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Introduction: *Monuments, Museums and Murals: Preservation, Commemoration and American Identity*

Nisa Harika Güzel Köşker

This issue of the *Journal of American Studies of Turkey* is dedicated to the papers presented at the 39th International American Studies Conference held by the American Studies Association of Turkey (ASAT). The theme of the conference was "Monuments, Museums and Murals: Preservation, Commemoration and American Identity" and it was co-hosted by ASAT and Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, with the sponsorship of the United States Embassy, Ankara, between May 15 and 17, 2019. Our three-day conference consisted of dozens of panels and workshops dealing with all aspects of American Studies. It included presenters and attendees from all over the world, in addition to numerous students from Çanakkale University itself. A keynote speech by Native American artist and activist Heidi K. Brandow and a performance by local musicians were among the highlights of the conference.

The theme of our conference was inspired by the current controversies that are playing out in the United States today.* The American Civil War may have ended in 1865, but in many respects it is still being fought, over 150 years later. Ongoing battles over the Confederate flag and the recent Confederate monument controversy suggest that many of the wounds of the war, especially those related to race, class and gender, are still far from being healed. Clearly, what led to the Civil War is still dividing the nation: Americans are not only grappling with a future vision for the country, but are also struggling with the past. What are considered by some to be markers of cultural

* The following two paragraphs come from our call for papers, which can be found at: http://asat-jast.org/index.php/previous-conferences/2019-asat-conference/2019-conference-information (used with permission).

heritage are for many others painful symbols of the violent history of the United States, a nation that was built on the exploitation of African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans and other minority groups. As William Faulkner expresses in his 1951 novel *Requiem for a Nun*, "The past is never dead. It's not even past." It lingers like a ghost over the present and the future, haunting Americans and urging them to come to terms with its countless meanings and manifestations.

If "we are what we remember" then who are Americans exactly? Is what we remember just as important as how we remember it? American identity is closely invested in commemoration; national holidays, for example, construct a common past in a country of immigrants without a common past. They help make sense out of distant events, reinforce collective "values" in the present, and theoretically map out a shared future. Yet, those aspects of "history" that are (or are not) chosen for display in a museum, preservation in an archive, depiction in a work of art, or narration in a work of literature also speak volumes about a nation and its people. They remind us that there are always many competing, and often contradictory, histories, and that the past is truly never dead.

Our conference brought together a diversity of papers on the practices of memory, monument building and mural paintings with a marked emphasis on nostalgia for the past, shared cultural, national, and transnational memories, and multifarious forms of commemoration and preservation. Over the past few decades, the term memory has been a resourceful framework for interdisciplinary studies in a variety of academic fields. Studies on acts of remembrance have offered critical venues for both authors and scholars to highlight questions about the ramifications of individual, public, local, national, and transnational memory. The term "memory" itself has also been problematized with respect to the manifold roles it has played in the struggles of nations and nation building throughout history. Though memory connotes struggles for recollecting the past, it also became an effort to define and give shape to the present and future of a nation. Monuments, museums, archives, murals, distinct written or oral forms of documentation, and other practices of commemoration and preservation, all appear as vital means of nation building and history making. In a Nietzschean sense, all of these practices take us to the complicated dynamic between remembrance and forgetfulness, or in a Freudian sense, remind us of the agonizing states of mourning and melancholia.

One of the greatest incongruities in US history is the prominence given to the idea of national identity and national unity at times when a range of divisions emerged in the nation's political agenda and social life. In the history of the United States, memory, as a collectively shared picture of the past, underlines attempts not only to construe the American national identity, but also to construct national recovery. This consciousness concerning memory has laid bare the agonizing wounds of wars, disintegrations, and separations in a multicultural society, where the past is molded largely by a recollection and rumination of wounds and conflicts around questions of race, gender, class, and the consequences of national identity. This very consciousness also introduced Americans to the process of attaining a collective psychological recuperation through distinct therapeutic means like erecting monumental representations of the past as epitomes of cultural heritage. Out of such paradoxes have surfaced national imaginings through which the people of the United States have built numerous institutions and intelligible forms of collective memory, varying from literature and film, to museums and monuments.

This issue of the *Journal of American Studies of Turkey* features selected articles from our conference that meet at the intersections of American identity and memory, history, cultural, literary, and film studies. In the first article, "Troubling Memories?: The German-American Heritage Museum of the USA and the Memory of the Holocaust," Julia Lange examines German American heritage museums by providing detailed insight into German American self-presentations through the medium of museums. Her article questions the representation of the past at German American sites of memory and permanent exhibitions, as well as the politics of the German American Heritage Museum, including the museum's representational politics. Seda Şen's article, "Towards a Collective Memorial: American Poetry After the Attacks on the World Trade Center, NYC," explores poems written in response to the World Trade Center attacks on September 11, 2001. She argues that these poems both document a crucial historical moment in the United States and construct spaces of commemoration. Her analysis exposes how these poems become therapeutic agents while recovering from this national trauma. In the third article "'What are the Irish Catholics Fighting for?': The *Pilot*'s Creation of an Alternative Archive to American Nativist Amnesia during the Civil War," Gamze Katı Gümüş investigates an Irish ethnic newspaper, the *Boston Pilot*,

as a critical institution in the formation of identity politics for Irish American people in the United States. Her article illustrates that the newspaper, replete with its own schemes of commemoration, acts as an alternative archival organization that opposes the hegemonic archive, especially in processes where the power of the archive imposes its influence on the perception of readers as a bulwark against amnesia.

In her article "Crossing the Boundaries, Blurring the Boundaries: The Museum of Jurassic Technology as a Postmodern American Space," Ece Saatçıoğlu emphasizes the subversive nature of the Museum of Jurassic Technology in Los Angeles, California. She argues that objects on display raise questions concerning their plausibility in relation to the concepts of the museum, history, art, culture, and science. Her analysis illuminates how ephemeral artifacts transform into precious sources of American identity, and in the process, blur and transcend the boundaries between reality and fantasy. İdil Didem Keskiner, in "(De)construction of American Masculinity Through Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Bobbie Ann Mason's *In Country*," questions the disruptive nature of normative gender roles in relation to constructs of American masculinity in Bobbie Ann Mason's novel *In Country* (1985). Her analysis elucidates the destruction of the image of the American war hero in the Vietnam War and problematizes the possible healing processes suggested by the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Finally, my article, "The Female Body and Female Spectatorship in the American Silent Movie *Love 'em and Leave 'em*," analyzes phallocentric monumental representations of the female body in relation to the function of the male gaze and female spectatorship in *Love 'em and Leave 'em* (1926). The article interrogates the intriguing ways in which this American silent movie subverts the phallocentric cinematic diegesis in scenes of parody against patriarchal ideologies that aim to create oppressive gender constructs. Clearly, all of these articles in this issue help to clarify the collective memories of Americans in distinct terms. They critically examine the processes that compose the dynamics of remembrance, amnesia, commemoration, preservation, and therapeutic recovery, excavating them from the traumas of history.

Finally, I would personally like to thank the conference presenters and authors for their contributions to the larger discussion of the ways in which the United States remembers and preserves its past through the rituals of memory, commemoration, and forgetfulness. On behalf of American Studies Association of Turkey, I would especially

like to express our gratitude to all the anonymous peer reviewers for their input and contributions, to our previous *JAST* editors Özlem Uzundemir and Berkem Gürenci Sağlam and to the present *JAST* editors Defne Ersin Tutan and Selen Aktari Sevgi for their support of this, the fifty-third issue of the *Journal of American Studies of Turkey*.

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Troubling Memories?:

The German-American Heritage Museum of the U.S.A. and the Memory of the Holocaust

Julia Lange

Abstract

The recognition politics of German-American activists and their ethnic organizations have been marked by significant successes since the late 1980s. The opening of the German-American Heritage Museum of the U.S.A. (GAHM) in Washington, D.C. in 2010 is a symptom and continuation of these intensified visibility politics aimed at raising the symbolic capital of German-American ethnicity. By closely examining the representations of National Socialism and the Second World War in the GAHM's permanent exhibition and its wider cultural programs, including its temporary exhibitions, this paper sheds light on the museum's problematic memory politics which stand in direct competition with the one pursued by the nearby United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Whereas attempts at confronting the German National Socialist past have been intensified by the museum's leadership in more recent years, the existence of pro-Nazi German-American groups still remains silenced in the museum. German-American identity politics and the dynamics of Holocaust memory are intricately interrelated, I argue, with the latter not impeding but, paradoxically, rather catalyzing the former's strength.

Keywords: German Americans, Ethnic Museums, Identity Politics, World War II, Holocaust Memory

Sakıncalı Anılar?:

Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Alman-Amerikalı Miras Müzesi ve Holokost Deneyimi

Öz

1980'lerin sonlarından bu yana Alman-Amerikalı aktivistlerin ve etnik organizasyonların tanıma politikaları önemli başarılara imza atmıştır. Washington D.C.'deki Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Alman-Amerikalı Miras Müzesi'nin 2010 yılındaki açılışı Alman-Amerikalı etnik kökeninin sembolik sermayesini arttırmayı hedefleyen bu yoğun görünürlük politikalarının bir göstergesi ve devamı niteliğindedir. Bu çalışma, müzenin kalıcı ve geçici sergilerini de kapsayan geniş kültürel programlarında Nasyonel Sosyalizm'in ve İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın temsilini inceleyerek, yakınlarındaki Birleşik Devletler Holokost Anma Müzesi'yle doğrudan rekabet içinde olan müzenin, sorunlu hafıza politikalarına ışık tutacaktır. Son yıllarda müzenin liderliğinde Alman Nasyonel Sosyalist geçmişiyle yüzleşme çabaları yoğunlaşsa da, Nazi yanlısı Alman-Amerikalı grupların varlığı halen göz ardı edilmektedir. Alman-Amerikalı kimlik politikaları ve Holokost deneyimi dinamikleri arasında karmaşık bir ilişki vardır. Holokost deneyimi sanıldığı gibi Alman-Amerikalı kimlik politikalarına sekte vurmaz, aksine onları güçlendirir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Alman-Amerikalılar, Etnik Müzeler, Kimlik Politikaları, İkinci Dünya Savaşı, Holokost Deneyimi

The recognition politics of German-American activists and their ethnic organizations have been marked by considerable successes since the 1980s.[1] In 1983, the three-hundredth anniversary of German immigration to America was celebrated in the United States on a na-

tion-wide scale, in 1987 a German-American Day was first proclaimed by U.S. President Ronald Reagan and has been celebrated on a yearly basis ever since, in 1988 a German-American Friendship Garden was inaugurated in close proximity to the White House on the National Mall, and in the year 2000 the Hermann Monument in New Ulm, Minnesota, was recognized by the U.S. Congress as "a national symbol for the contributions of Americans of German heritage" (House Con. Res.). Last but not least, in 2010, the first national German-American Heritage Museum of the U.S.A. was officially opened in Washington, D.C. The latter's objective was to increase the visibility of German Americans as an ethnic group in the nation's capital and to raise public awareness for German-American contributions to American society.

The German-American Heritage Museum of the U.S.A. (GAHM), although the first German-American museum with the ambition to tell the history of German-Americana on a national scale, was albeit not the first heritage museum to be opened in the United States by German Americans. Already in the 1920s, a small museum by today's name of Landis Valley Village & Farm Museum was founded in the city of Lancaster in Pennsylvania to preserve the Pennsylvania German material culture and heritage ("Site").[2] In the following decades, especially in the wake of the ethnic revival and roots movement of the 1970s and 80s (cf. Novak; Glazer and Moynihan; Jacobson), several more German-American heritage museums with a focus on local history emerged. Most of these museums were initiated by self-commemorative collectives with the intention of celebrating the history of a political unit (e.g. Cincinnati), a religious group (e.g. the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church), or an ethnic (sub-)group (e.g. the Germans from Russia) (cf. Hobbie x). In the wake of the memory and museum boom of the 1990s and 2000s (cf. Winter), the first larger German-American heritage museums with a regional focus and an objective of highlighting the manifold contributions of German Americans to the development of the United States were opened in cities with a traditionally large number of German-American inhabitants such as Chicago (Illinois), Cincinnati (Ohio), and Davenport (Iowa).[3] Whereas heritage museums founded by German Americans prior to the 1990s pursued the objective of celebrating and raising awareness for the history of German settlement and their religious, political and cultural practices in specific locales, the newer German-American museums set themselves the task of providing an overview of German-American

contributions to the U.S. nation and its various states. Notably, and perhaps contrary to expectations, it was thus not the ethnic revival and the roots movement of the 1970s which spurred the creation of higher-profile German-American heritage museums, but a post-Cold War setting that provided the context for the emergence of German-American sites of memory aimed at acquainting larger audiences with a contributionist history of German-Americana on a regional and national scale. Whereas other European-American ethnic groups such as the Swedish Americans and Ukrainian Americans opened their own ethnic heritage museums with a regional and national orientation as early as the 1970s and 80s, comparable German-American heritage museums were not to emerge as a cultural phenomenon until the mid-1990s and thereafter.[4] What accounts for this alternative trajectory and time lag in German-American self-presentation in the medium of museums, one may wonder? And which narratives about the (ethnic) past are transmitted at these German-American sites of memory?

German-American Heritage Museums and Their Politics Of Memory

German-American heritage museums and their memory politics have so far received only scant scholarly attention. This is especially true with regard to the discursive construction of the two world wars. Although a few, mostly journalistic, articles on German-American museums have indeed been published (e.g. Tolzmann; Grow; Koch), these mostly abstain from analyzing the exhibition spaces from a critical vantage point and rather tend to advertise the respective museums as valuable and long-due additions to the American cultural landscape.[5]

This paper aims to contribute towards closing this research lacuna by means of a case study on one of the largest and arguably best-noted German-American heritage museums in the United States: the German-American Heritage Museum of the U.S.A. in Washington, D.C. By closely investigating the discursive strategies at work in the permanent exhibition as well as its wider cultural program, including its temporary exhibitions, I intend to shed light on the problematic employment of history at this German-American site of memory.[6]

Ethnic museums function as media of collective memory that

collect (and hence select), preserve, and disseminate knowledge about the collective experience of ethnic groups to a larger public. Mediating between the collective past and the present, they simultaneously reflect, stabilize and also actively shape (local) ethnic collective identity by offering meaningful narratives about the ethnic group's past to their visitors.[7] In our present moment driven by competitive identity politics,[8] ethnic museums participate in managing the public image of minorities in the public sphere and act as potential purveyors of ethnic pride (Conn 479-85).

To meet above stated research objective, I essentially explore three related questions. First, which narratives about the Second World War does the German-American Heritage Museum of the U.S.A. promote in its permanent exhibition? Second, which narratives about World War II does the GAHM transmit in its wider cultural program, including its temporary exhibitions, and how has the museum's representational politics changed over time? And, third, how is the GAHM's founding history and agenda entangled with other socio-political and cultural discourses, especially with the rising importance of the Holocaust in American life? More precisely, to what extent does the GAHM perpetuate memories that compete with those constructed by Jewish-American institutions about the German(-American) past?

The German-American Heritage Museum of the U.S.A.

The German-American Heritage Museum of the U.S.A. (GAHM) is based in Washington, D.C. and run by the German-American Heritage Foundation of the U.S.A. (GAHFUSA). The organization was officially founded in Philadelphia (PA) in 1977 as the United German-American Committee (UGAC), but was renamed in 2006 into the German-American Heritage Foundation of the U.S.A. Basically continuing its agenda from the late 1970s, the now Washington-based non-profit organization describes itself as "the national membership association for German-American heritage" whose main objective is to cultivate "a greater awareness for German-American heritage and history through outreach efforts that deepen cultural understanding" ("Welcome"). The organization's plans for its own museum came to fruition in March 2010 when the GAHM was officially opened to the public. The museum is housed at the organization's headquarters in

Washington, D.C.'s Penn Quarter in a townhouse called Hockemeyer Hall. The latter was fittingly built in 1888 by a German immigrant by the name of Hockemeyer, who went on to become a successful merchant in America, in what had once been the old European-American section of Washington, D.C. ("History"). In 2008, Hockemeyer Hall was acquired by the GAHFUSA with the intention of creating the first "national" German-American museum on American soil. As explained on the museum's website, the organization "opened the German-American Heritage Museum (GAHM) as the first national inspiration for German-American heritage and culture. The GAHM tells the story of all Americans of German-speaking ancestry and how they helped shape our great nation today" ("About Us"). The term "national" thus carries a double significance in this context: first, in the sense of a museum that functions as the main, i.e. central, institution for the representation of German-American history in the United States and, second, in the sense of a museum that focuses on German-American history as it evolved on a national as opposed to regional or local scale. More specifically, the museum's function and mission are defined by the GAHFUSA as "to collect, record, preserve and exhibit the rich cultural legacy of Americans of German-speaking ancestry and make their contributions to American history available to audiences of all ages" ("Museum"). In line with this mission statement, the museum covers German-American history from the early phase of German immigration to America, starting in 1607, up to current times with a strong emphasis on contributionist narratives that underscore the positive impact Americans of German descent have had on the development of the U.S. nation. In other words, the museum is indicative of the increasing – and increasingly successful – recognition and symbolic politics on the part of German-American activists since the 1980s, which was, and still is, aimed at raising the public profile of German-Americans as an ethnic group.

The GAHM is open to the public four days a week from 11am to 5pm, excluding Mondays and the weekend when the facility is closed. Since its opening in 2010, the GAHM's permanent exhibition has changed only very little. However, several temporary exhibitions of a wide thematic variety, all of them concerning German-Americana, have been launched at the museum over the years. The GAHFUSA regularly hosts special cultural programs such as lectures, *Stammtisch* nights and, more recently, cooking events, yoga practices, and German

language classes on its premises. Once a year, a festive black tie gala is held to honor an outstanding American of German descent. In 2018, German-born entrepreneur and investor Peter Thiel received the award of "Distinguished German-American of the Year" ("Peter").

Located at 719 6th Street, NW, the mere location of the GAHM is significant as it is situated only a few blocks away from the National Mall and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). Due to their geographical proximity, the GAHM and the USHMM thus stand in a dialogic relationship, which does not only materialize on a spatial but also on content level as both museums deal with German history. Immediately after its opening in March 2010, a staff writer from *The Washington Post* surmised that the new German-American heritage museum in the nation's capital may have been intended as a riposte to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum on the National Mall (Fisher, "German-American"). The museum's director Rüdiger Lentz, a journalist and former Bureau Chief for *Deutsche Welle Radio and Television* in Washington, D.C., was quick to refute these suspicions by means of a published reply to the *Washington Post*'s compromising article in which he vehemently disputed any connection between the GAHM and the USHMM. Copies of Lentz' reply were made available at the GAHM as take-away leaflets for visitors in the first few weeks after the opening of the GAHM (Lentz, "Origins"). Even today, the GAHFUSA stresses the prime location of the GAHM on its website by pointing to its "close proximity to the National Archives, the National Portrait Gallery and the Newseum" ("About Us"). The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is conspicuously absent from this list. The posited connection between the two memory sites is further corroborated by the fact that "the idea of creating a museum to represent German-American history" was first raised by UGAC/GAHFUSA leaders in the year 1993, i.e. the very year the USHMM was officially opened to the public ("A Celebration"). Although this circumstance certainly does not prove an underlying connection between the two memory sites, it at least invites some reflection on the temporal coincidence between German-American activists' decision to promote their own version of German-American history in a museum setting and the simultaneous institutionalization of Holocaust memory in the nation's capital. In light of the (West) German government's efforts under Chancellor Kohl to influence the representation of German history in the USHMM (cf. Eder 84-129) and the decades-long fight on

the part of several larger German-American organizations, including the UGAC/GAHFUSA, against anti-German sentiment and stereotypical depictions of German(-American)s in the U.S.-American media (cf. Schuldiner; Lange, "How"), the notion of the GAHM's function as a platform for voicing alternative views on German(-American) history that would challenge those of the USHMM appears even less far-fetched.

Leaving the question of intentionality – i.e. the disputed question of whether the GAHM was meant to serve as an intended riposte to the USHMM or not – aside, the content of the GAHM's permanent exhibition itself offers enough cause for disturbance. Concisely put, the GAHM constructs a completely positive discourse on German-American ethnic history, promotes the image of a modern, democratic, and tourist-friendly contemporary Germany and thus opts for a version of the German(-American) past and present that stands in stark contrast to the one mediated at the USHMM.[9] Notably, positive contributions of Americans of German descent to American politics, society, and culture are highlighted within the GAHM's permanent exhibition as are the strong traditions of German-American cultural and singing clubs. At the same time, references to pro-Nazi rallies of German-American organizations in the years prior to the United States' entry into the Second World War, as in the notorious case of the German-American Bund at Madison Square Garden in New York City in 1939 (cf. Diamond; Wilhelm), are completely missing, including in the section dedicated to German-American ethnic history during World War II. Furthermore, on an information panel entitled "Germans in Exile: Forced Immigration During the Third Reich," which deals with the period of National Socialism after 1933, the mediated narratives exclusively focus on German-American heroism, opposition, and victimization at the expense of more problematic accounts of German-America's role during National Socialism. For instance, the concerted and ultimately successful efforts of the German-Jewish exile and founder of *Universal Studios*, Carl Laemmle, to sponsor affidavits for more than three-hundred persecuted German citizens, who were subsequently allowed entry into the United States as refugees, get recounted ("Germans"). In another information panel, visitors are presented with a narrative about the heroism, opposition, and victimization of Carl-Otto Kiep, a German General Consul in New York. Kiep had to give up his diplomatic post, allegedly due to an utterance he made about Albert Einstein's immigration quoted in the

exhibit as being "Your gain is our loss!" ("Germans"). Back in Germany, Kiep was executed for his active role in the resistance movement, as the panel further explains. Although the related facts are correct, the representation of the National Socialist era at the German-American Heritage Museum is still disconcerting. By stressing the heroic and laudable efforts of a prominent German American, who was himself a Jewish refugee and hence a victim of National Socialism, as well as the execution of a leading German diplomat and resistance fighter at the hands of the German government a skewed picture of the German-American past during the National Socialist period is ultimately produced as the existence of pro-Nazi groups on American territory, a chapter just as relevant to German-American history, is at the same time completely omitted from the exhibition's discourse.

The representation of today's Germany and of the German nation state at the GAHM is similarly restricted to a thoroughly positive image that focuses on German hospitality, its rich culture, and scenic landscapes. In tune with this romanticized depiction of today's Germany, negative chapters of German history are discursively transformed into a positively connoted transatlantic narrative. A panel on German political emigration after 1933, for instance, makes a point of reinterpreting this history as an example of a 400-year-long productive German-American cultural exchange: "[…] the political refugees are a shining testament to the positive cultural exchange that has gone on between the United States and Germany for over 400 years" ("Germans"). In an adjacent panel, the larger historical trajectory of the transatlantic relationship between Germany and the United States is summoned and the shift to a unified, democratic Germany emphasized: "World War II ended 65 years ago. Since then former enemies have become allies, even friends. Germany […] is reunited. Its political stability and economic power have gained it worldwide respect" ("Partners"). Further down in the same text, the political transformation the German state underwent is underscored via a parallelism with the United States and an emphasis on the country's transition from a society of emigrants to one of immigrants: "Today's Germany is no longer a major emigration country. In fact, just the opposite. Similar to the United States in the 19th and 20th century, it has become a country of immigrants. For political refugees as well as for people trying to escape economic hardship, Germany has become a beacon of hope, as has been and continues to be the United States of America" ("Partners").

In contrast to the GAHM, the curators of the USHMM refrain from a reference to Germany's political transformation into a modern, democratic state and rather point to the persistent antisemitism in German society on the museum's website: "Today we face an alarming rise in Holocaust denial and antisemitism – even in the very lands where the Holocaust happened […]" ("About Museum"). In effect, the USHMM thus challenges GAHM's construction of an idealized image of contemporary Germany.

With its focus on an exclusively positive depiction of the German present and a glorified German-American ethnic history, the GAHM essentially opens up a counter-discourse to the hitherto dominant, primarily Holocaust-related, and thus negatively marked representation of Germany in Washington, D.C.'s memorial landscape. In spite of contrary statements on the part of the GAHM's leadership at the time of its opening, the construction of the German and German-American pasts in the museum's permanent exhibition suggests that its representational politics, if not consciously aims at then at least still effectively produces a counter-view to the hitherto dominant image of Germany as shaped by the USHMM in downtown D.C. Differently put, the GAHM promotes a positive German(-American) identity model that stands in contrast to the overwhelmingly negative image of German(-American)s as presented at the USHMM. The version of German-American history conveyed by the GAHM, in combination with its mediated positive view of contemporary Germany, thus functions as a corrective with a double objective: increasing the reputation and public profile of German-American ethnicity as well as improving the image of the German nation state in the United States. The GAHM's construction of German-American ethnic history – a narrative uniquely positioned between the American and German national pasts – thus serves as a memory-political tool via which the perception of the German nation state in the United States is steered and managed.[10]

The dispute over the representation of the German past and present that emerged in Washington, D.C.'s memoryscape as a result of the opening of the GAHM and its implicit contestation of the USHMM's construction of German history begs the question to what extent the dynamics of Holocaust memory in the United States are generally interrelated with the constructions of German-American identity. In this vein, one may ask to what extent the phenomenon of the so-called "Americanization of the Holocaust"[11] has not perhaps paved the way

for an increasingly successful German-American symbolic politics as briefly outlined in this paper's opening section. At least it is worth noting that the first public post-WWII recognition of German-American contributions to American society by the U.S. administration, which took place in the context of the American Bicentennial in 1976, did not only coincide with the reconceptualization of the United States into a pluralist society in the wake of the "white ethnic revival"[12] and roots movement, but also with a rising Holocaust consciousness in the United States since the 1970s. In the light of a significant rise in the importance of the Holocaust in American life in the 1990s, I propose that the more recent successes of German-American identity politics – as exemplified by the recognition of the Hermann Monument as a national symbol of German-American contributions to American society by the U.S. Congress and the U.S. President in the year 2000 as well as the inauguration of the GAHM in the nation's capital in 2010 – were paradoxically not prevented but catalyzed by the Americanization of the Holocaust. The increasing institutionalization of the memory of the Holocaust in the United States since the 1970s and the 1990s, in particular, impacted German-American identity politics in at least two ways. First, a number of German-American organizations, dedicated to reestablishing a forceful German-American identity politics, did not fall silent in the face of a rising public commemoration of the Holocaust in the United States, but developed counter-discourses in response to what they considered to be "anti-German defamation" campaigns run by influential Jewish Americans and their alleged powerful lobbies in the U.S. media and the political arena. German-American activists thus stepped up their efforts to fight what they termed "anti-German propaganda" by disseminating their own strategically selected narratives aimed at raising the symbolic capital of their ethnic group. For the latter purpose, they relied on two strategies: first, claiming German-American contributions to the development of the United States, which were frequently accompanied by efforts to gain symbolic recognition from federal and state institutions, and second, claiming a German-American victim status, which often went along with a scandalous rhetoric of Holocaust relativization or, albeit less frequently, even Holocaust denial. The increasing importance of the Holocaust in American public discourse thus did not dis- but rather encouraged German-American activists and their networks to pursue a passionate politics of visibility and recognition.

Second, and perhaps paradoxically at first sight, the rising awareness of the Holocaust in the United States did not merely prompt counter-discourses on the part of German-American activists and their ethnic organizations but facilitated the production of positive German-American auto-images in yet a more basal way. The appropriation of the Holocaust in the United States as a significant "American" memory and its increasing institutionalization since the 1990s – as exemplified paradigmatically by the founding of the USHMM in 1993 and the broadcasting of Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* in the same year – transposed the memory "burden" of the Jewish genocide from German Americans, who had for a long time been primarily associated with and hence held responsible for upholding the memory of the Holocaust in the U.S., onto the American public at large. The Americanization of the Holocaust, in other words, led to a change of the actant role traditionally ascribed to German Americans as the descendants of the "perpetrators" in contrast to the Jewish "victims" to a more "neutral" position in the collective memory of American mainstream society. As a result of the transposition of Holocaust memory onto the collective memory of the American public at large, a narrative vacuum emerged for German Americans who found themselves in a position to reconstruct their ethnic collective past on their own terms. Ethnic leaders of larger German-American organizations and institutions consequently saw themselves empowered to fill this newly emerged narrative vacuum with positive episodes from their ethnic history – as, for instance, the German founding myth of the "Hermann Battle," iconically condensed in the Minnesotan *Hermann Monument,*[13] and the manifold contributions of German-American scientists, journalists, politicians, entertainers, and sports stars as presented at the GAHM in D.C. – and to self-consciously promote their new ethnic identity constructions in institutionalized form in the nation's capital and beyond. Differently put, the Americanization of the Holocaust did not prevent but much rather empowered German-American activists to pursue an enforced visibility politics by shifting the memory burden from German Americans to the American majority society as a whole. Radically put, the Americanization of the Holocaust opened up a void in German-American constructions of the past, which resulted in a substitution of German history's buzzwords beginning with the letter "H": instead of constructing the ethnic self-image via the memory of *H*itler and the *H*olocaust or fighting against its centering in U.S. (popular) culture, *h*eritage and *H*erman the Cheruscan now serve as key reference points

for German-American ethnic self-commemoration in public space (cf. Lange, *Herman* 110).

The Americanization of the Holocaust certainly was not the only factor, but yet most probably had its part in a complex interplay of interrelated discourses, which facilitated and enabled a rehabilitation of German-American ethnicity in American society after the devastating effects of two world wars. The memory and museum boom of the 1990s, a politically stable transatlantic relationship between the United States and the (West) German Federal Republic in the 1980s and thereafter as well as a professionalization of German-American ethnic networks and their increased cooperation with and support from German (state) institutions were among other significant factors conducive to a revitalization of an increasingly successful German-American identity politics. Last but not least, yet another factor deserves consideration with regard to more recent German-American identity iterations, namely a fundamental shift in the modes of memory in relation to the Holocaust. The beginning of the 21st century marked a threshold at which a generation of Holocaust survivors started passing away and the memory of the Holocaust transitioned from the memory frame of the "communicative" into "cultural" memory. Successive generations of Holocaust witnesses thus found themselves in a position to construct and tell their own histories about the Holocaust based on the memories of their predecessors (Scholz 21). For German Americans this condition bore a heightened chance of creating an alternative version of their ethnic past, i.e. one constituted independently of the Holocaust.

