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The Hero Who Disappointed: Images of Lajos Kossuth and the Hungarian Revolution of 1848/49 in Livermore's *Zoë; or the Quadroon's Triumph*

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Abstract: This article studies US American perceptions of the European Revolutions of 1848/49, especially the different receptions of the Hungarian revolutionary leader Lajos Kossuth's sojourn in the US, through an analysis of a rather unknown novel *Zoë; or the Quadroon's Triumph* (1855). Benefiting from different sources, the article examines the impacts of the revolutions of Europe in the US literary, cultural, religious, and political sceneries by pointing to how even non-canonical works reflected upon these influences.

Keywords: Lajos Kossuth, Hungarian Revolution (1848/49), Young America, Transcendentalism, European Revolutions (1848/49), Age of Revolutions, Orientalism, the Wandering Jew

The waves of revolutions across Europe in 1848/49 reached the western shores of the Atlantic before too long if not in their immediate political and military forms, then as intellectual stimuli and demographical fluctuations which found their reflections in American lives. Following the revolutions, numerous Czech, German, Hungarian, and other political exiles crossed the Atlantic. Among these were many like Carl Schurz and Franz Sigel whose later contributions to the political, military, and intellectual life in the United States would make it into history books. Sometimes, it was simply the ideas and the know-how that travelled across the ocean. Hungry to reform their army after the Mexican-American War, many in the US received with enthusiasm the know-how of the Napoleonic Wars carried by European veterans who were exiled after their partaking in the revolutions. The American public consumed narratives of the revolutions so greedily that being an exile in the US became almost a "profession" (Tóth 120-63).

Not all that was brought from Europe was welcomed equally enthusiastically, at least not by everyone. The US in the mid-1850s would be home not only to the forty-eighters who arrived from Europe and settled in different states but also to the Know-Nothing Party with its anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic agendas. These politics gained significant popular and partisan support including from President Millard Fillmore, who would become the Party's presidential candidate in the 1856 elections. The foundations of the "red scare" that would come to characterize the Cold War mindset in the US would be laid during this time, resulting in a cautious reception of the intellectual incitements from Europe (Levine, "Conservatism" 469; Levine, *Spirit of 1848* 109; Reynolds 49-53).

The reception of the news, exiles, and ideas of the Revolutions of 1848/49 was as diverse as it was thought-provoking. Yet, regardless of the nature of their reactions, Americans felt inclined to respond to the events of 1848/49. This diversity of reflections

is easily traced in the American literature of the mid-nineteenth century. It was with the impact of "historic international developments, especially the European Revolution of 1848-49" that literature in the US experienced what is today referred to as the American Renaissance and literary nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century: "European revolutionary heroes, imagery, and issues quickened American literary imagination and shaped the characters, plots, and themes of American writings" (Reynolds xi–xii).

As a result, there exists extensive research on the reception of the 1848/49 European Revolutions in the US, which appears to agree in the conclusion that the immediate public interest in the revolutions vanished to a great extent within the next couple of years as the conversation switched from Europe to less distant subjects with the increasing sectionalist tension in the US following the Mexican-American War and leading to the Civil War. In this article, I demonstrate that this conclusion covers only part of the story. The rich imagery that the revolutions brought into US literature kept inspiring authors to interpret the succeeding events and phenomena in both their own country and the world. To do so, I pursue traces of the 1848/49 Revolutions, especially the Hungarian Revolution, in a non-canonical example of the literature of the era: Elizabeth Dorcas Livermore's 1855 novel *Zoë; or the Quadroon's Triumph*. The main postulation of my article is as follows: Employing myths, symbolism, and interpretations borrowed from several and often conflicting political, philosophical, and religious stances such as transcendentalism, Young Americanism, or Mormonism, Livermore's novel offers a uniquely American republican view of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848/49.

As a rather unknown work by an obscure author on which there is but little literature, Livermore's *Zoë* provides an interesting case study, since, in the novel, one can clearly pursue the influence of a diverse range of topics and themes that characterized the political, cultural, and literary atmosphere both in Europe and the US in the years following the revolutions. The European Revolutions of 1848/49 are perhaps not the leading motif of the narrative, the most persistent concern of which is building a moralistic argument for slaves' and women's liberation all over the world. However, in making its argument for equality of genders and races, the narrative often draws on the political and societal events of the era among which the Revolutions in Europe, predominantly the Hungarian Revolution, emerge practically as a leitmotif that rather slyly penetrates into the plot. This is no surprise, given the presence of Hungarian leader Lajos Kossuth as a political exile in the US between late 1851 and mid-1852, just about three years before Livermore published her two-volume novel. Much like Livermore, more preeminent names of mid-nineteenth-century US literature including Harriet Beecher Stowe and John Greenleaf Whittier referred to Kossuth and his fight for Hungarian independence in their works. While most of these works have been acknowledged in studies focusing on the influence of Lajos Kossuth's sojourn in the US, unknown to many scholars, Livermore's 1855 novel and the thought-provoking and entangled imagery of the Hungarian Revolution that it portrays remain yet to be explored.

In undertaking this task, my article draws on the various topics and themes that the novel addresses by employing images, symbolism, and references relating to the European Revolutions of 1848/49 in general, and Lajos Kossuth and the Hungarian Revolution in particular. The article first provides an overview of reactions to Kossuth's

1851/52 visit to the US with a special emphasis on the abolitionist, transcendentalist, and Young American perceptions of the Hungarian revolutionary and his cause in order to contextualize the novel in the literary and political atmosphere within which it was produced. The second part of the article engages in a closer reading of the novel, focusing especially on the function of its Hungarian Jewish character Ben Ezra interchangeably as an alias for Kossuth and the biblical figure of the "Wandering Jew," to understand the ways in which this figure allows the novel to tie seemingly separate issues together in a rhetoric of American republicanism.

Entangling American Rhetorics, Celebrating the Hungarian Cause

1. Livermore's *Zoë*

Born in 1810 as the fifth child of Catherine and Jacob Abbot, Elizabeth Dorcas Livermore married her cousin Abiel Abbot Livermore who was a unitarian minister like her father. Elizabeth D. Livermore published "poetry in Midwestern periodicals" and her own weekly literary magazine, *The Independent Highway*, in which she also published a play titled *The Fugitives*. She "enjoyed considerable popularity" during her life, yet she was "forgotten by all except the literary historians" by the 1960s (Coyle 387). Today we know little about the author compared to her more famous contemporaries. Her abolitionist and feminist novel *Zoë* was published in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1855, amidst increased tension over slavery just half a decade before the Civil War broke out. Ohio was, after New England, a cradle of transcendentalist thinking with one of the most important transcendentalist publications of the era *The Messenger* published in Louisville. Far from forming a united organization, most transcendentalists of the era nonetheless held feminist and abolitionist convictions. These ideas evidently influenced Livermore whose biography and works connect her to Unitarianism, the theological movement out of which Transcendentalist notions can be said to have been born.

