered with enthusiasm, the book certainly deserves a good and easily accessible place on Hemingway library shelves.

The question remains which shelf *The Critics and Hemingway* properly belongs to. I personally doubt if "the community of dedicated Hemingway scholars" (9) which, as Mazzeno declares, he does not pretend to be part of can accept his guide to their realm as a particularly useful one, if only for the reason of their natural tendency to be highly selective. Of some texts, I am sure, they would rather not be reminded. I also doubt if the so called "general readers" would want to benefit from what the book

richly offers; they still may prefer discovering or re-discovering Hemingway's texts on their own to learning about them through mediating practices of the critical discourse, whether clarifying or mystifying. The answer to the question of the book's addressee can, perhaps, be looked for in Mazzeno's "Conclusion: The Enduring Master," where he comments on the role Kent State University Press has recently played in continuing and proliferating Hemingway studies with its two 2015 publications on "teaching" Hemingway. Hemingway, Mazzeno writes, "will remain a staple in college classrooms, either for his own value as an artist or as a 'cultural text' to assist students in understanding the past, appreciating the present, and shaping the future" (230). This sounds like a dedicated academic teacher's wish and at the same time a prediction of who his book's most grateful recipients are likely to be.

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Joanna Ziarkowska and Ewa Łuczak, eds. *Pisarze pochodzenia indiańskiego: Momaday, Silko, Erdrich, Alexie, Vizenor* [Native American Writers: Momaday, Silko, Erdrich, Alexie, Vizenor]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2015. 247 pages.

In 2019, it will have been fifty years since N. Scott Momaday's second work, *House Made of Dawn*, published in 1968, won him the Pulitzer Prize, as well as fame and critical acclaim. The five decades which have elapsed since that event have seen the rise of modern Native American literature, of which Momaday is one of the leading exponents. They have also seen the emergence and evolution of ethnic and postcolonial studies, within the scope of which is Native American literature. A fiftieth anniversary is a good opportunity to look back on what has been accomplished in a particular field and to sum up the developments which have taken place so far. Unsurprisingly, the monograph *Pisarze pochodzenia indiańskiego: Momaday, Silko, Erdrich, Alexie, Vizenor*

references the aforementioned turning point in the history and reception of American Indian literature on more than one occasion. Edited by Joanna Ziarkowska and Ewa Łuczak, and published in 2015 by Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego as part of the series "Mistrzowie Literatury Amerykańskiej," the volume inscribes itself into the summing-up that being past the half-century mark inevitably encourages in any domain.

The monograph is a collection of twelve essays by established Polish Americanists-*cum*-literary scholars. The volume opens with an introduction by its editors, who have also contributed some of the articles which make it up. Additionally, the texts are interspersed with biographical entries on the Native American writers the monograph is concerned with. Apart from Ewa Łuczak and Joanna Ziarkowska, the list of contributors to *Pisarze pochodzenia indiańskiego* includes Ewelina Bańka, Joanna Durczak, Julia Fiedorczuk, Józef Jaskulski, Gabriela Jeleńska, Barbara Leftih, Zuzanna Ładyga, Jadwiga Maszewska and Marek Paryż. The above-mentioned scholars explore the works of the five Native American authors mentioned in the monograph's title. In each essay, the focus is usually on a single major work, making the study of the literary text it analyzes extensive and exhaustive. With the exception of N. Scott Momaday, more than one essay is devoted to each of the writers whose *œuvre* the book covers. *Pisarze pochodzenia indiańskiego* may thus be seen as a survey of modern American Indian literature as represented by authors born in four subsequent decades, from the 1930s to the 1960s, and thus belonging to two different literary generations. The thematic range of the volume is not limited to prose. The book-length study encompasses both fiction and non-fiction, literary as well as critical texts by Native Americans. In addition, Julia Fiedorczuk's essay focuses on Louise Erdrich's poetry. Media other than literature are also explored, as Joanna Ziarkowska's interesting discussion of the role of photography in both Leslie Marmon Silko's *Storyteller* and the life and perception of the Native American community in general demonstrates.