New Tendencies in the GAHM's Representational Politics

In the past few years, tentative attempts at an increasingly critical engagement with the German Nazi past have become visible in the GAHM's representational politics. In 2016, a traveling exhibition on the atrocities committed against Jewish lawyers in Germany during the National Socialist era was put up at the GAHM for several months ("Lawyers"). The exhibition entitled "Lawyers Without Rights: Jewish Lawyers in Germany under the Third Reich" – sponsored by the German Federal Bar (*Bundesrechtsanwaltkammer*) and shown in collaboration with the American Bar Association in the United States – was accompanied by a lecture and film series that openly confronted the

genocide of the European Jews. For instance, Stephan Wagner's film *The General*, focusing on German-Jewish Attorney General Fritz Bauer's pursuit of justice for Holocaust victims, was screened at GAHM in the context of the exhibition's accompanying program. Furthermore, in the summer of 2018, a traveling exhibition on the topic of exile and forced migration from the Third Reich, which had been produced by the *German Exile Archive 1933-1945* of the German National Library in Frankfurt, was put up at the GAHM under the title of "Exile: Experience and Testimony 1933-1945" for several months. Another indication of GAHM's recently increased critical engagement with the German National Socialist past is a film series, launched by GAHM in celebration of Marlene Dietrich over one week in April 2018, at which Stanley Kramer's *Judgement at Nuremberg* was also screened.[14] Apart from the cooperation with federal and private institutions based in Germany, as in the case of above cited traveling exhibitions, the GAHM has lately also started cooperating with Jewish-American institutions. For instance, a lecture delivered at the GAHM in October 2016 in the context of the "Lawyers Without Rights" exhibition was co-hosted by the Jewish War Veterans of the USA, the Jewish Historical Society of Greater Washington, and the National Museum of American Jewish Military History.[15] The cooperation with Jewish-American institutions is significant as prior to the year 2016 no strategic cooperation of such kind existed. The institutional dialogue between the GAHM and Jewish-American organizations has been maintained in subsequent years as evidenced by the GAHFUSA's co-sponsorship of a film series at the Washington Jewish Film Festival in D.C. in 2017.

The onset of a shift in the German-American Heritage Museum's curatorial policy from a relative marginalization of the memory of the Second World War and the Holocaust towards an open confrontation with the German Nazi past in its temporary exhibitions and accompanying cultural program can be pinpointed to the year 2014. Probably as a result of a change in the museum's top leadership and the recruitment of journalist Petra Schürmann for the position of Executive Director, the GAHM hosted a traveling exhibition on the German student resistance movement "The White Rose" in the summer of 2014 ("A Celebration"). As in the case of the previously mentioned traveling exhibitions, "The White Rose" exhibit was originally also produced by a German institution, in this case the *Weisse Rose Stiftung e.V.* in Munich, and subsequently exported to the United States so as to be

shown at selected cultural institutions. Though focusing on German resistance to National Socialism and hence an aspect that did not so much compromise as rather shed a positive light on the role of German citizens during the Third Reich, "The White Rose" exhibit still stands out in the trajectory of GAHM's program record as it was the first temporary exhibition under the museum's roof specifically dedicated to the historical chapter of National Socialism.[16] In line with GAHM's new content orientation in its temporary exhibitions, the film screenings, which form part of the institution's wider cultural program at the museum facilities, similarly underline the GAHM's changed approach to dealing with the National Socialist past as these have for a few years now also included films with a thematic focus on the Second World War such as *The Book Thief*, *Nowhere in Africa*, and *The Reader*.[17]

Though the GAHM's cultural program since 2014 points at an increased willingness to confront the German Nazi past and to thereby highlight the institution's commitment to the principles of German *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* (i.e. a coming to terms with the past), the GAHM's self-critical engagement with the German(-American) past has its limits. To begin with, its cultural program duplicates the narrative structures familiar from the museum's permanent exhibition in that stories of heroism, victimization, and German(-American) resistance are foregrounded. A critical focus on German perpetrators and bystanders is largely avoided, however, one of the few exceptions being a screening of Kramer's *Judgment at Nuremberg*, a film that directly tackles moral questions of German (war) guilt in the context of the Nuremberg Trials. The structural complexity of National Socialism is thus not sufficiently acknowledged in the GAHM's representations of the German past, as the entanglement of larger segments of the German public in National Socialist crimes, be it as perpetrators or bystanders, remains unaddressed.[18] Probably even more disturbing, though, is the fact that – just as in the case of the permanent exhibition – the GAHM's wider cultural program does equally not address the existence of German-American organizations in the United States which were openly supportive of National Socialism in the 1930s and 40s. In spite of the museum's increased efforts at coming to terms with the era of the Third Reich, the German-American chapter of the Nazi past thus still remains silenced. National Socialism is conveniently relegated to the other side of the Atlantic, whereby a sacrosanct and innocent view of German-Americana is preserved. The strategic omission of narra-

tives about German-America's entanglement with the Nazi movement can, moreover, not simply be explained away with a lack of engaging educational material suitable for familiarizing audiences with these more problematic aspects of German-American ethnic memory. For instance, in 2017, a widely advertised seven-minute documentary on the German American Bund entitled *A Night at the Garden*, which was co-produced by renowned American director and producer Laura Poitras (*Citizenfour*) and nominated for the 91st Academy Awards for Best Documentary Short, was released and would have lent itself perfectly to the GAHM's educational program.

Conclusion

A question that inevitably arises after having toured the permanent exhibition at the GAHM is why those responsible for its content opted for precisely such a representational politics regarding the Second World War. Why is a fully self-critical engagement with the problematic aspects of German-American ethnic history still missing at the German-American Heritage Museum of the U.S.A.? Differently put, why do the more recent efforts of, at least partly, confronting the German National Socialist past not encapsulate German-American ethnic history but merely extend to German WWII-history across the Atlantic?

The answer is a multidimensional one that consists of several interrelated factors. First and foremost, the logic of American identity politics encourages ethnic groups to advertise themselves uncompromisingly in the most favorable light possible. The past is thus put in the service of the present so as to advance a specific group's presentist concerns, interests and visions for the future. Consequently, narratives considered compromising and counter-productive to the aim of furthering the group's societal standing are strategically excluded from collective public self-representations.

Secondly, this general logic of American identity politics also underlies the agenda of ethnic museums in the United States that serve as "points of crystallization" (J. Assmann) of specific collective identities, i.e. as sites of memory that mediate and simultaneously shape the memories of and about specific ethnic groups.[19] German-American museums are no exception in this regard.

Third, quite a few German-American leaders of the (post-)war generation who initiated or helped develop some of the larger German-American museums have over decades repeatedly lamented the dissemination of anti-German sentiment and propaganda via American media outlets and U.S. popular culture. With their lamentos, they inscribed themselves into a larger German-American jeremiadic tradition: In the aftermath of the Second World War, and especially in the late 1970s and 1980s, German-American organizations like the United German-American Committee (i.e. GAHFUSA's predecessor organization) and the German-American National Congress (DANK), for instance, spoke of a veritable defamation campaign at work in U.S. media and culture which they frequently linked to the rise in Holocaust remembrance that gained in momentum in the third quarter of the 20th century in the United States.[20] It may thus be reasonably assumed that quite a few of the larger German-American museums that started opening from the mid-1990s were also meant to function as platforms for disseminating counter-narratives to the perceived dominant negative representation of Germans in the American public sphere. In other words, German-American museums like the GAHM were likely founded with the double goal of, first, retrieving a forgotten or little known ethnic past but also, second, of presenting counter-histories to the established Holocaust-centered discourses on Germany and its past. Understood in this vein, it is not all that surprising that the GAHM's permanent exhibition looks the way it does.

Moreover, the temporal correlation between the "Americanization of the Holocaust" and the institutionalization of its memory in the form of museums, most notably at the USHMM, raises the question of a potential interrelation between the dynamics of Holocaust memory and German-American identity politics and, more specifically, the emergence of German-American heritage museums in the United States. The Americanization of the Holocaust, I argue, did not prevent, but, quite paradoxically, much rather catalyzed the emergence of German-American heritage museums due to a transposition of the commemorative burden of the Holocaust from German Americans, who had for a long time been primarily associated with and hence deemed responsible for commemorating the atrocities of the Second World War, to the American public at large. The Americanization of the Holocaust was certainly not the only factor that paved the way for an increasingly successful German-American identity politics and

the emergence of German-American heritage museums, as pointed out above, but rather one in a complex combination of interrelated factors – among which the memory and museum boom of the 1990s as well as a stable transatlantic political relationship between the (West) German Federal Republic and the United States stand out – that ultimately led to a rehabilitation of German-American ethnicity in American society (cf. Lange, *Herman* 110-111).

However, fourth and finally, considering the comparatively recent generational shifts in leadership at the GAHM, it is possible that an alternative strategy regarding the representation of the German-American past will soon be implemented at the museum. As is to be hoped, this revised approach will further draw on and creatively adapt the German state's policy of *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* – a policy which has already served as a model for other states' coming to terms with the "dark" chapters of their national pasts and consequently turned, as it were, into a successful German export article – to German-America's own ethnic ends.

As of now, however, any mention of the existence of pro-Nazi elements on American soil is evidently still considered a taboo subject by the GAHFUSA's leadership. Or how else can the complete absence of any reference to the German American Bund in the organization's various media outlets, including its museum, its website, and (cultural) outreach program be explained? With its current cherry-picking approach to German-American history, the German-American Heritage Museum of the U.S.A. – as other German-American museums such as the DANK Haus in Chicago (cf. Lange, "German-American") – is a far cry away from its self-proclaimed goal of providing a center for learning and historical awareness-building.

Notes

[1] In accordance with its dominant interpretation, the term "German-American" here refers to an "imagined community" (Anderson) defined by its common German-speaking background (cf. Conzen et al.). In contrast to a narrow definition based on the criterium of national belonging to the state of Germany or its historic equivalents, the term thus also encompasses immigrants and their descendants from Switzerland, Austria, and other (previously) German-speaking areas.

[2] A museum that has sometimes been credited as the first German-American museum established in the United States is the Germanic museum at Harvard University – now the Busch-Reisinger Museum – which was founded in 1901. Strictly speaking, it does not qualify as an ethnic heritage museum, though, as it dealt with the "Germanic cultural heritage of Europe" as opposed to the "German heritage of America" (Tolzmann 190). It is hence more fitting to view the Germanic Museum as an important precursor to the later developing generic form of German-American heritage museums.

[3] The museums referred to here are the German American Heritage Center & Museum in Davenport, Iowa (est. 1994), the German Heritage Museum in Cincinnati, Ohio (est. 2000), and the DANK-Haus German American Cultural Center museum in Chicago, Illinois (est. 2009).

[4] At the time of this writing, at least a dozen German-American sites of memory that distinctly describe and market themselves as German-American heritage museums exist in the United States. If the numerous German-American historical societies with integrated small(er) exhibition sections were to be included in this statistics, the overall number of German-American museum spaces would be even higher.

[5] Marc Fisher's article in the *Washington Post* on the opening of the German-American Heritage Museum of the U.S.A. in March 2010 is one of the exceptions to the rule. Fisher's article is essentially a critique of the increasing "balkanization" of the commemorative

landscape in the U.S. capital. However, he also points out the shortcomings of the GAHM's curatorial approach by observing that the history of the German-American Bund is not mentioned in the permanent exhibition. The German magazine *Der Spiegel* and the weekly newspaper *Die ZEIT* also devoted articles to the opening of the GAHM in which the lack of a critical assessment of German-American immigration history is equally, however briefly, problematized (see Schmitz; Klingst). Critically informed examinations of German-American heritage museums other than the GAHM in D.C. are scarce. For a critical semiotic reading of the DANK Haus museum's permanent exhibition, see Lange, "German-American."

[6] Although a small number of critical journalistic texts on the GAHM's founding were published on both sides of the Atlantic as pointed out above (Fisher; Schmitz; Klingst), the analysis of the museum space in these texts remains rather cursory, not least due to the space constraints of the respective media outlets for which the texts were produced. A closer investigation of the GAHM's representational politics and the more recent shifts in its permanent and temporary exhibitions as well as its wider cultural program thus remains outstanding.

[7] For a succinct overview of the function and specific potential of museums as media of collective memory, see Roth and Lupfer 171-6; on the construction of history in museums, see A. Assmann 6-13.

[8] On more recent dynamics in contemporary American identity politics and its relation to today's "memory boom," see Winter 69-92.

[9] For a version of this argument in German, see Lange, *Herman* 106-11.

[10] This thesis is supported by the fact that the multimedia booth, through which today's Germany is represented at the GAHM, was developed in cooperation with the German Embassy in Washington, D.C., the *Deutsche Welle*, and the *German National Tourist Board*.

[11] The "Americanization of the Holocaust" describes a combination of discourses that led to a "centering" of the Holocaust in U.S.-American collective memory since the 1970s and the 1990s, in particular, see Novick 1-15 as well as Flanzbaum.

[12] On the white ethnic revival and its underlying structural race politics, see Jacobson 1-17.

[13] The "Battle of the Teutoburg Forest," also known as the "Hermann Battle," refers to the victory of an alliance of Germanic tribes, led by the Cheruscan chieftain Arminius, over three Roman legions under the leadership of General Publius Quinctilius Varus in what is now central Germany in 9 AD. Since the Renaissance period, the battle has been ascribed the status of a German founding myth and functionalized for varying interests and purposes over the course of the centuries. For a more detailed account of the legendary battle and its political instrumentalization, see Doerner as well as Dreyer. For the Hermann Monument, see Lange, *Herman*.

[14] The week-long film event was meant to "celebrat [e] one of the great stars of the silver screen, and an important figure in the shared history of Germany and the United States: Marlene Dietrich" ("Four"). The film series was meant to complement a special exhibit on "Marlene Dietrich: Dressed for the Image" at the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D.C.

[15] The lecture, entitled "Kaisertreu: The Descendants of Jewish-German War Veterans Speak," was delivered by two descendants of Jewish-German war veterans whose ancestors had fought for Kaiser Wilhelm II during World War I and subsequently fallen "victim to the total dismantling of German democracy and exclusion from civic life" ("Reminder"). The talk specifically addressed the persecution of German Jews under the Third Reich, which resulted in complex issues of restitution for the affected émigrés and their descendants in later decades.

[16] In fact, there is an entire tradition on the part of German-American and German institutions in the United States of highlighting German resistance to National Socialism in an attempt to spread a positive view of Germany and "Germanness" in America. Besides the persistent – and ultimately doomed – efforts on the part of the (West) German government under Chancellor Helmut Kohl to introduce a chapter on German resistance into the permanent exhibition of the USHMM, the Bonn government's successful initiative to host a temporary exhibition entitled "Against Hitler: German Resistance

to National Socialism, 1933-1945" at the Library of Congress's Madison Gallery in Washington, D.C. in the year 1994 stands out (see Eder 84-129 and 180-2).

[17] The cultural program caters to both GAHFUSA members and the interested (and paying) wider public.

[18] An overview of the films screened at GAHMUSA since its opening in 2010 supports this assessment. Though several films shown at the museum facilities, such as *The Book Thief* and *The Reader* display a thematic focus on the Second World War, these at first sight progressive and laudable efforts at confronting the horrors of World War II carry problematic underpinnings, as evidenced by the severe criticism the screened films partly drew from cultural and film critics for their euphemistic and hence distorted representation of German history (see e.g. Bierich; Assheuer; Stone).

[19] On ethnic museums in the United States and their tendency to represent the past in a celebratory manner, see Conn 483-4.

[20] See e.g. the UGAC's newsletters from March 1986 and April 1987 ("Another Reading;" "Indoctrination"). Similarly, the Chicago-based German-American National Congress (est. 1958) frequently lamented anti-Germanism in the U.S. media and explicitly stated as one of its main founding goals to "stand up against every slander and defamation of the American and German name, and especially every anti-German propaganda" ("History of DANK").

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Towards a Collective Memorial: American Poetry After the Attacks on the World Trade Center, NYC

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Abstract

The destruction of the World Trade Center buildings during the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 have been used in poems written in response to the attacks by various poets as a means of coming to terms with the events. The poems discussed in this article may be regarded not only as a way of documenting the events but also as a way of creating commemorative spaces. By means of reproducing the striking visual images of the attacks, especially those broadcasted on television, the poems seem to illustrate multi-voiced responses to the attacks and provide a space for commemoration as alternatives to the physical memorials like Reflecting Absence and One World Trade Center. In other words, the poems share similar characteristics to monuments and create a medium for healing from the trauma. The aim of this article is to study the poetic responses to the collapsing of the World Trade Center buildings and the ways in which the buildings are symbolically rebuilt in the lines of poetry as an act of commemoration.

Keywords: September 11, 2001, American Poetry and September 11 Attacks, Poetic Memorialization, Word-monument, Poetic Monument, Digital Poetry

Kolektif bir Anıt:
New York Dünya Ticaret Merkezi Saldırısı Sonrası Amerikan Şiiri

Öz

11 Eylül 2001'de gerçekleşen terör saldırısı sırasında Dünya Ticaret Merkezi binalarının yıkılışı, saldırılara tepki olarak şairlerin yazdıkları şiirlerde olaylarla başa çıkmanın bir yöntemi olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu makalede tartışılan şiirler sadece olayları belgelemenin bir yöntemi değildir, aynı zamanda olayları anma mekanları oluşturdukları söylenebilir. Özellikle saldırıların televizyona yansıyan çarpıcı görüntülerini yeniden üretme yöntemiyle yazılan bu şiirler çok-sesli tepkiler ortaya çıkarır ve Reflecting Absence ve One World Trade Center gibi fiziksel anıtlara alternatif anma mekanları sunarlar. Bir başka deyişle şiirler anıtlarla benzer özellikler taşır ve travmadan iyileşmek için bir ortam yaratırlar. Bu makalenin amacı Dünya Ticaret Merkezi binalarının yıkılmasının şiirdeki yansımalarını inceleyerek şiirlerin dizelerinde bir anma eylemi olarak binaların sembolik olarak çeşitli yollarla nasıl yeniden inşa edildiklerini incelemektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: 11 Eylül 2001, 11 Eylül Saldırıları ve Amerikan Şiiri, Söz-Anıt, Anıt-Şiir, Abide, Dijital Ortamda Şiir

"Poetry is important to people in a crisis,

as love and intelligence are important.

These are survival tools" – Alicia Ostriker (Ostriker)

The collapse of the World Trade Center buildings during the attacks on September 11, 2001 seems to have mutilated the Manhattan skyline forever. While news channels broadcasted the planes crashing

into the buildings and their destruction on loop, other images like the photo of the falling man were censored shortly after their appearance (Redfield 70). The overuse and/or absence of such visual displays have generated responses in other mediums, including poetry. Near the site formerly occupied by the World Trade Center buildings and all over the city, makeshift memorials appeared which contained poems written on pieces of paper as well as other commemorative objects like candles, photographs, artwork, memorabilia, stuffed animals, and political manifestos (Gardner and Henry 40). These temporary but immediate responses suggest that the public needed to respond to the trauma the attacks had caused, even though they might not last for long. As Béatrice Fraenkel points out, the initial poems that appeared at these makeshift memorials were written on pieces of paper and were exposed to the changing weather conditions (Fraenkel 310). She also underscores that while these poems were available to anyone passing near them, they still remained "intimate" due to the pieces of paper used and the motion required to read these poems, which created a collective experience of mourning for the attacks (312-313):

> The ephemeral, collective, "poor" New York writings show the significance of a model that could be called writings by a "we." Such a model is far removed from careful or formal writings and doubtless originated in schoolwork. The model is one of graphic expression based on the norms taught to all during the early years of learning: writing in an exercise book or on a blackboard, writings made individually or collectively. These writings by "us" accompany civil or religious rituals such as the collective signing of visitors' books, burial registers, petitions, and so on (Fraenkel 315).

As Fraenkel's words suggest, the act of reading these poems at the site of the memorials create intimate, individual experiences which accumulate and form a collective experience. In the light of her claims, one may argue that even though these makeshift memorials were temporary sites of commemoration, they embodied the need for a collective site for mourning. In addition to the poems that appeared in the streets, journals, and newspapers received multitudes of submissions including testimonials, creative fiction, and poems which also implied the need for a space for collective mourning. Ann Keniston points out that the political and public events that began with

the attacks of September 11 have influenced American poets to write poems that would allow them to discuss public events in their poems and the significant role poetry might play on the public imagination (Keniston 658). Her claim that the attacks have changed the ways in which poetry was written, illustrates that, in contrast to Adorno's words on the impossibility to produce lyric poetry, there is a need for poetry after the attacks as they assumed the role of memorials that would enable poets and readers alike to come to terms with the events of September 11, 2001. Especially on the relationship between the public and the influence of poetry as an alternative space for mourning, Pavla Veselá argues that while mainstream politics at the time emphasized the slogan "United We Stand," the poets sought to redefine "we" in their poems about the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 as a means of redefining the imagined community they belonged to and enabled "many-voiced and critical reflections" on the events (Veselá 218). Some of the poetry collections she names are were published immediately after the attacks, namely *September 11, 2001: American Writers Respond* (2002), *An Eye for an Eye Makes the Whole World Blind* (2002), and *Poetry after 9/11: An Anthology of New York Poets* (2002) (217). Similarly, Keniston claims that as a reaction and response to the rhetoric created by the White House after the attacks, poets composed poems, some of which were made available online (Keniston 659). For instance, she claims that Sam Hamill's website, *Poets Against the War*, was set up as a protest against Laura Bush's invitation to the poets at the White House to commemorate the attacks (659). Moreover, Alkalay-Gut analyzes poetry websites including Academy of American Poets, Poetry.com, and American Poets Society which also set up pages dedicated to poems about the attacks on September 11, 2001 (Alkalay-Gut 276). The Library of Congress website did not fall short of setting up a page dedicated to poems written about the attacks ("Poetry of September 11"). As the Library of Congress is one of the oldest cultural institutions of the government, its webpage that contains a section dedicated to literary works about the attacks on September 11, 2001 in its online database serves as a mediating commemorative space between the response of the citizens and the response of the government. The poems discussed below are poems printed or submitted to various digital journals and webpages in the immediate aftermath of the attacks, all of which may be found in the Library of Congress website on the page entitled "Poetry of September 11," in which a list of poetry collections and individual poems compiled by the digital reference specialist Peter Armanti are provided ("Poetry

of September 11"). This enables the digital space to become a space for permanent commemoration; in other words, it becomes a permanent monument because it is accessible at all times across the globe.

Poems that refer to the attacks of September 11, 2001 have been grouped by various critics as a different poetry subgenre. For instance, Veselá claims that "September 11 poems" is a term that may be coined for certain poems not because of their references to the events but because of "the historical context out of which they emerged," thus limiting her selection of poems to the immediate ones that emerged after the attacks (Veselá 224). On the other hand, other critics have pointed out that poems about the attacks follow contemporary tendencies of composing poems. In her essay "The Poetry of September 11: The Testimonial Imperative," Alkalay-Gut suggests that poems about September 11 are derived from the recent tendencies in poetry that valued communication over literary complexity (Alkalay-Gut 258). In other words, she argues that these poems may be regarded as trauma or disaster poems from a more general perspective and these poems address a communal experience of trauma. Thus, by writing a poem about a disaster that affected the community or about a personal loss, one was "simultaneously participating in a universal event and contributing to the understanding of a communal trauma" (Alkalay-Gut 259). One may argue that in addition to these poems about September 11 being accessible online, the ones listed in the Library of Congress website have the additional function of mediating between the government's response to the attacks and the response of the citizens. As Alkalay-Gut points out, the digital medium became an extension of the physical space (258). While, on the one hand, makeshift memorials sprung up in the city and webpages and online journals dedicated special issues that commemorated the events, the physical space was also under construction: first the removal of the debris then the construction of the memorials that stand today.

The discussions on how to commemorate the events of September 11, 2001 at the location of the attacks led to two main projects that stand today at Ground Zero: Reflecting Absence and One World Trade Center, or the "Freedom Tower." These projects may be regarded as an extension of the government's response that focused on the unity of the nation and the loss it suffered. The National September 11 Memorial in Ground Zero, namely Reflecting Absence designed by Michael Arad is built on the foundations of the two WTC buildings,

water flows from the edges into a deeper square at the core of both foundations and on the granite borders the names of the victims are carved out into which visitors are able to place commemorative flowers and flags which emphasize loss. The second project One World Trade Center is a 1776-feet high skyscraper designed by David Childs, with an intentional reference to the year of the Declaration of Independence, to symbolize the powerful position of the US and to emphasize the unity of the nation (Cvek 46). David Simpson points out that the design of One World Trade Center should be interpreted together with the Statue of Liberty because it "visually mimics the arm of Lady Liberty just across the water" (Simpson 63). It was not only in architecture or in literature that one may find these commemorative responses to the attacks but also through a combination of the two. Jenny Holzer's "For Seven World Trade" demonstrates how literature and architecture together may be used as a means of healing and of commemoration, transgressing the limits of literature and of landscapes, showing the ways literature may function as a memorial. Shelley Jackson in "9/11 and the Numberless New Yorks" describes Holzer's work displayed at 7 World Trade Centre as follows:

> The words pass at the pace of walking. […] Ghostly, you might say. They glide from right to left, a few feet above eye level, across a wall 65 feet in width. They are made of light: patterns of on and off in hundreds of vertical strings of diodes behind glass panels. […] The building housing Jenny Holzer's piece is a new building, bright with optimism; but to its left, behind fences and scaffolding, is the gaping hole where the World Trade Center once stood. From the street outside, the words, flowing from right to left, seem to be pouring into that hole (Jackson, par. 5, 11).

Holzer's work contains essays, observations, and poems about New York which register literature as part of the healing process commonly associated with the function of memorials (Yau, par. 12). As Kirk Savage points out, the official declaration of categorizing the victims as martyrs overlooks the individual traumas and claims that to resolve this, a "therapeutic monument" would "embrace both the reality of the individual suffering and the collective significance of that suffering" (Savage 114). Literary responses to the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 may be regarded as a culmination of individual

responses to the events rather than the official response of the state through the construction of One World Trade Center and Reflecting Absence. Poetry written in response to the attacks on September 11, 2001 are similar to collective and individual memorials in the sense that they address the event through either highlighting its presence in the collective memory or the absence it creates in the eyes of the public and of the individual. Moberley Luger in "Poetry as Monument" argues that poems about the attacks should be regarded as "poetic monuments" because they share common characteristics with monuments (Luger 8). As she argues, both monuments and these poems,

> [...] rely on figuration, representing parts of a whole; monuments invite visitors to interpret the symbolism inherent in their 'reflecting pools' or 'towers of light.' As monuments are poetic, poems are monumental: both are large in scope and are recorded to last through time (Luger 8).

Even though Luger remarks that Jenny Holzer did not regard her work as a memorial, both Shelly Jackson's description of the work and Moberley Luger's emphasis on the similarities between physical monuments and literary works, especially poetry, categorises her work as a memorial (Luger 4; Jackson). In the light of Luger's words, one may argue that the poems listed in the Library of Congress website written in response to the attacks on the WTC buildings are exemplary of how poems become monuments by either portraying the events and its aftermath either by vividly describing the events or by imitating physical characteristics of monuments. Reading the September 11, 2001 archive, Sven Cvek claims that literary works about the attacks aim to construct "a post-traumatic reconstruction of an imagined national wholeness" (Cvek 11) which can also be found as an arching theme in the poems written about the attacks. The poems to be discussed in this article do not nostalgically wish the Manhattan skyline to return to its former state but instead invite the reader to deal with the traumatic events similar to the response one would give upon seeing a monument in a street. While reading the texts evokes a sense of closure, the poems transform into monuments that can be regularly visited, some of which may even be regarded as imitations of physical monuments in terms of their form. Moreover, since all the poems discussed here are accessible through digital archives and poetry webpages, they are permanently inscribed into the narratives of commemoration.

One of the ways in which poems about the attacks on September 11, 2001 transform into monuments is through a description of the events during and after the fall of the WTC buildings. Mathilde Roza argues that the replaying of the attacks on television transformed the event into a "highly symbolic performance" in which Americans could imagine themselves both as potential victims and survivors (105). As a response, she notes, there emerged "the spontaneous production of an unprecedented number of poems" all around New York City and the Internet (Roza 105). For instance, the absence of the WTC buildings is illustrated in Eliot Katz's poem, "When the Skyline Crumbles" in which he describes the moment right after the first airstrike to Tower One and provides the reader with witness accounts while in the background Tower Two is attacked.

Witnesses still in shock were describing a plane flying

directly into the building's side

when a second plane suddenly crashed Twin Tower 2

and orange flames & monstrous dust rolls began replacing

the city's world renowned skyline.

Soon the big city's tallest buildings crumbled, one at a time –

with 50,000 individual heartbeats working in Twin Bodies,

it was clear this horror going to be planetfelt.

(Katz "When the Skyline Crumbles" lines 5-9).

Katz emphasizes that these attacks changed the world forever, including "the city's world renowned skyline." For Katz, the skyline "crumbles," evoking in the mind of the reader that the Manhattan skyline is perishable like the sandcastles that can easily be destroyed (Katz line 8). Katz's poem begins with the persona learning about the events from a TV screen in Astoria. One of the most televised moments during the attacks were arguably the planes crashing into the World Trade Center buildings which news channels played on loop. Neil Leach claims that although the twin towers were a prominent part of the skyline, its featureless exterior made them anonymous compared to other buildings in the skyline such as the Empire State Building:

> The twin towers had been a prominent part of the familiar New York skyline, but they remained somewhat anonymous. This in part was a result of their architecture. Although clearly the tallest buildings in New York, the twin towers were relatively featureless, and, as individual buildings, did not seem to capture the public imagination as did the Empire State Building with its iconic associations with King Kong, or the Chrysler Building with its splendid art deco ornamentation (Leach 75).