Livermore's novel *Zoë* centers around the brief life of its homonymous "quadroon" protagonist who is sent by her former-slave parents to Copenhagen to study from her home island St. Croix, which was back then part of the Danish West Indies.[1] The first volume of the two-volume novel is set mostly in the Danish city where Zoë meets an international group of people who help cultivate her religious sensibilities. Following a quarrel with her teacher Ms. Ingemann, eighteen-year-old Zoë leaves Denmark with her best friend Hilda.[2] The first volume concludes thusly. The second volume opens with Zoë and Hilda's westward voyage in the Atlantic, during which the young women meet several people from different backgrounds. The conversations among the passengers shape the girls' opinions on slaves' and women's emancipation and Zoë's religious ideas ultimately turn into a sense of divine mission to introduce the idea of an abolitionist and feminist Christian Republic in the Americas.

1 Unlike in the British West Indies, in the Danish West Indies slavery remained legal until 1848. Livermore's novel is set in St. Croix right after the abolition of slavery on the island.

2 While both Zoë and Hilda are from St. Croix, unlike the novel's biracial protagonist, Hilda is a white girl. Later in the novel, during the westward journey of the two young women, the narrative reveals that Hilda's parents were slaveholders in St. Croix until the abolition of slavery in the West Indies in 1848.

The westward Atlantic voyage serves to distinguish Europe and the American Hemisphere from each other in terms of their racial prejudices and marks the latter as a space of racist structures. This distinction of the Americas from Europe signals the hardships that the novel's protagonist will experience once she arrives in her longed-for home St. Croix, where, surrounded by a racist society, she cannot fulfill her dreams and slowly dies. The choice of settings in the novel serves to avoid estranging the readers in the US, who may react negatively to the critical descriptions of the country as racist and cruel. Because of their imagined nationless or multinational status in the narrative and the distance they bear to the US, both the Atlantic Ocean and St. Croix help the novel to point at the wrongdoings of the slaveholding countries without necessarily putting the US under the spotlight. Nonetheless, the novel introduces many characters from the US in its plot and points to the US, specifically to its northeastern states, as the designated space from which the protagonist's imagined transcendentalist Christian republic will begin to flourish. Thus, the novel carries the US to a focal point in its narrative, although the country never becomes a setting in the novel. In this sense, it can be argued that the novel often employs various examples set by other countries to under-handedly criticize the US (Bozkurt-Pekar "Imagining the South"; Bozkurt-Pekar *Imagining Southern*).

2. Vindicating Kossuth After the "Craze"

Despite the novel's tendency to employ settings outside the country to comment on what the narrative perceives as the wrongdoings of the US, it may still surprise present-day readers that a novel which engages mostly with abolitionist and feminist arguments introduces a Hungarian revolutionary character in its plot and repeatedly refers to the European Revolutions of 1848/49.

To understand these choices, we can briefly refer to Timothy M. Roberts who, through the example of Margaret Fuller, demonstrates how reformers in the US began to connect "reform causes that [they] had considered disparate in America: the rights of women and laborers, and the cause of antislavery" by observing the 1848/49 events in Europe (*Distant* 96). Roberts' observation is significant for understanding the theme of the 1848/49 European Revolutions in Livermore's novel. Firstly, as also noted by Colleen C. O'Brien, Livermore's works connect the author to the most influential transcendentalists of her era, including William Ellery Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Margaret Fuller (O'Brien 82-109). Among these, especially Fuller's influence on Livermore is incontrovertible, as the latter repeatedly praises Fuller's literary production in her magazine and echoes her voice and ideas in *Zoë*. Thus, it is possible that, being so clearly influenced by Fuller and other contemporary transcendentalists and reformists, Livermore followed a similar logic in connecting her arguments of slaves' emancipation and women's liberation not only to each other but also to the events of 1848/49 both in Europe and in the American Hemisphere.

This leads to the second and correlated point. Although *Zoë*'s foremost focus lies on feminist and abolitionist arguments, one nonetheless observes minute attention paid to the debates of the era, especially to those in transcendentalist and abolitionist literature. Among these, the discussion on the European Revolutions of 1848/49 emerges as an important one although just for a rather brief period. This is

true not only for the abolitionists' and transcendentalists' interest in the revolutions. The attention that the proponents of the Young America movement—which appear as a target of Livermore's novel's disapproving tenor—paid to the revolutions of 1848/49 also substantially disappeared in subsequent years. Indeed, one can well argue that by 1855 when *Zoë* was published, public interest in the European Revolutions in the US had already been fading for at least the last couple of years.

This was especially true for Lajos Kossuth's cause, to which Livermore refers the most. Having won many military and political battles including the passing of the April Laws in 1848 and declaration of independence from the Habsburg Monarchy in April 1849, Hungary was defeated in August by the Austrian Empire, which found renewed strength with Russian military support. Following this failure, Kossuth escaped first to the Ottoman Empire hoping to maintain the revolutionary fervor among other exiles and to reignite the struggle for independence. About a year later, he left for Britain[3] from where he went to the US in December 1851. Gaining financial and political (and even military) support for a renewed attempt at Hungarian independence constituted the principal motivation for Kossuth's trip to Britain and the US.[4] As in Britain, in the US, too, the Hungarian leader was often welcomed warmly and with great enthusiasm. But, by the time he left for Europe after eight months, the "craze" in the US over the heroic Magyar had died out and turned into disappointment and sometimes even disdain among different segments of the public who felt that Kossuth failed to deliver what they expected from him.

3. Abolitionist Disappointment

The years of revolutions in Europe were also the years of rising abolitionist sentiment across the Atlantic. Three decades had passed since the Haitian Revolution, which had liberated the island's slaves, by the time Britain announced emancipation of slaves in its West Indian colonies in August 1834. This was soon followed by the Danish and French in 1848. The emancipations in the Caribbean provided great motivation for many abolitionists in the US who turned their faces also towards Europe to find solidarity from revolutionaries demanding equality and freedom. Lajos Kossuth was a great inspiration for abolitionists in the US, as it was the April Laws enforced by him that abolished serfdom in Hungary in 1848. The fact that "[i]n Britain [Kossuth] offered public congratulations for the emancipation of colonial slaves in the West Indies" ascertained abolitionists in the US that the Hungarian hero would side with them and advocate for their cause (Roberts, *Distant* 152).

3 To read more on Kossuth's reception in Great Britain, see Great Britain and Kossuth by Dénes Jánossy and "Reception of Kossuth in England and the Magazine Punch in 1851" by Thomas Kabdebo.

4 Tibor Frank writes that Kossuth considered "the political support" of British people "essential in pursuing the struggle for Hungarian freedom and independence" ("Marketing Hungary" 221). Similarly, Samuel J. Wilson notes that "Kossuth's mission was to convince America to intervene in European affairs for the purpose of enforcing the policy of non-intervention." Moreover, Wilson, like Tim Roberts, Thomas Kabdebo, and Donald S. Spencer, attracts attention to the fact that the Hungarian leader sought to raise funds in both countries for a second attempt at Hungarian independence and was often offered generous donations on behalf of the Hungarian cause (Wilson 39; Roberts, "Lajos" 793; Spencer 53; Kabdebo n.p.).