Dealing with Native American, or for that matter *any* ethnic, literature is, by definition, a complicated and challenging task. The main title of one of the volume's essays, Józef Jaskulski's "Na rozdrożu," refers to Sherman Alexie's novel *Reservation Blues*, but it could just as well be applied to the study of indigenous literatures in general. Researchers who venture to study one of such literatures must be well-versed in two literary, linguistic and cultural traditions, between which they are, so to speak, suspended. Scholars of ethnic literatures are thus, inevitably, at the crossroads, doomed to confront never-ending complexities and dilemmas. To this are added the unavoidable frictions between the dominant culture and the marginalized one. The authors of *Pisarze pochodzenia indiańskiego* are perfectly aware of such inevitabilities. The editors signal it at the very beginning of the book, when they point out that the term *American Indian literatures* is in fact preferable to *American Indian literature*, the plural form emphasizing "variety and multiculturalism" (9, translation mine). This key aspect

of the problematics central to the monograph resurfaces at various points through-
out it, for instance when the authors look at pan-Amerindianism and the danger of
obliterating tribal distinctions it may entail. In fact, as Ewelina Bańka reminds us in
her essay on Gerald Vizenor, even the term *Indian* itself is highly problematic, being
a "colonial linguistic construct" (216, translation mine), at once deceptively simplis-
tic, monolithic and artificial. The contributors to *Pisarze pochodzenia indiańskiego*
unanimously avoid the trap of oversimplification and a tendency to see the liter-
ature in question in black and white terms. To me, this is one of the monograph's
biggest assets.

     One of the main aims of both Native American literature—or literatures, as the
monographers would have it—and the scholarship it gives rise to is, as I see it, to
counteract stereotypes. In order to do so, such stereotypes must, of course, first be
identified. The authors of the essays which make up the collection are careful to do so
on numerous occasions. Importantly, they also trace the way such stereotypes, largely
the product of the dominant Euro-American culture and rife in popular culture, appear
in the work of American Indian writers, who oppose them, negotiate them, but also,
unavoidably, sometimes fall victim to them. While stereotyping Native Americans,
or for that matter any ethnic group, is undesirable—to say the least, universality is a
sought-after quality in literature and, generally, in art. When the indigenous authors
in question manage to achieve it, the contributors to *Pisarze pochodzenia indiańskiego*
note it. Significantly, the latter are also scrupulous in signaling analogies between the
condition of American Indians and other marginalized and brutalized ethnic groups. In
her impressive essay on Sherman Alexie's *Indian Killer*, Joanna Durczak's multifaceted
analysis takes account of Afro-American literature as well as the Holocaust experience.
Such examples show that another trap the contributors to the monograph avoid is that
of solipsism, any specialist's nemesis.

     The state of suspension mentioned earlier in the present review marks not only
the fate of American Indian writers, but that of their exegetes as well. This brings us
to the important question of methodology and critical tools. The authors of *Pisarze
pochodzenia indiańskiego* are conscious of the significance of theory to literary schol-
arship and criticism; they also keep track of the changing tendencies which govern
both. While they cannot—and probably should not—avoid referring to the oral tradi-
tion, which, as they note, is simultaneously central to Native American literature and
somewhat overexploited by its scholars, they transcend it by adopting a wide range of
approaches. The final result is a rich and varied volume whose trademarks may be said
to be plurality and pluralism. Significantly, the monographers realize one of the many
dilemmas marking the study of indigenous literatures: using established critical tools
and techniques as well as seminal theoretical concepts inevitably means drawing on
a tradition which is that of the conquerors and colonizers. Still, to ignore the Western
literary and cultural tradition—and everything it entails—would be to solipsize the