Leach remarks that over the years the towers played an important role in the public imagination due to events like Philippe Petit walking on a tightrope between the two towers in 1974 and the political scandals associated with their construction (Leach 76). Yet, Leach claims that they did not have the "physical presence" expected of the "symbolic presence" it had attained over the years and pointed out that the models offered in tourist shops contained relatively fewer models compared to other buildings that made up the Manhattan skyline (Leach 76). He further underscores that the two buildings provided "viewing platforms and vast receptacles of office accommodation" meanwhile collectively contributing to the "dramatic Manhattan skyline," and their destruction during the attacks took away "the anonymity that they may have once possessed" and thus the WTC buildings "became recognizable and identifiable objects, symbols of the dangers of terrorism" after they were absent from the New York skyline (Leach 76). The use of media, in relation to the attacks on September 11, 2001 and its representations in fiction has been addressed by Martin Randall who argues that the repetitive image of the destruction of the two towers on TV emphasized that the spectators were witnessing history:

> [...] it is only a few brief moments before the TV news is replaying the footage of Flight 175, again and again, until finally, predictably, in slow motion the audience is forced to relive the 'special effect' repeatedly as the towers are enveloped by smoke and flames. It is immediately understood that the world – mediated as it is through television – is now watching, as it occurs, History (Randall 4-5).

Likewise, in Eliot Katz's poem the events are narrated in

chronological order and follows the style of a journalist in the sense that it highlights the historical significance of the event. Katz describes a crumbling skyline as the dominant visual image in the poem and repeatedly refers to the information he receives through the television screen. The TV broadcasts in the poem are positioned at the beginning of stanzas as event markers, followed by the actions of the persona which present a dichotomy between the broadcasts and the testimonies of the events. For instance, in the fourth stanza, the persona sits in Union Square meditating with a Tibetan group for peace, meanwhile the TV broadcast is described to "lubricate America's war machine" (Katz lines 21-22). One may argue that the discrepancy between the broadcasts represent the official response to the events by the American government, and the testimony of the speaker registers the civilian response to the events. By juxtaposing these two narratives, the poem not only shows the two different responses to the events but also becomes a medium in which the two disparate responses may reconcile to form a monument that incorporates both public and private forms of commemoration. Similarly, the poems discussed here make use of the visual imagery not only in terms of what is witnessed but also by referring to the TV broadcasts either by repeating the images through the use of words or imitating the repetitions used by news channels. As such, in the poems by Meena Alexander, Eileen Myles, Nancy Mercado, Vicki Hudspith, and Joy Harjo the events, images, emotions one encounters in Ground Zero are described after the attacks through these visual images. These poems make use of "snapshots" of the September 11 attacks and aim to capture their impressions as private acts of commemoration. As such, these poems make use of the first-person speaker's point of view to emphasize the subjectivity and polyphonic nature of acts of commemoration.

In "Late, there was an Island (A Poem Cycle)" Meena Alexander employs a poet-persona who desires to talk about the beauties of the city, but is unable to, because they are now covered in ashes and blood in the first section of the poem entitled "Aftermath":

> I want to write of the linden tree
> That stops at the edge of the river
>
> But its leaves are filled with insects
> With wings the color of dry blood.
> (Alexander "Late There Was"; "Aftermath," lines 3-6)

The poem foregrounds two images, Manhattan before and after the attack; what the persona used to see and what is replaced by that image. The linden trees that make the city appear beautiful are covered with sand-colored ash from the fire, hiding away the charm of the city. The poem underscores the absence of the WTC buildings, and conveys a new image of the city covered in ash and rubble. Not only the city, but also the mutilated, distorted bodies of the victims are portrayed in fragments: "An eye, a lip, a cut hand blooms / Sweet and bitter smoke stains the sky" (Alexander "Late There Was"; "Aftermath," lines 11-12). Instead of flowers, it is "an eye, a lip, a cut hand" that bloom in Ground Zero ("Aftermath," line 11). Alexander's poem re-imagines the pleasant details about the city and replaces them with images of body parts to confront the shock of the events. In the poem cycle the final line of each section is repeated in the following section as the first line with minor alterations. For instance, the second section of Alexander's poem, namely, "Invisible City," ends with "In altered light, I see a bird cry" emphasizing the visual aspect of the events, while the next section entitled "Pitfire" begins with the line "In altered light I hear a bird cry" this time foregrounding the auditory aspect of the events (Alexander "Late There Was"; "Invisible City," line 12; "Pitfire," line 1). The use of such repetitions with alterations gives the effect of a complete description of the events and create a sense of completion and continuation all at once, in the meantime suggesting it to be a commemorative act that tries to capture the events and its aftermath from a journalistic description meanwhile remaining subjective. In other words, Alexander's poem may be regarded as another example of how a poem may contain the public and individual portrayals of the events and by merging them together builds a sensory poetic monument that captures the attacks to form a truthful representation. By depicting these "snapshot" images of Manhattan, Alexander seems to be creating a poetic monument that mourns the loss of the city image and documents the impressions about the aftermath of the attacks.

While some of the poets mentioned here choose to describe the destruction of the WTC buildings by employing urban images or depict the actions of the people around them during and after the attacks, Eileen Myles's poem "Flowers" avoids such descriptions and focuses instead on the flowers placed at the makeshift memorials after the destruction of the WTC buildings by listing the flowers she sees around the city:

Flowers
are out
all over
New York
Every deli
tonight is
lit with
mad daffodils
jonquils
baby's
breath (Myles, lines 1-11).

The use of the words "New York" in the beginning and "[. . .] We / miss you" in the last lines of the poem, one may suggest that the reader is left with the image of numerous flowers surrounding Ground Zero, framed by the mentioned phrases (Myles, lines 4, 61-62). The poem may be regarded as a vivid portrayal of the makeshift memorials appearing in lower Manhattan after the attacks as individual acts of commemoration. In "Heartbreak Written on the Landscape: Public Memorials and Remembering the Attack on the World Trade Center," Gumpert and Drucker describe such spontaneous memorials made up of "perishable items" such as "flowers, letters, photographs, clothing, American flags that would fade, shred or deteriorate over time" that may be regarded as the opposite of the memorials constructed by the government (63). Myles's poem, similarly, makes use of such "perishable items" like the ones mentioned by Gumpert and Drucker, however, unlike the perishable shrines at Ground Zero, in Myles's poem, she is able to preserve them, and is able to reintroduce them into the narratives of individual forms of commemoration. The names of flowers listed in the poem without expressing any particular emotion or opinion about the events and the concise lines gives the poem the effect of a snapshot of the location. Although Myles's poem at first seems to be a listing of various flowers placed at the makeshift memorials, between the types of flowers listed, some words invoke striking images and emotions that are related to the attack. In particular the New York delis are "*lit* with / *mad* daffodils," which depict the store windows "lighted" with flowers (or one may even suggest that the speaker sees the reflection of fire in store windows) and the anger felt by the speaker

upon seeing the flowers (Myles, lines 7-8, emphasis added). As the poem develops, there are "blasts" of roses and "hotter" flowers and the persona is "freaking out" when she notices the absence of pink flowers which suggests that behind the flowers foregrounded in the poem, the actual images of anger and the description of the attacks on the World Trade Center buildings may be traced (Myles, lines 14, 23, 45). At the end of the poem, the speaker notes that "outside […] / the world / continues / its impossible / turning" referring to the global significance of the event (Myles, lines 57-61). The act of such spontaneous shrine-building around the city is also displayed in Nancy Mercado's poem through collecting souvenirs. In her poem "Going to Work" Nancy Mercado illustrates the desire to create a space for commemoration by describing the 'craze' of collecting memorabilia such as postcards and coffee mugs that bear the image of the two towers which signify the attempt to preserve what is now lost forever.

> Frantically I too
>
> Purchase your memory
>
> On post cards & coffee mugs
>
> In New York City souvenir shops
>
> Afraid I'll forget your façade (Mercado, lines 8-12).

In Mercado's lines, the attacks on the WTC buildings, like the buildings themselves, transform into commodities. The destroyed buildings that were once pointed out by Leach as "anonymous" contributors to the NYC skyline seem to be transforming into collectible items waiting to be purchased in souvenir shops in the poem. This commodification of the event and the attachment to the past expressed by the speaker of the poem may be regarded as an attempt to be a part of the commemorative process through the use of objects. Marita Sturken in her article "Memorializing Absence," points out that leaving objects, notes, and flowers, spontaneously building shrines have become part of the national culture in the United States by giving the example of the Vietnam War Memorial (Sturken, par. 10). However, Alkalay-Gut also remarks that poetry as a means to commemorate lost lives in makeshift memorials was seen in the United States for the first time after the attacks on the World Trade Center buildings after September 11 (Alkalay-Gut 258). One may argue that one of the reasons for such meticulous depictions of the surroundings in the poems by poets like Myles and Mercado was to transform these poems into personal shrines

instead of the memorials erected by the government. While One World Trade Center and Reflecting Absence collectively honor the loss of lives and emphasize the unity of the nation, the makeshift memorials built by the citizens seem to underscore loss at a personal level in which mourning becomes a solitary act. The poems about the attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 seem to bring together these two forms of commemoration so as to mediate the two responses within the body of the poem.

Another response to these official memorials on Ground Zero can be found in Vicki Hudspith's poem "Nodding Cranes" in which she criticizes the immediate clearing of the debris in Ground Zero after the attack. The fear of forgetting and the fixation to the disaster that has taken place is foregrounded: "My disaster is receding / it encompasses less and less of every block / Fewer streets know it each day" and the cranes and trucks clearing the debris are likened to birds of prey eating away the remains of an animal (Hudspith, lines 10-12; 3-5). The persona of the poem does not want to let go of the disaster and wants to "embrace" it: "I am protective of my disaster, do not want to let it go / Instead, I would like to embrace it / As it once embodied my horror" (Hudspith, lines 16-18). Finally, in the poem the desire to embrace and not let go of the traumatic memory, results in the desire to "rebuild" the disaster through the space of the poem (Hudspith, lines 25-27). By calling it "my disaster," the poem also emphasizes the power of the personal narrative and the personalized act of commemorating the event through poetry. Leach argues that the attack on the World Trade Center buildings was not an attack on "the force of global capitalism," but rather on the "symbols of capitalism" as the buildings themselves symbolized the workforce and capital it provided for the nation and to the world (Leach 90). According to Scott Cleary, Hudspith's poem plays on the double meaning of the word labor to refer to both childbirth and workforce as a remark on the lives of the lost workers and what the WTC represented. According to Cleary, the reason behind forging such a relationship is to link the loss of lives with the loss of the nation (Cleary 79). Cleary rightfully points out that the use of the cranes and the site that once belonged to the World Trade Center buildings under construction in the poem links the signifiers of cultural capital to "grief, tragedy, and death": "It exists as a construction site, a zone of ongoing improvements driven by the logic of capital and the objects of capital: here the trucks and cranes" (Cleary 84).

Joy Harjo's poem "When the World as We Knew It Ended," like Eliot Katz's poem, makes use of images of construction and demolition of the WTC buildings and likens this destruction to the fall of civilization. Harjo's poem may be regarded as a causal analysis that led human civilization to the cataclysmic end of the world described in the poem:

> We were dreaming on an occupied island at the farthest edge
> of a trembling nation when it went down.
>
> Two towers rose up from the east island of commerce and touched
> the sky. Men walked on the moon. Oil was sucked dry
> by two brothers. Then it went down. Swallowed
> by a fire dragon, by oil and fear.
> Eaten whole (Harjo, lines 1-7).

The above lines depict a nation dreaming of development and progress, like the American dream, which is said to be destroyed by greed and exploitation. By repeating the words "it went down," in certain lines like the second and fifth lines, the poem imitates the motion of the videos of the falling towers on loop, each time demolishing another layer of what the two towers once represented, the apex of human progress (lines 2, 5). In other words, her poem builds and destroys in a loop, as if we are watching the collapse of the two buildings over and over again, listing the achievements of the American society, only to destroy them in the following stanza. Cvek argues that the repetitive broadcasting of the fall of the WTC buildings blurred the line between first-hand witnesses, survivors, and TV spectators and transformed the attack into a collective experience of trauma: "Instantly nationally broadcast by the TV networks, the event seemed to take place live, thus apparently narrowing the experiential gap between the first-hand witnesses and the TV audiences" (Cvek 40-41). Similarly, one may argue that the effect of the digital medium as a place for poetry about the attacks on the WTC buildings blur the line between testimony and artistic imagination, and the experience shifts from the response of the individual poet to a collective response to the events. Cvek's claims on the role of media on bridging the gap between the experiences of the TV spectators and the witnesses may be adopted to the discussion of poems about the attacks on September 11, 2001. Reading these poems generate a similar effect

of a shared experience. Thus, the poems contribute to the sense of a collective trauma. Harjo's poem, in addition to the other poems about the attacks, the collective experience is expressed through the use of the first-person plural pronoun "We" rather than the first person singular pronoun "I" which highlights the collective experience of the event. These personae "had been watching" the rise of civilization, they "[. . .] saw it / from the kitchen window over the sink," and they "[. . .] heard [. . .] / The racket in every corner of the world" revealing that the experience is a collective one that transgresses the borders of the nation (lines 9, 11-12, 29-30). Like the WTC buildings repeatedly shown on TV Harjo demolishes and rebuilds the achievements of humankind to underscore the abusive and destructive nature of human greed. Veselá identifies the speakers who refer to themselves as "we" in lines 9-10 as Native Americans, thus demonstrating the differentiation between Native Americans and European settlers (228). She claims that it is after this division in the poem that "financial and industrial emblems of America turn into dragons and monsters" that perish due to "their own ambition and greed" (229). Although Veselá argues that the ending of the poem does not provide the "possibility of peaceful double belonging or hybridization" and rather emphasizes "historical trauma and conflict" one may alternatively argue that the ending of Harjo's poem uses mourning as a generative healing force (Veselá 230). The ending lines that depict the "birthing" of a poem or a song embodies a positive remark that suggests a healing creative product that brings together the fragmented community portrayed in the previous lines of the poem. Like building monuments commemorate the attacks and heal the nation from its trauma, art and poetry in Harjo's poem assumes a similar role:

> But then there were the seeds to plant and the babies
> who needed milk and comforting, and someone
> picked up a guitar or ukulele from the rubble
> and began to sing about the light flutter
> the kick beneath the skin of the earth
> we felt there, beneath us
>
> a warm animal
> a song being born between the legs of her;
> a poem (Harjo, lines 43-51).

In contrast to the destruction articulated in the poem, the ending promises a hopeful future and resists the frequent image of death and loss as seen in other poems. The living bodies, in other words, become the living monuments that will help heal the wounds, instead of contemplating on the dead and constructing memorials for them, Harjo celebrates life.

Harjo's and Hudspith's poems demonstrate the ways in which poetry may heal trauma by assuming the role of monuments. According to Moberley Luger, poetry and monuments share similar characteristics in their role of commemoration as "private spaces of therapy and healing" (Luger 8):

> Living in the world as physical monuments do, poems hold stories of national trauma; like monuments, they are active repositories that carry events of the past into the future. To claim a memorial function for poetry is also to focus on the materiality of a poem as object. Just as a monument is a physical site where mourners can go to grieve, a poem can also occupy physical space (Luger 8).

Therefore, by documenting the attacks on the WTC buildings and reimagining them in poetry paves the way for private manifestations of acts of commemoration, and encourages readers to respond and interact with these poems as they do with memorials. In other words, just like visiting a monument to grieve, these poems on a global, national, and private scale enable the readers to grieve and come to terms with the events through the space the poems take up on the page.

While such poems assume the meanings of a memorial, there are also poems about the attacks on September 11, 2001 which imitate the form of the memorials and monuments. As such, like the memorial Reflecting Absence, Billy Collins's poem "Names" imitates a memorial on which names of the victims are inscribed. Kirk Savage in "Trauma, Healing, and the Therapeutic Monument" argues that using names on memorials as seen in Maya Lin's Vietnam War Memorial became a common practice in building memorials (Savage 103-104). Although Reflecting Absence is not a war memorial, its use of names may be regarded as a tribute to the lives lost as well as an extension of the government's emphasis on the narrative of national loss and the

production of the "war on terror" narrative that justified the war in the Middle East. In this regard, Billy Collins's poem "Names" puts emphasis on the idea of loss once more. Written for the anniversary of the attacks, the poem imitates a memorial because of the names of lost individuals that are listed throughout the poem:

> Yesterday, I lay awake in the palm of the night.
>
> A soft rain stole in, unhelped by any breeze,
>
> And when I saw the silver glaze on the windows,
>
> I started with A, with Ackerman, as it happened,
>
> Then Baxter and Calabro,
>
> Davis and Eberling, names falling into place
>
> As droplets fell through the dark.
>
> Names printed on the ceiling of the night (Collins, lines 1-8).

Collins follows the model of a memorial on which names of lost lives are inscribed in alphabetical order, which, as stated in the poem, can be found everywhere, from "A name under a photograph taped to a mailbox" to "storefront windows," which suggests that the names and shrine-like missing signs and commemorative corners abundant of flowers, photographs, poems and the like found their way into the poem, incorporating what is a transitory, social act of commemoration, into the permanent lines of poetry (Collins, lines 19, 21). One may suggest that to a certain extent, the names of the victims, as well as the makeshift memorials that appeared in Ground Zero are documented within the lines of the poem.

While some of the poems mentioned put special emphasis on depicting the events that occurred on the day of the attacks or their observations on how lower Manhattan looked like after the attacks as their subject material, there are other poems that imitate the physical appearance of the "Twin Towers" through their form. A poetry project initiated by Bob Holman entitled "Towers of Words: The Place of Poetry in Crises," is composed of a selection of lines out of 150 submissions of poetry in which the two towers are constructed as two poems entitled "Tower One" and "Tower Two," physically imitating the two towers with 110 lines each, the same number of floors for each building, voicing more than 50 poets and civilians. Holman describes his motive in this project as a way of searching for meaning:

> As a human, I watched the Towers implode from my office window on Duane Street, six blocks from ground zero. I thought, what to do? My response was to write a poem. And I wasn't alone. Towards the hole in the energy center, towards the sacred burial site of steel, concrete and ash, words began to emerge, looking for meaning, mourning, attempting to understand. […] The impulse to build Twin Towers of Words, to create a poem replicating/remembering what had been blasted by humanity's failings, a response of art, this came later. [The People's Poetry Gathering website] was a perfect site for poets to post their hearts, and they did, often leaving whole poems rather than simply adding a line. So, I wove the lines together, creating a single poem out of the many submissions (Holman et al. "Tower One").

Both of the poems, namely "Tower One" and "Tower Two" begin with the loss of words, the most crucial device for poets: "In a crisis, poets lose words / You can find them here" ("Tower One" lines 1-2). The first two lines of "Tower One" written by Bob Holman and Steve Zeitlin contemplate on the idea that this poem is a consolation, like gathering fragments against the shore, the poets gather the few words that are able to utter and instead of rebuilding a building on Ground Zero, they construct on the space of the page Tower One and Tower Two. Both poems describe the moment of collision, the smoke arising, the collapse of the two towers, and the ash and rubble filling the streets. The collective nature of the poems does not end in their use of various lines taken from numerous submissions in its composition; it also continues with the repetition of personas uttering the first person plural "we" throughout the poem. Thus, by including different submissions and styles of poetry within the body of the poem and using personae in the first-person plural Bob Holman and the contributors are able to create a poem in which a communal feeling of mourning can be felt, much like gathering around a memorial. In the second poem, "Tower Two" which was formed by an invitation to more than 130 poets for their submissions by Holman, the loss of words experienced by the collapsing of the two towers is likened to the loss of words experienced by Ancient Greek poets, and thus the second poem begins with an invocation to the Muses which will guide the poets into articulating the words:

In times of crisis, poets lose words. Find some:

soul, soul I say, to name the smoke-beings like

constellations in the night sky of this cities and cities to come.

Focus the Muses, write while trembling, deliver eternity

sky of this city and cities to come

(Holman et al., "Tower Two" lines 1-4).

The second poem alludes to the first poem with its first lines. The quoted lines of the second poem written by Bob Holman and Eileen Myles (line 1), Martin Espada (line 2), Ed Sanders (line 3) and Anselm Hallo (line 4) respectively, allude to the first poem and portray once again the desire of poets to find words that will be able to voice the loss, building the image of the second tower once again, as seen in "Tower One." These lines taken from "Tower Two" are followed by a description of the attacks and end with the frame narration of the poet-persona. The final three lines written by an anonymous poet, Marie Howe, and Adrienne Rich respectively read:

I wrote this entire poem my line not among the living lines appropriate lines

disappear pure empathy with those who disappeared.

We are on the verge of imagining something else, aren't we? Can you feel the

sentence forming?

"Love should be put into action," screamed the dirty hermit of another poem

("Tower Two" lines 108-110).

Thus, one may argue that when poets reclaim their lost words, poetry will be able to come to terms with the attacks witnessed by New Yorkers – of the collision, of the destruction of the buildings that turn into ash and rubble and the hopeful narratives of people helping each other to find consolation. Although the structure of the two poems force the

lines to be followed one after the other, the diversity of styles between the lines may be regarded as a culmination of voices that simultaneously express shock, anger, mourning, misery, and lamentation. Both poems contain lines written in English as well as in other languages including Arabic and Spanish, and employ personas who belong to more than one ethnic and religious background, which conveys the poems as collective sites for mourning. Mary Marshall Clark, the director of the Oral History Research Project, draws attention to the dominating response of the government was to portray "a nation unified in grief," however, she claims that this response was not a true reflection of the civilian response (Clark 118). She began *The September 11, 2001, Oral History Narrative and Memory Project* for which she interviewed more than four hundred people and analyzed their narratives for common themes and coping mechanisms (Clark 117). Similar to Clark's project, one may argue that Bob Holman's project is also a collection of the public response through poetry as a collective act of commemoration. Through lines of poetry submitted by various poets, the WTC buildings are rebuilt on the page voicing numerous groups of people and uniting them on the page as a site of commemoration. While the absence of the two WTC towers portrayed in the poems evoke a sense of loss, replaying their presence and collapse results in rebuilding them in the imagination as a way to create poetic monuments that would enable a site of collective commemoration. Thus, it is not only the form of the poem but also the content that suggests the idea of a memorial that includes everyone – survivors, victims, witnesses – who were involved in the attacks.

According to Nicole Cooley, the common opinion is that disaster "shuts down language […] because the suffering it causes is so total and complete" however, she claims that it also has the ability to produce "speech, writing, and testimony" and reproduces that disaster (Cooley, par. 1, 3). Some of the poems about September 11 discussed in this article may be categorized as "poetry of disaster" as these poems, like the disaster poems described by Cooley, "rely on fragments, […] refuse chronology and teleology, […] invoke the collective alongside the individual, often in tension with each other" (Cooley, par. 17-20). Moreover, the use of multiple personae who narrate testimonies and experiences that are "not visible in mainstream representations of disaster," in Cooley's words, suggest that the poems about the attacks on the WTC buildings discussed in this article to be

examples of what Moberley Luger defines as "poetic monuments" because they commemorate the events with the language of the "poetry of disaster" (Cooley, par. 21). However, Cooley's definition of the "poetry of disaster" focuses more on recreating the events through lines of poetry, without the aim to rebuild a new memorial as part of the healing process. In the light of her definition, while poems by Eliot Katz and Meena Alexander may seem to fit Cooley's definition, both poems as well as other poems previously discussed use descriptions about what followed after as their subject material, all suggesting that life triumphs over death. Thus, the disaster that all the poems about the attacks address may be regarded as a generative force for a means of closure and the poems thus become poetic monuments.

In conclusion, poems about the attacks on the World Trade Center buildings reuse images related to the attacks as a way of building monuments that would register the collective and individual responses to the attacks. Saphr argues that the questions about the literary representations of the attacks "shifted to questions of trauma and commemoration, a shift in emphasis that displaced concerns with the political work that literature can do." (Saphr 221). According to Saphr, the importance of literature about the attacks should be its ability to rewrite itself to attain an active role in the geopolitical affairs that are in question (221). Although not all of the poems discussed in this article directly address the political concerns raised by Saphr, it is important to acknowledge that by presenting alternative voices to the government's emphasis on unity and loss, these poems display the heterogeneity of responses of a time of turmoil and break away from the highly political narrative declared by the government and instead offer an alternative space for collective and private commemoration. In the context of Claudia Rankine's poem, Kimberley claims that the use of the images replayed on television in her poem is an act of retelling the narrative from a new perspective that removes the narrative of "the American fearful under attack" and instead presents a multiplicity of perspectives (Kimberley 789). In the light of Kimberley's words, one may argue that the recurring use of the images related to the attacks on the WTC buildings in the poems discussed in the present article may have a similar function of enabling individual responses that contribute to the collective imagination by presenting these multiplicity of perspectives instead of the single homogeneous response created by the government.

If after the attacks the city became a "monumental city" that displayed poems in makeshift memorials as Fraenkel argues, then, it may be possible to imagine the webpages to create a similar space for commemoration for the public to experience with the privacy of the individual experience (316). As Alkalay-Gut claims, even searching the web to find "September 11 poetry" has the effect of a "universal response" and most of the links found "do not state the name of the editor, as if to deny the intervention of an artistic censor" (Alkalay-Gut 259). In the tenth anniversary of the attacks Pamela Goodes provided a survey on the exhibitions and events held at the libraries across the nation which demonstrate the continuing need to commemorate the attacks in various ways. Pamela Goodes in her short survey lists exhibits and events held in libraries across the nation that commemorate the attacks of September 11 including a candlelit Freedom Walk organized by the Paramus Public Library and Pieces for Peace quilting activity by L.E. Phillips Memorial Public Library (Goodes 26). While such activities seem to illustrate that acts of commemoration have an important role in healing trauma, they remain to be local and temporary, whereas online mediums are available anywhere and anytime, transgressing the temporal and spatial restrictions that limit one to access the space of commemoration.

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The Female Body and Female Spectatorship in the American Silent Movie *Love 'em and Leave 'em*

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Abstract

This article analyzes the objectification of the female body, the function of the male gaze, and the construction of female spectatorship in the American silent movie *Love 'em and Leave 'em* (1926). Directed by Frank Tuttle, the movie features in the opening credits a spectacle of a woman's legs, in silky, transparent stockings, and high-heeled shoes. This initial scene positions the attractive legs of one of its female characters and prompts the question whether or not the objectification of attractive female legs—in this case in almost monumental proportions— deprives women of their subjectivity by turning them into mere spectacles or commodities. However, it can be argued that the critical stance the movie assumes is a parody of the male gaze, rather than a simple presentation of stereotypical gender roles. While reframing traditional gender norms in a performance of parody, the movie also dismantles what critic Laura Mulvey calls a "hermetically sealed world", which plays on voyeuristic fantasies of the spectator. Correspondingly, the movie takes a step further by constructing a novel sphere for its spectators, in particular, female spectators, where they could observe distinct representations of the female body. Conjuring up a novel spectatorial sphere in which the spectator views the female body through a critical light, *Love 'em and Leave 'em* creates ruptures in phallocentric cinematic diegesis, destabilizes the spectator's expectations, and relocates their perception in relation to multifarious questions it poses in scenes of parodies, rather than serving male fantasies.

Keywords: Female Body, Female Spectatorship, Gender Roles, Male Gaze, *Love 'em and Leave 'em,* American Silent Movie

Love 'em and Leave 'em: Amerikan Sessiz Sinemasında Kadın Bedeni ve Kadın Seyirci Kavramı

Öz

Bu makale 1926 Amerikan yapımı *Love 'em and Leave 'em* başlıklı sessiz filmde kadın bedenin nesneleştirilmesi, erkek bakışı ve kadın izleyicilik kavramlarını irdelemektedir. Frank Tuttle tarafından yönetmenliği üstlenilen film, hemen ilk sahnesini yüksek topuklu ayakkabı ve ince ipeksi çorap giymiş kadın bacakları görseliyle açmaktadır. İlk sahne, neredeyse anıtlaştırılmış bir halde sunulan bu kadın bedeni görseliyle kadın bedeninin sırf görsel değeri olan eşya niteliğine dönüştürülerek kadınların bireyselliklerini ve kimliklerini yitirdikleri bir dünyanın kapılarını izleyicisine açmaktadır. Film, bu çabasıyla aslında erkek egemen toplumdaki erkek bakışını ve yaratılan erkek egemen algıların bir parodisini sunarken, geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini eleştirel bir biçimde ortaya koyar. Aynı zamanda, bu parodi yoluyla film, eleştirmen Laura Mulvey'in ortaya koyduğu "sıkı sıkıya kapatılmış", bir başka deyişle izleyicilerin izleme fiiline yönelik düşlemleriyle yaratılan dünyayı yıkmaktadır. Böylece, film bir adım öteye geçerek, kadın izleyicileri için kadın bedeninin farklı temsillerini sunarak, yine özellikle kadın izleyicileri için kadın bedenini farklı bir bakış açısıyla değerlendirebilecekleri yeni bir alan yaratır. Kadın izleyiciler için hiç de tanıdık olmayan bu alanda, *Love 'em and Leave 'em,* erkek egemen sinema anlatısında kırılmalara neden olarak, yine erkek egemen düşlemlerin yerine izleyicilerin kadın bedeni üzerindeki algısını sahnedeki parodi aracılığıyla sarsma ve çeşitli sorular sorarak değiştirme eğilimi göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadın Bedeni, Kadın İzleyiciler, Toplumsal Cinsiyet Rolleri, Erkek Bakış Açısı, *Love 'em and Leave 'em*, Amerikan Sessiz Sineması

Adapted from a play of the same title (1926) by George Abbott and John V.A. Weaver, the 1926 production American silent movie *Love 'em and Leave 'em* is a dramedy that transcends the issues of romantic love in the alluring world of a department store in the 1920s in New York. An indicator of its particular sociohistorical context, the movie offers a picture of change in the 1920s for the American people who were going through social, cultural, and economic transformation, and in particular for women who were leaving their domestic sphere for work and acknowledgement in public workplaces with the influx of the Progressive Era. While reflecting this change through a meticulous emphasis on its female characters, the movie parodies, as this article argues, the conventional gender norms with a specific focus on their subversion and replacement of them by alternative perspectives of evaluating the female body and the position of female spectatorship. In light of this parody and the conspicuous representation of the female body in the movie, this article examines how the movie treats the female body as a critical venue to be explored in relation to the various meanings phallocentrism has long attached to it and how the male gaze is subverted as the movie tends to allocate more space for the female spectator as the holder of the gaze.