However, contrary to the anticipations of abolitionists in the country, Kossuth refrained from openly condemning slavery and declared a noninterference policy toward the domestic politics in the US (Roberts, *Distant* 152-53). W. Caleb McDaniel and András Tarnóc capture the disappointment that US abolitionists, especially the Garrisonians, felt in the face of this noninterference. Studying William Lloyd Garrisons' reaction to Kossuth's noninterference in detail, Tarnóc writes that following a "syllogis[tic]" logic that considered slavery "a universal sin" and suggested that "[a]ny person representing a struggle for freedom should raise his voice against it," Garrison concluded that "Kossuth's reluctance to address the issue makes [Kossuth] an accomplice in this universal sin" (Tarnóc 64).

To comprehend Kossuth's reluctance to adopt a manifested stance against slavery in the US, first, the motives for Kossuth's sojourn in the country should be acknowledged. Tibor Frank calculates that Kossuth "gave over 600 public speeches in the United States alone" (Frank, "'Give Me Shakespeare'" 187). Among these were, for example, an address to the US Congress on January, 7 1852 delivered during a dinner held in his honor, a speech addressing to "the ladies of New York," and another one delivered at a reception in Cincinnati taking place on February, 13.[5] While these speeches touched upon various topics ranging from westward territorial expansion of the US to the duty and status of women in national independence movements, almost without exception all of them served as an "unstoppable propaganda, a public relations effort to win the goodwill of the English-speaking peoples" (Frank, "Marketing Hungary" 221). As it can be gathered from the numerous speeches that he held in England and the US, Kossuth used his stays in these countries as an opportunity to appeal to the public to gain primarily diplomatic but also financial support to rejuvenate the revolution in Hungary. The Magyar hero's primary concern was gathering political support for Hungarian independence. This prevented him from meddling with the domestic affairs of the countries that he visited. His eight-month-long visit in the US coincided with the 1852 presidential election campaigns between the proslavery Democratic candidate Franklin Pierce and the abolitionist Whig candidate Winfield Scott. The elections took place after Kossuth left the country and resulted in the presidency of the former. Uncertain of the election results, Kossuth could not afford to take side with either party, the diplomatic support of a government built by either of which could help him regenerate his life's mission.[6]

One the other hand, "Kossuth's visit coincided with the aftershocks produced by the Fugitive Slave Law and the Compromise of 1850," which made slave emancipation in the country an even more urgent matter and "pushed the issue of fugitive slaves to the center of antislavery agendas." Therefore, Kossuth's reluctance to denounce slavery estranged also non-Garrisonian abolitionists. To draw attention to the "hypocrisy" of the American enthusiasm with which Kossuth was received, abolitionist writers compared Kossuth to a fugitive slave (McDaniel 4-6). Perhaps the most famous of such comparisons came in Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was serialized in *The National Era* during Kossuth's sojourn in the US and published in book form some three months before he left the country:

5 A selection of these speeches is available in Kossuth's Selected Speeches.

6 I am thankful to Prof. Tibor Frank for bringing the impact of 1852 presidential elections on Lajos Kossuth's stance towards abolitionism in the United States to my attention.

> If it had been only a Hungarian youth, now bravely defending in some mountain fastness the retreat of fugitives escaping from Austria into America, this would have been sublime heroism; but as it was a youth of African descent, defending the retreat of fugitives through America into Canada, of course we are too well instructed and patriotic to see any heroism in it…. When despairing Hungarian fugitives make their way… to America, press and political cabinet ring with applause and welcome. When despairing African fugitives do the same thing,—it is—what is it? (Stowe n.p.)

Even though Stowe refrains from naming the Hungarian whose image she carries into her novel, given the context of Kossuth's vibrant presence in the country, it is not hard to associate the heroic Magyar appearing in the plot with Kossuth.

The sentiment among the preeminent transcendentalists of the era, among whom a topic of exceptional unanimity was their shared anti-slavery stance, was similar. Michael Ziser summarizes the overall transcendentalist impression about Kossuth via the examples of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, the former of which delivered an address to Kossuth in Concord. Ziser suggests Emerson's "lukewarm" address which can "be read as [a] gracious attempt to shield Kossuth from the antipathy of both the conservatives and the abolitionists" estranged Thoreau. Thoreau "ultimately expressed disdain in 'Life without Principle' for the waffling nature of Emerson's speech and the political frippery that attended Kossuth's visit" (Ziser 12).

Given abolitionists' reluctance to welcome Kossuth with open arms, it is no wonder that themes of the revolutionary and republican heritage of the US were not as positively associated with the Hungarian Revolution and Kossuth in the abolitionist literature as they were elsewhere. Garrison's lengthy 1852 letter to Kossuth is one among many examples that show negative allusions. In this letter, Garrison compares Kossuth's attempt "to throw off Austrian usurpation" to the struggle of "Washington, Jefferson and Patrick Henry" "to overthrow British oppression." Yet, all these three names, besides being revolutionary heroes, emerge in the letter with insistent emphasis on their roles as slaveholders. Kossuth's resemblance to these revolutionary heroes gives Garrison, who was by then already disappointed at the Hungarian revolutionary, the chance to compare Kossuth, at least to a certain degree, also to Southern slaveholders who much like Washington, Jefferson, and Henry appealed to the language of liberty "against despotism and in favor of the rights of man" without necessarily applying these principles universally to all people (Garrison 52-53).

In this sense, it can be argued that Livermore goes against the abolitionist and transcendentalist currents of the mid-1850s by vindicating Kossuth and his cause in her novel and dwells on an imagery that had for some time lost not only the popularity but also the sympathy that it had once received.

4. Sharing Enthusiasm, Revising Interventionism: Young America in *Zoë*

Even though the overall utopian vision of Livermore's novel is closely associated with the abolitionist and transcendentalist segments of nineteenth-century American intellectual life, the strong pro-Kossuth stance in her novel diverges from the mainstream transcendentalist and radical abolitionist reactions toward Kossuth. Instead, an unlikely alignment with mid-nineteenth-century Young American ideals arises in the way that

the novel defends Kossuth and the Hungarian Revolution. However, this alignment is not one that unconditionally accepts the entire Young American agenda. Quite contrarily, the movement is a major target of the novel's rhetoric of moral perfection. Transformation of Young American ideals under transcendentalist guidance emerges as a persistent subject in *Zoë*. Elsewhere, I provide a more detailed reading of this transformation (Bozkurt-Pekar, "Imagining the South"). Here, it suffices to describe the movement and its overall principles, outline the Young American reaction to 1848/49 European Revolutions and Kossuth's sojourn in the US, and study the way in which the symbolic Young American character is treated in Livermore's novel.