scope of the critical reading. The contributors to *Pisarze pochodzenia indiańskiego* manage to find a golden mean. The legacy of modernism, one of the reference points in Marek Paryż's compelling comparative study of two works by Momaday, reappears in the volume's other essays, in which William Faulkner's name recurs. While the modernist context is important, that of postmodernism, as the monographers know, may be said to be vital. Since the volume deals with literature produced from the late 1960s onward, it is hardly surprising that several articles emphasize its postmodernist dimension: this is the case with Barbara Leftih's analysis of Louise Erdrich's *Tracks* or Ewa Łuczak's highly readable discussion of another novel by the same author, *Master Butcher's Singing Club*. Postmodernism is also directly relevant to the two essays on Gerald Vizenor, which, in addition, raise the question of a truly native critical and theoretical discourse, to be found in Vizenor's writings. Needless to say, the lens of post-colonial studies, at once self-evident and problematic, is evoked in *Pisarze pochodzenia etnicznego*.

The articles included in the collection may be varied—as are the perspectives they employ, but they are also held closely together by what, for want of a better phrase, I would refer to as recurrent critical themes. Among the many phenomena and notions the monographers identify as crucial to the object of their study are history, especially in its revised version, and memory, both collective and individual; myths, primarily Native American ones, but also European-made myths which draw on stereotypes and invite deconstruction; race and identity; exclusion, extermination, discrimination and assimilation; survival and trauma; the relevance of ideologies such colonialism, imperialism and capitalism on the one hand and Marxism on the other to the study of American Indian letters, cultural tradition and history; nature and religious beliefs; the omnipresent figure of the trickster and humor. The list is, of course, longer and infinitely more complex. Despite this complexity, *Pisarze pochodzenia indiańskiego* strikes the reader as a coherent and cohesive volume, which is always a challenge when it comes to multi-authored works.

In their choice of secondary sources, the contributors to the Polish-language monograph do not limit themselves to scholarly writings; they also reference reviews and the writers' media presence. It is also worth noting that most of the works by American Indian authors discussed in the collection have not been translated into Polish so far. Not only do the Polish scholars examine the American reception of indigenous literature, but they also pave the way for its reception in Poland, hitherto constrained by the language barrier. In this way, they initiate a discussion which, one may hope, will be as multifarious and polyphonic as Native American literature itself.

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Zuzanna Ładyga, ed. *Barth, Barthelme, Coover.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2015. 197 pages.

The collection of essays edited by Zuzanna Ładyga is the fifth volume of "Mistrzowie Literatury Amerykanskiej," a series of companions to major American writers published at the University of Warsaw. The previous volumes have covered Don DeLillo, Toni Morrison, Cormac McCarthy, and Native American authors. The present one consists of ten essays on John Barth, Donald Barthelme, and Robert Coover. Apart from the essays, there is a general introduction by Zuzanna Ładyga, who has edited the volume, contributed two articles, and authored three short biographical sketches. Although Barth, Barthelme, and Coover were translated into Polish, and often discussed in Polish journals in the 1980s and 1990s, the present volume offers the Polish reader an opportunity to catch up with more recent criticism on the three authors. Hopefully, the book also prepares the ground for a revival of interest in their work among students and general readers.

The essays are invariably fine, but vary strikingly in scope and critical approach: from thematic readings of specific texts, through rhetorical close readings of selected texts, to synthetic discussions of sequences of texts, or of entire *oeuvres*. Of the three essays on Barth, Mikołaj Wiśniewski's informative thematic introduction to *The Sot-Weed Factor* evolves into a synthesis of Barth's early fiction in thematic terms, as existential novels about nihilism. Tomasz Basiuk's essay on *The End of the Road* is a rhetorical analysis of dialogic narration and polyphony, and Jagoda Dolińska presents a detailed explication of Barth's self-reflective and recursive language devices in *Lost in the Funhouse*. It is perhaps symptomatic that no essay focuses on Barth's more recent fiction: Barth's self-reflective narratives written after 1968 (six novels and five collections), for all their recursive loops, self-thematic comments, and occurrences of objectified language, could not be described as radically innovative, not after *Lost in the Funhouse*. This is an observation wryly made by Jonathan Raban in 1991 in his review of *The Last Voyage of Somebody the Sailor*: "Mr. Barth has been here before. As a work of loyal parody, *The Last Voyage of Somebody the Sailor* falls some way short of *The Sot-Weed Factor*. The literary theory that keeps it on the boil does not deviate from the program Mr. Barth laid down in the 1960's" ("The Sloop of Araby").