That *Love 'em and Leave 'em* begins with a spectacle of a woman's legs planted in silky, transparent stockings, escalated and erected upon the high-heeled shoes presents an initial scene of voyeurism, "a phallic substitute" (Mulvey, "Fears, Fantasies and the Male Unconscious" 10) and a representation of the female body as a pleasurable object. The corporeal position of the actress whose upper part is not displayed on the screen and the choice of clothing add a significant dimension to its dehumanization. As critics Adler and Pointon reflect in their "The Body as Language" (1993), this very first depiction of the female body illuminates the question whether the body is a "historically specific entity, invested in ideology, and not a biological construct" (128). Though this portrait of the female body seems to serve the male phantasies (and also function as the reflection of the Freudian castration complex) and though it refers to the historically and ideologically commodified, passive position of femininity and sexualized representation of the female body, the recurrent images of the female body in the movie alter and undermine the politics of traditional gender performance, opening up new venues for novel perceptions of the female body and femininity for its own time and

thereafter. The initial portrayal of the female body reminds the spectator of the ways in which the female body becomes a commodified object or a conspicuous congenial monument to be displayed. As such, in line with patriarchal gender codes, the nude legs with the attractive silk stockings can be considered a phallus-like monument that aims to give pleasure to the spectator, in particular to male spectators. Although the representation of the female body or legs as a pleasure-giving object seems to promote the workings of the hegemonic patriarchal world, various representations of the female body in the movie subvert the power mechanisms of phallocentrism and of visual pleasure through a diverse composition of parodies of such mechanisms.

The Female Body, Male Gaze, and Female Spectatorship

Questions central to cinematic production and the female body have so far been discussed in relation to gender roles and the male gaze in patriarchal social structures. Since the 1970s, cultural theories on cinema have focused on the mechanisms of phallocentrism and on the question how cinema is able to create new meanings and redefine or subvert existing social norms. Theories of visual pleasure in relation to cinema, in particular Laura Mulvey's significant arguments in her seminal article "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1975) (and thereafter her and other feminist critics' thoughts on the intersection of the cinema and sociocultural theories), center on scopophilia, the pleasure in looking, which for the most part is affiliated with the male gaze that voyeuristically enjoys the objectification of the female body within a cinematic diegesis. Still before the Mulveyian paradigms on the intersection and functionality of cinema and working social mechanisms, the cinema was growing as an independent field of interrogation in the U.S. academia. In his 1956 article, "How- and What- Does a Movie Communicate?" scholar John Houseman focused on the functionality of motion pictures in communicating "energy and excitement" to the spectator (230). He suggests that the "movie makers' contagious energy meet the excitement of their audiences, most of whom had never been exposed to dramatic entertainment before and who now rushed into the meeting, uncritical and unreasoning, their eyes wide with wonder and gratitude, in this mythical and fantastic world of their mutual creation" (230). Houseman's argument proposes that this "energy and excitement" (230) urges the spectator to embrace and question new forms of ideas and that the meeting of the motion picture with the spectator conjures up a mutual sphere where the spectator

could experience transformation and cathartic involvement. This link between the spectator and the image on the screen has been rendered more palpable with the rise of the feminist film critique in the 1970s with feminist critics' special emphasis on the relation of the male gaze to the working social mechanisms of patriarchy on the screen.

Feminist film scholarship explicitly interrogated the multifarious meanings that the cinema is able to evoke and the forms of involvement of the spectator. Feminist film criticism considered the cinema an analytical site that is able to create a meaning that serves the critical perception of a subject by the spectator, which overall composes a diegesis, a cinematic narrative in the study of phallocentric social norms. Mulvey's article is groundbreaking in the sense that it fundamentally underlines the power of phallocentrism and the meanings embedded culturally into the gender norms. Mulvey principally asserts that the cinema is an "advanced representation system" that "poses questions about the ways the unconscious (formed by the dominant order) structures the ways of seeing and pleasure in looking" (15). Perhaps, more significantly, the cinema, perceived as a relatively effortless art form by the spectator, is in fact structured and given a shape by dominant discourses and gender constructs, whereby it produces the product that has produced itself. It can thus be argued that the cinema serves the mechanism of patriarchal order, rendering the image -primarily the image of female embodiment - a pleasurable object to be viewed. In particular, as Mulvey asserts, the "magic of Hollywood style at its best (and all of the cinema which fell within the sphere of influence) arose, not exclusively, but in one important aspect, from its skilled and satisfying manipulation of visual pleasure" (16). In the face of this deep-seated perception of visual pleasure, Mulvey calls for an "alternative cinema" that "provides a space for the birth of a cinema which is radical in both a political and an aesthetic sense and challenges the basic assumptions of the mainstream film," and that "starts specifically by reacting against these ["the physical obsessions of the society"] obsessions and assumptions" (15-16).

What mainstream movie industry does, in Mulvey's terms, is in fact to code "the erotic into the language of the dominant patriarchal order," and she offers an alternative cinema that analyzes "pleasure, or beauty" within that erotic code since it "destroys" the authority arising from visual pleasure (16). Thus, pointing to the link between the power of cinematic representations and the unconscious hegemonic social

constructs, Mulvey argues that the "fascination of film is reinforced by pre-existing patterns of fascination already at work within the individual subject and the social formations that have moulded him" (14). At the center of this mechanism lies "the paradox of phallocentrism," which "depends on the image of the castrated women to give order and meaning to its world" (14). As Mulvey argues,

> An idea of woman stands as a linchpin to the system: it is her lack that produces the phallus as a symbolic presence, it is her desire to make good the lack that the phallus signifies. […] Woman's desire is subjugated to her image as bearer of the bleeding wound; she can exist only in relation to castration and cannot transcend it. […] Woman then stands in patriarchal culture as a signifier of the male other, bound by a symbolic order in which man can live out his fantasies and obsessions through linguistic command by imposing them on the silent image of woman still tied to her place as bearer, not maker, of meaning (14-15).

Drawing on Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis, Mulvey claims that the female image has a central role in the dominant phallocentric order and "women in representation can signify castration, and active voyeuristic or fetishistic mechanisms" (25). In the opening credits, the transparent legs remind the male spectator of the phallus, providing a prototype of the erect power of the imaginary phallus while adding a mode of eroticism to the movie. Though this initial portrayal of the female body as an image of the phallus serves the male phantasies, it can also be accounted for a threat of castration, which has the power to create a rupture in the unity of the diegesis for the male spectator. Thus, the stylized female body is the "direct recipient of the spectator's look," as it prompts the scopophilic instinct through which "the spectator is absorbed into a voyeuristic situation within the screen and diegesis" (Mulvey 22-23). Within this sexual disparity, "pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female," a construct where "the determining male gaze projects its fantasy on the female figure, which is stylized" (Mulvey 19). As Sotirios Bampatzimopoulos explicates, in classic cinematic narratives, "male characters are the ones that advance the plot by being active, while female characters function as a passive spectacle that pauses the narrative and offers pleasure both to the male gaze of the

protagonist, as well as the patriarchal gaze of the audience" (207). As women are thought to be passive bearers of meaning, not the active makers of it, which thus makes the male gaze always the holder of the controlling gaze, it is always the female body that is thrown into a crisis about visibility and pleasure. *Love 'em and Leave 'em* challenges such strict binaries in scenes where the idea of the female body that is displayed as a spectacle under the control of the male gaze is contested and destabilized.

Love 'em and Leave 'em features the story of two sisters, Janie and Mame, who are completely opposite characters. Janie, with her more carefree disposition, is an epitome of the flapper in the 1920s as opposed to Mame who is portrayed as a reasonable and responsible traditional woman. While *Love 'em and Leave 'em* powerfully reflects the changing gender norms in the beginnings of the twentieth century with the characterization of Janie, Mame stands for the typical Victorian ideals of womanhood of the previous decades. It can however be argued that, with the twist in her characterization in the course of the movie, Mame comes to defy these ideals and norms as she goes through a transformation, where she happens to perceive marriage and traditional gender norms as detrimental to her individuality and personal integrity. Both Janie and Mame's acts represent the transformation that female gender norms were going through in the 1920s. As Patricia Raub contends, "the Twenties was a decade in which a new morality was in the process of being negotiated, a decade in which women were beginning to try on new social roles" (111). It was thus the time when new roles of women emerged with the rise of the ideas of the New Woman and flappers in the United States. The term the New Woman culturally evolved through the female activism of the period; yet, the term flapper, with an image of immoral and trespassing woman, had rather a negative connotation. As Joshua Zeitz argues, though flappers "came to designate young women in their teens and twenties who subscribed to the libertine principles," they were no more than "the notorious character type who bobbed her hair, smoked cigarettes, drank gin, sported short skirts, and passed her evenings in steamy jazz clubs, where she danced in a shockingly immodest fashion with a revolving cast of male suitors" (5-6). Although there was no agreement as to the rise and use of the term flapper among historians, flappers were viewed as carefree, unrestrained, and mobile, which were all quite contrary to the gender norms of the time. Still, with the rise of the flapper figure,

who "has thrown off the conventions of her Victorian predecessors to crop her hair, shorten her skirt, and dance the Charleston" (Raub 109), this passage to a newly emerging understanding of female identity came as a significant breakthrough in the definitions of femininity in defiance of antebellum womanhood ideals, and in fact granted mobility and freedom to the American woman in the 1920s.

It is through this portrayal of social and cultural transformation that *Love 'em and Leave 'em* showcases the new role of women that is still alien to the 1920s United States, mainly because both the general term the New Woman and more stereotyped depiction of flappers played the active roles, overthrowing the restrictions of patriarchy in unexpected ways. As phallocentric gender norms shun placing the male characters in a sexually objectified position, the traditional cinematic diegeses put them in active roles in the progression of the story. *Love 'em and Leave 'em* reverses this hegemonic structure by enabling the female characters to take the lead in controlling the main events and by subverting the patriarchal order in a series of parodical scenes. Janie and Mame's father is absent in the movie, but an influence of Mame and Janie's mother is always felt even through her framed photograph and the promise Mame has made to her mother to take care of her younger sister, Janie. As the movie parodies the gender roles, it juxtaposes Janie and Mame's active involvement in the events and the acts of three male characters- Bill -Mame's husband-to-be -, Lem -the horse-dealer, and Mr. Schwartz -the department store manager- who can be considered substitute patriarchs, or "screen surrogates" (Mulvey 20) for male spectators, to highlight the operation of the male gaze and objectification of female embodiment.

After its initial attempt to subvert the existing gender norms and binaries with the scene of the legs, the movie reminds its spectators of "the straight, socially established interpretation of sexual difference which controls images, erotic ways of looking and the spectacle" (Mulvey 14) together with the perception of the female body as the passive recipient of the active male gaze, as a symbol of "to-be-looked-at-ness" and of the "shifting tension between the looks on either side of the screen" (Mulvey 19). From this point on, *Love 'em and Leave 'em* dramatizes parodical scenes that subvert the objectification of the female body and the dominance of the male gaze in relation to female spectators. In the following scene, the baby doll with which Mame tickles Janie's leg reiterates the voyeurism of the first scene. Mame

holds the mechanic doll baby to wake Janie up as she is shown sleeping on her bed. Mame switches on the baby doll and tickles Janie's feet with its walking movements, which signifies Mame's attempt to invest movement and life in Janie's stiff body. At this very moment, the fact that Janie is sleeping and lying on the bed like a statue creates an erotic impact, positioning her in the circle of "to-be-looked-at-ness" (Mulvey 19). The animation of the baby doll operates as a mechanism that shatters the comfort of the male gaze together with Mame's move that is also an obstacle placed before the active controlling male gaze.

The movie lays bare the phallocentric superiority of the male gaze with such specific objects as the baby doll, which is battery-operated and represents the animation of something that is as mechanical and artificial as the fetishized female body. With the baby doll's sudden transformation to a mobile object, if not human, the scene turns into a scene of parody, presenting the ridicule created by the incongruity between naturalness of the female body and its objectification imposed by the male gaze. The movie as a form of dramedy exposes the seriousness of its criticism by dramatizing the parodical treatment of scenes in a ritual of comedy. The movie deploys laughter to transfer its critique to its spectators. Laughter instigated by parody becomes a critical tool; since, as critic M. Bakhtin describes, laughter is "as universal as seriousness; it was directed at the whole world, at history, at all societies, at ideology" (84). It becomes "the world's second truth extended to everything and from which nothing is taken away" (Bakhtin 84). As the movie illustrates, parody comes to function as "the festive aspect of the whole world in all its elements, the second revelation of the world in play and laughter" (Bakhtin 84). The act of tickling turns the stagnant scene into a parody, through which Janie's idealized body is contested and replaced with one that is stripped of sexuality. Tickling and Janie's becoming mobile shatter the objectifying, controlling and active male gaze on Janie's body, dislocating the statue-like stillness the voyeuristic phallocentrism imposes on the female body. The parodical treatment of this scene undermines the fetishization of the female body, destroying the pleasure the male gaze derives from the objectified female body, and urging the spectator to think about the exposed discrepancy.

If parody is the revelation of the ridicule, the parody in the movie holds the ridicule to the public gaze rather than only to the male one. Thus, parody in *Love 'em and Leave 'em* touches on the basic definition

of parody as "an imitation which exaggerates the characteristics of a work or a style for comic effect" (xi), as John Gross describes, and yet transcends it by operating on a level where it "pushes beyond its strict boundaries" (xiii) and where "mimicry turns into an independent fantasy" (xiii). Parody of both the conventional gender norms and the objectifying nature of the male gaze invite the spectator of the movie to what Gross calls "a fantasy" (xiii), as it transgresses such norms of the hegemonic order, challenging them through mockery. Whereas Janie's position as the female icon represents the display of the female body as a model of a corporeal spectacle of male voyeurism, Mame's acts continually problematize such conceptualizations by preventing Janie's body from becoming an epitome of an erotic spectacle as well as a mechanical commodified object. While breaking down the patriarchal cinematic diegesis through a rupture created against the voyeuristic intentions of the male spectator, Mame produces a realm for the female viewer to inspect Janie as a subject, showing them the possibility to take an active critical stance in their evaluations as female spectators.

The movie's critique of the dominant relation of the male gaze to female embodiment is further reconstituted in the scene where the opening scene repeats itself but with the gaze of the camera following Janie's legs, and presenting them once again as the attractive erotic object drawing the attention of the male gaze. Mr. Schwartz, the director of the department store, gazes at Janie's legs. The spectator sees Janie's iconic legs here again, yet now also through the eyes of Mr. Schwartz, who is "in charge of window displays – and interested in other exhibitions (Arthur Donaldson)" (*Love 'em and Leave 'em*). Yet, Miss Amelia Streeter, "the forewoman of the sales force and President of the Ginsburg Employees' Welfare League", catches his gaze, as he seems to be enjoying the spectacle of Janie's legs. It can be argued that Mr. Schwartz's gaze is problematized here; since, while Janie is arranging the hats in the store on a stool, his gaze is shown prior to Miss Streeter. In this scene, where Miss Streeter and Mr. Schwartz are the two spectators in sight, Janie or her half moving leg becomes the object of scopophilic fantasy. As Mr. Schwartz's eye catches the sight of Janie's legs, his facial expression reveals that he enjoys the view. However, when Miss Streeter spots the point Mr. Schwartz is looking at, she immediately controls Mr. Schwartz's gaze by gesturing her awareness.

What qualifies this scene is Miss Amelia Streeter's critical

gaze: The meeting of the eyes of Mr. Schwartz and Miss Amelia Streeter pointedly subverts the male gaze that reigns over the female body. Miss Amelia Streeter's controlling eyes shape Mr. Schwartz up, shattering his voyeuristic intent. It can be discussed that the movie creates this awareness on the part of the female characters and female spectators alike who are expected to act out their consciousness of the voyeuristic eyes on the female body. As critic Mary Ann Doane contends in her "Female Spectatorship and Machines of Projection," the female characters' position in relation to one another reveal "the contradictions which emerge when the attempt to position the woman as subject of the gaze is accompanied by an acknowledgement of her status as the privileged content of the image" (155). That another female character is critically assuming the role of the male gaze thus reminds the female spectator that they can absent themselves from their position as monumental objects and nonexistent spectators to assuming the role of active subjects and critical spectators. With Miss Amelia Streeter's involvement in the scene as a spectator, the movie adds the female gaze next to the male gaze, which eventually enhances the function of the female gaze within the movie. The complicated tension between seeing and being seen provides the female spectator with the power to detect and control the male gaze within the movie as well as observing the incongruities and gender inequality on the screen and in social practices.

As Mulvey maintains, "the presence of woman is an indispensable element of spectacle in normal narrative film, yet her visual presence tends to work against the development of a story line, to freeze the flow of action in moments of erotic contemplation" (19). As the erotic female embodiment in conventional cinematic narratives pauses the action, it enables the male gaze to freeze time and to enjoy the scene voyeuristically. *Love 'em and Leave 'em* again undermines this freezing function and quality of the male gaze that turns the female body into mere monumental commodities through the scenes in which the female embodiment gains mobility and an active function as opposed to its previous frozen representations. A similar scene takes place when Bill helps Mame climb on a chair and stand in an upright position to clean her dress with the help of the fan after her coworker spills the powder over her dress accidentally. The moment Mame's body is to become an erotic monument just like Janie's body, its exposition to the fan grants it with mobility and frees it from becoming a frozen image,

dispersing the voyeuristic looks as she cleans off the powder on her dress. In contradistinction to the conventional pause provided for the male gaze by the conventional cinematic narratives, her pose to the fan and the powder on her dress render the scene a parody full of laughter, leaving no space for the male gaze to stabilize the female body after Mame's impeccable image of female embodiment is ruined by the spill of powder and the movement provided by the fan.

Such parodical representations of the attempts to immobilize the female body become the movie's critical tool in the revelation of the social boundaries or prejudices in the perception and implementation of gender norms. Parody in these scenes powerfully illustrates the ridicule by distortion and mockery, offering alternatives for representation. Parody brings mobility to such strict scenes that seem under the control of the static, freezing, and immobilizing male gaze through intermingling the female characters' involvement as agents and interrogating spectators who are able to construct distinct meanings in the cinematic diegesis. Though the effect of parody for the spectator may seem to be humorous at first, it deconstructs the existing impact of patriarchy's social operations and replaces them with alternative views. An equally overwhelming effect of parody is that it eliminates the strictness of the frozen effect of the male gaze, bringing humor and thus an alternative perspective through which to critique working social mechanisms. In this evaluation, the movie treats the concept of love as a venue that brings this critique into light. The title *Love 'em and Leave 'em* itself offers a mockery of the romantic love affairs, implying the failure of love affairs in the movie due to oppressive social practices of patriarchy.

Love 'em and Leave 'em's deployment of frames further endorses its parody of love. The movie is fraught with distinct forms of frames, and draws the attention of the spectator to the frames, mirrors, windows, window displays, and doorways, which all enhance the spectator's position as those who satisfy "a primordial wish for pleasurable looking" (Mulvey 17). Thus, there appears a strong tendency for both the characters and the spectator to be lured into the frames through which they can further brood on the state of affairs among the characters and the intriguing function of spectatorship. In the course of the movie, this disposition is largely nourished by Mame's acts and her transformation from a conventional woman to a rather nonconformist one due to her disappointment in her relationship with Bill. First, Bill steals Mame's creative idea in the window-dressing scene and then he

cheats on her with her own sister. The most striking example of this process can be observed in her attempt to enliven the drab windows inhabited by mannequins. Quite like a human greenhouse, the display windows of the department store present mannequins as the ideal shape of the human body. As Mary Ann Doane argues in view of spectacles and spectatorship, "the body adorned for the gaze" becomes "the ultimate commodity" (156) and as the business of department stores includes a world of spectacles and commodities, the store windows dramatize the captivity of human beings, whose bodies are thought to be mere objects of visual pleasure. Mame's creativity however functions to overthrow this system by granting mobility and movement to the stability of the commodifying system with the help of natural or live objects like the kitten. Since commodification of the human body or embellishment of the body with artificial materials are all intended to make the body look erotic and appealing to the scopophilic eye, re-designing the window and animating it through the kitten becomes a strategy that subverts the existing system of power and perplexes spectators' perceptions.

In the window arrangement scene where Mr. Schwartz asks for a rearrangement of the window of the department store, Bill takes the same fan to make the window decoration "breezy" (*Love 'em and Leave 'em*). However, when he fails in stripping the window of its dull and stagnant nature, Mame offers to put the fan on the floor, which renders the entirety of the window and mannequins' clothes breezy, as Mr. Schwartz wishes. Bill capitalizes on Mame's idea, pretending that the whole idea of enlivening the window with the movement of the fan was his. Though Mr. Schwartz rewards Bill for this bright idea, he cannot realize the fact that it was indeed Mame's idea that breaks the stillness of the window and thus the enjoyment and pleasure that the male gaze invests in the mannequins. The mobility of the once still bodies of the mannequins bewilders the spectators of the display window as they seem excited about gazing more at the window's new breezy state through the window frame of the department store. In this process, it can be argued that the real spectators in the theater could also feel encouraged to gain consciousness about the process of viewing and their status as viewers by observing the reactions of the display window spectators.

The spectators of the movie promptly notice Bills' hypocrisy through the critical comment in the intertitles "Bill dressed the window that night 'all by himself' (*Love 'em and Leave 'em*), if not the spectators of the invigorated window within the movie. Mr. Schwartz tells Bill that

he has the "artistic touch", but Bill still does not acknowledge that this is Mame's idea. He dismisses Mame's idea when she suggests enlivening the window with the kitten, saying, "Be yourself, Mame. This ain't any animal store". Yet, just before Mr. Schwartz praises Bill again for this idea, Bill tells Mame that the kitten has "spoiled my [his] whole effect". Having heard Mr. Schwartz's praise, Bill pretends to be the creator of the idea and receives the promotion, thereby repeating his behavior by capitalizing on Mame's talent. Mame once again is left without any appreciation and acknowledgement whereas Bill gets the promotion. As is illustrated in these scenes, the movie provokes the thoughts of the spectator in view of the phallocentric mechanisms of seeing and women's disadvantageous and inferior position in society. Bill's hypocrisy becomes more visible for the spectator when Mame's talent is not valued and when he takes advantage of her intellect and steals her ideas, assuming them as his own. Mame's ideas not only mobilize the female bodies within the display window but they confute the attribution of passiveness to both femininity and female spectatorship as well. These scenes together with the satirical intertitles help spectators feel sure of Bill's hypocrisy when he tells Mame that one day her talent will be discovered by Mr. Schwartz; however, it is Bill himself who hides the fact that the display window is Mame's own artistic product.

Mame's role in showing the female spectators the prospect of developing a critical approach to the screen is further embedded in the movie's use of intertitles. In the construction of a novel sphere for the female spectators, it can be argued that the intertitles build a frame drawn around the relevant scene. By means of the intertitles, the movie first becomes self-referential, and then critical of the images passing on the screen. Even remarks of irony or mockery of the preceding or following scenes are imbedded in the intertitles, whereby the intertitles take the form of a narrative where the characters, events, attitudes, and setting become more intelligible for the spectator. The critical stance the movie assumes in relation to its use of intertitles also affirms what critic Michel Chion states about the function of intertitles in cinematic narratives in the 1920s. Chion claims that intertitles, which were "the subject of much debate in the 1920s" (16) in their relation to the audience, "conjure up a 'narrator' whose detachment may allow for ironic commentary on the action" (14). *Love 'em and Leave 'em*'s deployment of intertitles evinces that not only do the intertitles efficaciously frame, foreground and provide an ironical narrative succession and progress to the movie,

but they also challenge the expectations of the spectator through their satirical content.

Mame further diverts the male gaze from its pleasure-taking mechanism in her attempt to animate the window display. Each intertitle sarcastically comments on the male desire to control power. The intertitles following these scenes parody Bill's attitude, "Bill dressed the window *all by himself*" and "Window dressing tires a *man* out" [Italics mine]. If it were Mame who receives Mr. Schwartz's appreciation, she would get the promotion, and her superiority and creativity would be acclaimed. In addition to the parodical perspective the intertitles offer, the kitten's movements destroy the immobile male gaze by directing it to wherever it moves, thus shuttering its fixity on the female body and shunning the collapse of the female body as a result of objectification. The kinesis of the kitten defies the static decoration of the windows, which also perpetuate the control of the male gaze. Likewise, the movement introduced by the fan to the mannequins, which are synthetic replicas of the human body, reinforces the failure of the operation of the objectifying male gaze.

From the very beginning, the movie speaks to the images of the phallocentric world that reflect formulaic gender norms. When Janie does not await her turn and goes into the bathroom, Bill says through the intertitles, "Ain't that just like a woman!" in a tone that undervalues women. Mame's acts go against such formulae, however. Mame is an active vigorous contemplator throughout the movie, and she reverses biased and stereotyped gender categories. No matter how disillusioned she is due to Bill's disheartenment and infidelity, she does not give in to any form of mechanism that can control her. She remains true to her personal integrity, and also asserts herself by acknowledging her status as an active actress as well as a spectator who controls the spectacle with her artistic touches. Mame's role in the movie is crucially rewarding for the female spectator; since she is transformed from a passive woman into a holder of the gaze, a spectator, an active role that corresponds to the rising cognizance of the female spectators about the ever-active phallocentric surveillance mechanism in the cinematic diegesis. The female spectator is persistently incited to watch images of desire, and view how the female body is made to remain subordinate and as a mere commodity that is prone to constant exchange. In the display window scenes, the movie positions the spectator of the movie as a reflection of the viewers of that display window within the movie, while at the same time it also constantly invites them to evaluate the female

characters' transformation and to recall their position as spectators of the transforming images.

While the movie presents a parodical treatment of the male characters' gaze, it suggests the possibility of female spectatorship along with a new form of a gaze, that of a female one, with Mame's active involvement in the events. Mame takes the power to orientate the meaning making process away from the two patriarchs of the movie first from Bill and then from Lem by holding the power of gaze in her hands. In this process, the movie juxtaposes two scenes that come one after another: First, the scene where Bill kisses Janie in her room, Janie becomes the object of Bill's gaze and the male spectator's gaze as her body becomes another object of voyeuristic fantasy when she lies down on the coach, and secondly, the scene where Mame sees Bill and Janie kissing each other through the doorway. In the first scene, Janie's assuming an objectified state on the coach creates once again a sight in which her body and femininity is exposed to be sexually attractive. The movie discloses such scenes in which kissing an attractive woman becomes a scopophilic spectacle for the spectators: the moment Bill kisses Janie after Mame goes on a vacation, the camera shoots the puppets kissing each other, which reflect the parodical replica of their love-making. Bill's gaze is always located superior to Janie's as though he is overlooking and controlling her. While kissing Janie, Bill's body is shown to be covering Janie's body so that the spectator could see only Bill's body and therefore his superior position in relation to Janie. At this very moment, the spectator can also observe one of his legs pushing a male puppet and the puppet's kissing the female puppet. The simultaneous kiss of the puppets does refer less to the authenticity of the romance between Janie and Bill than to the parodical representation of Bill and Janie's deceitful love affair. Since, as in line with Mulvey's arguments, phallocentric world nourishes a space of representations, Bill's gaze embodies the voyeuristic male fantasy in this scene, in which the male gaze eliminates and undervalues the female body and femininity.

This is the very scene where both Bill and Janie cheat on Mame, Bill as her lover and Janie as her sister. In the following scene Mame reverses the dominance of the male gaze when she witnesses Bill and Janie kissing each other through the doorway. This is the second time that Bill and Janie's kiss constructs a voyeuristic view, yet now with the twist of the female gaze and female spectator. Mame's gross disillusionment is contrasted with the carnivalesque atmosphere she creates in the party

where she plans to announce their marriage. While Mame remains loyal to Bill in the countryside, she witnesses her neighbor's family happiness and decides that money is not an obstacle to marry Bill. When she comes back earlier than expected with the hope of marrying Bill, she tells her friends about her decision. While the movie parodies socially accepted, romantic relationships, it also reframes Bill and Janie's relationship from a voyeuristic perspective in this scene. Before the spectator of the movie sees them kissing, the people in the house hide and watch them in darkness. The people of the house as the spectators of this scene are positioned as voyeurs, reflecting the stance of this movie's spectators in relation to the scopophilic view. Mulvey considers "the extreme contrast between the darkness in the auditorium (which also isolates the spectators from one another) and the brilliance of the shifting patterns of light and shade on the screen" (17) to be promoting the mechanism of the "hermetically sealed world" (17) and the illusion of the voyeuristic separation. This specific spot, the doorway, where Mame stands and views them is significant as it breaks down the voyeuristic frame through which the male gaze objectifies the female body. Mame constructs a new frame for the female spectator to remind them of their forced status as erotic spectacles within the movie and in social life, inviting them to develop a critical eye as holders of the gaze. The movie hence juxtaposes whatever Mame views as a romantic love with the deception she is exposed to by Bill and Janie firstly when they see a poster "Circus Love" after getting out of the theater and secondly in her witnessing the very moment of Bill's kissing Janie. Signifying the deception and infidelity of Bill and Janie, the poster comes as a critique of oppressive relationships that, just like Bill does in his relationship with Mame, overpower and manipulate women. Not only does Bill cheat on Mame, but he also takes all chances to get the promotion by constantly fooling her.

The movie develops concurrent scenes of masquerade towards its end, where spectators see in different settings Janie and Mame in costumes that foreground their femininity. While Janie is shown to be dancing in the Welfare League Dance party, Mame is after Lem, the horse dealer, to get back the money Janie has given to him. She is not only after Lem and the money, but she also feels an urgent need to regain her dignity as Miss Streeter accuses her of stealing the money due to Janie's lie. Janie causes Mame's accusation inconsiderately in order not to reveal to Miss Streeter that she has spent the money on horse race and lost it. These two scenes are once again fraught with images

of femininity where the spectators see Janie and Mame's femininity in excessive forms. Janie's extreme femininity in a costume, which renders her more like a baby doll, and Mame's oriental costume that invests her femininity with a more mysterious and attractive touch can be considered forms of masquerade in a carnivalesque backdrop. Masquerade with such a distinct emphasis on femininity enable the female characters to gain agency and freedom; and it brings carnivalesque elements into the service of parody. As Joan Riviere contends, women are "acting a part" under masquerade to protect themselves from the fierceness of the male world, since "the mask of femininity" (307-308) endow them with acknowledgement in the dominance of the patriarchal order. In this scene, carnivalesque elements provided by masquerade help both Janie and Mame "celebrate[d] temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order", as carnival signifies "the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms and prohibitions" (Bakhtin 10) and of the oppressive patriarchs in the movie. Janie is subjected to Lem's deceit and fraud, but it is Mame who is subjected to both her sister's and Lem's deceit. The masquerade provides them with a comfort zone where Janie escapes Miss Streeter's repressions and where Mame pursues Lem to take back Janie's money and her self-esteem.