Donald Spencer offers a detailed account of the Young American fervor of Kossuth. Yet, his rather restricting definition of the Young America movement obscures the philosophical and political inconsistencies among those who identified with the movement. Positioning Young America outside of proslavery agenda of the slaveholding Southern states and labeling Western states such as Ohio with "strongly antislavery" sentiments as prone to Young American ideas, Spencer creates the impression that the movement was strictly abolitionist and Northern (123). Yet, the individuals associated with the movement provide wealthy evidence for the division of opinion regarding slavery among Young Americans. For example, William Gilmore Simms, a most preeminent name of antebellum Southern literature and a fervent proponent of the "peculiar institution," was part of the circle. Simms was a close friend of Evert A. Duyckinck, one of the most significant names of the Young America movement and an opponent of slavery. While such examples can be multiplied, Simms and Duyckinck's friendly coexistence under Young America gives enough indication for the non-determining character of the question of slavery for the movement.

Dividing the movement into two groups as Young America I and Young America II, Edward L. Widmer outlines how "an innocent youth movement" born out of a desire to "rejuvenat[e] American culture" among a generation, who was living their youth during a period when the US was demographically a very young country, transformed "into a call for more territory, unleashing tensions over slavery and exposing democracy to ridicule" through Democrat partisanship in the early- to late-mid-nineteenth century (3-14). Widmer's account of the development of Young America shows how this "bifurcated and confused" movement is often understood as merely the latter ideology that is often associated with territorial (mostly Southern) expansionism on behalf of republicanism (15). It is also this Young America ideology that Livermore criticizes in her novel.

The conjunction between the two group within the Young America was their mutual support for the European Revolutions of 1848/49 (Widmer 3-15). It should be noted that, much like the rest of American population, Young Americans did not clearly distinguish between the distinct revolutions taking place in Europe. They generally considered the revolutions as a whole, sometimes practically as a single demand for republican values. Thus, they sympathized mostly with those uprisings in Europe the demands of which they could relate to those of the American Revolution, that is, independence from a foreign monarch such as in Hungary. Young Americans felt that "republican and democratic institutions" of the US were superior to those in Europe and "recklessly spoke of imposing their will on Europe as well." It was with

such a feeling and an idealistic and ideologically-ridden understanding of diplomacy, the Young Americans received the news of the European Revolutions (Spencer 101-102). The parallel that they draw between the republican legacy of their revolutionary history and the demands of European revolutionaries led to the birth of Young America II in the late 1840s (Widmer 190). Many Young Americans believed in the necessity of an intervention to Europe by the US and promoted policies to support the revolutions. Calling for a suspension of diplomatic relations with Austria at the Senate, Secretary of State Lewis Cass suggested that the US government should "offer public congratulations… to people crowned with the success in their struggle for freedom" and "recognition of their independence" and called Kossuth "the Washington of Hungary," as was quite fashionable during the time (Cass 1-3). Some more radical Young Americans who "shared the filibusters' roots" of the movement even felt inclined "to arm or fight with European revolutionaries" (Roberts, *Distant* 25). Needless to say, nothing came out of this military enthusiasm.

The common support for the European Revolutions yielded to a division of opinion about more pressing issues among Young Americans with sectional tensions growing intense. 1848 was the year of the victorious end of the Mexican-American War for the US and the annexation of more than half a million square miles to US territories, stirring sectional debates over the expansion of slavery to the newly acquired territories. This chain of events, leading to the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Act, illustrates the division emerging among Young Americans whose divergence on the issue of slavery had already made them a heterogeneous crowd. Added to this were the 1849/51 schemes of Cuban annexation through illegal filibustering campaigns. Partially also inspired by the same republican idealism shared by Young Americans which led them to imagine a military intervention to Europe, the illegal efforts to annex Cuba were not supported by all. Even some fervent advocates of slavery such as Simms rejected the idea of sending filibustering troops to the island (Simms "Invasion"), which signals to widening disagreements among the Young America movement in the face of realpolitik despite mutual republican and expansionist idealism.

In Livermore's novel, one witnesses Young America movement with all its radical connotations embodied in a fictional character named Mr. Stephenson—or with his nickname, Young America—who is depicted as a misogynist man supporting territorial expansionism and slavery. On his way to a filibustering expedition to "South America" "to dam up the Amazon" in a very Young American fashion, Stephenson becomes part in a companionship among the many Transatlantic passengers. This companionship leads to scriptural conversations on societal order, liberty, equality, and emancipation of women and slaves (Livermore, Vol. 2 141). The transcendentalist guidance of these conversations helps Stephenson overcome his imperfections and become a fervent abolitionist and feminist. Eventually, giving up on his expansionist filibustering mission, Stephenson joins Hilda, whose heart he wins. Together, they travel to the US to carry a manuscript by deceased Zoë, which, the narrative implies, carries the "signs of the times" which will lead the US to its utopian future (Livermore, Vol. 2 297). Young America thus becomes a promoter of the novel's transcendentalist vision.

Considering the novel's proponent position for the European Revolutions, it can therefore be argued that Livermore's *Zoë* surprisingly aligns itself more with the

Young American standpoint towards the European Revolutions in its almost uncritical enthusiasm for Kossuth than it does with transcendentalist and radical abolitionist positions of the era, even though the novel absolutely rejects the proslavery and xenophobic elements within the Young America movement. In Stephenson's change of trajectory, one can read a similar rejection. By transforming its fictional Young America from a potential filibuster into a harbinger of the millennial future, the novel rejects not only expansionism but implicitly also the Young American interventionist agenda on the European Revolutions, which it considers as still ongoing and destined to be victorious.

An American Conversion

1. Alias to Kossuth

Although the Hungarian Revolution of 1848/49 occupies Livermore's attentiveness to the European Revolutions the most, it is with the First Schleswig War of 1848/51 (Three Years' War) that the theme first appears in her novel. During a conversation with Zoë in Denmark, Mrs. Liebenhoff expresses appreciation of a common friend for "speaking manly and courageous words for the independence of Schleswig Holstein" (Livermore, Vol. 1 174). While these short remarks may seem rather trivial, the fact that Mrs. Liebenhoff leaves a significant influence in the protagonist's almost prophetic sentiment hints at the novel's positive attitude toward the movements in Europe.[7] It is also significant that the novel introduces the topic via the Schleswig Holstein case, which much like the Hungarian one, had independence as its most imperative demand.

Shortly after, the narrative also introduces the Hungarian Revolution to the plot via a character who at times functions as an alias to Lajos Kossuth. A lady called Miss Holberg joins the conversation between Zoë and Mrs. Liebenhoff, inquiring the latter about a possible candidate for a German teacher for the girls' school that Zoë attends. The conversation between Liebenhoff and Holberg continues for some four pages whereupon Liebenhoff gives lengthy replies to the queries of her companion about the character and the past of the Hungarian man who teaches her an "oriental tongue" (Livermore, Vol. 1 177). Through this long conversation, the reader learns that unlike Kossuth, who was a Protestant, his alias is a Hungarian Jew.