In the section on Donald Barthelme, Tadeusz Pióro's essay is an ingenious interpretation of a few selected short stories, treated as if they were poems. Zuzana Ładyga has written the two other essays in the section on Barthelme, both devoted to his novels: a surprising discussion of *Snow White* and *The Dead Father* as super-advanced and self-conscious versions of realist representation, and an analysis of historical narratology as theme in *Paradise* and *The King*. Ładyga demonstrates that Barthelme's fiction is not just a set of non-referential language games, but can generate political

and historical meanings, and contains self-reflective observations on the link between narrative conventions and political themes. At present, this way of reading Barthelme can certainly make his work more relevant and accessible for students, and for the general readership.

The section on Coover consists of four essays. Marek Paryż presents a historical synthesis of Coover's early novels as examples of transition and blending between realism to metafiction; Paryż presents metafiction as a dialectical development in which realism and metafiction are interdependent. A more radical view, indicated in the essay, would be that metafiction is a parasitic convention, developing on the substructure of realism, and dependent on realism for its own survival. Justyna Kociatkiewicz's essay is a thematic explication of *The Public Burning*, analyzing the rich texture of stylistic devices used by Coover to amplify the themes of violence, power, deception, and dominance, as the defining qualities of American politics and international policy. Patrycja Antoszek discusses Coover's aesthetic of excess in *Gerald's Party*, and interprets it in terms of Kristeva's notion of the abject. Finally, Zofia Kolbuszewska's essay on posthumanism in *Pinocchio in Venice* is an analysis of the transhuman imagery in the novel: animated paintings and non-human characters, with their marvelous capacity to function as images in a book, function also as images of a posthuman realism, defined in Lacanian terms as realization of the ekphrastic desire. This essay, as Zuzanna Ładyga observes in the introduction to the volume, focuses on the important quality shared by the three postmodernists: their fascination with an objectified and animated language, gaining a life of its own, before the startled eyes of the reader.

The introduction by the editor touches upon the important question of the waning interest in postmodern American fiction among Polish readers and publishers. In the age of Jonathan Franzen and Cormac McCarthy, not to mention George R. R. Martin and Stephen King, whoever reads a postmodern book? Ładyga provides a survey of possible reasons, amply discussed in recent criticism: that postmodernism was the cultural logic of late capitalism (which supposedly puts readers off), that the experiments of the 1960s and 1970s have become commonplace, that pop culture nowadays has appropriated postmodern aesthetics (especially irony and self-reference), and routinely offers products that surpass old postmodern experiments in brilliance and lushness, and perhaps that the tradition, which the postmodernists tried to undermine in the 1960s, is gone for good, so there is nothing left to undermine now. Thus, their work is to contemporary literature, what textbook science is to engineering: in view of the fact that some widely-read authors (such as Paul Auster or Don DeLillo) are described as postmodernists, the un-popular ones (such as Barth, Barthelme, and Coover), might be described as writers' writers, and their fiction, as it were, consists of concentrated experimental solutions, which can be diluted into palatable and more marketable products. The editor also mentions the essay by Patrycja Baran and Andrzej Antoszek, who, fourteen years ago, already described postmodern fiction as a closed historical

episode, which curiously resembles the mysterious and prophetic observations made by Wellek and Warren in 1948 that modernism (and its anticipations) was an anomalous phenomenon in the history of literary genres:

> One might be inclined to give up genre history after the eighteenth century—on the ground that formal expectations, repetitive structural patterns, have largely gone out. Such a hesitation recurs in the French and German writing about genre, together with the view that 1840–1940 is probably an anomalous literary period, and that we shall doubtless return to some more genre-constituted literature in the future. (242–243)