The whole scene of Welfare League Dance is presented as a masquerade where the carnivalesque atmosphere subverts all formulae related to identity categories. All of the characters, Janie, Miss Streeter, Mr. Schwartz, Bill are dressed in costumes in the masquerade. Janie, on the one hand, dancing just like a puppet, diverts the attention of Miss Streeter to escape from the accusation of stealing the League's money. On the other hand, she attracts the attention of Mr. Schwartz as he makes advances on her and offers to dine out after the party. Where their social hierarchies and gender identities as the employer and the employee become blurred, Janie makes use of this new state to make Mr. Schwartz think of recruiting Mame in his own department. As Mary Ann Doane suggests, what Janie performs is to "flaunt her femininity, produce herself as an excess of femininity, in other words, foreground the masquerade" (*Film and the Masquerade 25*) Her femininity renders her more submissive and affectionate when she dances with Mr. Schwartz. It further helps her manipulate Mr. Schwartz with her compliments, making him "feel as young as any of the young men" (*Love 'em and Leave 'em*) in the party. She later is able to attract Mr. Ginsburg's attention and wins the prize

in the masquerade, covering over her mistake in losing the money on horse race with her femininity in her conversation with Mr. Ginsburg. She eventually leaves the party with Mr. Ginsburg in his Rolls Royce, eluding Mr. Schwartz's advances. Janie's legs are visible again in this scene where her presentation like a puppet or a mechanical mannequin corresponds to the earlier spectacle of her legs' objectification, which this time she turns into her own advantage.

In the ensuing scene, Mame mocks the male pleasure of looking at an eroticized woman when she gets dressed in oriental clothes to get back the money Lem has stolen from Janie. She intentionally wears a veil and a mystical oriental costume, assuming excessive femininity as a weapon against the male fascination of the female image. Only when she flaunts her femininity, as Doane puts it, she becomes able to reverse Lem's voyeuristic looks back to him by superintending his gaze. During this scene, Mame remains on the side of the spectator by constantly watching Lem's sexual advances. She takes the purse from Lem secretly when she sees no other way but kissing him. However, this scene turns into a battle when Lem realizes that Mame stole his purse and takes his purse by force. Whereas one might question whether Mame's personality is under the threat of a collapse after their violent struggle over the purse, it can be argued that she preserves her control over Lem through defending herself and the masquerade she performs in this scene. She triumphs over Lem as she skillfully takes on the roles of a producer, a director, an actress and a spectator of the small parody she shoots, and presents the control she has during directing the gaze as a spectator, an actress, and a director.

Doane clarifies the oppression of the male dominance through the term masquerade and states that "the very fact that we can speak of a woman 'using' her sex or 'using' her body for particular gains is highly significant - it is not that a man cannot use his body in this way but that he doesn't have to. The masquerade doubles representation; it is constituted by a hyperbolisation of the accoutrements of femininity" (*Film and The Masquerade* 26). Masquerade in *Love 'em and Leave 'em* functions as a play of attaining power and freedom for Mame and Janie in the patriarchal world. In this carnivalesque atmosphere, Janie is shown dancing like a puppet in her shiny black dress, yet she is no longer an animation of fetishized female body as she overcomes the male superiority by controlling her femininity in the face of Mr. Schwartz's

advances. Likewise, though Mame brings the League's money to the party and is fired by Miss Streeter "without a reference", she defies all constrictions by enjoying the dance, saying that she will not leave the party "without a dance". Masquerade becomes a dialogical link to the female subjectivity, giving it freedom and agency. Though they face threat in the supremacy of the patriarchs in the movie, Mame and Janie do not yield to the masculine desire and objectification. In the masquerade, they strip their bodies of the specular investment, rejecting conformity to the deceit of men's world. Masquerade takes the form of a carnival, which is the "true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change and renewal" as it is "hostile to all that was immortalized and completed" (Bakhtin 10). With the final parody of the gender norms that is portrayed by the masquerade and carnivalesque atmosphere, the movie introduces to its spectators an economy of variety that endows the female characters with freedom and superiority over the male characters, transforming the official authority in phallocentrism into a revolutionary and regenerative state.

In Doane's argument, masquerade's link to the look is intriguing as it causes attenuation of the dominancy of the male gaze. As she contends, "By destabilising the image, the masquerade confounds this masculine structure of the look. It effects a defamiliarisation of female iconography. Nevertheless, the preceding account simply specifies masquerade as a type of representation, which carries a threat, disarticulating male systems of viewing ("Film and The Masquerade" 26). Doane offers masquerade as a confrontation with and an opposition to the voyeuristic male gaze and its stabilizing impact. If this is a disturbance that can be perceived as a rupture in the functionality of the male gaze, then the parody of the male gaze subverts the narcissistic identification of the male gaze with the female body by desexualizing the female body itself. This twist the movie poses for the female subjectivity invites potential cinematic relationships of femininity to the screen, thereby shifting the attention on spectatorship from the male gaze towards a more neutral or feminine one. Perhaps one of the most critical scenes the movie poses in respect to the spectacle and spectatorship presents the most visible example of the relation of the screen to the female spectator when Mame looks into the mirror in her room. The spectators can perceive that there is a photograph on top of the mirror, looking at Mame. The woman in the photo looks like Mame or her mother. The moment Mame and this photograph are seen on the same screen looking at each other endorses the movie's search for acknowledgement of the female spectator. In addition to this picture frame, there are various frames where the

spectators see women portraits. As can be seen in this scene and in other scenes, the movie helps the construction of an understanding of female spectatorship by reminding the female audience in particular of their position as spectators by conjuring a relation between the characters as spectators in the movie and the spectators of the movie. Though the gaze controlled by the mechanical camera is an obvious symbol of how voyeuristically the male gaze operates, the movie parodies how the male gaze is interrupted in may cases in the movie by focusing on the female presence as the spectator.

Parody as is framed by masquerade introduces diversity to the movie, an artistic production that needs to be uninhibited by any form of monolithical content and tendency. Parody in *Love 'em and Leave 'em* combines distinct perspectives, evincing the failure of established cultural forms of patriarchy. The title of the movie itself becomes a parody of romantic love affairs, as phallocentric definitions of love affairs based on the dominance of men live on inauthenticity of relationships and their disingenuous and oppressive nature, as is clear in Bill's deceit and cheat. In the scene where Mame and her friends witness Bill and Janie's cheat, a child among the guests asks, "I thought it was Mame that was stuck on him" (Bill). Mame, expressing her regret and naivety in believing in Bill's love, says, "'But he isn't the first and won't be the last', 'Love 'em and leave 'em – that's me'". Rejecting the idea of being fooled by Bill, Mame reflects her regret; "No man's going to play me for a fish. Fool 'em and forget 'em". Furthermore, presenting the male gaze as a voyeuristic mechanism in this scene, the movie further re-appropriates the male gaze with a novel and repression-free touch. The gaze Mame controls in this specific scene swaps the male and female roles in spectatorship, and replaces the male gaze with the female one. This exchange introduces the possibility of the female spectatorship and the female gaze to the spectators, reminding them of the dominant controlling and restrictive role of the male gaze. After this moment of recognition of the love between Janie and Bill, Mame, when she says "Fool 'em and forget 'em", shocks Bill in her use of patriarchal discourse that commodifies women as a spectacle or an exchange material, as well.

The recurrent emphasis on deceitful and insincere love affairs attracts the attention of the spectator to the artificial objects or scenes in the movie. The movie's focus on the relation between objectification and mobility is underlined by its use of such objects as the mechanical doll, mannequins, or the persons in the frames who all become animate

replicas of human beings. This conflict between stripping things of life and investment of mobility is further perpetuated in the final scene of romance between Mame and Bill in the masquerade party. Bill apologizes to Mame and takes her to the window display and kisses her again. This final scene of a spectacle of love and spectators is created when a clerk in the costume of a clown says, "Those dummies look almost human". The clerk's remark stands itself out as the final parodical criticism of the attempts that freeze and objectify women. Just like the baby doll that symbolizes the breakdown of the stagnant male gaze, the idea of a collapse between artificiality and authenticity of things including the human and female body enhances the movie's attempts to restore mobility and change to the strictness of the phallocentric male gaze, which ultimately paves the way to construction of female spectatorship. It can be thus argued that *Love 'em and Leave 'em* achieves to break down the system of voyeuristic pleasure with the assistance of a female character. Mame is the heroine of a process from stability to mobility of things displayed. In the scene where she sees through the doorway, she also shatters the stagnancy of both the male gaze and changes her own inactive status as a woman who wants to get married. With her move from a woman who stagnantly waits for her husband-to-be to earn money for marriage to an independent woman who can stand without the help or support of a man, Mame is presented as going through a transformation, a process at the end of which she gains mobility and individuality.

Love 'em and Leave 'em is an attempt to come to terms with the idea of spectatorship from the perspective of objectification, and introduces a new realm for the female spectatorship. The movie itself, with its constantly moving scenes, is able to provoke questions about the patriarchal social formations and patterns of thought reflecting the male gender as the only status for spectatorship. By posing scenes of voyeurism, the movie subverts the male gaze in order to crystallize its criticism of the female body as a pleasure-giving spectacle in phallocentric cultural structures. The movie hence enables its spectators to observe the possibility for the cinema to break through the norms of gender, and evade pressures placed on the female embodiment and spectatorship. *Love 'em and Leave 'em*, with its focus on the parody of the patriarchal constructs of gender and the male gaze, provides the spectator with the chance to observe the female body not as a voyeuristically viewed image but as an entity that is able to disrupt the popular and stereotypical representations of women on the screen.

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"What are the Irish Catholics Fighting for?": The *Pilot*'s Creation of An Alternative Archive to American Nativist Amnesia During the Civil War*

Gamze Katı Gümüş

Abstract

An institution with its very own systems of remembering, forgetting, memorizing and presenting, the *Boston Pilot*, an Irish ethnic newspaper, directly and indirectly aimed to shape an identity for the Irish community in the United States. Parallel to many alternative systems of archiving, the *Pilot* distrusted the archive of the hegemonic other and created an archival organization to avoid societal and historical amnesia. In this sense, the series of "Records of Irish-American Patriotism" written by Michael Hennessy is an important asset for the paper as the series documents the heroic acts of the Irish Brigade and Irish American soldiers, and creates an alternative archive of its own together with the news and editorials published in the *Pilot*. Additionally, the *Pilot*'s racially motivated lexicon over the course of the Civil War will be analyzed to understand further how this alternative archive influenced its readers and their perception of African Americans.

Keywords: The *Boston Pilot*, Archive, Michael Hennessy, Whiteness, Nationalism, Irish Americans.

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"Katolik İrlandalılar Ne İçin Savaşıyor?": *Pilot*'ın İç Savaş Sırasında Amerikan Milliyetçi Bellek Yitimine Alternatif bir Arşiv Oluşturması

Öz

Kendi hatırlama, unutma, ezberleme ve sunma yöntemleri ile bir kurum olan İrlandalı etnik gazete *Boston Pilot* dolaylı ve dolaysız olarak Amerika Birleşik Devletlerindeki İrlandalı halk için bir kimlik şekillendirmeyi amaçlamıştır. Birçok alternatif arşivleme sistemine paralel olarak *Pilot* hegemonik (üstün) ötekinin arşivine güvenmemiş; sosyal ve tarihi bellek yitimini önlemek için arşivsel bir tertip kurmuştur. Bu bağlamda, Michael Hennessy tarafından yazılan "Records of Irish-American Patriotism" (Irlandalı-Amerikalı Vatanseverlik Kayıtları) serisi, bu serinin İrlandalı askeri birliklerin ve İrlandalı Amerikalı askerlerin kahraman eylemlerini belgelemesi ve *Pilot*'ta basılan haberler ve editoryaller ile beraber başlı başına alternatif bir arşiv oluşturması bakımından gazete için önemli bir araçtır. Buna ek olarak *Pilot*'ın İç Savaş zarfındaki ırksal olarak güdümlü kelime dağarcığı, bu alternatif arşivin okurları ve bu okurların Afrikalı Amerikalıları algılamasını nasıl etkilediğini daha iyi anlamak adına incelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Boston Pilot*, Arşiv, Michael Hennessy, Beyazlık, Milliyetçilik, İrlandalı Amerikalılar.

In 1862, the Adopted Citizens' Association resolved after a meeting that they would offer their services "to restore the Federal Union to its pristine lustre and maintain the Constitution as transmitted to us from our political progenitors; notwithstanding our long and unnecessary ill-treatment in this State-in the sense of being studiously denied equal rights and privileges with our fellow citizens of native birth" (sic).[1] This statement reflects the general resentment of the Irish as they were called up to fight for the country in which they were

discriminated. Nevertheless, approximately 144,000 Irish served in the Union ranks during the Civil War, forming the highest participation among ethnic groups in the Union Navy at 20.4 per cent, with the hope of elevating the status of their people (O'Grady 47; Bennett 235). The *Boston Pilot*, a Boston-based Irish ethnic newspaper, too, supported the Union cause, regardless of its discontent with abolitionism; but when it felt that the efforts of Irish-Americans were minimized, it resolved to write its own history of Irish-American valor and thus create an archive that would rather stand as a monument.

The US Civil War was a turning point for the *Pilot*, which minimized its formerly dominant religious concerns in favor of becoming an instrument to prove the loyalty of Irish citizens to the Union. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism" was published weekly from 1862 to 1866, documenting the heroic acts of the Irish Brigade and Irish American soldiers, creating an alternative archive of its own, a collection of memories proving the entrenched attachment of the Irish to the American nationality. Michael Hennessy (Laffan), the author of this series, says that by publishing this column about patriotic Irish American soldiers "much good can be done for our race."[2] Laffan's column basically consists of three different parts. He opens the column with a letter to the editor and proceeds to corresponding news articles published in other newspapers. Lastly, he dedicates a part of this column to narrate the lives of prominent Irish American soldiers and includes letters from soldiers. Laffan's column is like a scrapbook, where he collects every news article and information related to the efforts of Irish American soldiers in the Civil War. With the publication of this series, Laffan establishes a memory of patriotic Irish Americans whose sacrifices contributed to the Union cause. This paper analyzes the fortification of the Irish American identity with military service, Union loyalty and patriotic expression by examining the factual self-assertion of Irish patriotism in the Civil War, as represented in the *Pilot* and Laffan's column.

During the course of the Civil War, the *Pilot*'s discourse encouraged Irish immigrants to embrace the Union cause as a way to prove their loyalty to the American nation and its values (L. Rhodes 98). Therefore, the question of nationalism evolved into a battle of belonging to the American community through these issues. In *Nations and Nationalism*, Eric Hobsbawm states that national identification "can change and shift in time" (11), and this argument suggests that

there are no fixed national identities. In order to tease the concept of fixed and adapting identities, I will focus on the paper's attempts to direct Irish Americans toward this new chance to prove their worth as citizens. The Draft Riots also become an important aspect of the discussion in order to examine racial lines and the transition of the Irish to whiteness. The importance of archival creation and the *Pilot*'s role as an alternative archive to the State archives are analyzed to understand further the politics behind the Irish American paper's formation of a commemorative site for its countrymen. The emancipation, along with the creation of racial discourse and the articulation of whiteness, supports further the *Pilot*'s role as an alternative archive because it is through the authority of whiteness that the *Pilot* attains its powerful voice in establishing a counter-archive to nativist amnesia.

A Matter of Forgetting and Remembering: The Archive

State archives and nativist archives tend to leave out the misdeeds of the state and distort its failures. Since it is an act of creating a bright past behind the cabinets of museums, one must remember that creating an archive is a fragile act of applying collective and selective memories. What one decides to leave out or include in this creation shows the nature of the archive. The power holders draw up the guidelines of remembering and forgetting in these archives, by demonstrating the chosen memories and incidents that in fact do not reflect the whole truth, but only an exclusive selection of it. What is or needs to be forgotten is discounted from historical memory. Forgetting is another type of omission for it intentionally or unintentionally omits certain remembrances from the archival entity. This causes a break in the wholeness of the archive, and so makes the expectation of justice from the archive unattainable, turning the archive into "a centre of interpretation" (Osborne 52).

The archive is generally associated with the sovereign power and its governmental authority over the formation of an official history of the state. This official history acts as the uniting connection for members of the nation, under which they form a whole by accepting the given past of the state. As the sociologist Mike Featherstone states, the sovereign owns the power of relocating and reorganizing the archives of the less privileged groups, and also the sovereign gathers "the archivists

and scholars who operate with their own dominant classifications and value hierarchies to produce their own official history" (592). History writing, as a result, is an unnatural process; it is based on the events that enhance the nationalistic rhetoric that depicts the valiant and just past of a state. It is very rare for states to acknowledge holocausts, genocides, and unfair political interventions in the domestic affairs of less powerful countries or groups because history—including contemporary history—is recorded to prove the sine qua non-existence of the sovereign above the less-privileged. Therefore, the material available for research may already be a construction, representing the governmental authority within the archive. However, archives also offer "a surplus of materials which enable adversary readings" (Lynch 79). In this article, the *Pilot* archives from the Civil War are studied to engage in the adversary reading it provides, since the paper strongly believed in the exterminating effects of the native press regarding Irish participation in the Civil War.

An institution with its very own systems of remembering, forgetting, memorizing and presenting, the *Pilot,* directly and indirectly aims to shape an identity for the Irish community in the United States. Parallel to many alternative systems of archiving, the *Pilot* distrusts the archive of the hegemonic other and creates an archival organization to avoid societal and historical amnesia, as this article will explain below. The problem with creating an archive in order to reinforce remembrance lies in its inclination to disregard the unrelated, or worse, to archive with perceptive selectivity in regard to the topic. The *Pilot*'s role as a paternal figure for the Irish, apart from offering them an "imagined community" under which they can unite, also lies in its institutional archiving of Irish history. The *Pilot* undertakes the role of the archivist and collects the history of the Irish in Ireland and the United States with the intention of protecting that valuable information. Thus, the paper acknowledges itself more powerful than the individual efforts and provides Irish Americans with the paternal roof to gather and house their history. Additionally, it demonstrates the histories of the Irish community in both countries with the aim of proving the Irish to be a people representative of a proud history. The challenge lies in contrasting the everyday archives of nativist Americans such as newspapers, which disregarded, omitted or even erased the Irish from specific arenas of history. At this point, it is safe to mention the institutional amnesia of the receiving culture in history

making, an amnesia triggered by nationalistic feelings, conceding no debt to the other, reinforced by the strong desire to remain debtless to the foreigner in order to avoid fraternal responsibilities. If the other is different than the receiving culture on platforms regarding finance, race and religion, then the receiving culture holds power to form ways to disregard the other's contributions. Though a delicate subject, an archive is a show of strength on both parts. It demonstrates that the receiving culture holds the power to shape the history that satisfies its interests, and yet it also shows that the other has the power to rise against the State-made or nativist archives of the receiving culture and create an archive of its own as an anarchic act of refusal.

Nevertheless, one must be very careful when using refusal against State powers and offices in the case of the *Pilot*'s opposition, since such an act would mean challenging governmental authority—something the *Pilot* advises the Irish to abstain from. Indeed, the *Pilot* opposed American print culture that denied the Irish military honors. Seeing an archive created by the receiving culture's ideas of them, the *Pilot* toiled to form an ethnic archive for the Irish giving them the honorary status of defenders of the American Union, and white status as racial equals of native-born Americans. The resentment at being turned into an invisible asset of the Civil War and being ranked below the African American soldier in terms of courage and loyalty led the Irish American paper to create an archive to prove otherwise. The credibility of their archive is also questionable, since their aim to prove the American nation wrong dominated their ethnic history formation. It is an archive of relativities and hegemonic power structures even across the spectrum of ethnic groups. The *Pilot*'s agenda in the formation of an alternative archive could not escape the same power relationship the paper resented. Since the Irish American paper situated its people above the African American, it distorted the black man's presence in the Civil War or even erased their presence in it in order to form the archive that would benefit them in the way they expected.

Interestingly, the archive building of the *Pilot* starts simultaneously with the Civil War. Aware of the native inclination to leave out or minimize the contributions of the Irish in the war, the *Pilot* does not wait to leave the war in the past to start an archive. Rather, their archive is an ongoing process created alongside the war. Therefore, it is not right to say that archiving is only related to the past. It has ties to the past in the sense that it claims it. Yet, it also secures

the present, demonstrating an alternative history in the columns of the paper and in the minds of its readers. This act of reaching out to the readers--museum visitors--is different from the accepted course of being visited. The paper as an archive changes the museum/archive relation by omitting the rules of physical contact. Instead of having visitors who observe its artifacts, it visits them in their familiar place, bringing the archival information into the home of the reader, thus removing the unfamiliar authority of the museum. Yet, it interacts with the reader in this non-museum and not-visitor equation of archival transmission through letters from readers. Indeed, apart from the news, the archive of the *Pilot* is collectively created with the Irish and Irish Americans who fought in the Civil War, or who held information on such people. Therefore, the ethnic archive is a collective effort. It does not dismiss the singular efforts of its members; on the contrary, it uses their input in becoming a whole. What the receiving culture aims to do by deconstructing ethnic culture is resisted by the ethnic group's construction of an alternative collective memory. The community avoids disintegration as a group while attempting to affiliate with the native community on a national level.

This archive is important because it shows that the Irish felt that their sacrifices were underrated and unappreciated. The resentment they felt springs from a deep fear that their men anonymously died, and that if it was not for the *Pilot* their names would be forgotten together with the sacrifices of the Irish race. The desire to create obituaries, making lists of the dead and wounded soldiers, giving letters and first-hand accounts of the war from Irish soldiers, is the equivalent of creating a memorial for their own heroism. The idea of not being acknowledged for their heroic deeds—and all this under the fire of Know-Nothings—the urge to prove their Americanness and loyalty to their adopted country, and most of all the inevitable desire to immortalize the names of the fallen to show that they are not forgotten led them to write their own history. For example, the resentment felt towards the Americans on the subject of the percentage of the Irish soldiers in the Union army was one of the recurring topics the newspaper wrote on. They objected to the declaration that Irish soldiers formed twelve per cent of the Union army. To this, the *Pilot* answered bitterly, expressing their conclusion that this was an attempt to steal the military honors of the Irish.[3] A reader openly states in a letter addressed to the proprietor of the *Pilot*, Patrick Donahoe, that the government is biased when it

comes to the claims of the Irish Brigades and that there are hostile sentiments toward the Irish. He states "[t]hat we fought bravely is all we claim,"[4] and moves on to say that the efforts of the Irish are underrated, because according to him, the percentage of the Irish in the Union ranks is forty percent. While they work hard in the newspaper to prove that the Irish are an indispensable part of the Union army, the news articles published in the nativist papers create a counter-archive and minimize their contributions to the Union cause. It is interesting to see the constant references to volunteering both in these articles and in columns. The *Pilot* takes pride in the free-willed enlistments of the Irish and views it as more patriotic than being drafted. However, the Draft Riots complicated this situation since the Irish rioted against the authorities, contradicting the *Pilot*'s guidance of obedience to state laws.

Seeking Justice: "Records of Irish-American Patriotism" as an Alternative Archive

Before answering the question asked in the title of this article "What did the Catholic Irish fight for," the question of what they did not fight for will be answered. First of all, they did not fight to be underappreciated. Many Irish believed that fighting in the Union ranks would prove their loyalty to their adopted country and earn them respect, as well as lead to full acceptance into the American nation. Therefore, the print culture became an avenue for them to emphasize the contributions of their countrymen to the protection of their adopted country's constitution. Irish Americans, as Kerby Miller suggests, wanted to change the prejudice "that Irish Catholic immigrants constituted a dangerous, unassimilable, and permanent proletariat" (496). Therefore, one of the reasons the Irish Catholic fought in the Civil War was to change this prejudice by becoming a part of the war and so guaranteeing easier access to equal social and political rights. In order to become a fraternal nation, they first had to become brothers in arms to display their identification with the American identity.

The second answer to the question is that the Irish Catholic did not fight to be forgotten. The *Pilot* stresses the contribution of Irish Catholics as volunteers; nevertheless, it also acknowledges that history will forget the role of the Irish in the Civil War, noting

in "Catholics and the War" that "[h]istory will do us justice—but not contemporary history."[5] Hence, one more reason for them to write their own history. One of the most influential efforts of the newspaper in this sense is the publication of Laffan's "Records of Irish-American Patriotism," which acted as a site of commemoration for the Irish brave in the Civil War. According to Laffan, this was an attempt to build an archive for Irish heroes in America. Laffan, believing that the written word signified more than the spoken word, called on Irish Americans to help him create this archive in order that any heroes and heroic acts of their race were not forgotten. By giving accounts of the war's proceedings, biographies of the Irish officers, their letters, and most importantly by publishing lists of the wounded and dead Irish soldiers, Laffan creates an archive that would speak for the sacrifices of the Irish race on the continent when the Americans forgot about their bravery. In the first of this series, he mentions that even though the Irish fought in the Revolutionary War, the only thing that is left of them are their names. This is problematic according to Laffan; "Hence, we are unable to show, by positive proof, how largely our people contributed to the establishment and advancement of the Republic."[6] Therefore, to remind the nativists of the forgotten Irish valor, this column in essence raises a memorial and urges Irish Americans to create, collect, save and establish an archive of the deeds of the Irish people to be used "when the authentic history of our race in America shall be diligently investigated and carefully written."[7]

Laffan states that the Irish should be more active in proving the contributions of their race to the strength and independence of the United States. His call to the Irish for unity in raising a memorial explains what the Irish should do and why:

> Were Irish-Americans true to themselves, and alive to the necessities of their position, they would have a vigorous historical society in New York, with several co-operative societies throughout the country, diligently engaged in bringing together all the scattered memorials of the Irish race in America; all the evidences of our devotion to our adopted land--of our share in the great work of establishing its independence, and the still more important struggle for the preservation of its unity, as the source of its strength and prosperity.[8]

Laffan urges the Irish to stand up for what they contributed to the success of North America in the war. Furthermore, he suggests the establishment of a historical society for the purpose of creating an archive. The collective effort in the formation of an archive is an essential deed for Laffan, since it will bring together the members of the Irish race, creating a communal feeling among them to seal further the fraternal bond. Acknowledging the place of the Irish in society as influential, he insists on using this influence in improving their social conditions and self-esteem.[9] Even though he views the Irish as a prominent aspect of the American nation, the other papers do not publish the same information:

> Some unfair calculator has published that the proportion of the Irish in the war is only *twelve per cent*. No man who has eyes and ears open can give credence to this. There is not a single regiment in the army in which Irishmen do not abound--and a great many regiments are altogether Irish. The regiments in which they are least, they count twelve per cent. Our military honors cannot be taken from us by pilfering of this description. Without the Irish, the rebels would have seized many of our northern cities long since. [10]

While the newspaper struggles to prove that the Irish were a significant part of the Union army, this kind of news working to minimize their contributions to the Union cause has the opposite effect. A letter from a reader, who signed under the penname 'A CELT,' labels the government and American people both as dismissing and deprecatory, because of their reluctance to acknowledge the role of the Irish in Union success. In this letter, the author states his gratitude to the US for providing the Irish race an asylum during difficult times; however, he criticizes the statement about the 12 per cent Irish participation in the army, which according to the author was forty per cent. In the letter, the author mentions the role of the Irish press in setting the record straight about these misstatements.[11] It is the wish of the author, Laffan and the *Pilot* that the majority will recognize their efforts. Laffan fights against this counter-archive, which undermines their efforts in creating an alternative one with the security and proof of the written word. The continuous call for collecting evidence of martial success is repeated vigorously in many issues, and moreover, it turns into a mission of rescue and archeology. Laffan asks the readers "to endeavour to rescue

from oblivion the names of all our brave countrymen engaged in the present war for the enforcement of our constitutional laws and the legitimate authority of our Government."[12] Laffan's call for the Irish Americans to excavate memories and names of the past is the work of the archeologist or the archivist. Since the information necessary for this alternative archive needs to be excavated from memories of the heroism of ordinary Irish Americans, entrusting in them the duty of excavation and collection of those memories is a logical move on Laffan's part in his search for sources. Accordingly, letters from readers poured in boasting about the heroism of Irish soldiers fighting in the ranks of the Union Army. In those letters, soldiers sent in the names of their courageous commanders and comrades to save those names from being forgotten.

In creating this archive with the help of their Irish American community, Laffan and the *Pilot* also aim to improve the socio-economic and national position of the Irish in the United States. In this process, the *Pilot*'s views on the place of the Irish American citizen within mainstream society change dramatically over the years following the start of the Civil War. In 1862, Laffan mentions that Irish Americans are "a power in the land, felt and recognized," and he suggests that the Irish should work to continue that influence in order to gain social advancement and self-respect.[13] His views on the status of the Irish in the United States show the improvement already made regarding their perception. The United States is a place where the Irish can flourish economically and socially, and according to Laffan, if the Irish strive to advance further how they are perceived by the majority, then they will have the chance to stay in favor perpetually. Moreover, the following week an article named "Emigrants Wanted" appears in the *Pilot* that warns the Irish immigrants not to consider Canada as a destination to build a life, and instead to prefer America saying that, "[h]ere there is citizenship and employment for all."[14] Like Laffan, the *Pilot* also thinks that America offers a better future for the Irish, and that it should be the destination of those aiming for success. Both Laffan and the *Pilot* suggest that America can provide the Irish with the necessary means to become legal members of it, unsuspecting any discrimination in the process.