The fictional revolutionary is depicted as not only an "intimate friend and profound admirer" of the Magyar hero but also a companion of him who seeks to

7 It is noteworthy that the author introduces the topic through the case of Schleswig Holstein, while locating the plot in Denmark which, at the moment the novel was published, held the region in its possession following the Three Years' War. Although the novel pictures Denmark, in contrast to the US and the rest of the American Hemisphere, as a place where racial prejudices are not felt very strongly, Mrs. Liebenhoff's remarks on Schleswig Holstein's independence signal that the novel does not completely disregard Denmark's position as an imperial power in possession of several colonies, including Zoë's home island St. Croix. It should also be noted that in 1848/49, Denmark, like many other regions in Europe, was home to revolutionary movements. While the upheavals of the Danish liberals were not as bloodstained as elsewhere in Europe, the consequences of the Danish liberal revolution were multifold and included the end of the 188 years of absolute monarchy in Denmark, the establishment of the constitutional monarchy, and the abolition of slavery in Danish West Indies (Sperber).

"apprise him of the traitorous design of Görgei" (Livermore, Vol. 1 178). For a long time, it remained customary in the literature of the era to depict Artúr Görgei, to whom Kossuth had handed over the authority before fleeing to the Ottoman Empire and who later capitulated to the Russians, in a bad light if not blatantly as a traitor to the Hungarian Revolution. Almost a decade after Livermore's novel, the British novelist Anne Manning would refer to the Hungarian general as "the green-eyed monster" who "was bitterly envious of Kossuth, although he had drawn him from obscurity, and opened him the way of fame" (245-87).[8] The almost simultaneous introduction of Görgei and Kossuth to Livermore's novel functions likewise to celebrate Kossuth even further. Mrs. Liebenhoff defends Kossuth's decision to yield power to the younger general even at the sake of the revolution:

> true to his Christian and republican principles, [Kossuth] refused to appropriate his own person and dignity and rule which, to his ideal, was inconsistent with strict justice to his compatriots.… [S]uch unflinching devotion to a high sentiment, though apparently it may result in disaster at the time, will bring about in the end a higher good than any could be gained by a most conscientious departure from it. (Livermore, Vol. 1 178)

These remarks also allow the novel to pronounce the Hungarian Revolution unfinished. Through Mrs. Liebenhoff's words, the novel declares it almost a divine ordinance that the revolution will eventually bear the palm.

The rest of the conversation goes practically as a monologue by Liebenhoff, who gives a lengthy response to Holberg's inquiry about the Hungarian teacher's age, beginning: "O anywhere between five and five thousand!" (Livermore, Vol. 1 178). The remainder of this obscure answer depicts the Hungarian revolutionary assuming the forms of various biblical figures including Abraham, Joseph, Moses, David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and John the Baptist through several centuries, portraying the Magyar meandering in the desert in search of the promised land. She concludes:

> He is the Wandering Jew *par excellence*, not the vulgar, stale idea of one… who scoffed at our Saviour on his way to the cross…, but the true, sublime… and at last purified and Christianized Israelite, who is to bring the millions of his countrymen… into the light, joy, peace, and full satisfaction of Christ's kingdom. I doubt whether his eye is opened to the view of his glorious destiny; but I know it, and rejoice that it is so. (Livermore, Vol. 1 178)

These allusions to biblical figures in the novel's portrayal of the Hungarian teacher—who is called, the reader later finds out, Ben Ezra—signal different qualities that the narrative attributes to its fictitious Hungarian revolutionary character. However, it is the reference to the myth of the "wandering Jew" that is persistently emphasized in almost all the following mentions of Ben Ezra. This insistent imagery in the narrative's employment of the theme of the Hungarian Revolution through a character that both

8 Of course, not all early fictional and non-fictional accounts of the Hungarian Revolution depicted Görgei negatively. In The Red, White, and Green (1901), for instance, English author Herbert Hayens depicts Görgei in a heroic fashion.

functions as an allusion to Kossuth and is depicted through the figure of the "wandering Jew" poses a curious case, an in-depth analysis of which requires at least a brief overview of the mid-nineteenth-century meanings of the myth of the "wandering Jew," especially in association with the European Revolutions of 1848/49, the myth's origins, and its employment in the context of what is commonly called the "Jewish Question."

2. The "Wandering Jew" and the Revolutions of 1848/49

The "wandering Jew" (also known as the "eternal Jew" or Ahasuerus[9]) refers to a myth concerning a Jewish man who is believed to have cursed Jesus on the way to crucifixion and, thus, been condemned to wander around the world until the second coming of Jesus. The exact origins of the "wandering Jew" are not clear.[10] What is known for sure is that the mythical figure began to gain popularity in the Middle Ages in Europe, especially "in the learned and quasi-learned literature" (Anderson 201). This popularization continued for centuries not only in the oral and written accounts by people claiming to have seen the suffering man in different European lands but also in more established literature, particularly in romantic poems and novels. Most famously, the French author Eugène Sue published his *Le Juif Errant* (1844) which was translated to English the same year. Some decades later, the Unitarian minister Moncure Daniel Conway wrote a theological book in the US with the same title in English.

Nineteenth century references to the "wandering Jew" diverted from the Christian accounts of otherworldly encounters with the legendary figure. Instead, the "wandering Jew" became a symbolical stock character that allowed for various reactions to the so-called Jewish Question, best known from Bruno Bauer's *Die Judenfrage* and Karl Marx's response to it, *Zur Judenfrage*. Having been oppressed and discriminated against all over Europe through various laws and restrictions, Jewish populations were influenced by the flame kindled with the first French Revolution leading to hefty debates on Jewish emancipation and equal enfranchisement. Many of such deliberations nurtured anti-Semitic discourses, paving the way perhaps to the darkest events in recent history.[11] Although this malignant trajectory as well as the persistent impacts of methodological nationalism together still serve to blur it, the question originated and

9 "[T]he story of the Eternal Jew first gained popularity in the 17th Century when a [sic] in Leyden appeared a printed pamphlet saying that the bishop of Schleswig had met the Wandering Jew in Hamburg in 1542 and the Jew's name was Ahasuerus." This is also the name by which the king of Persia is referred to in the Book of Ezra, an association between the myth of the wandering Jew and the Hebrew Bible which probably inspired Livermore to call her fictional Jewish character "Ben Ezra" —i.e. son of Ezra—(Idalovichi 4).

10 Probably the clearest references to the myth in the Christian scripts are the following passages in the New Testament: "If I will that he remains until I come, what is that to you?" (John 21.22f. qtd in Brichetto); "There are those standing here who shall not taste of death until they see the Son of Man coming with his kingdom" (Matt. 16:28 qtd in Brichetto). However, there are disagreements over the meanings of these passages and their interpretations are better left to theologians.