In the Polish context, however, there seems to be a rather disquieting political edge to the decline of interest in Barth, Barthelme, and Coover. Rather than a shift in aesthetic sensibilities, the decline is perhaps indicative of a wider, tectonic syncline forming now in Polish history, when many forms of public expression (literature, education, politics) are increasingly lacking in finesse, sense of humor, self-parody, amenability, and tolerance. The three authors are rather unlikely to function well in a country whose education is increasingly dominated by dogmatic obedience to authorities, and whose politics seems to be tainted by fits of melancholic, self-pitying paranoia. Perhaps correspondingly, in the Polish publishing market there seems to be more interest in Cormac McCarthy's half-concealed cult of violence, or in Toni Morrison's meditations on historical trauma, and in Thomas Pynchon's conspiracy theories, or in Richard Powers's dark prophecies. Barth, Barthelme, and Coover (as well as such forgotten fogeys as Ronald Sukenick, Raymond Federman, or Harry Mathews, or David Markson, who apparently has not even been published in Polish)—they were popular, if at all, in the 1990s, during the Polish festival of freedom and hope. To the disciplined cadres of transnational corporations, or to the convinced activists of radical movements, they must seem to be a rather outdated and infantile herd of dinosaurs: the white, middle-class, good-natured men, morally ambivalent, reflexive, and given to aesthetic ruptures over objectified language. Does the Polish readership have any room for them now?

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Peter Swirski, *American Political Fictions: War on Errorism in Contemporary American Literature, Culture, and Politics*. New York: Palgrave, 2015. 214 pages.

"America is not an overarching synthesis, *a pluribus unum*, but a rhetorical battleground, a symbol that has been made to stand for diverse and sometimes mutually contradictory outlooks" (Bercovitch 355). This statement by Sacvan Bercovitch might be a starting point for Peter Swirski's deliberations on the role of political fictions in literature, culture, and politics on the American scene. Swirski's main premise is that one can effectively reach a vital outlook on America's self-depictions by analyzing its political art. Thus, in the first chapter of his book *American Political Fictions* Swirski devotes much attention to analyzing key actors shaping current political discourse in America. The canvas for his analysis is Joseph Heller's book *Picture This*—although published in 1988, it still offers an informed perspective and allows a number of significant comparisons. After Heller, Swirski draws parallels between ancient Athens, with its democratic system of governing, and the US, which he deems an inheritor of the system. Both systems were built, in his opinion, on exploitation, colonialism, domination, and enslavement. In both systems there were leaders whose aim was to convince the compatriots to follow their path. In order to narrow it down to the system that he is most familiar with, Swirski gives examples of two significant aspects of the current American reality: war on terrorism and the Patriot Act. Both were introduced in order to curtail citizens' freedoms but also to rhetorically challenge other countries to take sides: either to support America in its fight against terrorism or to side with the terrorists, as this alternative was rhetorically constructed. Swirski also observes a deterioration of the social and cultural fabrics, which he attributes to hugely increased spendings on the military at the cost of health, education, and the internal wellbeing of the nation.

Another field that disunites American society is religion in its specific aspect—Christian fundamentalism manifested in dispensationalism. What stems from a long-lasting tradition of prophesying and writing apocalypse is an urge for radical conservative differentiation into us—always good and righteous, and them—the bad guys. So is the world depicted in an influential book by Tim LaHaye and Jerry B. Jenkins *Left Behind: A Novel of the Earth's Last Days*. The authors and other vocal evangelicals such as Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell spot the evil not only in organizations like the American Civil Liberties Union but also in what they currently deem the worst threat of all—atheistic humanism. This, in turn, provides a pretext for Swirski to claim that there is a direct relationship between the country's religiosity and the level of its social dysfunctions—the higher the level, the more religious the country. On the one hand, since the number of Robertson's and Falwell's television audience exceeds one hundred million viewers plus the readership of LaHaye and

Jenkins, Swirski suggests that social ills in America must be widespread, on the other, it testifies to the fact that for those millions of people who remain under the influence of Christian fundamentalism, public life and politics in the US appear to be, as he calls it, "cliffpocalypsemageddonacaust."