By January 1864, however, their views on the condition of the Irish in America change drastically. They publish clippings from the editorials of the nativist and abolitionist papers, objecting to them as

they value the black man over the Irish and disregard their contributions to the Union. This leads the *Pilot* and Laffan to express disillusionment with America. In the editorial "The Irish in Massachusetts," the *Pilot* states that the Irish have done well in America against all odds, when it is considered that "strangers in a strange land, with no home of comfort in which to find shelter and repose,--meeting with scant sympathy, that blessed influence which is to a wanderer on a foreign shore, like a refreshing and invigorating cordial--with no special charm upon any one, and only the general claim which a common humanity gave them."[15] Now, the paper accuses America of not welcoming the Irish and being indifferent to their existence. This statement is the complete opposite of what the paper said two years ago as they wrote to encourage immigration to the United States. After three years of participation in the war in large numbers, the Irish still feel a foreign and detached part of the country for which they fight. They mention that the war should have helped to change the way the Irish are perceived by the native-born Americans, for only that would "elevate and improve both races, establish stronger bonds of fraternal feeling, and be productive of permanent good to each."[16] Regardless of the disillusionment, Laffan continues to publish materials about the Irish American support for the Union cause. This shows that the formation of an alternative archive is a consistent endeavor that cannot be disheartened by the inhospitable attitude of the receiving culture.

The *Pilot* thanks Laffan for informing people of the service the Irish Catholic offered to the United States prior to the publication of the last edition of the "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." In the editorial, the *Pilot* states that "[w]ithout his researches, we should be in the dark in relation to the glorious achievements of our race; and our brethren of other nationalities would have remained in ignorance of the services rendered to the Union by the Irish-American population."[17] They put more emphasis on the chosen ignorance of the native and immigrant others, implying that the archival research was imperative for the recognition of their sacrifices. Laffan's column becomes highly successful since it reaches many readers and enhances their knowledge of war-related incidents and personal narratives. Due to the success achieved by the "Records of Irish-American Patriotism," the *Pilot* decides to publish a new series under the same title. Therefore, the paper and Laffan proceeds to create a new division to their alternative archive with the end of the war. The new series of the column is

announced as "a collection of authentic sketches of eminent men of our race" since colonial times, and Laffan notes that this new collection will act as "proof undisputable" respecting their services to America.[18] He also stresses the need of an archive in this area since the subject of the illustrious Irish in America is an "almost wholly neglected field of historical research."[19]

The Black Man as the Nemesis of the Irish: The *Pilot* as an Archival Monument Reinforcing Racism

Crushed by the wheels of the power structure, Irish Americans and Irish immigrants struggled to be accepted into the mainstream American population since this acceptance would offer opportunities for labor and equality. Manual jobs, which were available to the Irish, also complicated their status as equals of the white American, since the mainstream American community had their prejudices and considered the Irish laborer more equal to the African American man. Therefore, the third answer to the question "What did the Catholic Irish fight for?" lies in the racial tension between them and African Americans. The Irish did not fight for the emancipation of the black man. This was a milestone, for, as Noel Ignatiev argues, the politically powerful Irish completed their transformation to Americans by establishing their difference from the African American slave with a proslavery discourse (38).

The artificial differences created to contrast manmade races helped the Irish to pass as white. Furthermore, this passing provided them with the power to subjugate the black race, a consolation for the poorest classes of the white race whose only possession in terms of social elevation consisted of their skin color. Even though the Irish were oppressed in their native land, they learned to oppress racial and ethnic others as a result of their American identity acquisition. As Forrest G. Wood mentions, the Irish living in rural areas in large numbers had "monopolized the unskilled labor," and alarmed at the suggested equality with the freed slaves; they became "probably the demagogues' most combustible human kindling" (23). To prove how loyal they were to the American racial values, they attacked abolitionism as a movement. The main assets in this attack were "the Catholic hierarchy, led by John Hughes, bishop and archbishop, together with the official

and the unofficial Irish Catholic press" (Allen 1:178). The Irish attacked abolitionism for the opposite meant interfering in American politics. Moreover, the white status of the Irish allowed them to claim their racial superiority at the expense of the black man (Harris 1759).

The news on abolitionism is yet another side to the creation of the *Pilot*'s alternative archive since this archive is clearly white in its racial identification, situating the Irish as the members of the white race as well as patriotic American national subjects. The *Pilot* makes it extremely clear that the Irish Catholics are not fighting for the freedom of the blacks. In this sense, the tone of the editorials drastically changes following the Emancipation Proclamation. Before December 1862, the South was represented as the source of the hardships the country was going through. The change of lexicon in the articles indicates the emphasis the newspaper puts on the idea of racial subordination and domination. The constant repetition of the words black and white in relation to an anticipated black rebellion and the white man's dreaded subordination is a significant device they use to draw attention to the subject.

The proslavery discourse in the *Pilot* goes through different phases. Even though they are not fond of the African American before the Civil War, the representation of blacks is milder when compared to their representation in the *Pilot* after the Emancipation Proclamation. No matter how superior the Irish saw themselves to the black man, the perception of the native-born Americans was not necessarily the same. The *Pilot* objects to the opinion of the Americans in the editorial "Harper's Weekly on Negroes," since in 1863 *Harper's Weekly* proposed that blacks have done more than the Irish in the recent war.[20] Almost in a threatening tone, the *Pilot* says that the Irish have done more for America than both the blacks and the white American. The *Pilot* declares that the Irish as an immigrant race did not start this war, but nevertheless fought for a nation that, according to them, turned a cold shoulder to the Irish immigrants.[21] In Laffan's columns, for instance, the author is free to present the archive that he wants to pass on to other generations. So, he honors the dead soldiers for having redeemed the living Irish as the members of a nation they are fighting to join. Nevertheless, in real life there is controversy between the Americans and Irish Americans about the latter's contributions to the Union; interests of nationalism and whiteness collide when it comes to recognizing the Irish as nation-building white American citizens. The

inclusion of the Irish in the Civil War demonstrates that they viewed themselves as members of the white race, since it was their skin color which opened the "golden door" for them (Jacobson 8). This defense of the white skin would later "turn them into self-defined white ones," showing how the Irish had to fight for their claim on whiteness and the rights that come along with it (Brodkin 65). However, as Roediger says, even though the Irish were "loudly white," they were not commonly acknowledged per se (123). Moreover, the *Pilot*'s resentful tone was inflamed with the rising numbers of the dead Irish soldiers on the battlefield. The paper's proprietor Patrick Donahoe's role as the treasurer of the Ninth Regiment, composed entirely of naturalized Catholic Irish Americans, was another source of resentment since he worked hard for the preparation and recruitment of the Ninth Regiment (Foik 173; Macnamara 5; O'Connor 105). The paper is offended by the abolitionist turn in the course of the war, stating that the Irish soldiers fought and died for the cause of the Union and not for the abolition of slavery. Blaming the politicians at Washington—and specifically Lincoln—for their loss, the paper frequently mentions the enlistment of Irish American soldiers of their own free will.

In 1862-63, a rapid increase in hostility towards African Americans could be evidently observed in the *Pilot*'s discourse. The economic and psychological burden of the ongoing Civil War, the recruitment of the black soldiers to the Union ranks in 1862, the declaration of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, and later the creation of the black troops in May 1863 intensified the racial tension between the African Americans and Irish Americans, leading the way to the Draft Riots of July 1863. Starting with the Proclamation, the *Pilot*'s news coverage is revealing in this sense. According to the news published during this period, the black soldier lacks the bravery of the Irish; he is a thief who steals guns from the Union army and a violent man who massacres white families in acts of revenge. The *Pilot* uses its pages cunningly for the purpose of creating a negative black image; for instance, it quotes news articles from the American papers glorifying the black man but criticizing and even discrediting the Irishman on the same page, arranged so that the reader would read the news articles on the glorified black soldiers and then move to reading the article or editorial on the discredited Irishman, in that order. The *Pilot*'s printing of these materials in this order is possibly intentional, and even politically indoctrinating. This way, the *Pilot* passed its

ideas onto its readers in such a subtle way that its growing resentment transmitted to its readers in the form of anger. For that reason, the news created a contemporary memory for the reader, whose resentment to the government gradually turned into anger at the African American man.

This strategy understates and impugns the efforts of the black soldiers in the Union Army to prevent 'unjust' comparisons made in the nativist papers between the Irish and black brigades. Economically and socially neglected yet drafted, the Irish Americans felt insulted by the exultation of the black soldier. Following the news of black heroism in the Union ranks, the *Pilot* starts publishing news that aims to smear the black soldiers. For example, news on treacherous black soldiers helping the Confederate soldiers,[22] articles on the inapt nature of integrating black soldiers into the Union forces,[23] news on the black males crossing the Canadian border to avoid the draft,[24] statements about the decrease in black enlistments to which they comment that "[t]he 'contrabands' can neither be bought nor persuaded,"[25] and corresponding articles derived from other newspapers on the laziness of the black soldiers[26] find their place in the *Pilot*. Moreover, the *Pilot* notes the reactions of the Irish soldiers to the recruitment of the black soldiers in the Union army, which range from sarcastic hostility to considering them a useful contribution under certain circumstances. For example, some soldiers said "'the niggers had as good a right to be shot as anybody.' Others said it was all wrong, and 'niggers had no business to be soldiers anyhow;' and still another class of soldiers said they had no objection to colored soldiers, but they wanted white officers."[27] According to this article, some soldiers even signaled disorder at the idea of getting orders from black officers or being kept on equal terms with them.

The enmity towards the African Americans grew deeper when the Conscription Act was passed in 1863, requiring white men to enroll in the army unless they could find a substitute for themselves, or pay $300 to escape the draft (Bailyn, et al. 469). Poor classes of laborers were outraged, for this meant that they would lose their jobs to blacks while fighting for blacks. The amount of money needed for escaping the draft was beyond the reach of the workingman, creating a situation that distressed them as a group subjected to the unfair treatment of the abolitionist government. In July 1863, the outraged group attacked the government buildings in New York to show their discontent with the draft. The attack on the buildings later turned into attacks on African

Americans and the properties of rich white men. The majority of the attackers were identified as Irishmen, and the burning of the Colored Orphan Asylum, as well as the sight of African American men hanging from lampposts, damaged further the Irish American image, negatively contributing to the perception of indignant Irish mob. According to Laffan, the $300 fee was the provocation for the Draft Riots, along with the belief that "the Federal Administration had repeatedly violated the laws of the land, the working classes rashly, though not surprisingly, despaired of legal protection, and madly resorted to violent measures to secure even handed justice."[28] In his column, Laffan addresses the blacks in a sympathetic tone, but no matter how impulsive he finds the riots he understands and justifies the cause behind it.

On the other hand, the *Pilot* is completely outraged by the riot for it harms the law-abiding, peaceful Irish American identity the paper tries to create for the immigrants. The newspaper's tone slightly changes on the position of the black man in the current situation. Even though the *Pilot* initially circulates vicious portraits of the black man, the paper later attenuates the tone of its racial slurs in an effort to pacify angry mobs of Irish laborers. All of a sudden, the black man is cleared of everything with which he has been charged. His color is not his fault, "God made him;" his idea on his equality with the white man is the fault of the abolitionists, and even his employment in the jobs of the Irish is a good thing, for the paper wishes "that the black man was employed for all the drudgery done in our cities and manufacturing towns, thereby driving the Irish laborer where his services will be rewarded—THE GREAT WEST—where he can be secure from the taunts of the Know-Nothing, and where he can bring up his children in the faith of his fathers without molestation."[29] Moreover, the *Pilot* views the Draft Riots as a crime, the culprits of which will be liable to God. Hence, the paper uses religion as a means of suppression rather than warning them using their national identity and citizenships.

On August 1, 1863, Laffan writes in response to what he addresses as the radical editors of mainstream newspapers such as the *Tribune* and *Post*, which discriminated against the Irish labeling them a foreign and brutal mob. Following this, in a clipping from the article of the editor-in-chief of the *World*, the reader is shown that all that the Irish sacrificed throughout these years "was in a moment forgotten."[30] Laffan then states that even though these men are proud to be of Irish nationality, they are, nevertheless "American citizens, entitled to be

dealt with and recognized as such, and not to be invidiously spoken of and to as an "Irish," and a "foreign element. ... If we are to be referred to as a distinct element of the national power, the only legal and admissible designation is that of Irish-Americans."[31] This statement is the claim of a long-deserved recognition in the eyes of Laffan. It is also proof that the creation of an archive collecting the good and heroic acts of the Irish is essential, since the receiving culture is inclined to forget or disregard them. Regardless of the *Pilot*'s rejection of large numbers of Irish participating willingly in the riots, Ignatiev notes that "[t]he number of Irish who took part in the riots was not less than the number who wore the blue uniform" (104). According to him, the large number of Irish participants is proof of their belief regarding this topic. However, in its effort to reform the image of the Irish American, the *Pilot* starts publishing articles that distinguish the ruffians from the Irish. In an effort to counter the effects of these disloyal, violent, mob-like Irish depicted in mainstream news, the paper pieces together a new archive in the following weeks, where it publishes news of Irish heroism and loyalty together with news on African American violence and disloyalty to the Union army.

Even though the *Pilot* adopts a milder tone during the riots, it returns to its anti-abolitionist attitude after the situation settles down. In an editorial, the fight for jobs between white and black laborers, the familiarity of the blacks to servile circumstances and the fear of amalgamation of the two races are presented to the reader as the underlying reasons for the editor's opposition to abolition. The editor accepts the merits of the abolition of slavery, but he believes that emancipation can be achieved only at the expense of the poor classes of white laborers, especially the Irish. An article appears in *Harper's Weekly* that actualizes the fears of the paper about the superiority of the African Americans to the Irish race. The editor resents *Harper's Weekly* querying the contributions of the Irish to America when compared to the contributions of their nemesis to the country within a short time. In the eyes of the editor, the feared amnesia of the native population is setting in, but the editor considers it his duty to remind them of the heroic past of the Irish on the continent. According to the paper, then, the creation of an alternative archive is justified once more, in view of the prospects of a future hostile attitude towards the Irish. However, the editor believes in the superiority of the Irish race, not only to the black race but also to the deteriorating white native population. He says,

> The plague of "nigger on the brain," will soon have exhausted all its strength, the black will lose his apotheosis, abolitionism will be put under foot, the nativism now rampantly springing up here and there will regret its audacity; religious intolerance, like that of the Harpers, will effect nothing but contempt for its upholders, and the Irish race in America will be forever in predominance.[32]

This sentence demonstrates the insuppressible anger directed at the native-born Americans for not acknowledging the great sacrifices made by the Irish population, who not only fight for a country they have adopted but also work in back-breaking jobs that actually construct the country. In these articles and editorials, the immigrant is guided towards the jobs that will set a line that differentiates between him and the black man. Unfortunately, these arduous jobs do not elevate the Irish over the black man, resulting in the humiliation of the whole race; still, the paper is also aware that a country can only be built where the construction starts from the ground. Knowing that they are the constructing power, the editor's harsh tone becomes even threatening, declaring their prospective predominance and progress in America.

In conclusion I want to answer the question asked in the beginning with the words of the newspaper: "What are Irish Catholics Fighting for?" It is important to look at the people experiencing history, and hearing what they have to say about certain events. In an editorial published in 1865, the editor asks this question. The answer? They are fighting for a country, for liberty, equal laws, equal rights and equal privileges, for the Union, and for freedom of faith.[33] And yet, the language of the editorial suggests that the Irish American has lost his faith in receiving what he fought for. Fearing that their sacrifices will be ignored by Americans, that their history will exclude the Irish as a contributor to the cause of the Union, the *Pilot* writes a history for Irish Americans in an attempt to immortalize the fallen sons of Erin, whose names have been secured in writing, to be found years later by historians, if not found by the contemporary historian himself.

This history reveals the construction of an alternative archive to contribute to the nationalistic identity of the Irish American. It also reveals the opinion of the *Pilot* towards abolitionism and presents its pro-Union but anti-abolitionist attitude. This seems contradictory;

however, when we take into consideration the racial enmity and the labor rivalry between blacks and the Irish, this contradictory attitude sounds reasonable. After the Emancipation Proclamation, the *Pilot* shows its resentment saying that, "after nearly two years' fighting for the Union, as it was, and as it ought to be, we find ourselves engaged in an abolition war."[34] The *Pilot* constantly mentions that the Irish fight for the Union, which is their attempt at full-inclusion in the American nation, and the paper states that they fight for the Union Cause and not for Emancipation. In their case, being a member of the American nation does not mean supporting the Lincoln government in freeing the enslaved African Americans. Rather, the *Pilot* believes that it is the Irish American's duty to help the Union when the unity of the nation is threatened, but the paper also believes that the American laws that protect slavery should be respected by all. Nevertheless, the *Pilot*, as an institution for the advancement of the Irish, fights its own battle with nativist prejudices towards the Irish by creating an anti-abolitionist discourse and constructing an alternative archive.

Notes

[1] "Proscription in Rhode Island." *The Pilot* 27 Sept. 1862 (25.39) 3:6.

[2] Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 27 Sept. 1862 (25.39) 2:1.

[3] "Proportion of the Irish in the War." *The Pilot* 18 Oct. 1862 (25.42) 4:5.

[4] "The Irish in the Army. —Why is the Gallant Shields Shelved?" *The Pilot* 8 Nov. 1862 (25.45) 4:6.

[5] "Catholics and the War." *The Pilot* 18 Apr. 1863 (26.16) 4:2.

[6] Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 1 Nov. 1862 (25.45) 5:1.

[7] Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 1 Nov. 1862 (25.45) 5:1.

[8] Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 4 Oct. 1862 (25.40) 5:1.

[9] Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 11 Oct. 1862 (25.41) 5:1.

[10] "Proportion of the Irish in the War." *The Pilot* 18 Oct. 1862 (25.42) 4:5.

[11] "The Irish in the Army. —Why is the Gallant Shields Shelved?" *The Pilot* 8 Nov. 1862 (25.45) 4:7.

[12] Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 1 Nov. 1862 (25.44) 5:1.

[13] Hennessy, Michael. "Records of Irish-American Patriotism." *The Pilot* 11 Oct. 1862 (25.41) 5:1.

[14] "Emigrants Wanted." *The Pilot* 18 Oct. 1862 (25.42) 2:1.

[15] "The Irish in Massachusetts." The *Pilot* 30 Jan. 1864 (27.5) 4:3.

[16] "The Irish in Massachusetts." The *Pilot* 30 Jan. 1864 (27.5) 4:3.

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Crossing the Boundaries, Blurring the Boundaries: The Museum of Jurassic Technology as a Postmodern American Space [1]

Ece Saatçıoğlu

Abstract

The Museum of Jurassic Technology, located in Los Angeles, California, is one of the weirdest, yet thought provoking, museums in the world. Visitors encounter objects mainly taken from nature, science, and art, clearly labeled and explained with Latin terminology and detailed scholarly descriptions, which, at second glance, invite the questioning of reality, actuality, and plausibility, as well as history, science, art, culture, and ultimately, the museum as a concept. The museum looks like a typical museum: banners, signs with gilded letters, polite reminders concerning museum etiquette, thematically-curated exhibit halls with subdued lightning, glass and wooden showcases, velvet display cloths, microscopes, explanatory labels, backlit graphics, diagrams or audiovisual presentations, catalogues, apology cards for temporarily missing objects, the labyrinthine architecture, a rest room, and a museum shop. As this article argues, despite the fact that the Museum of Jurassic Technology satisfies all conventional stylistic expectations, it is subversive, blurry, amusing, and tricky. A postmodern space which displays the merging of subjective and objective knowledge, it transforms ephemeral artifacts into valuable sources of American history, science, art, and culture, blurring the line between enlightenment and entertainment as well as constantly

crossing the boundaries between reality and fiction/imagination/play/fantasy, regardless of being unsure of their borders.

Keywords: The Museum of Jurassic Technology, David H. Wilson, American Culture, Museum Studies, Postmodernity

Sınırların Kesişmesi, Sınırların Bulanıklaşması: Postmodern Bir Amerikan Mekânı Olarak Dinozorlar Çağı Teknoloji Müzesi

Öz

Los Angeles, California'da bulunan Dinozorlar Çağı Teknoloji Müzesi, kesinlikle en garip ancak en düşündürücü müzelerden biridir. Ziyaretçiler çoğunlukla doğadan, bilimden ve sanattan, her biri Latince terminoloji kullanılarak açıkça etiketlenmiş ve detaylı bilimsel tanımlarla açıklanmış pek çok nesne ile karşılaşırlar; ancak aslında dikkatlice bakıldığında bu nesneler gerçekliği, hakikat ile akla yatkınlığı, tarihi, bilimi, sanatı, kültürü ve sonuçta bir kavram olarak müzeyi sorgulamaya vesile olur. Afişler, yaldızlı harflerle yazılmış işaretler, müze kurallarını kibarca anımsatan notlar, loş aydınlatma, cam ve ahşap vitrinler kullanılarak konularına göre tasarlanmış sergi salonları, kadife sergileme kumaşları, mikroskoplar, açıklayıcı tasnif etiketleri, grafikler ya da görsel işitsel sunumlar, kataloglar, geçici süreyle sergilenemeyen nesneler için özür kartları, dolambaçlı mimari, umumi tuvalet ve hatta bir müze mağazasıyla, Dinozorlar Çağı Teknoloji Müzesi, tipik bir müzeyi andırır. Bu makalenin öne sürdüğü gibi, her ne kadar Dinozorlar Çağı Teknoloji Müzesi alışılagelmiş biçemsel beklentileri karşılasa da, altüst edici, zihin bulandırıcı, eğlendirici ve şakacıdır. Öznel ve nesnel bilginin iç içe geçişini gösteren bir post-modern mekân olarak, barındırdığı gelip geçici nesneleri Amerikan tarihinin, biliminin, sanatının ve kültürünün değerli kaynakları haline dönüştürerek, aydınlanma ve eğlenme arasındaki çizgiyi bulanıklaştırır ve hakikat ile kurmaca/hayali/oyun/fantezi arasında nerelerde olduklarından emin olunamayan sınırları mütemadiyen kesiştirir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: The Museum of Jurassic Technology ("Dinozorlar Çağı Teknoloji Müzesi"), David H. Wilson, Amerikan Kültürü, Müzecilik, Postmodernite

Museums are institutions that carry out the missions of collecting, conserving, exhibiting, studying, and accommodating world's artistic, cultural, historical, and scientific achievements and heritage. Traditionally, museums are classified into five basic types—general, history, art, natural history and natural science, and science and technology. Even if the world's earliest known cultural history museum can be traced to the private collection of a Babylonian princess and her father who lived over 2500 years ago (Grande x), Homo sapiens has always been interested in collecting and gathering animals, plants, and objects. Likewise, visiting the museums has always been well-liked. Human beings visit museums "out of curiosity; for education, inspiration, entertainment, distraction, comfort, safety, a sense of community; to see beautiful things, new and different things; to have their view of the world enlarged, feel a part of something important—the long and richly textured history of human existence" (Cuno 2).

Early museums are typically the private collections of affluent individuals, aristocratic families or exceptional art institutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Characteristically, such exhibits are relatively small collections that contain oddities, rare, extraordinary or interesting objects and artifacts, and even preserved human body parts, skeletons or organs, taxidermied small-size animals and plants. "The collections sometimes blended fact and fiction, featuring faked mythical creatures (e.g., unicorns, mermaids, dragons, and gryphons) made from parts of real animals stuck together by barber surgeons"[2] (Grande xi). These collections are displayed in "cabinets of curiosities"[3] where the items are categorized and stored, and, in addition, their respective stories are preserved. These private museums mirror not only individual choice and taste but also personal wealth and power.

Public museums, on the contrary, reflecting consolidated choice and taste, are institutions systematically collecting, classifying, preserving, and exhibiting historical, archaeological, botanical or cultural (aesthetic) items. They have been constructed since the Renaissance and acquired their modern form during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Bennett 19). Since then, museums, as places capable of transmitting accumulation of ideas and experiences as well as improving both the inner lives and the physical health of humans (Bennett 18), have become among the most critical symbols of Western society. Ironically, though museums are considered to be spaces of enlightenment and entertainment, they are additionally

considered to be places embodying Western hegemonic and imperial characteristics reflecting exploitation and domination. Explicitly, "museums are symbols of unequal power relationships and exclusive enclaves of privileged, hegemonic culture" (Rice 78). Therefore, in short, both private museums and public museums, as collecting and displaying institutions, are not only ideological symbols of power relations but also sources of diversion and information that stimulate wonder.

For Michel Foucault, museums, just like libraries, are "heterotopias of indefinitely accumulating time" and "are proper to western culture of the nineteenth century" (26). For him, museums are totally contrasting the individualistic mentality of selecting, collecting, and exhibiting behind the creation of cabinets of curiosities. According to Foucault,

> the idea of accumulating everything, of establishing a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place, this whole idea belongs to our modernity. (26)

Even if the most essential mission and goal of the wellbeing of museums is to preserve the times past, they have been subjected to transforming and adjusting themselves according to the current trends in terms of style, architecture, expectations, and innovations, new fields of sciences, recent findings, and fresh interpretations. Matching the changes and challenges in societies, museums, as evolving institutions, have been adapting themselves according to the zeitgeist.

"Since the beginning of museums, their display, architecture and presence have been a means to communicate the identity of the place and people at their core" (Crooke 7). However, the last two decades have witnessed not only a tremendous growth in the number and status of museums around the world but also the debate between those who argue that museums need to change and those who defend the traditional practices (Witcomb 1). Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, museums have been undertaking unremitting

endeavors to re-orient their ideologies, practices, projects, activities, designs, spatiality, and even purposes. "Until recently, museums could be described as repressive and authoritarian symbols of unchanging solid modernity and indeed there are still some museums that cling to this out-dated identity, but across the cultural field many others have moved with nimble flexibility and creative fluidity to respond to the conditions of post-modernity" (Hooper-Greenhill 1). The postmodern is "the contemporary movement of thought which rejects totalities, universal values, grand historical narratives, solid foundations of human existence and the possibility of objective knowledge. Postmodernism is skeptical of truth, unity and progress, opposes what it sees as elitism in culture, tends towards cultural relativism, and celebrates pluralism, discontinuity and heterogeneity" (Eagleton 13)[4]. The evolution of museums can be related to the alteration from modernism to postmodernism because museums, as institutions where Foucauldian power dynamics[5] are inherent, are established during the modern era and they have been subject to change during the postmodern era. In consequence, as a recent approach in museum studies, the term "post-museum" is used to refer to the creative re-imagining, experience, and reworking of the identity of the museum (Hooper-Greenhill 1).

Museums in America have been public spaces for research, education, and entertainment since the eighteenth century. "Museums have helped shape the American experience in the past, and they have the potential to play an even more aggressive role in shaping American life in the future" because they are the essential places of community development, communication, and renewal (Skramstad 109). Gradually reflecting more of the multicultural, multiethnic, polyglot, diverse, distinctive, and complex features of the USA, American museums are conventionally community anchors as significant places in promoting national identity and pride. "American museums have come to epitomize American life in many ways. Indeed, there are more undoubtedly many other, perhaps more subtle, ways in which American museums influence society" (Ragsdale 150). At the annual conference of the American Alliance of Museums, Susan H. Hildreth, the director of the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS)[6], remarks that there are around 35,000 active museums in the USA. According to the museum data file[7], there are various types of museums categorized in relation to disciplines: "arboretums, botanical gardens, nature centers; historical societies, historic preservation organizations, and history

museums; science and technology centers; planetariums; children's museums; art museums; general museums; natural history and natural science museums; and zoos, aquariums, and wildlife conservation centers" (Frehill 1). Hildreth further explains, "Americans love their museums. Museums of all types . . . are a vital part of the American cultural and educational landscape. They are places where Americans go to pursue the discovery of art, history, science, technology, and the natural world" (qtd. in Widener 4). For Hildreth, museums in America "are powerful drivers of educational, economic and social change and growth in their communities" (qtd. in Widener 4). Hildreth suggests that museums have a vital role in preserving "collective cultural heritage, they provide the rich, authentic content for a nation of learners. Museums respond to the needs of their communities and are recognized as anchor institutions. They are valued not only for their collections and programs but as safe, trusted places that support the ideals of our democratic society" (qtd. in Widener 4). For Americans museums are places "for tactile, emotional, and intellectual contact with people, ideas, or objects that have the potential to inspire" (Skramstad 127). Shortly, Americans enjoy visiting museums because those instructive places have so much to contribute to American life and they serve as places of public or collective memory[8].

The Museum of Jurassic Technology, founded in 1984 and located "along the main commercial drag of downtown Culver City in the middle of West Lost Angeles's endless pseudo-urban sprawl" is one of the weirdest, yet thought provoking, museums in the world. In stark contrast with the gigantic creatures it supposedly displays, the museum building is extremely small in size and unpretentious in appearance with its "fading blue banner facing the street" and can be easily passed right by next to an eye-catching bus stop and glamorous stores around (Weschler, *Mr. Wilson's Cabinet of Wonder* 10). However, in the recent years more and more Los Angeles city guide books as well as sources on interesting museums or places around the world cite this postmodern American space that illustrates the contemporary American zeitgeist[9].

To enter the Museum of Jurassic Technology, one will be welcomed only after pressing the buzzer on its brass door according to the sign[10] which is placed "at a facade that evokes a Roman mausoleum" (Perrottet 56). A banner revealing the museum's motto "non-Aristotelian, non-Euclidean, non-Newtonian" hangs over the entrance. "The museum's logo uses the superscript line, signifying

negation, over the letters symbolizing canonical thinkers" (Roth 102). On the entrance of the museum, there is a small admission desk with "a pleasant and seemingly preoccupied staff member" (Roth 102) or David Hildebrand Wilson himself, the founder, proprietor, and director of the museum. As of summer 2019, general admission "donation" costs $10 for adults, $8 for students and seniors. The museum also encourages membership for the sustainability of this unique place which offers an exceptional museum experience, "an extensive habitation," a space in which inconceivable questions can be asked. The museum[11] survives on "a combination of admission fees, a few grants, and modest donations" (Roth 102) and among the essential grants is MacArthur Foundation grant given exclusively to creatively genius people and effective institutions. Evidently, it is worth paying for and visiting the museum since, as one reviewer states that "indeed from the moment you cross the threshold of this hidden Los Angeles treasure it is clear you have stepped sideways in the slipstream of perception" (Wertheim 35).