11 "The myth of the 'Eternal Jew' is best known in the 20th Century through its revival in the NSDAP propaganda film 'Der ewige Jude.' This film was a Nazi interpretation of the powerful age-old legend of the Eternal or Wandering Jew (Göttingen, 1995). [T]he Eternal Jew Myth was a powerful tool used by National-Socialist propaganda to justify the persecution of the Jews and prepare the masses for the forthcoming Holocaust" (Idalovichi 5).

circulated "in a vast area inhabited by thousands of Jewish communities" (Baron 195), making it not only a relevant but also urgent matter for the revolutionary movements of 1848/49. Against the anti-Semitic sectarian responses, diverging positive reactions to this pressing question, too, were produced.[12] Notwithstanding the nature of the answer given, intellectuals in Europe and the US employed the figure of the "wandering Jew" to address the "Jewish Question."[13]

Inspired by the events of 1848/49, authors on both sides of the Atlantic in the mid-nineteenth century saw a parallel among the eternal suffering of the "wandering Jew," the search for a collective Jewish identity, longing for the promised motherland in Palestine, and the revolutionary struggles for national independence in Europe.[14] Baron poetically summarizes these inspirations: "[T]he very struggle for emancipation appeared to some sensitive souls as the expression of a newly awakened tiredness of the 'Wandering Jew' with his perennial homelessness" (247). To demonstrate how this analogy entered German language revolutionary literature of the era, he refers to the Austrian poet Moritz Hartmann's *Reimchronik des Pfaffen Maurizius* (1849):

> Jetzt steh ich da der Güter baar
> Kein Jude mehr, doch ein Magyar...
> Gib eine Muskete mir in die Hand,
> Auf dass ich Fühle, dass endlich ich fand
> Was lange mir fehlte, ein Vaterland,
> Und wenn ich's auch fühle in blutigem Sand.

12 "The myth of the Wandering Jew underwent a metamorphosis in Western literature at the hands of some English, German, and later American Romanticists—perhaps for the first time assuming an almost sympathetic mantel." Idalovichi ties these raising sympathies to the "changes in the physical appearance" and the "enhanced social and economic status" of the Jewry. Besides some texts by English authors and poets such as Percy Bysshe Shelley's Prometheus Unbound (1819) and Lord Byron's Cain: A Mystery (1821), Idalovichi briefly studies Hermann Melville's 1876 Clarel: A Poem and a Pilgrimage in the Holy Land as nineteenth-century texts where the figure of the "wandering Jew" appears with positive connotations (9-12).

13 Alexander Scheiber in his 1954 article, where he catalogues references in Hungarian texts to the figure of the "wandering Jew," writes that it was in 1811 the "Wandering Jew as a simile first emerged in Hungarian literature in the drama 'Monostori Veronka' of Joseph Katona" and the 1840 political pamphlet "A zsidok emancipatioja" ("The Emancipation of the Jews") by Joseph Eötvös also included this legend (222).

14 The same parallels also led to anti-Semitist allusions to the legend of the "wandering Jew." Mischa Honeck summarizes these ideas and their transatlantic circulations through the figure of German patriarch Wilhelm Marr clearly: "The boisterous rise of a new, competitive nationalism triggered the development of more-aggressive racial ideologies, including anti-Semitism.… [A]ssociations of Jewishness with capitalist exploitation were common in popular left-wing rhetoric. Quite a few Forty Eighters, moreover, resorted to negative stereotypes such as that of the 'wandering Jew' to express fears of homelessness and isolation in exile. One who went yet further was Wilhelm Marr, the patriarch of modern German anti-Semitism. A radical democrat who fought for a unified German republic in 1848, Marr turned into a vicious antiblack racist and anti-Semite after spending ten years in the United States and Central America. Adapting racial ideas to traditionally religious anti-Jewish discourses upon his return to Germany, Marr set the tone for future exclusionist theories and exemplified the ways in which racial belief systems from both sides of the Atlantic could overlap and influence each other" (184).

With such associations between the legend of the "wandering Jew" and revolutions in Europe already existing in the literature of the era, it is no surprise that American authors might have seen a parallel between the "wandering Jew" and Kossuth's status in the US as an exile. It is through this chain of associations that the Hungarian revolutionary character enters into Livermore's abolitionist novel as an embodiment of the "wandering Jew."

3. Converting the "Wandering Jew"

It is, of course, impossible to dismiss the anti-Semitic undertones in any texts that refers to the "wandering Jew," even when the figure emerges with positive connotations. Livermore's 1855 novel with its emphatically equalitarian tenor utilizes this problematic figure to contribute to its millennial vision of liberty to all people and nations under a united Christian Republic. In doing so, like Hartman's poem, Livermore's novel symbolically converts the "wandering Jew" into Christianity. Yet, it is not only the "wandering Jew" who is "Christianized" in *Zoë*. Through this legendary figure, the character Ben Ezra, whose image often intermingles with that of Kossuth, also becomes Christianized. However, it should be underlined that Christianity in Livermore's novel does necessarily not appear only as a religious affiliation. Ben Ezra, for instance, is depicted as "a Hungarian, which means noble; a Jew, which means acute in reading hidden meanings; a Christian, which makes him universal, and a German which means *gemutlich*" all at the same time (Livermore, Vol. 1 252). Rather, Christianity is understood as a quality of the individual's relationship with god and nature, as often regarded in transcendentalist writing as a philosophy that "places[s] God within the world and within each person rather than outside humankind's experience and knowledge" (Myerson et al xxiv). Therefore, Christianity does not necessarily exclude other religious affiliations, as one national belonging doesn't exclude another.

At the end of the first volume, upon hearing Zoë's intention to leave Denmark, Ben Ezra reveals his love for the young woman, who does not give him any assurance that she will wait for him in St. Croix. After this incident, the novel appears to have forgotten about Ben Ezra, creating the impression that the nonverbal rejection by Zoë, who, the novel ardently implies, is destined to die, constitutes the final chapter of their love. Yet, shortly before Zoë passes, Ben Ezra is reintroduced to the plot via a letter by Mrs. Lindsey to her husband. Mr. Lindsey is a Unitarian man who, much like Mrs. Liebenhoff and Mrs. Lindsey, helps to cultivate Zoë's transcendentalist vision of the Christian Republic. It is months after their common maritime journey, while visiting Zoë on her death bed, Mr. Lindsey reads Zoë the letter by his wife who informs her husband of her new friend. As the letter progresses, the reader discovers that this friend is Ben Ezra, whom Mrs. Lindsey also describes as the "wandering Jew":[15]

15 Ben Ezra introduces himself to Mrs. Lindsey with a letter from a common friend called, Mr. Fielding. As namedrops are not uncommon in Livermore's novel, where many names of US literature and philosophy are mentioned one after another, it is possible that this common friend is Joseph Fielding of the Latter-Day Saints movement, a nineteenth century leader of today's Mormonism. Such an allusion would be in line with the similarities between Livermore's transcendentalist take on the European Revolutions as some sort of second coming of Jesus and Mormon interpretation of the same events (see the following).

> I remembered the story of the 'Wandering Jew'… and I then knew that this man was no other than he,… said to myself, how long will men cling to the worn-out creeds and parchments of the past, and not see that in the religion of Jesus is the cure of all life's ills…! For if he would but receive this later gift of God in its purity and extent, then would he be relieved from his imaginary curse and be at rest from his wanderings. (Livermore, Vol. 1 296-97)

Later in the letter, it is revealed that Ben Ezra, who had left Denmark following Zoë's departure, has also left the US after learning that Zoë is in St. Croix. Yet, by the time he finds Zoë, she is about to have her last breath.