Another bestselling book, *A Planet for the President* by Alistair Beaton provides a satirical commentary on the previous administration in the White House, widely echoed by Swirski, and it inspires him to compare and contrast two administrations—Bush Jr.'s and Obama's. Swirski blames the former for the war on terror, which led to practically indiscriminate and unrestrained surveillance of Americans' lives, thus making the superior law of the country—the Constitution—good for nothing, and for sending military troops overseas to instigate Pax Americana even at the cost of going against the vernacular forms of government. Almost totally neglected environmental issues with their most conspicuous aspect—global warming—add to the former administration's deficits. Surprisingly, Barack Obama, who was running for American presidency as a great advocate of change, in Swirski's eyes remained resolute on these issues, too. In fact, as he claims, relying on the opinions of Obama's military officials, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate did not live up to the standards vested on him by the gravity of the Prize.

The last two chapters of the book are devoted to Rap, which Swirski decodes as Rhyming American Poetry, and the influence that the highly popular TV series *The West Wing* exerts on the Americans. He calls the former "an objective correlative of the United States," borrowing the phrase from T.S. Eliot, seeing it as an oxymoron that contains such mutually contradictory qualities as individualism and communitarianism, capitalism and socialism, political and apolitical, materialist and idealist, etc. Its grandest asset is its authenticity pertaining to ordinary lives of the American people. Just like the music, for numerous Americans the TV series is a source of information they obtain about politics. This lets Swirski draw conclusions on the deteriorating quality of political life and decline in civic engagement, which he attributes to Americans' atomization, loneliness, and estrangement. As a remedy, he puts forward the example of Swiss democracy, whose major strength is the delegation of power to the people. This seems to be a call for the idea of participatory democracy as postulated by young Americans in the 1960s. As he claims, "once the direct democracy genie is once released from the bottle, it is hard to put it back." The question is, however, whether American reality lives up to this statement.

All in all, *American Political Fictions* is a good read for those who want to obtain a broader insight into American political, social, and cultural realities. Swirski's analysis is well-grounded in facts, based on sound research (the list of bibliographical items exceeds 20 pages) and rich in interpretations. The caliber of questions that he poses and the quality of answers and formulas that he offers his readers will enlighten their political preferences and help understand the influence that political, social, and cultural propaganda has on their lives.

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Urszula Niewiadomska-Flis. *The Southern Mystique: Food, Gender, and Houses in Southern Fiction and Films.* **València: Universitat de València, Biblioteca Javier Coy d'estudis nord-americans, 2012. 171 pages.**

For those who wish to re/embark upon the notion of "Dixie" as a brand southern name with a lot of—un/typically female—mystique to it, this book poses as a fine challenge. This is because *The Southern Mystique*, a collection of seven essays reprinted by the Author from their original sources, traces the contemporary re/construction of the ways of the in/famous southern femininity. By making use of various, contemporary and past, theoretical approaches to the always volatile concept of (southern) femininity (e.g. feminist literary criticism, psychoanalytic theory, or theories of space, grotesque, and carnival), Niewiadomska-Flis re/negotiates this concept in such a way that it appears, to use media expert Lev Manovich's word, "elastic" ("What Is Digital Cinema") and hence, a broadly understood peculiar affective-performative dynamics rather than a coherent structure.

The Author, a southern literature expert, attains this effect by pitting southern femininity as it is performed in ample non/southern film and fiction against the non/material phenomena which this femininity customarily underwrites. Food preparation, women's friendships, their "place" in marriage, the home, or society, female bodies, even houses—all these practices the southern women from the analyzed works activate at some point as un/conscious performances of their identities. In a very forthright and clear way, Niewiadomska-Flis demonstrates not only how the dynamics of such female performances becomes operative, but also how it gains its affective value thus becoming a salient agent in southern women's identity re/configuration.