Again on the entrance, which is puzzlingly also the exit, there is a very small museum gift shop which, as explained by the museum, is "conducted under the careful supervision of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Information, as well as the trustees of the Museum itself"[12]. Visitors can purchase collectibles and commemorative objects, typically the replicas or adaptations of the items displayed in the museum, many of which are produced by and for the museum only. Most of these objects can appeal exclusively to those who have visited the museum and thus learned their contextual and fundamental stories and have really enjoyed the museum; otherwise many of them would be just creepy, weird, and expensive items. The gift shop also sells books: world classics for adults and children, books published by the museum, such as the tenth year catalogue of the museum, and specifically the only book about this museum—Lawrence Weschler's[13] *Mr. Wilson's Cabinet of Wonder: Pronged Ants, Horned Humans, Mice on Toast, and Other Marvels of Jurassic Technology*, which is the finalist for "National Book Critics Circle Award for Nonfiction" and "Pulitzer Prize for General Nonfiction" in 1995.

The oxymoronic name of the museum is perplexing because the Jurassic period, which was 199.6 million to 145.5 million years ago, is obviously not known for its technology. However, the museum, according to the audiovisual presentation on display at the entrance of the halls, claims to be "an educational institution dedicated to

the advancement of knowledge and the public appreciation of the Lower Jurassic" ("Introduction and Background"). The introductory audiovisual presentation describing the mission and goal of the museum welcomes the visitors, and, as the visitors would sooner or later realize, it is, in fact, instructive about the characteristics of the museum. This audiovisual presentation confuses the minds rather than clarifying them because it primarily refers to the Jurassic as a geological period of history, and then, almost in seconds, as a geographical region in Egypt on a map in which the north and south regions of Egypt are called Upper and Lower Jurassic. So, what then? Does Jurassic refer to a period, or a place, or both, but, what exactly is their connection, if there is any? Are these terms used only to explicate a setting where scientific language is utilized to be convincing? Or, is this audiovisual presentation a perfect example of the power of stories and storytelling in this post-truth era? Consequently, keeping these questions in mind, even those visitors who have not previously thought about the puzzling name of the museum could immediately speculate and "reconsider the issue of veracity" (Wertheim 35) as well as deception. As one reviewer speculates: "When we enter the hallowed halls of museums, how much are we influenced by the aura of authority which surrounds the glass cases? What artifacts and stories do we accept because they are accompanied by scholarly descriptions and Latin names? What ancient or foreign cultures are convinced of purely on the strength of relics and writings identified for us by unseen 'professors'" (Wertheim 35)? Questions would inevitably multiply as visitors navigate around the halls of this exceptional museum, but they would eventually detect that the museum, through blending fact with fiction, makes a parody of authoritarian discourses and challenges them by (re)production. Despite the fact that the Museum of Jurassic Technology satisfies conventional stylistic expectations, it is subversive, blurry, amusing, and tricky. As a postmodern space which displays the merging of subjective and objective knowledge, it transforms ephemeral artifacts into valuable sources of American history, science, art, and culture, blurring the line between enlightenment and entertainment as well as constantly crossing the boundaries between reality and fiction/imagination/play/fantasy, regardless of being unsure of their borders.

The museum's name deserves more attention and consequently necessitates research to better comprehend the goal of the museum. Obviously, "the phrase 'Jurassic technology' is not meant literally.

Instead, it evokes an era when natural history was only barely charted by science, and museums were closer to Renaissance cabinets of curiosity" (Perrottet 56). As such, the Museum of Jurassic Technology is based on the cabinet of curiosities, the typological prototype of the museum of natural history. The Museum of Jurassic Technology traces its origins back to the earliest days of the museum as an institution and accordingly the primary example of museums of natural history is Noah's Ark. Claiming that "no treatment of the museum would be complete without mention of Noah's Ark in which we find the most complete Museum of Natural History the world has ever seen,"[14] the museum firstly displays a scale model of Noah's Ark. Attached to this model is a statement which can be considered as the mission statement for the museum: "The learner must be led always from familiar objects toward the unfamiliar . . . guided along, as it were, a chain of flowers into the mysteries of life." Accordingly, the exhibits look back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when Renaissance and early enlightenment collections just started to be looked at with scientific and systematic interests, and began to be considered as precious museum items.

On the surface, the Museum of Jurassic Technology looks like a typical traditional museum: banners, signs with gilded letters, polite reminders concerning museum etiquette, thematically-curated exhibit halls with subdued lightning, glass and wooden showcases, velvet display cloths, microscopes, explanatory labels, backlit graphics, diagrams or audiovisual presentations, catalogues, apology cards for temporarily missing objects, the labyrinthine architecture, a rest room, and a museum shop. Yet they function in a totally different way that they had done in typical museums. As Ralph Rugoff, an L.A. art critic, explains, the museum "deploys all the traditional signs of a museum's institutional authority—meticulous presentation, exhaustive captions, hushed lighting, and state-of-the-art technical armature—all to subvert the very notion of the authoritative as it applies not only to itself but to any museum" (qtd. in Weschler, *Mr. Wilson's Cabinet of Wonder* 40).

At first, besides the connotations of the name of the museum, what seems strange can be the employment of very old fashioned telephone receivers near the typical natural history museum style glass showcases. The telephone receivers, once picked up, voice the recorded entire extremely long history or the detailed rambling narration of each specific item on display. The voice in the telephone receiver, "the same

voice as in all the other receivers" is in fact a familiar voice, "the same bland, slightly unctuous voice you've heard in every museum slide show or acoustiguide tour or PBS nature special you've ever endured: the reassuringly measured voice of unassailable institutional authority" (Weschler, "Inhaling the Spore" 50). The voice immediately brings to mind other familiar vocalized indisputable sources of knowledge and truth, such as documentaries, art galleries, audio text books, and, naturally, other museums, which are all authoritarian, convincing, and instructive sources. However, in this museum, the same voice is intentionally utilized as a manipulative force both to reinforce the credibility of the institutional discourse and to eliminate probable mistrust of the narrations related to the items on display. Clearly, this voice has a controlling and influencing impact upon the visitor's response primarily on the authenticity and value of the uncommon items on display, and then on the perception of this specific museum. In other words, the museum, reminiscent of Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas on the absolutism of singularity, challenges and subverts monologic and authoritarian discourse by other kinds of language which parody or deflate the central, official language and values (Webster 40). Near many of the showcases soft benches are placed so that visitors can sit down comfortably in order to listen to the whole of the carnivalesque audio guides. Juxtaposed to the glass showcases are wooden boxes which enclose holographic displays. Even if they cannot be counted as representatives of the Jurassic technology, all these viewer-activated telephone receivers and viewing devices, indisputably build a bridge between the past and the present, assuring visitors that they are surrounded with once technological but now nostalgic yet still usable and valuable objects from a relatively distant past. Moreover, touching and even using these objects, almost enable metaphorical time travel and encourage participants to engage with the museum.

Lighting in museums is among the most essential issues that require attention. Actually, in buildings like museums, both color temperature and intensity of illumination are adjusted. Generally, rational, optimized, "controlled, diffused natural light" is usually applied, primarily because it prevents possible damage from direct sunlight on museum items (Serafim 35). When one wanders around the Museum of Jurassic Technology, it becomes clear that dim lighting is the preference here. In this museum, dim lighting is not utilized for a single room; all halls and exhibit rooms, except for the roof garden, are

dark, relatively obstructing the view of the explanatory signs, pictures and other framed documents, such as reports of scientific or historical events. This almost fuzzy vision, as an example of the postmodernist architecture feature, creates a spatial disorientation since visitors wander around the museum "without a clear sense of location" (Harvey 301). Furthermore, apparently, in terms of lighting, no great care is taken to avoid any potential damage on museum items because they are, in fact, all created, artificial, simulated objects with no historical or architectural value that necessitate intensive protection.

Visitors encounter objects mainly taken from nature, science, and art, clearly labeled and explained with Latin terminology and detailed scholarly and authoritative descriptions, which, at second glance, invite the questioning of reality, actuality, and plausibility, as well as history, science, art, culture, and ultimately, the museum as an institution and a concept. Despite the fact that the museum seems to meet the conventional stylistic expectations, it is confusing, frolicsome, and absurd when the items on display are considered. For the museum "guides the visitor through a critique of Western thought since the Renaissance, especially of the great divides between objective materialism and the subjective mind and between the realm of quantifiable science and the dominion of spirituality and belief" (Roth 104).

Entering into the halls of the Museum of Jurassic Technology is, in fact, reminiscent of a ride on a ghost train because the hallways and galleries are very dark, dense, and full of surprises, adding to the feeling of dizziness and the uncertainty of what is real or what is fake. Real items are exhibited alongside invented artifacts both in permanent collections and special exhibits. What further perplexes the viewer is that "some things are invented but seem true; others are true but seem invented. And it is not always clear which is which" (Rothstein 1). Since all items on display are grouped according to certain criteria, and they are explained in details, just as in all well-established museums, it is not easy for the visitors to clearly distinguish whether they are real items or invented artifacts, as well as simulations or replicas that look more real than the real, reminiscent of how Jean Baudrillard defines the postmodern condition[15]. Furthermore, the descriptions, which are naturally informative for the visitors, are broadly vocalized or briefly written. Since the language employed is remarkably scientific, instructive, and scholarly, the visitors are impressed by and convinced

of the truth of the descriptions. However, for the conscientious visitors there are multiple conflicting and disputing points on the educational texts. For instance, the descriptions of items include various scientific terms, Latin terminology, well-known place names, and familiar important concepts as well as confusingly "elaborate citations, some of which lead to nonexistent sources, others pointing to extraordinary historical figures" (Rothstein 1). However, similar to the intricacy in figuring out the traits of the displayed items, it is not easy to differentiate the actual from fiction because the explanatory texts are made principally to be convincing. Many, if not all, of those texts are in fact narratives just pretending to be academic texts. Listening to narratives or reading explanations and observing objects on display, the visitor constantly crosses the boundaries between information and imagination, i.e., fact and fiction. In addition, the cyber search of the researcher, fascinated by the museum's "scientific" collections, end up at the museum's webpage after being directed to many prestigious scientific web pages. Thus, the museum also shows the power of language and storytelling. As such, it demonstrates that each exhibit is a narrative, and all the items/artifacts of each exhibit are merely representative objects of those narratives. Therefore, the museum offers its visitors not only an imaginative interaction with the artistic artifacts on display but also a literacy/vision/audition-based interaction with the narratives of those artifacts. Consequently, each exhibit is in fact a fictional creation, and, on the whole, the museum is more than a construct of merely exhibiting items, it is a meta-narrative for it embraces narratives about both national and international history, art, and culture, and even science.

The term Jurassic, actually, refers to one of the earliest collections of pre-historic fossils but the Museum of Jurassic Technology has evolved over the years to include many different exhibits of art, natural history, the history of science, history of medicine, industry, anthropology, and philosophy among many others[16]. Collections and exhibits include a study of the stink ant of Cameroon of West Central Africa, a ghostly South American bat called Deprong Mori, or Piercing Devil, which seems to fly through solid objects, fruit stone carvings under the impact of Christianity, a horn collection, including both human and animal horns, for example, a horn from 1688, supposedly one of the four horns from a woman's head, the telegrams and letters sent to astronomers at the Mount Wilson Observatory in the early 20th century,

vulgar remedies, healing traditions, pharmaceutical innovations, pseudo-scientific cures, superstitious beliefs, paranormal thoughts, miniature habitats depicting Los Angeles area mobile home and trailer parks, a magnetic oracle as part of the exhibition titled: "The World is Bound with Secret Knots," the interesting narrative on dramatically decomposing celluloid dices, the painted sculpture of Disney's Goofy or Snow White with the dwarfs standing on the head of a needle that can only be seen looking through a magnifying glass, micromosaics made of numerous butterfly wings of multiple species from all over the world, floral stereo radiographs, and a gallery of portraits of cosmonaut dogs sent into space by the Russians in the 1950s, all conflicting with the technology of the Jurassic era or region.

As seen from this exemplary panoramic list ("Collections and Exhibitions"), exhibits are weird, mesmerizing, and baffling. Additionally, these displays generally have a twist. For instance, a gray fox head in a glass cage, growling and barking but in fact vocalized by a man blur the boundaries between the human and the nonhuman or the real and the unreal. In short, "the bizarreness of the contents of the museum . . . asks the viewer to question every traceable fact, yet believe every outlandish claim" (McKay 66). "Clarity is obscured" McKay argues and further claims that many visitors, even if they had been the most persistent and skeptical prior to their visit, leave the museum fully believing the theories about or features of the items on display (66).

It is worth noting that in the Museum of Jurassic Technology almost all exhibits are juxtaposed to their counters. For example, the exhibition of Geoffrey Sonnabend's *Obliscence: Theories of Forgetting and the Problem of Matter* presents his theories on human memory, which is the intersection between consciousness and experience, is followed by another exhibit: an empty cup of tea near a little dish with madeleines, one partially eaten, reminiscent of Marcel Proust and his classic novel entitled *In Search of Lost Time*, also known as *Remembrance of Things Past*. A quote from Proust's novel is also attached:

> But when from a long-distant past nothing subsists, after the people are dead, after the things are broken and scattered, taste and smell alone, more fragile but more enduring, more unsubstantial, more persistent,

> more faithful, remain poised a long time, like souls, remembering, waiting, hoping, amid the ruins of all the rest; and bear unflinchingly, in the tiny and almost impalpable drop of their essence, the vast structure of recollection (51).

With this quote, the authentic charge of the museum becomes relatively apparent: The museum seems to preserve the already gone past by keeping our memories fresh. No matter how impossible to find outside the museum those representative items of their respective eras and exhibits, they can only be attained at a cognitive level, in memory. For Sonnabend, however, memory is an illusion. He explains that "what we experience as memories are in fact confabulations, artificial constructions of our own design built around sterile particles of retained experience which we attempt to make live again by infusions of imagination" ("Obliscence, Theories of Forgetting and the Problem of Matter"). Therefore, the museum plays with the idea of reality and fictionality on many instances. Besides, it underscores the fictionality of another dualism—remembering and forgetting, both of which are individual frolicsome experiences as human memory always has the potential to play with the mind—to store, collect, forget, distort, alter, retrieve, suppress, etc. Furthermore, the museum ostentatiously becomes a visitor-centered institution rather than a site of the curators' authority because each visitor experiences personal memories triggered by the items on display. The memories each item calls to her or his individual mind are private experiences.

The function(s) of memory are closely linked to the function(s) of meaning. As Stanley Fish claims, the making of meaning is also a personal account, "meaning and interpretation are primarily in the mind of the viewer and the influence of the object (or text, for Fish) and its qualities are markedly diminished or absent in the analysis" (qtd. in Dudley 4). From this postmodernist standpoint, meaning is a construct and producing meaning is an ever going engagement. Furthermore, since the concept of objective truth is rejected in the postmodern epoch, only personal meanings are valid. In other words, postmodernity rejects the modernist view on the singular knowable objective meaning. Hence, each visitor of the museum has the potential to produce a variety of authentic meanings, adding to the multiplicity or pluralism of audience/visitor responses. The museum thus invites its visitors to willingly enjoy the museum in order to engage in the

construction of meaning(s) process. Taking Roland Barthes's stance in "The Pleasure of the Text," the visitor, just like the reader who has engaged in a process-oriented-interaction with the text, becomes a major component of the museum.

Additionally, the Museum of Jurassic Technology recalls the (oral) culture tradition of storytelling, which fosters also a sense of shared identity and belonging and where memories are restored, preserved, and transmitted to others through individual stories. Moreover, the ephemeral objects on display become as precious and untimely as non-ephemeral items only because of the (hi)stories/narratives attached to them. In addition, visual and audio elements enrich the items on display, adding to detail and "knowledge." Therefore, the museum constructs a space where visitors have to mediate between the items and hypertexts. The museum thus becomes a venue where stories are collected—stories equally important as the artificial items, both products of the imagination and creativity. The museum, consequently, becomes a metanarrative as each item the museum houses also has its own narrative. In other words, the museum stores items within items, stories within stories, and, consequently, always multiplies worlds, realities, layers, and constructions. With each story narrated for each of the items on display, reality is reconstructed for each item embraces an authentic vision of reality. Thus, reality is questioned, subverted, and recreated since the items do not just reflect the actuality. In this sense, the museum becomes an autonomous fictional enterprise echoing Fredric Jameson's definition of postmodernist spatiality[17].

The Museum of Jurassic Technology is one of a kind museum; it is a meta-museum, a museum about museums. Here, I am not exactly referring to the meta-museum movement which is currently a growing trend in American museums. "The meta-museum blends virtual reality and artificial intelligence technologies with conventional museums to maximize the utilization of the museum's knowledge base and to provide an interactive, exciting and educational experience for visitors" (Mase 107). According to this innovative approach, the meta-museum staff engages with the community by explaining what they do or how they present collections and take care of items or even by taking visitors to behind the scene museum tours where visitors can also take active role in engaging with the duties of the staff, such as artifact labeling, image scanning, archive managing, and even creating their own art. Consequently, the meta-museums enable mutual dialogue

and are eligible for interaction as they call for willingly participating, performing, collaborative visitors rather than distant mere spectators. Therefore, the meta-museums are more democratic places than the conventional museums, which are repressive and authoritarian places. However, I am rather using the term meta-museum to mean "a museum about museums" in which visitors mainly interact with the museum mentally, i.e. engaging with the curators' idea behind each exhibit, or in figuring out the play behind the typically disturbing or bizarre items on display, rather than engaging in the organization of the exhibits or engaging with the staff. Therefore, the Museum of Jurassic Technology is not a meta-museum in the former sense but it is a meta-museum as it is a museum about museums and the very idea of the museum. As Weschler plainly puts, the museum is "like a museum, a critique of museums, and a celebration of museums—all rolled into one" ("Inhaling the Spore" 54).

The Museum of Jurassic Technology, as a prototype museum that subverts the very idea of the museum, invites the questioning of the very idea of museum and contributes not only to encourage to "rethink what a museum is and what its potential might be" (Crooke 7) but also to this heated debate whether museums need to change or stick to their traditional practices. This debate "has raised issues on the nature of historical interpretation and questioned the clear orientation of these museums towards market forces, their use of multimedia and attempts to engage with popular culture" (Witcomb 1). More specifically, the contemporary discussion on museums reflects a "series of oppositions between traditionalists and renovators, objects and multimedia, objects and ideas, education and edutainment" (Witcomb 2). As such, the current debate even includes whether museums still need objects[18]. By integrating objects that stimulate thinking and promote ideas even if the objects on display are not tangible, absolute and factual, the Museum of Jurassic Technology subverts the belief that museums are "guilty of a high art bias" (McClellan xv). As a postmodern space, the museum opposes elitism in culture and weakens the high/low divide. Moreover, the museum challenges the hegemony of high and serious aesthetics by questioning and widening the definitions of art, entertainment, and aesthetics. The contents of the museum are tricky, nonconventional, and reminiscent of the existing debates on museum collections for they almost simultaneously contradict and ensure the notion that "museums in the past often displayed some objects at least,

principally to captivate or inculcate a sense of wonder rather than or as well as to educate" (Dudley 2). Thus, the museum also challenges and subverts the museums' institutional obligation of telling the truth. Not surprisingly, museums have gained new roles within a post-industrial and postmodern society, and thus changes in museums, whether architectural, technological, organizational, ideological, philosophical, etc. are inevitable. "Depending on which set of values and practices a museum chooses it is then characterized as either elitist or popular, hierarchical or democratic, old and musty or new and exciting, irrelevant or relevant to contemporary concerns" (Witcomb 2). However, the Museum of Jurassic Technology destabilizes the chronological, cumulative, and linear evolution of museums. Even if it is a contemporary museum, it surprisingly resembles the former museum establishment called the cabinet of curiosities. Thus, this similarity calls to mind the term "postmodern turn," for the Museum of Jurassic Technology can also be interpreted as a place where the parody of well-established, authoritarian, institutionalized museums can be observed. Further, the museum offers a simulation of both private and public museums. The museum is in fact a simulation of the museum as an institution, and it looks more real than the real museums, creating a hyper reality. Additionally, the museum illustrates how postmodernists playfully blend fact and fiction, and, combine high and low cultural or aesthetic forms. Moreover, the museum valorizes the ephemeral items and objects of everyday life rather than despising them as examples of kitsch and popular culture. As a paradoxical form of space, which can be noticed even at the entrance—also the exit—the museum challenges and deconstructs spatial relations of order. Also, the appropriation of past styles, such as the Roman mausoleum styled façade and the Moorish terrace garden, are among the features of the postmodern turn. For the postmodern turn necessitates a close relationship between theory and culture, the museum can be scrutinized as a model place to discuss the postmodern mentality and practice.

Walking through the halls of the Museum of Jurassic Technology, the visitors can deconstruct many museum-related issues such as the naturalized assumptions, power mechanisms, set of norms, and systems of knowledge. This exhausting yet exciting and exceptional experience is challenged as the perplexed visitor reaches the soothing top floor of the Museum of Jurassic Technology which hosts a beautiful white dove garden. The garden, rich with various flowers and green plants

encircling a fountain, has a style reminiscent of Moorish architecture, where visitors can either freshen up or reevaluate or settle their recent museum experience as they enjoy drinking complimentary tea obtained from the museum's Tula Tea Room, and, listening to live nyckelharpa or accordion music performed "not in a brash, attention-grabbing way, but in a discreet, almost wistful style" (Wertheim 35) by David H. Wilson[19]. Tula Tea Room is among the permanent collections of the museum and hosts a traditionally specifically Georgian (Russian) Tea Ceremony complimentary for all visitors. Climbing up the stairs and reaching the top floor garden can be like seeing the light at the end of the tunnel, evocative of the calming closing experience of a ghost train ride. The museum, including the air of the garden, reminds its visitors of the term 'museum' in its original sense: "a spot dedicated to the muses— 'a place where man's mind could attain a mood of aloofness above everyday affairs'" ("Introduction and Background"). It is, therefore, no coincidence that the white dove is preferred because, typically and universally the animal is the symbol of peace, tranquility, fidelity, prosperity, and new beginnings. Moreover, the dove serves as the messenger, echoing the museum's role in carrying sparkling new ideas.

All and all, the Museum of Jurassic Technology has a unique aura. "It thrives on all the essentials of that proto-museum form: bizarreness of content, authority of tone, and the ability to create and maintain, for those who stumble upon it, an impeccable balance between awestruck credulity and disorienting uncertainty" (Price 77). The museum offers a new sort of relationship between museums and public for it is designed for people to come and explore, evocative of Johan Huizinga's theory of homo ludens, the player who engages in playing the game of believing in make-believe curiosities. Additionally, rather than explicitly mentioning how museums are also the places where ideologies, colonialism, historical artifact smuggling, Foucauldian power relations, and distribution of powers among hierarchic societies are detectable, the museum calls for a subversive exceptional experience known as Bakhtinian carnivalesque as it also demonstrates the "appeal to voyeuristic curiosity" and the "aesthetic of clutter" as well as the "play on popular ideas about what real science (or real art or real history) looks like (Price 78). In this context, the museum provides possible evaluations of "postmodern sensitivity to questions of identity, authority, and the potential for alternative

forms of legibility within museum spaces" (McClellan xvii). Further, the museum can be considered an art gallery which houses David H. Wilson's own art installation and performance[20]. Each visitor that comes through the museum acquires an experience exclusively her or his own and sees and discovers something different, as a postmodern spectator, negotiating between pre-existing knowledge and cultural context(s). Therefore, the museum converts the traditional understanding that museums foster collective identities and memories by enabling an individualistic experience. Consequently, in the Museum of Jurassic Technology, theory and practice meet. "The visitor to the Museum of Jurassic Technology continually finds himself shimmering between wondering *at* (the marvels of nature) and wondering *whether* (any of this could possibly be true)" (Weschler, *Mr. Wilson's Cabinet of Wonder* 61; emphases original). Unlike the traditional museums where visitors, through the representation(s) of reality, acquire a lot of knowledge which can be transferred and utilized in everyday practice, this museum fundamentally demonstrates how reality can be narrated, remembered via narratives, deconstructed, and reconstructed. Briefly, the museum fulfills its mission by being informative in many ways: the visitor leaves the museum enlightened as long as s/he trusts in whatever is seen, heard and read; additionally and conversely, the visitor leaves the museum enlightened as long as learns to distrust whatever is seen, heard and read.

Notes

[1] I would like to extend my appreciation to my precious colleagues Charles M. Tung, PhD, Kenneth Allen, PhD, and Aaron Jaffe, PhD, who graciously encouraged and organized an optional visit to the Museum of Jurassic Technology during The Study of the U.S. Institute for Scholars on Contemporary American Literature in 2017. Thank you for giving me the inspiration to write this article. I would also like to thank the editor of this issue and the reviewers for their meticulous evaluation and valuable comments.

[2] Grande further reminds: "At that time, surgery was the charge of barbers rather than physicians" (Grande xi).

[3] Cabinet of curiosities (Cabinets of Wonder, wonder-cabinets or wonder-rooms) as a term is also known in German loanwords like Wunderkammern, Kunstkammer or Kunstkabinett.

[4] For the scope of this article I preferred referring to Terry Eagleton's definition although various other scholars have written significant works to define postmodernity.

[5] For Michel Foucault, museums, just like schools and hospitals, are among such institutes which have disciplinary power, i.e., the power to discipline the mindset of people, the power to control the actions of individuals. For a comprehensive reading on Foucault, power dynamics, and museums see Ka Tat Nixon Chen's article "The Disciplinary Power of Museums," *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity*, Vol. 3, No 4, July 2013, pp. 407-410.

[6] The data file can be accessed at: https://www.imls.gov/research-evaluation/data-collection/museum-data-files.

[7] The graph of museums by discipline can be accessed at: https://www.imls.gov/assets/1/AssetManager/MUDF_TypeDist_2014q3.pdf.

[8] In addition to these values, museums especially those that do not ask for admission fee, just like public libraries, offer comfortable

and safe zones even for the homeless, enabling to have some quality time that heals both mental and moral health of the visitors.

[9] Unsurprisingly, the introduction of Norton's comprehensive anthology entitled *Postmodern American Fiction* correlates the features of the Museum of Jurassic Technology, postmodernity and contemporary American narratives by asserting analogies. The introduction states "[i]n introducing this anthology of postmodern American fiction, it seems fitting to begin in the halls of this museum, in its own way an anthology of the postmodern spirit" (Geyh et al. x).

[10] The sign says: "Ring buzzer once for admittance." Rules concerning the museum are shared with the visitors via signs. For instance, a sign specifies that cell phone usage and taking photographs of objects or exhibits are strictly forbidden but photographs can be obtained from the museum or be seen through the official webpage of the museum.

[11] For a current list of contributions from foundations, see http://www.mjt.org/donors.html.

[12] This description is taken from the online gift shop that is accessible via the following link: https://www.mjtgiftshop.org.

[13] Weschler's book results from his personal occasional visits to the museum and embraces his chronicles of these visits, his firsthand personal, emotional, and sensory responses to the exhibits, and, his conversations with David Hildebrand Wilson and his wife, Diana Wilson who also has an active role in the museum as its treasurer and keeper of accounts.

[14] http://www.mjt.org/intro/genborch.htm.

[15] Jean Baudrillard suggests that postmodern societies are organized around simulation—the cultural modes of representation that simulate reality. For him, reality has begun to imitate the model which then precedes and determines the reality. As such, the Museum of Jurassic Technology can be considered as a simulation of museums.

[16] About how the materials for collections in the Museum of Jurassic Technology gathered together, see Weschler's article entitled "Inhaling the Spore: Field Trip to a Museum of Natural (Un) History", pp. 52.

[17] Fredric Jameson claims that comprehending the contemporary social and cultural contexts is impossible without an understanding of space. He analyzes space as a text and makes a distinction between modernist and postmodernist architecture as he considers the latter as a set of texts, which enables him to discuss intertextuality as he reads all postmodernist architecture in relation to others.

[18] For a further comprehensive reading on the current perspectives in museums, see the series of books titled *Leicester Readers in Museum Studies*, specifically *Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things* edited by Sandra H. Dudley and *Museums in the Material World* by Simon J. Knell and *Museums in a Digital Age* by Ross Parry.

[19] As mentioned previously, David Hildebrand Wilson, the founder and director of the museum, is also a filmmaker, artist, designer, and curator. As this variety reveals, he is engaged in many interrelated fields of artistic creativity and depiction. Born in Denver, CO, USA, in 1946, Wilson has been attracted to museums since his childhood.

[20] In recent years, there is more news about people who ask for the refund of admission fees of art performances, an uncommon manner that leads to the discussion on whether art performances are commodities that secure customer rights concerning their appreciation. Some visitors of the Museum of Jurassic Technology "demand their money back insisting that they've been duped" (Patt 71).

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(De)construction of American Masculinity Through Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Bobbie Ann Mason's *In Country*

İdil Didem Keskiner

Abstract

This article examines Bobbie Ann Mason's *In Country* (1985) to show how the memorialization of the Vietnam War deconstructs the conventional image of the American war hero and his masculinity through the coming of age story of Samantha Hughes. While demonstrating how disruptive normative gender roles are in characters' daily lives, initiated through Samantha's passage to adulthood and her search for a father figure in the novel, Mason also shows how Vietnam destroyed the heroic soldier image in national consciousness and shook the noble cause of American exceptionalism. Through a trip to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in the book, this article argues that in the search for identity, the protagonist Samantha questions both the morality of the Vietnam War and the traditional masculine attitudes of American men. Hence, the trip to the Memorial initiates a healing process as well as a confrontation of the emasculated American hero who did not feel appreciated and honored by the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, which became one of the most controversial historical memorializations of war in the United States.