Even before Zoë falls sick, the reader is acquainted with the idea that her death will be a "triumph," that is, some sort of divine union with god. This is confirmed in the final pages of the novel where young Zoë's death is described as ascension to heaven. In this triumphant journey, Zoë is not left alone. Her death brings also Ben Ezra, who appears by her bedside right before she passes, closer to divinity. Interpreting his presence next to her as a call back to earth, Zoë wishes Ben Ezra to instead "ascend… to the glorified spheres" with her "where [they] will exchange with each other the *sign of the soul*." As Zoë dies, Ben Ezra disappears and "instead of him there lay upon the floor a parchment" with a verse from the first Corinthians written on it: "But when that which is perfect is come, then that which in part shall be done away" (Livermore, Vol. 2 304). This biblical verse is often interpreted as referring either to the Second Coming of Jesus or to a perfect understanding of religion usually achieved once one reaches heaven (Barnes; Dunagan). That is, in connecting Ben Ezra's ascension alongside Zoë with either the Second Coming or the idea of developing a true relationship with god, the novel implies that Ben Ezra's *eyes have finally opened* to what Mrs. Liebenhoff calls "his glorious destiny" which, the novel repeatedly suggests, would happen once he is altogether *Christianized* (Livermore, Vol. 1 178). Ben Ezra's persistent image as the "wandering Jew" penetrates into the scene of his ascension, implicating that his wanderings, his suffering, and homelessness are over.

This scene is not unfamiliar to the reader, as a similar scene depicting Ben Ezra takes place some chapters before, once Mrs. Liebenhoff publishes a manuscript which includes an illustration of the Hungarian character as

> holding cross in one hand, while a roll of parchment is lying at his feet. An intelligent-looking eagle is standing by his side, to whom he is saying, 'reverence no longer, the letter of Scripture, but imbibe its life-giving spirit, and it will point thee ever to the crucified Jesus, as the idea of human perfection, the inspirer and guide to a sublimely spiritual life and its consequent bliss.' (Livermore, Vol. 2 268-269)

4. Past and Present Revolutions

The appearance of the eagle in this scene can be interpreted in various ways: as a banal symbol of American liberty and republicanism, a Christian symbolism of strength, or, quite to the contrary, of God's punishment (Wellman). Yet, it is more likely the first, as the novel repeatedly points to the US, more specifically to Ohio, in a prophesying manner as the future birthplace of its utopian Christian Republic.

It was a common tendency in the mid-nineteenth-century US to perceive Europe of 1848/49 through the experience, memory, and legacy of its own revolutionary history. This is especially true for the Hungarian Revolution. While other movements in Europe entailed demands such as those that concerned workers' rights which were unfamiliar for the US audience, Americans found it easy to draw parallels between their revolutionary history and the Hungarian struggle for independence from a foreign monarch (Roberts, *Distant* 10). In order to address Kossuth in his visit to Philadelphia in January 1852, for example, students wrote thirty-eight essays, nineteen of which "compared Kossuth to George Washington" (Spencer 155). Michael A. Morrison quotes one such student who addresses the Magyar hero with a poem: "We honour—aye, we revere one/ In whom so brightly shine/ The virtues which made Washington/ appear almost divine" (Miss Wiley qtd. in Morrison 111). It was not only school children who evoked the image of Washington with regard to Kossuth. In his welcoming address to Kossuth at Concord, Emerson, too, declared that he spoke "the sense not only of every generous American, but the law of mind, when [he said] that it is not those who live idly in the city called after his name, but those who, all over the world, think and act like him, who can claim to explain the sentiment of Washington" (n.p.). The visual atmosphere of Kossuth's presence in the US was accompanied by similar images: "In New York hotels and saloons were adorned for Kossuth's regal processions with portraits of him and Washington, along with portraits of Lafayette, Sultan Abdulmecid, and the British Lion" (Roberts, *Distant* 154).

Livermore partakes in such republican celebrations of Kossuth by reflecting American republican values on the Hungarian hero and his cause. Although a great portion of her novel can be read as a criticism of slavery and racism directed at the US, this criticism seems to concern mostly the slaveholding Southern states. The rest of the country receives barely a miniscule of this disapproval. Especially Cincinnati is imagined as the potential birthplace of the millennial future or the salvation of all humans irrespective of race, gender, nationality, or religion, with both Ben Ezra and Zoë gesturing toward Ohio. Ohio, then, can be read—besides its significance as a hotspot for the transcendentalists of the era—as a symbol of American republican values much like the eagle that appears besides Zoë's body.

Yet, it is important to note here that the revolutionary heritage meant different things for different actors in the mid-nineteenth-century US. "It was in [the] context of declension and against [the] background of the fragmentation and sectionalization of the revolutionary heritage that Americans watched and reacted to the European revolutions of 1848" (Morrison 156). Not all who stirred images of revolutionary figures such as Washington and Lafayette in reference to Kossuth did so with the same level of enthusiasm. Some were raising criticism rather than excitement through these images, as it can be seen in Garrison's letter to Kossuth. Similarly, for some others such as the Mormon communities, American republicanism did not have celebratory tenors. Such communities looked elsewhere for references in their support and praise of the European Revolutions.

Craig Livingston suggests that it was common to tie the European Revolutions to the biblical themes of the Second Coming and salvation among Mormon communities

(while there were also some "like Apostle Willard Richards [who] regarded them as just 'anarchy' and 'commotion'"). Interpreting the desire to build republican governments as a step towards "large-scale global transformation" for a millennial future, many members of the Mormon church such as William I. Appleby and Wilford Woodruff understood the revolutions of 1848/49 as "God's work." More interestingly, they saw a connection with the question of Jewish emancipation. "The Mormon millenarian tradition stipulated that, before the Second Advent, the world must receive the chance to hear the gospel and gather to Zion." According to some readings, this would become possible only with the "[t]he rise of Jews to 'highest stations in governments [which] would lead to their restoration in Palestine." That is, the Mormons in the nineteenth century regarded a Jewish emancipation achieved through European Revolutions as a sign of the Second Coming (Livingston 86–96).

Livermore's novel does not carry undertones of Mormonism, except for a brief instance where the Mormon leader Elder Snow is mentioned as a positive influence on Stephenson. Instead, the novel shows an explicit tendency toward Unitarianism by marking most of its favored characters as of this belief. Still, one observes a clear resemblance between what Livingstone summarizes as a Mormon reception of the European Revolutions and *Zoë*'s approach to the same issue. The figure of the "wandering Jew" in *Zoë* finding its embodiment in a revolutionary Hungarian character seems to stand as a link among the European Revolutions, the Jewish question, and a transcendentalist belief in salvation. This salvation is achieved, depending on however one may interpret the redemption of the "wandering Jew" is attained, either through a perfect universal relationship among humanity, nature, and god or with the Second Coming of Jesus.

How can we read this overlap of symbolisms and simultaneous Biblical and republican allusions in Livermore's *Zoë* in the context of 1848/49 European Revolutions? More importantly, how shall we interpret the symbolic conversion of the novel's "wandering Jew" into Christianity in relation to the same character's function as an alias of Lajos Kossuth, especially given that the Hungarian revolutionary himself was already a renowned Protestant to begin with?