For example, the first essay in the collection, entitled "The Gastrodynamics of Edna Pontellier's Liberation," assuming culinary practices to be agentive in the construction of southern womanhood, analyzes the presentation of such practices in Kate Chopin's groundbreaking novel, *The Awakening* (1899), as indicative of the crisis of the protagonist's female self. The Author convincingly argues for the various types of food, such as e.g. chocolate or fish, or rituals of meal-serving, to be emblematic of

Edna Pontellier's disintegration as a southern woman while at the same time serving her liberation from the patriarchal strictures of marriage. Niewiadomska-Flis does not, however, identify foodways as a performance of instinctual gender boundary testing. In her essay "Negotiating Gender with a Spatula: Foodways and Gender in *Fried Green Tomatoes*," she presents yet another fascinating analysis of the food references in the well-known novel by Fannie Flag as a conscious female strategy of order-changing.

Niewiadomska-Flis suggests that he cognitive process of preparation and consumption of food becomes affective at the moment it is embraced as "mothering the mind" by the women involved in it. As such, food activities turn out to be symptomatic of the greater process of "female bonding" which the Author refers to in the collection's third essay entitled "Bonding and Moving On: Southern Female Companions in Motion (Pictures)," a discussion of southern womanhood's dynamics of self-recognition. This and the following essay, "Female Friendship and a Narration of Self-Discovery in Twentieth-Century Southern Women's Writing," which demonstrates the process of female bonding through befriending and eventually developing an affection for another woman, shed light on how the *Bildungsroman* of southern womanhood changes in terms of perennial boundary breaking, understood, however, not so much as a psychological process but rather as a spiritual, *ergo*, an artistic performance of, as it were, the "writing beyond ending" woman's self.

Such a "gothic"—i.e. allowing for the female connection even "across the threshold of life and death," as the Author claims—staging of southern womanhood as expository of its own "fissures and… secret chambers" (Williams 175), allows for its re/configuration also in terms of the "fearful, alien, excluded or dangerously marginal" (Briggs 125). The remaining three essays in the collection: "Subverting the Patriarchal Paradigm of Gender Relations in Ellen Glasgow's Gothic Short Stories," "The Grotesque Female Body: The Gothic Household and Sexual Politics in Twentieth-Century Southern Short Fiction," and "The Fall of the House of the Elite: A Reading of Southern Aristocracy Through the Architectural Correlative" analyze southern femininity precisely as a gothic phenomenon; a view which enables a perception of the southern feminine as a grotesque and, eventually, carnivalesque construct. Niewiadomska-Flis shows this by making southern womanhood operative within the context of the female mental illness, spinsterhood, and last but not least, the house such a mentally and physically "carnivalesque" female "body" occupies.

Accordingly, accepting the claim of Mary Russo that the human body is the "prototype of society" (320), the Author shows how the "ugly" side of the southern community embodied both by the sick, the old, or the single females and the dilapidating houses they inhabit can be turned into a performance of the "decadence, maladjustment, and isolationism of the declining [southern] aristocracy" (*The Southern Mystique* 152). Thus orchestrating southern womanhood into, to paraphrase Thomas Elsaesser, a "pattern

of (a)e(s)th(et)ic(al) self-significance" (82), Niewiadomska-Flis makes it agentive in re/configuring also the southern identity in the modal terms of the "ethical and creative potential of the expressive body" (Del Rio 16).

Niewiadomska-Flis has done a remarkable job bringing together all these diverse performances of southern womanhood as one *élan vital*, as it were. Analyzing the southern womanhood as a fluid southern force, Niewiadomska-Flis makes it further adaptable—and thus, part of another field of studies: adaptation. This is visible in the way she approaches the subject matter of the collection, as she deals with both cinematic and literary narratives. It is a pity, then, that, when speaking about the South in film, Niewiadomska-Flis omits most of the aspects of film analysis, so different from literary investigation. Despite this lack—or perhaps because it—there is no doubt that, as it is, the collection does encourage a pursuit of further critical inquiry.

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