Keywords: Vietnam War, Masculinity, Memorialization, *In Country*, Bobbie Ann Mason, Vietnam Veterans Memorial

Bobbie Ann Mason'ın *In Country* Romanında Vietnam Şehitleri Anıtı ile Amerikan Maskülinitesinin Yıkımı

Öz

Bu makale ana karakteri Samantha Hughes'un yetişkinliğe doğru attığı ilk adımlar süresince, Vietnam Savaşını anma biçiminin var olan geleneksel Amerikan savaş kahramanının maskülen imgesinde yol açtığı yıkımı Bobbie Ann Mason'ın *In Country* adlı eserinde incelemektedir. Roman, Samantha'nın yetişkinliğe geçişi ve kendine bir baba figürü arayışı ile başlayan süreçte geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin karakterlerin hayatlarında ne derece yıkıcı bir etkiye sahip olduğunu sergilerken, Mason aynı zamanda Vietnam Savaşının milli bilinçteki kahraman asker imgesini nasıl yıktığını ve Amerikan İstisnacılığının bu imgeye yüklediği soylu amacı nasıl derinden sarstığını kanıtlamaktadır. Bu makale kimlik arayışında olan ana karakter Samantha'nın hem Vietnam Savaşının etikliğini hem de Amerikan erkeğinin geleneksel maskülenliğini nasıl sorguladığını tartışmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, Amerika'da en çok tartışmaya yol açmış tarihi anıtlardan biri olan Vietnam Şehitleri Anıtı, tarafından takdir edildiğini ve onurlandırıldığını hissetmeyen, zayıflatılmış Amerikan kahramanın yüzleşme anı olmakla birlikte, romanda anıta yapılan ziyaretin nasıl bir iyileşme sürecini de beraberinde getirdiği ortaya konmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Vietnam Savaşı, Maskülenlik, Anma, *In Country*, Bobbie Ann Mason, Vietnam Şehitleri Anıtı

Americans reserve a tendency for describing their historical heritage as sacralized through a national quest. This quest that is commonly known as Manifest Destiny paved the way for conquering and ruling other nations to keep the political order on their nation's behalf. In his famous essay "The Significance of the Frontier in

American History" Frederick Jackson Turner affirms this idea by arguing that "The peculiarity of American institutions is, the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people —to the changes involved in crossing a continent, *in winning a wilderness,* and in developing at each area of this progress" (1, personal emphasis). As a result, Americans created a perception of being the leader of constant change and development. This idea justified the conflicts that the United States got involved in through the promotion of bringing order and democracy. Furthermore, it was fed from the able-bodiedness of the nation's men. The archetypal image of the male warrior in the wilderness was a considerable part in the masculine image of the American male since the frontier experience had become an essential ideology for any progress of the nation. The history of the United States demonstrated an outstanding success that conditioned many Americans to be a part of victory culture with an influential autonomous male figure holding the light for them along the unknown path.

While the United States accomplished its paternalistic goals on other people and nations, American men were overwhelmed by the unattainable, mythical heroic image perpetuated through the power of media. Thus, a feeling of superiority was set by the characterization of the patriotic male when the discourse of war indicated a quest, a ritual of passage to manhood, and a chance for "confirmation of the male-self" (Leed 171). Furthermore, American culture regarded wilderness as something to be captured and also as a representation of the uncontrollable nature of man himself.

Until the Vietnam War, the United States successfully justified its involvement with each collision around the globe. Vietnam was an exception in the history of the United States since it is remembered as a "tragic mistake" and a "moral failure" (McMahon 175). As Robert L. Beisner discusses why the nation's history views the Vietnam War as a defeat in the essay "1898 and 1968: The Anti-Imperialists and the Doves," apart from the duration of the conflict, involvement with Vietnam seemed unnecessary since there were not any "concrete interests that . . . could justify such massive intervention" (213). During the cultural and political turmoil of the 1960s in the United States, society deemed American involvement in the war to be immoral due to the lack of substantiation other than American pride. Therefore, with the death of more than 57,000 soldiers, the war shook the "noble

cause" of the American hero and changed the way many people who previously sent their sons, husbands and brothers proudly to war now perceived the war.

The Vietnam soldiers' knowledge of the militaristic masculinity emanated from their fathers who went to the Second World War and the Korean War. The depiction of those soldiers seemed highly admiring and victorious. Burdened by this image, the soldiers in Vietnam were depicted as "winners" even though what they experienced there was quite different from the experiences of senior members of their families. Unlike a "romantic adventure" or a mythical challenge to his masculinity, the Vietnam soldier was faced with puzzling questions that tested his morality and humanity. Huebner affirms this particular difference between the wars as: "The heroic, selfless soldier of World War II mythology was transforming into a different sort of cultural hero, one inviting sympathy, even pity, along with respect" (175). The Vietnam soldier could not attain these positive qualities since the media broadcasted their actions on TV. Through the Vietnam War, Americans became acquainted with a new type of masculinity distorted by the harsh reality of the war and the capability of obedience to the military authority.

More largely broadcasted on TV than the Korean War, Vietnam displayed all aspects of the combat zone previously unknown to civilians. Witnessing the nation's heroic soldiers burning hutches and committing atrocities was frightful enough to spark the Anti-Vietnam protests. Moreover, considering the duration of the War, Vietnam became a place that the American soldier was tested not only by his military decision in Southeast Asia but also by his conscience. A "suspension of morality" (Huebner 216) surrendered the nation to the questioning policies and the pride of each president refusing to see that it was not possible to win the War. These factors combined added up to the anti-war sentiments around almost every region of the country. Every man in the nation was blamed for either taking action or remaining neutral in the war since "the agents of official culture […] promote[d] stability, patriotism and devotion to an idealized nation" (Keene 1097). Henceforth, the ones who decided not to be a part of the Vietnam War were criticized highly during and after the war. On the other hand, the frontier heroes of the States in Southeast Asia, who decided to stay and serve became "the scapegoats for an official policy that encouraged brutality" (Huebner 210) and therefore were blamed

for being the main actors of unnecessary violence against civilians in Vietnam and were judged as "war criminals" instead of saviors.

When the soldiers returned, rather than wearing their freshly ironed uniforms, they changed into civilian clothes in public bathrooms to avoid being lynched or called baby killers or rapists. Therefore, being a soldier in Vietnam was equated with being a failure and disgrace to the nation. The Vietnam War became a disillusionment of the heroic male of the past. Thus, remembering Vietnam also became contradictory to the nation as the majority was not ready to give up on neither its mythic heritage nor its frontier hero whose manliness had been endangered alongside with his humanity.

Moreover, since the results of the war pointed out a failure of the U.S. political and military strategies, the memorialization of the Vietnam War desired to be postponed and buried in the depths of historical consciousness until the design of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. In this case, Judith Keene confirms the fact that both at the end of the Korean War and the War in Vietnam, Americans took part in "the process of collective forgetting" (1097) since the characteristics of both wars were inconsistent with the idealized image in their heads. Furthermore, at the end of both wars, the image of the American soldier was disfigured since most of society saw him as "a prisoner of war, who was defeated, emaciated, and possibly a brainwashed communist sympathizer" (Keene 1098). Thus, when the American male as a figure coincided with the ideas of defeat, weakness, and lack of morality, he was further regarded as feminized and condemned to be removed from American war history.

Nevertheless, what differentiated the Vietnam War from the Korean War was the power of the media, the length of the War and, the moral dilemmas that occurred with incidents such as the My Lai Massacre and the use of chemical weapons. As Judith Keene concludes in her article "Lost to Public Commemoration: American Veterans of the 'Forgotten' Korean War" the Korean War lacked "temporal coherence," "sacralized battlefields" and" consensual imagery" whereas the Vietnam War contained these particular characteristics alongside with occasions that put the U.S. authorities' humanity on stand (1098). Therefore, the building of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial signified the same loss but caused a more significant reaction throughout the nation as a dominant historical narrative of the United States.

Kylie Longley suggests in "Between Sorrow and Pride: The Morenci Nine, the Vietnam War, and Memory in Small-Town America" that the remembrance of Vietnam differed as "instead of the triumphalism of the WWII generation, they focused on the idea of the sacrifice and sorrow, all the while searching for some meaning in the losses associated with the Vietnam experience" (6). Thus, the Memorial attempted to confront the colossal loss and to close the generational gap between the two different images of soldiers. As Longley further notes "The memorialization of the Vietnam soldiers differed significantly from earlier manifestations after the American Revolution, Civil War, and World War II. In those cases, civic leaders quickly erected memorials to those who fought as well as those who died" (15). For this reason, Vietnam soldiers' delayed acceptance was related to the patriarchal figure of the nation since the soldiers could not meet the expectations of the heroic past.

Both Bobbie Ann Mason's novel *In Country* and its 1989 movie adaptation deal with this loss of the heroic past through the coming of age of an 18-year-old woman named Samantha Hughes and her veteran uncle Emmett Smith, who both hope for a symbolic reconciliation with the dark side of their family's past. While the novel's main point focuses on the young adult that is at the threshold of adulthood, she cannot take her first step until her family's past with Vietnam is solved. As suggested from the beginning of the novel, "Dwayne had died with secrets. Emmett was walking around with his. Anyone who survived Vietnam seemed to regard it as something personal and embarrassing" (Mason 67). While unveiling the truth about her family's past, Samantha also digs into one of the deepest wounds of the nation since the Civil War. Set in a fictional small town of Kentucky with traditionalist residents, the way in which pride and conventional gender norms affect the healing process is also emphasized.

As Emmett Smith comments on this stolidity of the townsmen towards the Vietnam Veterans in Hopewell, Bobbie Ann Mason implies the unspoken negligence of society at the time when the soldiers returned home:

> "We need to be heard, so it won't happen again. We want to let everybody know vets are not losers. You know what I'd like to see? I'd like to see a big welcome-home party downtown. Lots of places had one the year

> they put the memorial up in Washington. But nobody did a thing here."
>
> "Everything's always ten years behind here," Emmett said (Mason 59).

Furthermore, society remained unaware of the reality behind the paternalistic ideology of the War since it was small-townsmen and women who supported the ideology behind the Vietnam War. Within the first pages of the book, Samantha narrates that only the superficial is important. For instance, Emmett and his friends are criticized for causing a disturbance with their inconvenient appearance as hippies, but not for displaying a Vietcong flag from the courthouse tower. "The funny part, Emmett always said, was that nobody had even recognized that it was a Vietcong flag" (Mason 24). Interpreted as the authenticity barrier between the veterans and the communities in Hopewell, this incident shows how Hopewell conceives the War differently.

Moreover, while the novel centers on Samantha's search for her identity and struggle of choice for the future, the author hints that Samantha's coming of age story and the Vietnam War are connected. Starting with the unknown origin of her name, Samantha goes through an identity crisis that leads her to the family's past, especially her father's: "Sam was confused. If she couldn't know a simple fact like the source of her name, what could she know for sure?" (Mason 53). Consequently, she reopens the old wounds of the nation while she tries to find out who she is. Her father's and Emmett's memories in Vietnam offer her guidance about her rather unique feminine identity. As she is "too convinced of her own alienating difference from the world of conventional Southern womanhood," Samantha experiences a breakthrough when she encounters men who felt shame and humiliation after the War (Hinrichsen 236). Moreover, through questioning the events surrendering her, she gains insight into the reality of the society and her heritage.

In the meantime, Samantha is resentful when she feels excluded by her veteran uncle Emmett and his friends. Within reach of truth, the pain and guilt of the Vietnam veterans pave the way for Samantha to attain closure. Following the remains of the War, she digs deeper to resolve her past. She comes to an understanding of this connection when it is said, "She was feeling the delayed stress of the Vietnam

War. It was her inheritance." (Mason 89). Throughout her process of identity-making, Samantha begins to understand why people around her try to cover up the past. Starting with searching for her name, she ends up with a confrontation when she, Emmett, and Mamaw arrive at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. On the one hand, the events that Samantha experiences represent an initiated process of memorization of the past to a confrontation. On the other hand, throughout this process, the reader can acknowledge the destructiveness of the Vietnam War, both on the individual and national level.

It should be noted both the novel and the movie put the Vietnam Veterans Memorial as a place that dissolves the problematic issues of these characters' lives and the Memorial functions differently for each character. Whereas it is a catalyst for Emmett to confront his guilt and emotions, it helps Samantha take a brave step into adulthood. It also helps Mamaw to cope with the loss of her son. The scene before the Vietnam Veterans Memorial accomplishes that historical memory has accepted the "fractured hero" (Kilshaw 198) of Vietnam. Nevertheless, Samantha's engagement with the reality of the Vietnam War through her father's diaries, her uncle Emmett, and other veterans help her to understand the traumatized group of men after Vietnam and the scene at the Memorial initiates a healing process for the whole nation.

Due to these facts, at first, this paper will be focusing on the historical consciousness regarding the War and the war hero himself to address the deconstruction of the normative gender roles in the novel as the initial action of Samantha's passage to adulthood. The second and the third parts of the article argue that both the memorialization of the Vietnam War through individual stories, diaries, and the Memorial help Samantha to carve out a place for her identity.

How the Images Differ: Emasculating Effect of the Vietnam War

War as a discourse has been coded as masculine and regarded as a gendered activity. Making the war a man's playground and offering him to show how independent, risk-taking, aggressive, and "heterosexual" he is while proudly serving his country, pushed young boys of the 60s to accept the offer from the military. In her book *Impotent Warriors: Perspectives on Gulf War Syndrome, Vulnerability and Masculinity*, Susie Kilshaw argues "as the military is central to the

creation of dominant masculinities, the men who join the forces can be seen as striving to achieve an ideal form of masculinity that emphasizes strength, mastery, violence, protection, and rationality" (193). Most of the Vietnam soldiers respected their fathers', who were often WWII veterans, authority, and word. However, while their fathers had fought in a glorious war, they fought in an unpopular one that challenged them with an unattainable masculinity. As another veteran, Jim defines how the soldiers in Vietnam had a different experience than their elders: "Take my daddy. He thinks I should have been just like him fighting in the Pacific in the second big one. But he was out on a ship, and he could see the Japanese coming. He knew who the enemy was. He knew what he was fighting for. You can't tell him Vietnam was any different. He's hardheaded" (Mason 124).

Hereafter, Emmett is also a victim of the same thoughts of his father and his pride. Encouraged by the mission of protecting national and familial values to recuperate after the loss of his brother-in-law Dwayne, he also chooses to go to war for the sake of his widowed sister and orphaned niece. Growing up in a highly conservative region, Emmett's father symbolizes the traditional warfare and masculine ideology blended with patriotism. Even though it does not go as planned and the Army fails to "make a man out of him" (Mason 149), Emmett's father still defends the mainstream American heroic image by stating "It's not too late to pull himself up and be proud" (Mason 149). Thus, Emmett's father symbolizes the majority of people who kept on believing the politicians' words on the war and supported the idea no matter how severe the consequences would be.

Moreover, the book localizes shame and humiliation after Vietnam since the Southern region had "a larger national obsession with . . . white victimization, and American 'innocence'" (Hinrichsen 234). Thus, when Southern boys went to Vietnam, there was a stronger resistance against the immorality of the war as Emmett's psychological trauma is ignored in the neighborhood. Besides, the Southerners tended to be in denial and claimed the innocence of their boys. When Samantha reads the diary of his father, Dwayne, she realizes the inconsistencies between the two images of one man: "Mamaw and Pap must not have even read the diary. If they had read it, they would have realized that he smoked and drank and murdered. Maybe they read it but didn't want to remember their son that way. So, they forgot. Or they made up a more pleasant story" (Mason 205).

In Mason's work, the image of the proud soldier dissolves through Samantha's quest for learning about the past. As a part of a culture that promotes exceptionalism, in the first pages of the novel, Samantha carries the same high expectations as her community about the Vietnam War soldiers. However, throughout her search, as June Dwyer suggests in "New Roles, New History and New Patriotism: Bobbie Ann Mason's *In Country*" without realizing it, Samantha derives the role of "the historian, reading letters and diaries and conducting what amount to be informal interviews of Emmett and his war buddies. What Sam does not understand is that she has armed herself with old historical expectations. She is looking for heroes and villains, strong leaders, clear causes" (72). Thus, she feels disappointed until she becomes a part of the same history and internalizes the same guilt when she visits the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and touches the granite wall. While Samantha tries to find the answer to her questions about her father, she witnesses different kinds of memorialization of the past and the attempts to preserve the traditional heroic image. However, starting with glimpses of Emmett's daily life, it is understood that Sam is introduced to a new image of manhood, since publicly Emmett is not able to fulfill his passage to manhood. This reflects the fact that he feels overwhelmed with the burden of war memories and has transformed into a "soft" or "feminized" man.

Since the first pages of the novel, Emmett is shunned from the society, wearing a skirt while cooking for Sam and her boyfriend Lonnie is a way to draw the attention away from his traumatized identity. "He was wearing a long, thin Indian-print skirt with elephants and peacocks on it. Now Lonnie burst out laughing" (Mason 26). As the scene continues, the author portrays Emmett as a concerned mother who was "tall and broad, like a middle-aged woman who had had several children" (Mason 32). Moreover, rather than representing an authoritative figure, Emmett stays timid towards the sarcastic comments of Lonnie.

Emmett's reaction towards the weather on the same night is another occasion that devalues his masculinity in front of a younger man who is supposed to show him respect according to cultural norms. When he feels terrorized by the loud noises and lightning, his body language is reminiscent of a horrified soldier in the swamps of Southeast Asia. Bringing back the war memories in the jungles of Vietnam, Emmett is haunted by the images and becomes vulnerable

rather than being stoic against the occasion. Alongside the moments of PTSD, Emmett does not fit into a paternal figure that can typically have a word on Samantha's life. Even though the neighborhood is known as conservative, Emmett is incapable of stopping Lonnie from taking advantage of Samantha, both emotionally and sexually. Thus, this hesitation in Emmett's behavior rouses Samantha to learn more about her father's identity in search of an authority figure.

While trying to shape her identity Samantha associates her alienation with the Vietnam veterans'. Since Samantha undertakes the responsible role against Emmett's stolidity, she tries to make sense of his non-gender specific behavior. As Lisa Hinrichsen affirms this idea Samantha "grows closer to Emmett's group of veteran friends she begins to feel allured and intrigued by the Vietnam experience, and begins identifying with the veterans and against mainstream American values" (243). Throughout this process, her masculine image advocates her association with the Vietnam experience as an outcast of the same society.

Moreover, after returning from the War, Emmett is full of normative gender expectations like that of being a breadwinner. However, being shunned from society because of the moral ambiguity of the War he has fought, he confines himself to the family home. Misjudgments against Emmett in town such as "Emmett was the leading dope dealer in town. Emmett slept with his niece… He had killed babies in Vietnam" (Mason 31) reflect the secretiveness in society about the War. As Samantha pressures him and other veterans to find out more about her father and Vietnam, she clarifies why her uncle challenges the traditional male identity by not being part of "…an employed-outside-of-the-home masculine man" (Boyle 1236-1237), and therefore her rejection of the idea of a man like her uncle changes progressively.

Thus, while Samantha questions traditional gender roles indicated by her boyfriend Lonnie and her friend Dawn, she criticizes the roles enforced by men like her uncle. Emmett is depicted as a small child to be taken care of because of his nonchalant attitude towards social expectations. Samantha, although she is younger, offers him what he cannot provide for her by being protective of him and changing her career choices by getting a job at a local store. This change of roles between the two family members also signifies the transformation in

the personality of the Vietnam soldiers after they returned home. Until the end of the book, Samantha refuses to acknowledge the actual reason behind Emmett's situation. She does not recognize the connection between his physical ailments with his mental trauma that affects him in his daily life. Thus, until her attempt to experience Vietnam, Samantha continues to take him to medical doctors. She blames the food he eats while he cringes because of the storm, and she disregards his guilt over his lost comrades in Vietnam.

Henceforth, in the beginning, Samantha represents the New South that tries to preserve the dignity of Americanism. Until she internalizes the pain and the guilt of the Vietnam soldiers, she does differentiate herself from "a homogenizing mass media that fill their daily life with a steady stream of middlebrow sitcoms, brand names, and pop songs" (Hinrichsen 235). For this reason, in their daily lives, they cannot engage with the historical depth of the culture, especially when they hear songs or the sitcoms about past events:

> "Did you know the title song's about a vet?"
>
> "Born in the U.S.A'?"
>
> "Yeah. In the song, his brother gets killed over there, and then the guy gets in a lot of trouble when he gets back home. He can't get a job, and he ends up in jail. It's a great song" (Mason 42).

Through this conversation, neither Samantha nor Dawn can acknowledge the cruciality of the Vietnam war and its effects on people. Therefore, as they stay in the conventional norms and necessities of society, they are not able to confront the past. Moreover, Samantha has the same feeling that she cannot comprehend until the trip to the Memorial. When they watch M*A*S*H, the show that takes place during the Korean War, she does not associate what happens in the series with what Emmett has experienced:

> He sometimes looked as though he had been crying. Sam remembered the time last year when they, along with most of the country, had watched the final episode of M*A*S*H. . . Emmett was choked up the whole last half hour, during the farewells among the characters, when the war was over in Korea. Even Irene sobbed, but Sam wouldn't let herself cry (Mason 107).

As acknowledged from the scene, whereas Emmett goes through a cathartic moment for his memories, Samantha is not able to cry since she does not associate herself with that old part of the culture. Moreover, Samantha is also in denial of the perception of her father's identity. Convinced with the prowess of her father told by her grandparents, saying he was mama's boy, Samantha has had a challenging time about the fact that he drank, smoked, and murdered just like most of the soldiers. Thus, until her attempt to experience Vietnam at Cawood's Pond, the swamp area in their town, her relationship with her father and her uncle stays unresolved, just like she focuses solely on the physical wounds of Emmett.

Sam's yearn for the truth in the book reveals the impact of Agent Orange, a herbicide and defoliant chemical used within the warfare as a tactical strategy by the U.S. government. Moreover, because of the same amount of exposure by the U.S. soldiers themselves, the same illnesses appeared in American soldiers. Here Mason also notes "how the true 'real' of the war was repressed from public consciousness" (Hinrichsen 235) when the apparent trauma of the Vietnam veterans becomes easier to ignore as the dignity of the nation must be protected. When Lonnie tells Samantha that "Agent Orange can affect you that way. It can settle there and practically turn you into a woman" (Mason,186) this shows how any unknown issue about Vietnam is open for speculation. For this reason, when Emmett is unable to interact with his ex-girlfriend Anita, people comment on the issue as if Emmett cannot fulfill the social expectations of being a man.

As the book continues, the reader also acknowledges that Emmett only survives from death by hiding under his dead comrades. Since he has defined the traumatic moments as follows, "For hours, then, until the next day, I was all by myself, except for dead bodies. The smell of warm blood in the jungle heat, like soup coming to a boil" (Mason 223), revealing this truth acts as a climax to the story and becomes an initial action in the lives of the two main characters in the novel. After Emmett tells Samantha, "You can't do what we did and then be happy about it. And nobody lets you forget it" (Mason 222), she acknowledges the truth about Vietnam but also the young boys who went to Vietnam with expectations of realizing manhood. As Emmett starts sobbing, the image contradicts the conventional norms of masculinity. The damage of the war made a significant impact on American men who became "dysfunctional supermen" of American manhood (Kilshaw 193).

To conclude, Samantha associates herself with the same alienation and rootlessness of the Vietnam veterans when she struggles to find out about the "real" past. Within this process, she "looks for heroes and villains, and easy narrative with clear causality" (Hinrichsen 240) as she watches a fictional TV show about war or when she listens to Bruce Springsteen or the Beatles. Since her expectations lead her to research, Samantha comes to an understanding that the Vietnam War disvalued the image of the American hero. As can be seen with both Emmett and her father Dwayne, she realizes the destructive force of Vietnam on manhood.

Female Masculinity and De-Constructing Gender

Samantha's detachment from the past limits her engagement with her decisions about the future. Since she was born into this banality of American popular culture and gender norms, when she attempts to claim her right to be part of history, she goes beyond traditional Southern femininity. Throughout the novel, she conflicts with traditional ideas as she asks for more explanation. In the middle of a decision-making age, she includes Vietnam in her quest to construct her own identity as a young adult.

When she makes the connection between her identity and the memorialization of Vietnam, she reflects her resilience both against being stuck within traditional gender roles and being outcasted from history. Moreover, when she relates the two ideas, she despises the actions of women around her. She disassociates herself from her peers and other women around her. When her friend Dawn gets pregnant through an extramarital relationship, Samantha immediately compares her situation with the war due to her growing obsession. "Dawn was going to have a baby like that, and she'd have to take it everywhere with her. It was depressing. It was as though Dawn had been captured by body snatchers" (Mason 155). Hence, Samantha not only disapproves of Dawn, but she also differentiates herself as more masculine than any other female figure in the novel.

Samantha Hughes is determined to reverse assigned gender roles and gain control of her life. Throughout the novel, Mason constructs a realization process for her about gender roles and her growth as an adult alongside the traumatic experiences of Vietnam veterans. Gradually she disagrees with the idea that "Boys got cars for graduation, but girls usually had to buy their own cars because they were expected to get

married-to guys with cars" (Mason 58), and she acts out to change her status in life by choosing a new path. Thus, as Boyle suggests, Samantha stays in "a state between masculine and feminine" (Boyle 1219-1220). This state is defined as female masculinity.

Despite being considered as a pathological state by society, Judith Halberstam defines this act of tomboyism as an extended childhood period of female masculinity, which appears "the crisis of coming of age a girl in a male-dominated society" (Halberstam 6). Moreover, when Samantha is exposed to the traumatic war stories and contradictions, this leads her to claim her right to be part of the frontier experience. As June Dwyer confirms in her article, "due to her alienation from womanhood, she claims that Samantha belongs to "both of the wrong generation and the wrong sex" (72). She carries neither any sense of belonging to femininity nor can be part of the Vietnam experience until she eludes from the mainstream historical consciousness.

Frustrated by being underestimated, Samantha goes to Cawood's Pond to ease her "battle envy" (Dwyer 72). On that account, Samantha's trip to the swamp area in town initiates her stepping into the part of history. "Some vets blamed what they did on the horror of the jungle. What did the jungle do to them? Humping the boonies. Here I am, she thought. In country" (Mason 210). This trip to the town's swamp area allows her to experience the war, whereas she "develops an integrated and healthfully androgynous ego" (Graybill 246). On the other hand, within the same scene, Emmett can finally express himself in tears to Samantha, who could not deal with the horrible, unspeakable in-country memories, which are part of a significant failure of manhood in America in a very cathartic moment for both.

The scene also signifies that Samantha's quest involves a healing process and reconciliation with the emasculated men and the immoral war their country was involved in. As the second part of the novel is completed, the quester identity heads from the "wounded king" of Vietnam (Booth 102) to a young woman who is on the edge of adulthood, reconcile with her nation's past and her masculine self. To conclude, when the coming of age story of Samantha Hughes combines with the story of emasculated men of the Vietnam War, *In Country* becomes both "a narrative of overcoming" and "a narrative of becoming" (Boyle 1644).

Dissolution of the Historical Consciousness:

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial

The last part of the book involves the settlement of Samantha Hughes and her uncle Emmett Smith about Vietnam. In this sense, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial both secures a sense of closure and signifies the last step of knowing the "real" past. Moreover, it finalizes the "years of division and protests" and a country of people "wanting to close the book on this sad chapter in its history" (Longley 6). Furthermore, Samantha's desire to uncover the truth about the past also ends when they decide to take a step to the future. When Samantha takes the trip to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, although her "struggle to find the right way to picture it, and what she sees on the television screen informs her historical expectations" (Hinrichsen 240) does not match what she sees, she confronts it. When she first sees the Memorial, her reaction reveals the distinction between the two sides of American history, in which one despises the other:

> The Washington Monument is reflected at the centerline. If she moves slightly to the left, she sees the monument and if she moves the other way she sees a reflection of the flag opposite the memorial. Both the monument and the flag seem like arrogant gestures, like the country giving the finger to the dead boys, flung in this hole in the ground (Mason 240).

Pride and nobility were two attributes given to the Vietnam soldiers very late as people refused to acknowledge they are part of "a nation bound by war could also be divided by it" (Allen 102). Disdained due to lack of clarity in their cause to fight, the Memorial's lack of connection with any war memorialization or monumentality ignited the Vietnam veterans' alienation from war history. Unlike any sanctification of the hero image, society saw the Memorial as a "castrated wound" (Sturken 123). Accordingly, society was not receptive to Maya Lin's design since it did not reflect the heroic past. "The Three Soldiers" by the sculptor Frederick Hart in 1984 added a male gaze to the war memorial. Hart's addition of soldiers is an attempt to Americanize the memory and purify the Memorial. To summarize, Hart's extension was an attempt to "fix" the Memorial according to the self-reliant nature of the States.

As the images of the Vietnam War and the righteous soldier of the States contradicted with each other, the Memorial's shape also

became discordant with the Washington Monument next to it. The obelisk of the Washington Monument as a "tribute to a single man of action, the founder of the American nation associated with the heroics of the American Revolution" (Volpp 176) symbolized a glorification of American heritage, courage, and heroism. Its verticalness symbolizes the American continuity and expansionism as well as a masculine power as a phallic monument rising upwards. Hence, when Samantha asks Tom about what he thinks of the Monument, he calls it "a big white prick" (Mason 80) as if it symbolizes the authority behind the Vietnam War.

In the novel, the Memorial becomes an embodiment of the wound left by the Vietnam war experience. It becomes "ultimate expression of the modern closed frontier" (Krasteva 83), which dignifies the purpose of the American male outside his country. Instead, it enabled a chance for "healing of a generation of warriors scarred by their experiences" (Longley 20) like Emmett Smith. Moreover, it also became a spot where a woman like Samantha Hughes can associate herself with the nation's trauma. By putting her at the center of the story, Mason changes the "monomyth of the heroic questing male on the frontier" (Krasteva 83) to a woman who includes herself in the historical memory. Hence, when she confronts the Memorial, she claims her historical heritage. For instance, when she witnesses a group of school kids and one of them reluctantly asks the meaning of the names, Samantha feels fierce and anger towards those who are indifferent to their national history. Moreover, she reconciles with the fact that the feelings she shares with others can appear in many forms: "She is just beginning to understand. And she will never really know what happened to all these men in the war. Some people walk by, talking as though they are on a Sunday picnic, but most are reverent, and some of them are crying" (Mason 240). On the other hand, Mason leaves the ending for Emmett more ambiguous than she does for Samantha. Mason gives the hint of reaching peace when she says, "his face bursts into a smile like flames" (Mason 245). The stoic image of the American male transformed into a more sensitive figure who is both the perpetrator and the victim on this occasion. To conclude, the marginalization of the Vietnam veterans as seen in Bobbie Ann Mason's *In Country* helps a young girl to create her identity. Even though the Vietnam Veterans Memorial has a deconstructive role for the idea of the dutiful, patriotic male, through Samantha's coming of age story, it also brings a new pride for the Vietnam soldiers for their country.

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