5. From Oriental to Occidental

Writing on traveling patterns to and from Hungary between mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, Irina C. Popova-Nowak suggests that Hungarian travelers who headed "to the West" considered themselves travelers "to the future" and those going eastward were travelers "to the past": "Hungarian travellers were convinced that learning from the West and applying this knowledge were crucial for moving upwards within the developmental scale of Europe" (221). This Hungarian imagery of the East-West axis corresponded with the American imagery thereof within which westward territorial expansion was strongly associated with progress, while the east of the Atlantic symbolized an old and outdated world divided into a similar axis between the Orient and the Occident. Within the American imagery, Hungary was place in an ambivalent position, especially following the demarcation of Vienna as the last point of the West by Prince Klemens von Metternich and the Ottoman rule in Hungary lasting from the mid-sixteenth to almost eighteenth centuries, with "a legacy of... movement between

medieval independence, possession and dispossession by eastern and western empires" (Roberts, "Lajos" 793). This vision persisted in the US through the cultural reproduction of images depicting the Ottoman Empire in an orientalized fashion (794-96).

Hungary's part in the European Revolutions of 1848/49 and demand for national independence challenged this vision, "moving the country 'westward'" in the minds of Americans (Roberts, "Lajos" 794-796). The fact that many Americans saw parallels between the revolutionary legacy of their own "Occidental" and "progressive" country and the Hungarian revolutions contributed to this westward shift. The American Quaker, abolitionist, and poet John Greenleaf Whittier's encomium of the Magyar revolutionary leader (also quoted in Roberts, "Lajos" 793) illustrates this in-between position that Hungary and Hungarian culture occupied in mid-nineteenth-century American minds. As it was common during the time of Kossuth's arrival to the US, Whittier's poem calls Kossuth a "great fugitive" looking for a refuge and finding it in the US. More significantly, the poem portrays Kossuth as "combining/ The strength of Europe with the warmth and glow/ Of Asian song and prophecy, —the shining/ Of Orient splendors over Northern snow!" Yet, it is not only the contrast between the East and the West that Whittier highlights. A similar contrast appears as the poem depicts "the Old World" as the wrongdoer and "the New World" as the fortunate receiver of "the noblest guest" (Whittier 173). For some others, however, it was surer that Kossuth was an oriental leader. Roberts describes a poster hung by Boston workers welcoming Kossuth which reads "Washington and Kossuth, the Occident and the Orient" (Roberts, "Lajos" 154-55). While Kossuth's and his comrades' struggle for liberty made them appear as part of what was perceived by Americans as the "Western" intellectual and political heritage, they could not escape being portrayed as Oriental figures that were often romanticized, at least, in sketches that vindicated their cause.

While it is not excessively emphasized, one can still decipher the tendency to define Hungary and Hungarians as in-between the Occident and the Orient in *Zoë*. Introducing a romanticized notion of a pure and biblical East, which unites enlightened and inspired "Oriental" characters with a God-given sense of empathy with people all over the world, Livermore's novel adopts an imagery of its alias for Kossuth as an Oriental to the degree that he is "a poet, full of fire and fancy, reading the hidden meanings of flowers, and trees, and symbols of every kind, as none but an Oriental can" (Livermore, Vol. 2 261). Yet, the reader cannot be certain of the origins of the Oriental tendencies of Ben Ezra, since beside at times functioning as an alias for the Hungarian revolutionary Kossuth, he is also embodied in the almost quintessentially Oriental figure of the "wandering Jew" meandering around Middle Eastern lands. Moreover, the "oriental tongue" that he teaches to Mrs. Liebenhoff is not Hungarian but Hebrew (Vol. 1 177). Still, his revolutionary persona emerges as a Westernized European. This is especially the case in the instances where his depiction is blended with the image of the Hungarian leader Kossuth who appears as a "sublime, yet humble Christian Statesman" and the "leading man of Europe" (Vol. 2 262). It is in this sense that the imagery of Hungary in Livermore's novel emerges as one that combines both the East and West within.

This Western-Eastern dualism embodied in Ben Ezra seems to serve the novel in associating its utopian vision with its unique imagination of the European Revolutions.

The utopian Christian Republic imagined in the novel, which is supposed to include all nations, appears to rely as much on the success of the European Revolutions as it does on the arrival of Zoë's manuscript to the US, as the novel appeals to Kossuth to "[f]orm Germany, Poland, Hungary… into a Christian republic, each separate state an emporium for art, or science, or learning, or morals" (Vol. 1 262). Contradicting the actual nationalist demands of the revolutionary movements, the novel perceives the European Revolutions through a version of nineteenth-century US republicanism that interprets the US as a marriage of several states under a federal government rather than the spatial and political structure of nation state. Livermore's novel reflects a nineteenth-century American tendency to regard American revolutionary and republican heritage as a dominant ideological export to Europe.

This understanding can give us some clues about the function of the symbolic conversion of Ben Ezra. The conversion and fluctuating role of Ben Ezra between the "wandering Jew" and Kossuth are at its best confusing and problematic, especially considering that the Hungarian leader was born and raised Protestant. However, reconsidering the scene of ascension not from a religious perspective but from the standpoint of American republicanism, one may fathom out that it is not Christianity as a religion but its symbolical value as a Western (that is, progressive, republican, American) philosophy that Ben Ezra's *eyes have finally opened* to. Read in this sense, Ben Ezra assumes a new role in reflecting the shift of the mid-nineteenth-century American imagery of Hungary went through with its recent revolutionary movements from an Eastern, "backward," and "belonging to the past" to Western, "progressive," and heralding the "sign of the times" that the novel promotes.

Conclusion

Each wave of a big storm reaches the shore smaller than the previous: This was surely the case for the waves of the 1848/49 European Revolutions touching the Atlantic west coast. By 1855, the European waves in the US were largely replaced by those left behind by the many hurricanes of the country's own unique political atmosphere. The popular enthusiasm felt for Kossuth had already died even before the Hungarian revolutionary left the country and final verdicts by various actors on the Magyar hero had been quite vocally announced. Neither Kossuth nor other symbolical figures of the European Revolutions of 1848/49 seemed to raise much public or political interest in a country that was unknowingly yet rapidly moving toward one of the most defining incidents of its history.

In this article, I have sought to unsettle this narrative of fading relevance of the revolution in the face of sectional conflict. Scrutinizing a rather unknown novel and contextualizing it in larger cultural, social, and political framework, I have shown that the theme of European Revolutions not only remained relevant but also proved inspirational for the literature of the US in understanding the events, circumstances, and experiences of their time and location. Engaging itself in various different yet interrelated discussions simultaneously and employing a rich range of imagery, Livermore's *Zoë* provides wealthy material to study, beside the continuing influence of the 1848/49 Revolutions, divergent American reactions to these revolutions, especially to the Hungarian Revolution and Kossuth, as well as different imagery and

imaginations that these events and figures triggered in American literature. More significantly, the novel poses a distinctive example of how Americans employed and appropriated imageries, symbols, and issues raised in the European context during the mid-nineteenth century, while interpreting the European Revolution of 1848/49 in American terms and addressing pressing concerns and debates directly engaging their own country.

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